JPRS 76466

22 September 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 118

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76466

22 September 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 118

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Number of Unemployed Doctorate Holders in U.S. Grows
(XINHUA, 11 Sep 80).. 1

Government To Salvage Japanese Warships Sunk During World War II
(KYODO, 6 Sep 80).. 2

Newsletter Discusses Visit to EC Headquarters
(Xin Shufan; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Aug 80).................... 3

ASEAN Press Discusses UN Seat for Kampuchea
(XINHUA, 10 Sep 80).. 6

Japanese Economic Relations With ASEAN States Reviewed
(XINHUA, 9 Sep 80).. 8

Briefs
Trade Unionists in Denmark 10
Turkish Armed Forces Day 10
Japanese Delegation in Nei Monggol 10

PARTY AND STATE

Reshuffling of Government Officials Reported
(HSIN WAN PAO, 8 Sep 80).. 11

Need To Punish Evil-Doers Associated With Jiang Qing Emphasized
(Wang Yongsheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 20 Aug 80).................. 13

Government Officials Kang Shien, Chen Yonggui Criticized
(HSIN WAN PAO, 9 Oct 80).................................. 16

Personality Cult Symbol Removal Criticized
(Ba Yi Radio, 9 Sep 80).................................. 18

Criticism, Self-Criticism Must Be Restored
(Chen Zhiyi; SICHUAN RIBAO, 14 May 80).................. 20

Less Publicity for Individuals Advocated
(Yu Jinan; XINHUA Domestic Service, 4 Sep 80)........... 22

Cadres, People Are To Be Held Equal Before the Law
(Ma Rongjie; GONGREN RIBAO, 23 Jul 80).................. 26

Legal Status, Role of Procuratorial Organ Reviewed
(Zeng Longyao; FAXUE YANJIU, 23 Jun 80)................. 29

Jiangsu Party Official Asks Old Cadres To Step Aside
(XINHUA RIBAO, 10 Jul 80)............................... 38

County Party Secretary in Jiangsu Offers Resignation
(XINHUA RIBAO, 10 Jul 80)............................... 42

Voluntary Resignation, by Cheng Jingming
Action Praised

Guangdong First Secretary Addresses Forum on Discipline
(NANFANG RIBAO, 15 Jul 80).............................. 45

Nanjing Symposium Discusses Criteria for Truth
(Zhai Bin; XINHUA RIBAO, 4 Jul 80)...................... 48

Value of Money to Socialist Society Debated
(GONGREN RIBAO, 3 Jul 80)............................... 50

Editor's Note
Positive View of Money, by Hong Hai
Money Is Useful, by Wang Saishi
Power Is Better, by Liu Xingmin
Money Spells Disaster, by Hu Hanhuai
Famous Quotations on Happiness
Material Wealth Not Important, by Jin Xin
Excerpts on Happiness, by Zhang Xinling
Road to Happiness, by Du Zhe

Socialist Democracy, Its Relationship With Legality Outlined
(Han Mingli, Guo Yuzhao; FAXUE YANJIU, 23 Jun 80)....... 58

Letters to Editor Deplore 'Stupid' Projects
(RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Aug 80)................................ 66

Divert Water
Flatten Mountaintops
Common Occurrences
Irrigation Canal

From Proletarian Dictatorship to People's Democracy
(ZHENMING, 1 Aug 80).................................... 72

Wang Dongxing and Central Committee Membership Elections
(Miao Shuo; ZHENMING, 1 Aug 80)......................... 75

Criticism of Mao Discussed
(Wei Feng; ZHENMING, 1 Aug 80).......................... 78

Rise of Chen Yonggui, Fraud of Dazhai
(Chin Jin; ZHENMING, 1 Aug 80).......................... 84

Situation of Dazhai Agricultural Model Examined
(Meng Ren; ZHENGMING, 1 Aug 80)......................... 91

Mao Zedong's Merits, Mistakes Assessed
(Fang Wen; ZHENGMING, 1 Aug 80)......................... 94

Deletion of 'Four Bigs' From Constitution Criticized
(Ba Yi Radio, 8 Sep 80)................................. 96

Briefs

Personnel Reorganization 98
Guangdong Leadership Change 98

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Briefs

Ex-Kuomintang Radar Specialist 99

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' Commentator Discusses Training Young People
(XINHUA, 6 Sep 80)...................................... 100

More Youth Training Opportunities Needed
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 6 Sep 80)..................... 101

Party Veteran Calls for Return to Traditional Teaching
(Duan Zhen; WEN HUI BAO, 25 Jul 80)..................... 106

'BEIJING RIBAO' Letters on Youth, Cultural Life
(XINHUA, 6 Sep 80).. 110

'Ba Yi Radio' on Insufficient Funds for Education
(Ba Yi Radio, 7 Sep 80)................................... 111

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Carries 'ZHEXUE YANJIU' Table of Contents
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 24 Aug 80).............................. 113

Briefs

Beijing Vocational Classes 115
Beijing Workers Theatrical Festival 115
Guangxi Cultural Gatherings 115
Jiangsu Broadcasting, Television University 116
Jilin Teachers to Xizang 116
Nei Monggol Enrollment 116
Shandong Superstititions at Burials 116
Tianjin Teacher Training Course 116
Xinjiang Students Congress 117
Xizang Minority Students 117
Xizang Pictorial 117
Central Radio, TV University 118
Xinjiang Folk Stories Filmed 118
Rural Edition of 'BEIJING RIBAO' 118

NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED DOCTORATE HOLDERS IN U.S. GROWS

OW110824 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 11 Sep 80

[Text] New York, September 11 (XINHUA)--The total number of doctorates awarded in the United States last year was 31,200, an increase of 328, or 1.1 per cent, from the 30,872 awarded in 1978. At the same time, the rate of unemployed doctorate recipients was also on the increase, according to a report published recently by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences.

According to the report, the proportion of women doctorates reached an all-time high of 28.6 per cent in 1979. The current number of 8,921 is now five times greater than the 1965 total. About two-thirds of the 1969 to 1979 increase in women doctorates were registered in the fields of education and social sciences.

From 1978 to 1979, there was an increase in the number of doctorates awarded to men in the physical sciences (mathematics, physics and astronomy, chemistry, and earth sciences), engineering, and the life sciences, the first growth in these fields in eight years. However, the total number of men doctorates decreased 1.2 per cent.

The report shows that of the five racial/ethnic groups, black doctorate recipients have the highest proportion of women doctorates, with 37.9 per cent, followed by whites (26.9 per cent), American Indians (28.5 per cent), Hispanics (24.4 per cent) and Asians (17.0 per cent). [As received]

Meanwhile, the report also shows that between 1969 and 1979, the proportion of doctorate recipients still seeking employment at time of doctorate increased from 17.7 per cent to 20.6 percent in mathematics, from 18.7 per cent to 21.6 per cent in agricultural sciences, from 13.4 per cent to 21.3 per cent in political sciences, from 10.3 per cent to 14.7 per cent in economics, and from 19.3 per cent to 25.9 per cent in education. The largest increase in proportion of doctorate recipients still seeking employment has been in the humanities fields (history, English and American literature, and foreign language and literature). In 1979, the proportion of the unemployed doctorate recipients in these fields was around 32 to 38 per cent.

CSO: 4020

GOVERNMENT TO SALVAGE JAPANESE WARSHIPS SUNK DURING WORLD WAR II

OW061315 Tokyo KYODO in English 1253 GMT 6 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, Sept 6 KYODO--China has decided to salvage Japanese warships which sank in China's 12-mile territorial waters during World War II.

China will start the work on its own at an early date to prevent trouble the submerged Japanese ships may cause to navigation and fishing within its waters.

China will allow Japan to salvage other Japanese warships which went down outside its territorial waters during the war. China is ready to help Japan in the work.

This decision was disclosed Friday by Chinese Vice Minister of Communications Peng Deqing to Japanese Dietman Seiichi Takagawa, leader of the New Liberal Club now visiting Beijing.

About two years ago, Tagawa asked for China's cooperation in salvaging such Japanese ships.

Following the new Chinese decision, the Japanese side will have to work out its steps quickly for salvaging these ships and collecting the remains of Japanese still aboard these ships.

According to Tagawa, more than 240 Japanese warships with a total tonnage of 800,000 tons sank in waters ranging from Bohai Bay to the South China Sea during World War II.

He estimated that the remains or bodies of 3,000 to 4,000 Japanese are still untouched on board the submerged warships. More than half of them may be under waters outside China's territorial sea, Tagawa said.

The Chinese vice minister also told Tagawa that China recently completed an investigation of the Japanese repatriation ship Awa Maru which sank on April 1, 1945 after being attacked by a U.S. submarine in the Taiwan Straits on its way home from a repatriation mission to Southeast Asian islands.

The minister said that no rare metals were found in the investigation of the 11,249-ton Japanese ship.

CSO: 4020

NEWSLETTER DISCUSSES VISIT TO EC HEADQUARTERS

HK070523 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 80 p 7

[Newsletter from Belgium by Xin Shufan [6580 2885 5603]: "Advancing on the Road of Unity--A Visit to EC Headquarters"]

[Text] The EC headquarters is a modern X-shaped building located in the Rue de La Loi near the center of Brussels, capital of Belgium. In order to commemorate Robert Schuman, the proposer of the EC and former French foreign minister, people named the circle in front of the building after him.

As soon as this reporter arrived in Brussels, he managed to find time to visit the EC headquarters. During talks, people from the EC said to the reporter in a satisfied tone: "When economics is concerned, we have fulfilled three great tasks over the past 20 years. Despite the slow progress, there is no state or grouping in the world today that can do what we do."

First of all, the EC instituted a customs union. They practiced tariff unity outside the community and on the other hand, abolished mutual tariff inside it. They also instituted free circulation of capital, labor force and labor affairs, thus forming a united market.

Second, they fundamentally practiced a common agricultural policy. They unified the prices of principal agricultural products, achieved free circulation of agricultural products inside the community and set up common agricultural funds. The implementation of the common agricultural policy has played a very important role in the development of agriculture of the EC.

Third, after so much discussion and many setbacks over the past years, the "European monetary system" which is called the most important stage in the joint history of Western Europe was set up and made effective since last March.

Although this was my first visit to EC headquarters, their achievements in joint economy gave me a very deep impression: tariff-free commodites of EC member countries were found everywhere and enterprises and there were many shops run by West Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Italy and so on. People could enjoy the use of different consumer products from different countries. Citizens of EC member countries could freely enter or leave other member countries without a valid visa.

The economy of the EC has greatly developed since it has obtained great achievements in industry and agriculture and in currency links between these two. The gross national income of the nine countries in 1979 amounted to $2,380.4 billion, higher than that of the United States ($2,349 billion). The volume of foreign trade of the nine countries was nine times that of the Soviet Union and three times that of the United States. It is the greatest trade zone in the world.

Economic growth also raised the international status of the EC and greatly changed the setup of international relations. This enables the EC to play a more important role in maintaining peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. An important aim of these nine countries in their political coordination is to oppose the threat of hegemonism. This is the path that the EC has pursued over the past 20 years.

From the very beginning, the EC tended to oppose control and domination by the superpowers. As far back as in the period of drafting the treaty of Rome, members of the EC basically agreed to prepare for political alliance as soon as they reached a certain stage in economic unity. Due to different political situations and imbalance in economic development and in addition, misunderstanding between the nations created by history, a political alliance is still far from being achieved. However, political coordination has speeded up since Soviet hegemonism exerted threats and pressure on Western Europe and its periphery. Of course, there is bound to be some disharmony sometimes on the path of political coordination.

At the end of 1973, at a meeting of the heads of the nine EC member states, the "European identity" was declared. It soundly proposed that "Europe must gradually come to speak with a unanimous voice." At the 1974 meeting of the heads of the nine member states, the community decided, starting from 1975, to hold three meetings of heads of member states each year to strengthen political coordination and harmony in foreign policy. In the past few years, on a number of important foreign policy issues the nine states carried out discussion and consultation through the channel of political coordination, and publicized joint declarations.

It is worth pointing out that the EC not only has speeded up unity and coordination within Western Europe, but also gradually strengthened relations and coordination with the Third World. This is a positive factor in the current anti-hegemonic struggle. Currently, (Tone) chairman of the Council of Ministers of the community is visiting the Middle East on behalf of the community, aiming to make contributions on the Middle East issue.

Of course, all is not a bed of roses here. There are a lot of thistles and thorns facing the EC. The greatest problem of all is the economic problem. Jenkins, chairman of the community commission predicted at the beginning of the year that 1980 would be a "grim year" for the community. The materials that the community headquarters provided to this reporter indicated that in the wake of the acute economic recession in the United States, the member states of EC also faced difficulties in the first half of the year with demand reduced, industrial production stagnating or falling, inflation increasing and foreign trade deficit growing. On the whole, the number of unemployed now in Western Europe has reached its postwar peak. In the future, the EC will continue to slowly advance on the winding path of two high (high increase rate of commodity price and high rate of unemployment) and one low (low rate of economic growth).

CSO: 4005

ASEAN PRESS DISCUSSES UN SEAT FOR KAMPUCHEA

OW101849 Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 10 Sep 80

[Text] Hong Kong, September 19 (XINHUA)--Malaysian, Thai and Singapore newspapers carried editorials or articles recently calling on the international community to safeguard the legitimate seat of Democratic Kampuchea at the United Nations.

In an article on September 8, the Malaysian press SIN CHEW JIT POH said, to expel the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea from the United Nations would mean legalization of Hanoi's occupation of a neighbouring country or voting for any country to attack its neighbour whose policies it resents. "In the past, this behaviour was regarded as colonialism. At present, it is still colonialism," the paper added.

Another Malaysian paper SING PING YIT PAO, in an editorial on September, [as printed] pointed out if Viet Nam does not pull its troops from Kampuchea, the war in Kampuchea could not come to an end, there would be no political solution to the disputes in that country, no peace in Indochina and security of Thailand could hardly be guaranteed and the stability and neutrality of Southeast Asia might be undermined at any time.

Commenting on Hanoi's draft resolution on "Problem of Peace and Security in South East Asia," NANYANG SIANG PAU of Malaysia said in an article on September 7, Viet Nam attempts to mislead the public. Its purpose is obviously to legalize the reality in Kampuchea which it created by using force, thus setting up a mini East Europe in Indochina.

The article noted that since important principles in the international relations were involved in the Kampuchean issue, it is natural for the ASEAN countries to take a clear-cut stand on it. To accept a fait accompli was to connive at aggression. Therefore, the ASEAN countries must constantly state the facts, preventing people from being confused by Hanoi and the Soviet Union.

The Thai paper TONG HUA YIT PAO said in an editorial recently, to uphold the legal seat of Democratic Kampuchea at the U.N. is an act of fighting against hegemonist aggression and expansion and defending peace in South East Asia and of the world as well.

It pointed out that if the Soviet Union and Viet Nam succeed in their scheme to place the Heng Samrin regime in the U.N. it would encourage their hegemonist ambitions for expansion. This would not only set up a dangerous precedent by conniving at a foreign power defying international law and using force to shatter another country's independence and sovereignty. It also means tearing the U.N. Charter to pieces.

In an editorial on September 8, Singapore newspaper SIN CHEW JIT POH noted that at the current U.N. General Assembly session, to continue the fight against power politics and the Heng Samrin regime in its attempt to replace Democratic Kampuchea has become an "urgent diplomatic task" for the ASEAN countries.

It said so long as the friendly countries continue their support for the ASEAN's just position, as they did in the past, it is impossible for Hanoi to change the U.N. decision last year to keep the seat for Democratic Kampuchea.

CSO: 4020

JAPANESE ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH ASEAN STATES REVIEWED

OW090222 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 9 Sep 80

[Text] Hong Kong, September 7 (XINHUA)--The economic relations between the ASEAN states and Japan have rapidly developed in the past few years. Export of the ASEAN states to Japan increased to 16,300 million U.S. dollars in 1979 from 7,700 million in 1976, registering an annual increase of 30.1 per cent. Their import from Japan went up to 9,600 million U.S. dollars in 1979 from 6,100 million in 1976, averaging an annual growth of 16.4 per cent. Japan's investments in these countries, which stood at 4,300 million U.S. dollars in 1976, last year reached 6,100 million, accounting for 33 per cent of the total foreign investments in the region.

In the period of 1975-1979, the Japanese Government extended 2,000 million dollars in direct aid to these nations, which accounted for 34.1 per cent of its total economic aid for foreign countries.

Moreover, Japan and the ASEAN states have become political partners in what is noted as another salient point in their relationship. Since Viet Nam was condemned by the ASEAN states because of its occupation of Phnom Penh in January last year, Japan firmly supported the joint statement adopted by the special session of the ASEAN foreign ministers calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops in Kampuchea. It wanted to see the earliest possible restoration of peace and stability in the region in accordance with the principles of national self-determination and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries. At various international conferences, the Japanese Government invariably expressed support for the ASEAN's position on the Kampuchean issue and reaffirmed its recognition of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. The recent Vietnamese invasion of Thailand was also sharply condemned by Japan, which has since been closely following developments in Southeast Asia and Kampuchea. More recently Japan has taken closer economic cooperation with the ASEAN states as a part of its overall security policy.

But relations between ASEAN and Japan are not void of disagreements. The ASEAN nations have complained about Japan's slow pace in developing economic cooperation. They demand the entry of more ASEAN products into

Japanese market and hope for more financial and technical aid from Japan. Some countries criticized Japan for being "too protective of itself" and "elusive in making concrete commitments" on certain major international issues. The ASEAN countries are also unhappy about Japan's conditional, "temporary halt" to economic aid to Viet Nam.

Nevertheless, ASEAN and Japan are working hard to develop their cooperation in view of their fundamental common interests.

Southeast Asia is important to Japan not only as a market, a raw material supplier and an area for investment, but also for the sea passage through the Strait of Malacca which is regarded as a "life line" to Japan's economy. Japan's 80 per cent of oil and 50 per cent of copper and iron have to be transported through the strait and it is imperative for Japan to defend peace and stability in Southeast Asia. ASEAN countries on their part also need Japan's economic aid and political support to speed up economic development and to upgrade their capability for regional defense in the presence of the threat of Soviet and Vietnamese aggression.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

TRADE UNIONISTS IN DENMARK--Copenhagen, 25 Aug (XINHUA)--A delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions headed by its vice-chairman Kang Yonghe left here for home today after a 12-day friendly visit to Denmark. During their stay here, the Chinese guests met with Danish Minister of Labor Svend Auken, Minister of Education Dorte Bennedsen and Minister for Social Affairs Ritt Bjerregaaad as well as leaders of the Danish trade union on separate occasions. The Chinese trade union delegation studied the system of social insurance and vocational training in Denmark, visited public institutions and various vocational schools, some factories and workers' families. [Text] [OW301215 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 25 Aug 80]

TURKISH ARMED FORCES DAY--Beijing, August 30 (XINHUA)--A reception in honour of Turkish Armed Forces Day was given here today by the Turkish military, naval and air attache, Colonel Ilhan Akoguz and Mrs. Akoguz. Among the guests were Liu Kai, assistant chief of general staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Xi Mingde, deputy chief of staff of the Chinese P.L.A. naval forces, and Yang Fuzhen, deputy chief of staff of the Chinese P.L.A. air force. Military attaches of various embassies and other members of the diplomatic corps were present. [Text] [OW310524 Beijing XINHUA in English 1509 GMT 30 Aug 80]

JAPANESE DELEGATION IN NEI MONGGOL--At the invitation of the China-Japan Friendship Association, a nine-person Japanese goodwill delegation headed by the director of the Japan-China Friendship Alliance of (?Artisans) visited Nei Monggol 6 September in the company of (Xiao Luhua), member of the board of directors of the Chinese people's association for friendship with foreign countries. Kong Fei, chairman of the Nei Monggol regional people's government, hosted a banquet in honor of the delegation. Present on the occasion were (Jin Hailu), deputy secretary general of the regional people's government; (Wang Yumin), vice chairman of the foreign affairs office of the regional people's government; and (Zhang Changgong), deputy mayor of Hohhot Municipality. The delegation left Nei Monggol for Beijing 8 September. [SK111144 Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Sep 80]

CSO: 4005

RESHUFFLING OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS REPORTED

HK091147 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 8 Sep 80 p 4

[Unattributed "New Talk" Column: "Big Reshuffle in the Chinese State Council"]

[Text] The Chinese Government carried out an unprecedented big reshuffle this week. What made the reshuffle so unprecedented was that in the same government, the premier was changed, and seven vice premiers--nearly half of the total 18--resigned from their offices; while Vice Premier Zhao Ziyang was promoted to become the new premier.

The highest leaders of the State Council resigned from their offices for three reasons. Hua Guofeng resigned from his office as premier in order to implement the principle of division between the party and government and to concentrate his efforts on handling party affairs. Wang Renzhong resigned from his office as vice premier for the same reason. Vice premiers Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Xu Xianqian and Wang Zhen resigned from their offices because they are all old. Their action broke the past traditional life-tenure of leading cadres. Chen Yonggui was removed from his office as vice premier by approval because he made a mistake. This has demonstrated that no matter how senior an official may be, whenever he makes a mistake and arouses people's indignation, he will be removed from office.

Therefore, the government reshuffle this time is not just a personnel change. In fact it has far-reaching significance and has carved a new road for the Chinese Government in realizing modernization. A new government which is capable, responsible, efficient and close to the masses will be formed.

In his resignation speech, Hua Guofeng put forward the grand goal of building an unprecedentedly superior government in history. At the same time, he also analyzed at great length the problem of bureaucratism and put forth specific methods of overcoming it, winning the applause by the people's delegates. This will certainly win praise throughout the country.

The personnel change in the State Council has demonstrated that the Chinese Government has actually decided to institute reform and to thoroughly eliminate bureaucratism. It is a difficult task which has never been achieved in the history of mankind. It certainly merits the concerted efforts of the people throughout the country. The progressive people throughout the world have actually placed their hope in its successful accomplishment.

CSO: 4005

NEED TO PUNISH EVIL-DOERS ASSOCIATED WITH JIANG QING EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Wang Yongsheng [3769 1661 5116]: "On Being Strict or Lenient in Enforcing the Law"]

[Text] Newspapers have recently reported some court rulings on persons who were found guilty of violating party discipline and state laws, rulings which have received warm support from the masses. Commenting on these rulings, the masses have regarded some sentences as either too severe or too lenient. Some comrades who prefer laws that carry heavy penalties against crimes contend that too lenient sentences handed down by the courts may render the laws ineffective in preventing future crimes. Other comrades who advocate leniency in enforcing the laws and who are aware that our country has gone through a long period without any semblance of laws warned against any drastic changes in the enforcement of laws, arguing that too severe punishment of people may backfire by disrupting stability and unity.

I feel that the laws represent the will of the ruling class in society; before it is put into effect--no matter whether it carries heavy penalty or not--it should take into account the needs of society to maintain stability and progress. In Chinese history, as far as the enforcement of laws is concerned, severity has been alternated with leniency; debate over their merits has taken place on several occasions.

When Liu Bang, first emperor of the Han Dynasty, triumphantly entered Xianyang and overthrew the Qin Dynasty in the third century B.C., he promulgated a three-article provisional law stipulating: "Murderers shall be sentenced to death. Robbery and other offenses that inflict bodily injuries on persons shall be punished according to the law. All laws promulgated by the Qin Dynasty which carry death penalty against slanderers and their relatives and which stipulate public execution for rumor-mongers are henceforth declared null and void." This correct measure received a favorable response from the people immediately after its promulgation. In the years that followed, it also played an important role in defeating the enemy of the Han Dynasty and in unifying the country.

When Zhu Geliang [6175 5514 0081] helped Liu Bei establish a kingdom with Chengdu as its capital, he called for strict measures against offenses for the reason that the administration under the former ruler Liu Zhang was politically corrupt and was inept in enforcing the law. At that time, an important official named Fa Zheng [3127 2973] suggested to Zhu Geliang that "laws of leniency" be promulgated to placate and cheer up the suffering people just as Liu Bang had done before him. But Zhu Geliang turned down his suggestion following a thorough analysis of the two historical events--Liu Bang's triumphant entry to Xianyang and Liu Bei's conquest of Chengdu, pointing out: "If Liu Bang did not nullify the Qin Dynasty's laws deeply hated by the people for their harsh penalties and replaced it with his own laws of leniency, he would be unable to restore the normal life and to promote stability and the development of production in society. The State of Shu now faced a different situation. Under the prolonged rule of the former king, law and discipline had been neglected and there was no distinction between those meriting commendation and those deserving punishment. Consequently, a bad lifestyle prevailed over society. Only by strictly enforcing the law could the State of Shu bring about order across the land." Zhu Geliang strictly enforced the law and tallied his speeches with his actions. He never reneged on his word. Nor did he want to put himself above the law. For failing to defend Jieting, a strategic point guarding the State of Shu, he tearfully ordered a responsible general and his intimate aide Ma Shu [7456 6204] to be executed along with a self-denial request for his own demotion both in rank and position and for a cut in his pay. As a result of the implementation of these correct measures, the Kingdom of Shu soon became strong and prosperous again, thus forming a balance of power with two other kingdoms in China at that time.

Today, the problem we face is more complicated than at any time in history. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, their critics, and writers opposing them were wrongly charged and sentenced to death. Some false charges even got their victims' relatives and friends involved and incriminated. While rehabilitating these victims, we must guard against the revival of such corporal punishment and torture as called for in the laws enforced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and must draw lessons from historical experiences so as to prevent the repetition of similar tragedy in the future. In dealing with the victimized persons, we must be lenient in enforcing the law. On the other hand, many people have committed crimes with the encouragement and connivance of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and company. These serious offenders and evil-doers who once rode roughshod over others in their native places under the influence of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and company still feel no regret and remorse even to date for what they have done. Severe punishment must be meted out to them within the framework of party discipline and the laws of the land. We must make public some typical criminal cases handled by the court. Only in this way can we educate the people and win their confidence in the integrity of our laws and discipline and inspire them to consciously and responsibly defend the socialist legal system and help those wrongdoers learn from their past mistakes in order to avoid the future ones and prevent others from offending the laws. This policy is essential to the maintenance of stability and unity in our country.

The people demand the socialist legal system under which laws will be continuously enacted and observed by the people and their offenders will be punished; all citizens including ordinary and leading cadres shall be dealt with according to the due process of the law once they are found guilty of crimes. Gone are the days when the officials stand above the law. Cadres, especially leading cadres, must accept the supervision of the masses. The legal concept of everyone being equal before the law should no longer be regarded as merely an empty slogan and should be applied to everyone in society. If every commanding general acts like Zhu Geliang who upheld the law by tearfully executing his beloved general, who else would dare disobey the law and abuse his authority?

9574
CSO: 4005

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS KANG SHIEN, CHEN YONGGUI CRITICIZED

HK110803 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 9 Oct 80 p 1

[Article by our reporter: "Kang Shien Has the Effrontery To Cover Up a Corrupt Official; Xia Yi Urges Dealing With Chen Yonggui According to Law"]

[Text] Xiong Fu, member of the CPPCC National Committee and former chief editor of HONGQI, accused vice premier of the State Council Kang Shien of covering up violations of law and discipline involving Yang Yibang, a vice minister of chemical industry (the Ministry of Chemical Industry was formerly known as the Ministry of Petrochemical Industry), in doing business with businessmen from Hong Kong. Many CPPCC members, who have been engaged in cultivating friendly relations with foreign countries, have also viewed the matter in an unfavorable light. According to informed sources, the matter was brought to light last year.

Xia Yi, a veteran writer and vice chairman of the All-China Literary Association, accused Chen Yonggui of squandering state funds in the region of tens of million yuan by unveiling a project for "shifting water from the west to the east," a project which was considered "false, big and empty." He insisted that Chen Yonggui be dealt with according to law. Since similar scandals have been found in various places, they merit our close attention.

Some people have pointed out that Chen Yonggui's son who often behaves outrageously has been nicknamed "Chen Yanei."

Cao Diou, widow of Kang Sheng, was castigated by those attending CPPCC's group discussions. Some people demanded that she be expelled from the NPC Standing Committee.

According to allegations, she is suspected of framing people. After her sister committed suicide, she immediately had more than 70 people arrested. She and Kang Sheng took possession of many cultural relics kept in the imperial museum, writing her own name on some of them. After Kang Sheng died, she did not vacate the houses she has occupied, nor has she returned quite a good number of rare Chinese classics. She has even damaged some of them.

Some NPC deputies and CPPCC delegates were not satisfied with the replies of Tang Ke, minister of metallurgical industry, with regard to problems of the Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex in Shanghai. His answers were considered irrelevant to the issues raised and were so ambiguous that they sounded unconvincing. According to Liu Jingfan, vice minister of civil affairs, the Baoshan complex is not close to either minerals sources, deep water harbors, coal or water sources. He said it is inconceivable that such a huge steel mill should have been constructed at all. He added that this project should have been put off until a later date.

Some people likened shipping minerals at high charges from areas outside Shanghai, which lacks mineral resources, to eating beancurd but paying the price of meat.

Aging and retiring Vice Premier of the State Council Xu Xiangqian said: Older people like us should step down to make way for younger people. Only by doing this can the leadership be strengthened and improved, collective efforts brought into play and the four modernizations achieved at an early date.

Wang Guangmei, widow of the late PRC Chairman Liu Shaoqi, believes that both the aged and the inept should be retired. Some cadres, she noted, are neither qualified nor morally acceptable and have not made meritorious contributions. She thinks such people should resolutely step down and be removed. The important thing, she said, is to promote talented and morally acceptable people and those having organizing ability, even though they are not party members, to be state cadres. Party members are not the only ones who should necessarily become government officials.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PERSONALITY CULT SYMBOL REMOVAL CRITICIZED

OW101720 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT
9 Sep 80

[Text] Four years have passed since the demise of Chairman Mao. Some earth-shaking events have taken place in China during these 4 years. Particularly since the latter half of this year, the entire nation has covertly or overtly criticized the mistakes committed by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao's portraits, inscriptions and quotations, and monuments built in his memory, have been removed or torn down. Even Chairman Mao's remains stored in the Memorial Hall have not been properly taken care of by regular application of preservatives. As a result, there is a danger that Chairman Mao's remains may decompose. In view of this situation, his remains should no longer be kept in the Memorial Hall. They should be buried at the Babaoshan Cemetery or some other place.

The situation has changed. Four years ago, who could imagine what is happening today? Generally speaking, the people in China advocate the elimination of the symbols of the personal cult. The removal of these symbols would at least vent the resentment of the broad masses of China who have suffered so much during the past 20 years. However, we must always remember that to remove the symbols of the personal cult is only a way to remove something on the surface without touching the inside. So far as the whole party, the entire army and all the people in the nation are concerned, the real danger of the personal cult is that it leads to erroneous line. Therefore, the key does not lie in removing portraits and monuments. The main task is to totally abandon the erroneous line. However, very little has been done in this regard. Many signs in the party, in the army and in the country at present have substantiated that in certain fields, there have been some changes in implementing the line and policies, but in some other fields there are practically changes.

If we review the reports and resolutions of the recent NPC session objectively, we will find that there have been some real changes in certain fields, that efforts have been made to explore new ways of doing things, foster a new style of work and bring about a new spiritual outlook, and that progress has been made in these fields. However, in certain fields, the line remains the same. No one dares to tackle problems left over from the past. For many years there has been no progress in these fields where the pernicious influence of the old line still prevails.

In short, in many spheres there are practically no changes. The erroneous line, bad style of work and the spiritual shackles of the past still play the predominant role. These spheres at present are no better off than they were 4 years ago. The pernicious influence of the old line still stifles new, emerging things. If we speak more frankly about the dangerous nature of the personal cult, we should point out first that within our party there still exists a feudal, autocratic and patriarchal style of work. To eliminate all this, we still need to wage acute struggles to destroy the foundation of the personal cult. However, even at this date, we have just started to remove the symbols of personal cult. At the same time, there is already someone who tries to develop and consolidate the supreme power he has already seized and to revive the system of feudal, autocratic dictatorship.

Chairman Mao died 4 years ago, and his remains at the Memorial Hall have started to decompose. However, the pernicious influence of the old line still prevails and will continue to harm the whole party, the entire army and all the people in the country.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM MUST BE RESTORED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 May 80 p 3

[Commentary by Chen Zhiyi [7115 1807 3015]: "A Communist Party Member Must Have the Courage To Criticize Erroneous Words and Deeds"]

[Text] To criticize erroneous thinking and a bad work style is the normal democratic life within the party and is an effective method of strengthening and improving the party's leadership and of increasing the party's fighting capacity. After the "gang of four" was smashed, and especially since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party's fine traditional style of criticism and self-criticism work has been basically restored. However, due to the serious havoc wreaked by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our party has not recovered from damage suffered during the 10-year turmoil, and until now the phenomenon of having not the courage to criticize and of being afraid of ideological struggle is still relatively widespread in our party.

Why don't they have the courage to criticize erroneous thinking and bad trends, and the courage to engage in struggle? It is said that they are a bit afraid of something, and mainly they are afraid of offending the leadership, especially their immediate superior, lest they wear small shoes [to be admonished or punished later by that superior]. They are afraid of disclosing problems related to cadres on the same level, lest that affect their relationship. They are afraid of combating problems concerning old colleagues and old friends, lest they lose their friendship and injure personal fellings. We should know that to engage in revolution, we have to offend some people. For these people, criticizing their defects and mistakes means showing our concern about them and helping them. This is not a bad thing but a good thing. Every one of our Communist Party members must stand firm on our party's principles. He should criticize, with confidence in the strength of our being right, those works and deeds that are detrimental to the proletarian revolutionary cause. He should not be afraid of offending somebody, not be afraid of losing his friendship, and not be afraid of suffering any blow. Only in this way is it possible to overcome and correct various kinds of nonproletarian thinking within the party. Without criticism, without prohibition, and without struggle, it is likely that mistakes will expand, grow and spread, thus eroding the party's organization, damaging the party's prestige, and seriously weakening the party's fighting capacity. This would show that Communist Party members lack party spirit.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out in his book "On the Self-Cultivation of Communist Party Members: "It is not right to take a liberalistic and bureaucratic attitude toward various defects, mistakes, and bad phenomena within the party. We must expand criticism and self-criticism and conduct a correct struggle within the party so as to work against all the bad phenomena in the party and overcome differences within the party. Only in this way is it possible for the party to consolidate, expand, and progress." In order to pursue more thoroughly the spirit of the Fifth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee in building our party into a party which is full of vigor and vitality, has an upright work style, has a solid and strong organization, and is stern and impartial in discipline, forever maintaining the characteristics of an exemplary proletarian vanguard team, every Communist Party member must take up the courage to engage in an uncompromising struggle with all erroneous thinking and bad work styles. He should never adopt the liberalistic attitude of being wise enough for personal survival.

Certainly, the criticism that we advocate is a responsiblity of the party. An obligation for comrades, is beneficial, does not constitute irresponsible criticism and argument, and is not false or unrestrained criticism. Criticism of comrades who have made mistakes should follow the principles of "learning a lesson from the past and avoiding future mistakes," "curing illness and saving people from danger," and "unity--criticism--unity." It means being good to people and convincing people of what is right, thus attaining the purpose of clarifying thinking and uniting comrades. Such thinking as building up crimes, "ruthless struggle, and relentless blows" are the evil effect and influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and should be thoroughly suppressed.

9503
CSO: 4005

LESS PUBLICITY FOR INDIVIDUALS ADVOCATED

OW051255 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1132 GMT 4 Sep 80

[RENMIN RIBAO 4 September article by Yu Jinan: "Consciously Follow the Principle of 'Less Publicity for Individuals'"]

[Text] Beijing, 4 Sep--Recently the party Central Committee issued a directive on adhering to the principle of "less publicity for individuals" and laid down concrete stipulations. Our task is, on the basis of in-depth ideological education, to adopt positive and appropriate measures to get down to realities in conscientiously implementing the principle of "less publicity for individuals."

Since the 3d plenary session of the party's 11th Central Committee, through setting things right on the major issue of principle, "to give more praise to the worker-peasant-soldier masses, the party and the revolutionaries of the older generation and give less publicity to any individual," gradually there are more things propagating historical materialism; fewer things propagating historical idealism; more publicity for the achievements of workers, peasants and intellectuals in working for the four modernizations; and less publicity for the unimportant activities and speeches of individual leaders. The once prevailing situation of "giving prominence to individuals" has begun to change. However, we must also see the other side of the question. In activities commemorating proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, too much prominence is still given to their individual roles and the approach is not realistic enough. The commemorative ways have seriously become mere formalities, to the extent that various forms of commemorative activities are held in the birthplaces of leaders who are still living, or in the schools where they once studied, places where they once worked or on articles they once used. These practices manifest a lack of political dignity. They not only cause extravagance and waste and alienate the masses, but in themselves are colored with the view that individuals are the makers of history. They are neither conducive to carrying out Marxist education inside and outside the party, nor are they helpful in eliminating the influences of feudal and bourgeois ideologies.

Why is it that the principle of "less publicity for individuals" still cannot be conscientiously implemented in some places and units? An important reason is that the influence of historical idealism "to give prominence to individuals" has not been eliminated. Our country came through several thousand years of feudal rule and more than 100 years of semifeudal and semicolonial rule, and feudal ideology is deep-rooted. Patriarchal ideology, the idea of imperial authority, the idea of religious authority and other pernicious feudalistic influences have seeped into the party and become a stubborn spiritual force. In addition, for years in the past, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," out of their counterrevolutionary needs, vigorously pushed a "deification movement" with ulterior motives. They described the revolutionary leader as an omniscient and omnipotent god, denied that the masses of the people are the makers of history and for a period indeed confused a considerable number of party members, cadres and the masses. People often unconsciously attribute all our victories and achievements to an individual and place all their hopes and their destiny on an individual, thereby magnifying the role of the individual.

Of course, Marxism never denied the historical role of great figures, and considered it a fairly big role. Without a number of the most influential and experienced leaders, it is impossible for the proletarian political party to lead the revolution and construction to victory. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation made immortal contributions to the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution. Making a realistic appraisal of them and conducting some appropriate and unexaggerated commemorative activities are necessary, both for historical studies and for educating future generations. But, if various forms are misused to improperly exaggerate the role of individuals, it will lead to the opposite. Is not the painful lesson in modern superstition vigorously pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" deep enough? We must never again do such foolish things.

Some comrades do not support "giving prominence to individuals," but, when handling concrete issues, they often avoid expressing their attitude or turn the contradiction over to their superiors, for they are afraid that "accounts will be settled after the autumn harvest." Such thinking and misgivings are not without cause. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage, whether or not one "gave prominence to individuals" was taken as one's "expression of political attitude." Those who did this vigorously could win such good names as "highly conscious," "closely following," "holding high," and so forth, and thereby make rapid advances in their careers. Those who were unwilling to do so could hardly escape being labeled "against the leader" to "counterrevolutionary" and subjected to attacks and persecution. Therefore, everyone feared for his own safety and was afraid to violate the "forbidden area." It was like people turning pale at the mere mention of the tiger. To thoroughly correct this kind of disgusting conduct which violates the guiding principles for inner-party political life is in itself meant to eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Now, the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" has explicitly stipulated: "publicity in relation to leading members should be realistic and no unprincipled glorification of them is allowed. It is impermissible to praise leading members of the proletariat in the sycophantic terms used by the exploiting classes, nor is it permissible to distort history or cook up facts in publicizing the contributions of leading members. There should be no celebration of the birthdays of leading members, nor should they be sent gifts or congratulatory messages. No memorial hall should be built for any living person, and not too many such halls should be built for late leaders. Streets, places, enterprises or schools should not be named after leading members of the party. Except on diplomatic occasions, when a leader is away on official business it is forbidden to organize welcomes and send-offs, put up slogans, beat drums and gongs and hold banquets in his honor." Anyone who violates the above-mentioned stipulations and resists implementation of the principle of "less publicity for individuals" on the pretext of "expressing a political attitude" is not to be tolerated by party discipline. We must have the courage to take a clear-cut stand to oppose all words and deeds giving prominence to individuals.

Some people use their "profound proletarian feelings," as justification to argue for "giving prominence to individuals," as if "giving less publicity to individuals" means having no or very little "feelings." This is another manifestation that the influence of "deification of the individual" has not been eliminated. Communists never talk about feelings in abstract terms. They always place their proletarian feelings under Marxist principles, and do not substitute "feelings" for principles. If we accept the materialist conception of history, we certainly recognize that the victory and achievements of our country's revolution and construction should be attributed primarily to the hard struggle of the masses of people and the party's leadership, not to just one or several individuals. Obviously without the party organization, how could there be leading members of the party? Without hundreds of millions of unknown heroes, how could there be the few known heroes? The principle "to give more praise to the worker-peasant-soldier masses, the party and the revolutionaries of the older generation and give less publicity to any individual" put forward by our party exactly embodies this spirit. If we on the one hand loudly claim to ardently love the leaders and on the other hand look down on the masses of the people; pay no attention to the sufferings of the masses and do not even hesitate to pull down factories and people's homes in order to erect memorial halls, museums, pavillions and monuments and "give prominence to individuals," people will have reason to doubt if these are real proletarian feelings. It is understandable and beyond reproach if the vast numbers of party members, cadres and masses, out of their ardent love and memory for late leaders and revolutionary martyrs, call for some necessary memorial installations. On this question, the party principle is clear-cut: there should be such installations, and they should be well-kept. However, to ardently love and cherish the memory of leading members, the important things are not the formalities, but concrete actions. Through recalling and learning from the revolutionary thinking and revolutionary practice of the revolutionaries of the older generation to carry on the communist cause for which they fought all their lives and strive to make more contributions to the four modernizations--this is the most meaningful.

At present, to implement the party Central Committee's specific stipulations of "giving less publicity to any individual," it is necessary to vigorously carry out ideological education in historical materialism, do away with all kinds of ideological obstacles and create a new practice of consciously not giving prominence to individuals inside and outside the party. This is of great significance in improving democratic life in the party and the country and in speeding up the four modernizations program.

CSO: 4005

CADRES, PEOPLE ARE TO BE HELD EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 80 p 5

[Article by Lawyer Ma Rongjie [7456 2837 2638]: "Cadres Who Break the Law Must Be Held Just as Guilty as the People"]

[Text] In order to earnestly protect the citizens' rights and legal benefits and to consolidate and expand the stable and unified political situation, it is necessary to strengthen democracy and the rule of law. Any citizen who commits a crime and breaks the law should be punished; everyone is supposed to be equal before the law; no special privileges should be permitted. Relevant organizations in certain places have taken inadequate measures with regard to cadres--especially leading cadres--who have broken the law and committed crimes. Some have received disciplinary action by the party instead of sanctions imposed by national laws, so as to evade public opinion. There have been some cases of tolerance and accomodation, with [cadres] pardoned and sheltered. This actually means that the cadres were protected as "special citizens." The result has been a very bad effect on upholding the benefits of all citizens and upholding the dignity and authority of the law.

There have been many cases which have showed that cadres who break the law are not held as guilty as the people. Li Lianfu [2621 6647 1381], vice secretary of the party committee of the Songshu town mine of the Tonghua Mining Bureau and concurrently director of the mine, and Li Yunsong [2621 0336 2646], assistant director of the mine, seriously violated rules and regulations by forcing the workers to take risks in their work; the result was a gas explosion accident, with 52 workers dead and 6 severely injured, and serious economic damage to the nation. For their grave responsibility for such an accident, the local court sentenced Li Lianfu to only 3 years' penal servitude and 4 years' probation, and Li Yusong to 2 years' penal servitude and 3 years' probation. From the investigative report of the accident by a GONGREN RIBAO reporter (see GONGREN RIBAO of 4 July) and the disclosures and petitions of the relatives of the victims (see GONGREN RIBAO of 14 July), it can be seen that the aftermath of this accident, in which many were killed or injured, was very serious, and the whole episode was very vicious. According to Article 114 of the criminal law, the sentence should be 3 to 7 years' penal servitude, with no conditions applicable to probation. Why did the court include a sentence of probation? In another place, a female worker was a boiler attendant, and because the boiler was old and in poor condition, and because she was negligent while she was on duty, an accident occurred with no casualties. But the female worker was sentenced to 8 years' penal servitude. By comparison, although the aftermath was serious in the first case, the sentence was rather light (probation), whereas in the second case, although the aftermath was far from being as serious as that of the first case, the sentence was heavy (8 years). Why? Is it because cadres were involved in the first case and a common worker in the second? If such is the case, how unequal it is before the law!

Wang Fu [3769 3940], vice chairman of the Yunnan Province's Trade Union and member of the party organization, beat up car driver Shu Tiancai [5289 1131 2088] of the same unit, causing a "traumatic puncture of the eardrum with a complication of deafening" in Shu's left ear. Wang Fu only received a serious admonition within the party (see GONGREN RIBAO of 16 May 1980). As stipulated in Article 134 of the criminal law: One who harms a person's body on purpose, resulting in a severe injury to the person, shall be sentenced to 3 to 7 years' penal servitude. Wang Fu showed off his power as a big official and fiercely slapped the face of driver Shu Tiancai, making Shu's "two ears thunder and two eyes blur" and resulting in a "punctured eardrum." Why was he not sentenced by criminal law? Somebody wondered how serious it would have been if it were the car driver who had beaten up the vice chairman of the Provincial Trade Union and deafened him. The sentence would have been from at least 3 years' to at most 7 years' penal servitude. This supposition has definite logic.

The above facts explain that some cadres of the party and political organizations do not have a strong conviction about the rule of law, are not clear enough about the principle that everybody is supposed to be equal before the law, and are intentionally or unintentionally partial to leading cadres, causing a very bad effect among the masses. It is only natural that some people have reflected: "A common people who breaks the law can never run away; a cadre who breaks the law will be bailed out by whatever authority." This is worthy of our deep thinking.

The fact that cadres who break the law cannot be held just as guilty as the people is due mainly to the evil effect and influence of feudalistic thinking. The idea of special privileges is still relatively serious among certain party and political cadres and judicial cadres, and thus the concept that everybody is supposed to be equal before the law is only a hollow slogan to them. The laws of our nation are designed to realize the will of the working class and the vast majority of the laboring people. All acts that damage the revolutionary rule of law, endanger the benefits of the laboring people, damage the socialist economic foundation, and harm productivity are acts that break the law and commit crimes. Violations of the law will be investigated. If a crime is committed, it will be punished no matter who committed it. Everybody is supposed to be equal before the law. This is the principle which must be observed by the various peoples of the whole nation, by all Communist Party members, and by all revolutionary cadres. It is the ideological weapon for opposing anyone who makes use of special privileges. For cadres who break the law not to be held as guilty as the people actually endangers the benefits of the whole people and especially endangers seriously the rights and legal benefits of victims in specific cases. Such a situation will not be trusted by the people. It will diminish the dignity and authority of the law, and directly affect the enthusiasm of the masses in engaging in the four modernizations with the same heart and the same mind.

Our nation is a nation in which the people are the masters of their own house. Each and every cadre is a public servant of the people, an orderly of the people, and also an ordinary person. They are not supposed to be granted any special privileges above the law. Party discipline cannot replace the laws of the nation. Criminal activities cannot be lessened or made exempt from judicial measures because of party disciplinary action. Chairman Ye Jianying pointed out at the Second Plenum of the Fifth National People's Congress: "The laws of the nation must be observed by everybody. All citizens, no matter whether they are within or outside the party, of the upper level or the lower level, whatever their social standing and social component, must be equal before the law. All legal acts will be protected by law, and all illegal acts will be investigated by law. Leading cadres at all levels, no matter how high their positions, are public servants of the people. They have only the obligation of earnestly and assiduously rendering service to the people. They will never be permitted to have special privileges above the law. Leading cadres among the Communist Party membership should particularly make themselves serve as examples to others, act as models in observing the laws of the nation, and accept the supervision of the masses." Every Communist Party member, every cadre of the nation, and especially the judicial cadres bear the heavy responsibility of upholding the law. They must suppress the evil effects and influence of feudalistic thinking, firmly establish the concept that everybody is supposed to be equal before the law, have a high political sense of responsibility, and be concerned about the sufferings of masses. They should think the masses thoughts and be concerned for the masses' concerns. They must uphold with an undaunted spirit the dignity of the socialist rule of law and work hard to earnestly protect the citizens' right and legal benefits, striving for the promotion and safeguarding of the construction of the four modernizations.

9503
CSO: 4005

LEGAL STATUS, ROLE OF PROCURATORIAL ORGAN REVIEWED

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [STUDIES IN LAW] in Chinese No 3, 23 Jun 80 pp 26-29

[Article by Zeng Longyao [2582 7893 6460]: "The Legal Status and Role of the Procuratorial Organ in Criminal Procedure"]

[Text] Article I of "The Organic Law of the People's Procuratorate of the People's Republic of China" examined and passed by the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress clearly stipulates: "The People's Procuratorate of the People's Republic of China is the organ of the state for legal supervision." It is through the prosecution of criminal cases that the procuratorial organ maintains the correct application of the law and the uniformity of the legal system of the state. When participating in criminal law procedure, the procuratorial organ takes Criminal Law and the Law of Criminal Procedure as its basis and, through its entire range of activities, strikes at the enemy, punishes criminal conduct, protects the people, strengthens the legal system, and protects the socialist revolution and the smooth progress of socialist construction work.

The functions and powers that the state confers on the procuratorial organ are important and extensive. Article III of our Law of Criminal Procedure stipulates: "In criminal cases...the approval, the arrest and prosecution (including investigation), and the indictment are the responsibility of the People's Procuratorate." In the conduct of criminal law procedure, the People's Procuratorate participates in the entire process of case establishment, investigation, indictment, trial, and ultimate adjudication and execution. At the same time, in order to carry out its function, the People's Procuratorate at different procedural stages of the litigation in a criminal case also participates respectively or concurrently with the status of investigator, state's prosecutor, and legal supervisor in the litigation. This is the characteristic by which a procuratorial organ differs from a public security organ and a people's court.

Carrying Out Investigation of Cases Directly Accepted; Conducting Supervision of Investigations

At the stage of investigative proceedings in criminal law procedure, the deputies of a procuratorial organ (abbreviated procuratorial personnel, hereafter) participate in litigation activities with the double status of investigative personnel and legal supervisors. Procuratorial personnel have the right to conduct an investigation and decide on an indictment in those cases which are directly accepted by a procuratorial organ for disposal; to conduct a supplementary investigation in cases which are under investigation by public security organs; to examine and decide according to law whether or not to approve the arrest of people whom public security organs have asked to be arrested in the course of the investigation of their cases; to examine and decide according to law whether to prosecute or to forgo prosecution in cases in which public security organs have concluded their investigation and which have been sent forward for prosecution; and also to decide whether, in their investigative activities, public security organs have violated the prescriptions of the law. Their specific functions and responsibilities are reflected in:

1. Conducting an investigation and deciding whether to prosecute in those cases which are directly accepted by a procuratorial organ for disposal.

Article XIII of our law of Criminal Procedure prescribes: "In cases of the crime of corruption, the crime of encroachment on citizens' democratic rights, the crime of dereliction of duty, and other cases which the People's procuratorate deems necessary for it to accept directly for disposal, the People's Procuratorate shall take such cases and decide whether or not to initiate indictment." That is to say, the procuratorial organ, upon receiving the accusations and charges with respect to the above-mentioned cases, should quickly conduct an examination; where it considers the facts of the crime to be present and the ascription of criminal responsibility necessary, it should immediately take on the case and carry out, according to the prescriptions of the law, the questioning of the defendant, the consulting of witnesses, searching, detaining, examination, arrest, and relevant investigative activities. When the facts of the crime have been clearly investigated and the criminal responsibility of the defendant is to be scrutinized according to a sure recognition on the basis of the provisions of the law, an indictment should then be drafted and submitted to the people's court which has relevant jurisdiction. If the defendant's conduct does not constitute a crime, or even if it constitutes a crime but conforms to conditions exempting it from prosecution and punishment according to Provisions of the law, so that an adjudication according to party discipline or government discipline needs to be administered, he should then be turned over to the party's discipline inspection department or government department for disposal.

The fact that the law provides for the above-mentioned cases to be handled directly by a procuratorial organ is closely related to the nature of the latter's function of legal supervision. According to the stipulations of our Law of Criminal Procedure, the investigation of most criminal cases is to be conducted by public security organs, but because the crime of corruption, the crime of encroachment on citizen's democratic rights, and the crime of dereliction of duty are all crimes committed by working personnel of the state or collective units who take advantage of the convenience of their offices, and because the procuratorial organ "exercises procuratorial authority to ensure observance of the Constitution and the law by state organs, working personnel of state organs, and citizens" (Article 43 of the Constitution) and is thus responsible for conducting a struggle against illegal and undisciplined behavior and for carrying out legal and disciplinary porsecution and economic prosecution, it is very necessary for the strenghening of the socialist legal system and defense promotion of the four modernizations to struggle, through the handling of such cases against misuse of office, serious misdeameanors, and especially certain individual privileges, to genuinely protect citizens' legitimate rights and interests and the interests of the state and the collectives from encroachment.

2. Examining and Approving Arrests

According to the provisions of the law, in cases under investigation by public security organs, whether the adoption of the coercive measure of arresting a defendant is required, a submission must be made to have the people's procuratorate conduct an examination and decide whether the arrest is to be made. In this process of carrying out the criminal law procedure, after the procuratorial organ receives from the public security organ the case in which the arrest of criminal personnel is to be approved, it must seriously proceed to carry out an examination, following the strict legal provisions regarding the conditions and time limits concerning the arrest of such personnel, and render a decision of approval or disapproval of arrest or return the case to the public security organ for additional investigation. For a case which requires additional investigation, the procuratorial organ itself may conduct such additional investigation.

Examining and approving arrests is an important work of the procuratorial organ in the activities of carrying out the criminal law procedure. The execution of arrest of persons in criminal law procedure is a limitation of personal freedom applied against the persons whose main facts of crime have already been clearly investigated, who are likely to receive a sentence of imprisonment or greater, and whose arrest is necessary. Arrest is only one coercive measure and not the only coercive measure; nor is it a required process in litigation as prescribed by law. Its purpose is to prevent persons matching the above-stated conditions from escaping investigation, destroying criminal evidence, fabricating proofs, and committing new crimes, as well as the occurrence of unexpected incidents. Meanwhile, in the early stage of investigation in the criminal law procedure, it is still impossible to affirm the defendant's crime. It is a very complicated task to struggle against crimes, and hence it is necessary to guard against making mistakes and injuring the innocent. Therefore, when a decision on the application of the coercive measure of arresting a person is to be made, strict control and great caution are necessary. From this, we can see that the meaning of the procuratorial organ's work on examining and approving arrest is, on the one hand, to adopt the necessary coercive measure against a defendant whose conditions of arrest match the legal provisions, to combat criminal activities in a timely manner, and to ensure the smooth progress of continued, deepening investigation of the case in question; and, on the other hand, to prevent the possible arrest of a person whose conditions are at variance with the provisions of the law, to avoid making an arrest which should not have been made, and hence to allow neither injustice nor permissiveness. Through such work of examining and approving arrests, it is also possible to discover other possible practices in violation of legal porvisions and thereby afford timely rectification and protect the defendant's rights in the litigation accordingly.

3. Submitting Indictment

Indictment is a litigation submitted to the people's court by the procuratorial organ as the state prosecutor; it is the result of the procuratorial organ's examination of a complaint. Article XCV of the Law of Criminal Procedure provides: "All cases requiring indictment or exemption from prosecution are determined through examination by the people's procuratorate." This provision explains that all cases of indictment--except for cases which are accepted only when complaints are registered according to relevant provisions of the law, and except for light criminal cases which require no investigation so that, as self-initiated cases under such circumstances, they are brought about by the plaintiffs themselves and directly accepted by people's courts for disposal--all other criminal cases, at the conclusion of investigation by public security organs, must be transmitted to the people's procuratorate for examination and a decision on whether to indict or to exempt from prosecution. The people's procuratorate is the only organ which exercises the indictment authority prescribed by the law.

In the process of submitting an indictment, the people's procuratorate must first of all conduct its work of examining for possible prosecution those cases that the public security organs have finished investigating and sent forward for prosecution. In doing so, the people's procuratorate proceeds, on the basis of its status as legal supervisor, to follow legal provisions and to decide, in the cases thus forwarded, whether the facts and situations concerning the defendant's alleged crime are clear, whether the proofs are genuine and sufficient, whether the determination of criminality and crime is correct, whether or not criminal responsibility should be scrutinized, whether there are any overlooked crimes or other persons whose criminal responsibilities should also be scrutinized, whether there are any attendant civil procedures involved, whether or not there have been any violations of legal provisions during the investigation of the cases. On the basis of the results of such examination, the following decisions are respectively made: where facts concerning the defendant's crime are already clearly investigated, proofs are genuine and sufficient, and criminal responsibility should be scrutinized according to law, a decision to prosecute must be made, an indictment must be drafted, and the defendant must be sent for trial to the people's court which has relevant jurisdiction; where the defendant's conduct constitutes a crime but there is a situation which, according to the provisions of Criminal Law, is exempt from punishment, a decision to exempt from prosecution must be made; and where the defendant's conduct does not constitute a crime, or even though it does so but the law provides that his criminal responsibility should not be scrutinized, a decision not to prosecute must be made. When supplemental investigation is found to be necessary in the course of the examination, the people's procuratorate may conduct such supplemental investigation itself or make a decision to require supplemental investigation and return the case to the public security organ to carry it out.

The work of the people's procuratorate in deciding on prosecution occupies an important place in criminal law procedure. In contrast to its work in examining and approving arrests, its task, in addition to concluding the investigation of a case, is to make certain substantive decisions and thereby to give full scope to the procuratorial organ's function in legal supervision and to assure the correct, thorough execution of pertinent provisions of Criminal Law. These decisions are mainly reflected as follows: (1) through a comprehensive examination of the facts and proofs concerning the defendant's crime, the making of a legal determination as to crime or no crime, light crime or heavy crime, and the nature and designation of the crime; (2) with respect to the defendant in a case in which a decision is made to indict, his transmission for trial, so that due legal punishment is meted out to him; (3) with respect to cases in which a decision of no prosecution or exemption from prosecution is made, the termination of proceedings in order to demonstrate the policy and legal spirit of combining varied treatment, punishment with leniency, and protection of citizens' legitimate rights and interests; and (4) where unmistakable violations of the law are discovered in the investigative activity, and the quality of the case is thus affected, the rendering of a corresponding decision so as to maintain the solemnity of the legal system.

The work of the people's procuratorate in examining and approving arrests and deciding on prosecution must be carried out according to the principle of taking facts as the basis and the law as the norm. The facts concerning a crime are the objective basis for ascribing and punishing that crime. Sufficient facts and reliable proofs must be obtained in the determination of a defendant's crime. At the same time, the [procuratorate] must also abide by the provisions of Criminal Law and the Law of Criminal Procedure to make a decision on adopting the coercive measure of arrest and ascription of criminal responsibility with respect to any defendant. For this reason, in the course of its work in examining and approving arrests and deciding on prosecution, the people's procuratorate should actively carry out a series of activities such as questioning the defendant, consulting with witnesses, conducting a practical investigation, verifying proofs, and conducting a supplemental investigation in the face of a part or a large part of the facts concerning the crime, etc., and not just passively "examine the data," and still less merely handle the legal procedures. Meanwhile, in its handling of the approval of arrests and cases of prosecution, the procuratorial organ implements a system of having experts look at the files, conducting collective study, and seeking the ultimate approval of the procurator; major cases must be determined through discussion by the procuratorial committee. Cases of approval of arrests and of prosecution are handled separately. With respect to cases of approval of arrests, after a determination is made by the procuratorate at the basic level, the system of submitting it to the procuratorate at a higher level for reference and examination is also practised. It is through such measures, which have been applied with results, that the quality of the cases is assured.

Attending Court Sessions in Support of Indictment; Carrying Out Trial Supervision

Whenever criminal cases enter the stage of trial in process--except when the defendants' crimes happen to be relatively light and, with the consent of the people's courts, procuratorial organs may not have to attend the court sessions--they should send personnel to attend the court. Procuratorial personnel attending the court have a dual task--i.e., to support indictment, on the basis of their status as prosecutors of the state; and to carry out supervision as to the legality of the trial activities in progress, on the basis of their status as legal supervisors.

The main tasks of procuratorial personnel attending the court in support of indictment are: by reading the indictment and, with the permission of the trial judge, questioning the defendant, by consulting with witnesses, by submitting proofs, and by elaborating on the indictment and debating with the defendant, to expose and prove the defendant's criminal act from facts, proofs, and legal bases, to analyze and point out the essence of his criminal act and its consequences and social harm, and to indicate due legal responsibility, so as to have [the crime] duly punished by law and thereby to maintain the legal system and protect the interests of the state and the people from encroachment. Supporting an indictment and submitting an indictment are mutually related, yet are different from each other. Submitting an indictment is the premise and basis for supporting an indictment; supporting an indictment is the continuation and development of the submission of an indictment. The two are consecutive and at the same time are procedural activities in two different procedural stages of the procuratorial organ and have different contents. As has been stated above, submission of an indictment occurs when the procuratorial organ, at the stage of indictment before a case is tried by a court in open session, and through its work on the examination of prosecution, submits a complaint to the people's court and turns the defendant over to the court for trial; support of an indictment occurs when the people's court decides to hold a session to try the case--i.e., when the case enters the stage of trial in process, procuratorial personnel attend the court to read the indictment, elaborate on the indictment, and carry out relevant activities so as to defend and support the indictment submitted by the procuratorial organ and have the case correctly abjudicated.

The duties of the procuratorate in trial supervision are reflected in its: (1) carrying out supervision as to whether a court's trial activities are in accord with the provisions of legal procedure and, when encroachment of the defendant's procedural rights and similar situations are discovered, proffering rectification; (2) submitting a protest in accordance with procedures on the appeal of a trial--that is, in case the sentence or abjudication of the case in the first trial is considered erroneous with respect to the determination of facts or the application of law, submitting a protest to the superior court of the court of the original trial within the time limit for appeal as provided by law; (3) submitting a protest according to procedures on trial supervision--that is, submitting a protest when a sentence or adjudication of the people's court which is already legally in effect is discovered to be genuinely in error; this kind of protest is not subject to any time limit, but such power is exercised only by a superior people's procuratorate limit, but such power is exercised only by a superior people's procuratorate in relation to a lower people's court, or by the Supreme People's Procuratorate in relation to the people's courts at all levels.

In all cases against which the procuratorial organ submits a protest according to procedures for appeal against a preliminary trial or procedures on trial supervision, it must send personnel to attend the court. The difference in practice from their attendance at the court of first trial is that, because the submission of a protest only determines an error in the senence of the people's court, the attendance of procuratorial personnel at the court this time no longer carries the task of indictment but only serves to exercise their legal supervisory duties as representatives of the procuratorial organ, and to express an opinion of protest concerning the discrepancy recognized with regard to the facts of the crime or to misapplication of the law, so that, through a retrial by the people's court, the case can be given a correct sentence. With respect to a second trial resulting from an appeal by the defendant himself, the procuratorial personnel attending the court still have the dual task of supporting the indictment and exercising trial supervision. This is because, although the process of the first trial has already been concluded, the trial of the case must proceed because of the defendant's appeal, and therefore the task of indictment on the part of the procuratorial organ is still not complete and hence requires continued attendance at the court to support the indictment (e.g., by refuting the defendant's reasons for submitting his appeal according to facts and the law, etc.) and to uphold the sentence of the original trial. Of course, if there are sound bases and pertinent reasons for the defendant to submit his appeal, the procuratorial personnel must change the prosecution of the original case in part or totally.

Supervising Execution of Sentence and Adjudication, Carrying Out Inspection of Prisons and Detention Centers

In criminal proceedings, the last procedure is the execution of sentence and adjudication taking legal effect. At the stage when this procedure is executed, the people's court turns its sentence or adjudication over to the executive organ--supervisory or labor reform unit--to administer. The executive organ carries it out in its entirety according to law and on the basis on the content of the sentence or adjudication. To carry out this executive work in a down-to-earth way is of great significance to the final completion of the tasks of the criminal proceedings. Moreover, only by guaranteeing the correct, timely, and complete execution of the sentence and adjudication can the solemnity of the law be exemplified and the goal of effective punishment and reform of the criminal be attained. For this reason, Article CLXIV of the Law of Criminal Procedure provides: "The people's procuratorate exercises supervision over the legality of activities of prisons, detention centers, and labor reform units. If illegal situations are discovered, executive organs should be notified so that these may be corrected."

At this procedural stage, the procuratorate proceeds to fulfill its legal supervision duties in two aspects.

One aspect is to supervise and inspect conditions surrounding the execution of sentence and adjudication of criminal cases and, when illegal situations are discovered, to proffer correction. The main activities in this regard are: with respect to a criminal given death penalty which is to be immediately carried out, to send, as it should, personnel to the execution ground to supervise; through the inspection of prisons, detention centers, and labor reform organs, to ascertain whether, with respect to criminals given the death penalty which is to be carried out only after a delay of 2 years, or given various terms of imprisonment or other punishment, the criminals are turned over to labor reform units within legally prescribed time limits and procedures, or their sentence and adjudication are carried out in other manners; to ascertain also, with respect to criminals who receive a verdict of not guilty or who are exempt from punishment, whether to have those free of guilt or exempt from punishment immediately released; and likewise to consider, with respect to criminals whose period of punishment is up, whether to have them released in a timely manner or to have their punishment canceled altogether.

The second aspect is to carry out inspections as to the legality of activities at detention centers, prisons, and labor reform units (this is the people's procuratorate's prison and detention center inspection work). As everyone knows, our socialist legal system does not just mete out punishment to the criminal elements but places even greater emphasis on the application of labor reform, so as to transform the segment of forces harmful to society into forces useful to society, and to turn negative factors into positive factors. This is the characteristic of our socialist legal system, and also our experience in achieving great successes. Therefore, from the standpoint of criminal litigation procedures, the execution of a sentence indicates the conclusion of litigation activities. However, a definite period of punishment is to be enforced in the case of criminals given penalties other than the death penalty which is to be immediately carried out. Furthermore, there is always the process of adopting correct principles, policies, and methods to apply labor reform, management, and education to them in order to enable them to turn away from evil and toward good, and to change into new persons with definite labor talents. In this sense, the execution of a sentence is also the beginning of the work of transforming criminals and of inspecting procuratorial organ's prison and detention centers.

When the procuratorial organ inspects the prisons and detention centers, its overall task is to protect the correct execution of the state's policies and laws concerning the transformation of criminals, and its goal is to better promote the transformation of those criminals. In prison and detention center inspection work, some procuratorial organs are still likely to encounter litigation problems; this part of their work belongs to the realm of criminal law procedure and needs to be solved according to the processes of such procedure. For instance, in the case of criminals committing additional crimes during the period when they are serving their sentences, or in the case of discovery of crimes that had not been discovered when the criminals started serving their present sentences, there would be a need for the procuratorial organ to carry out an investigation and submit an indictment. In the case of errors being discovered in the original sentences, then procedures of trial supervision should be followed in the submission of protests. Another aspect of prison and detention center inspection work does not touch on litigation problems but belongs in the realm of correcting law violations--such as inspecting detention centers, prisons, and labor reform units to see whether they have correctly carried out the principles and policies concerning the transformation of criminals, whether they have mistreated or abused prisoners, etc. If problems are found, corrections must be proposed so as to promote the work of transforming the criminals.

To sum up all the above, the people's procuratorate follows the provisions of Criminal Law and the Law of Criminal Procedure, accurately examines the facts concerning crimes, correctly applies the law, effectively punishes the criminals and transforms the criminals, protects citizens' personal rights and democratic rights from encroachment, and guarantees the legitimate rights and interests of the participants in litigation. Therefore it occupies an important place in criminal law procedure. We must do a good job of summing up and improving our procuratorial work from our business paractices or legal theories, in order to have our procuratorial system develop increasingly toward perfection and give better scope to the function that it should perform in criminal proceedings.

9255
CSO: 4005

JIANGSU PARTY OFFICIAL ASKS OLD CADRES TO STEP ASIDE

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Jiangsu Province Selects Leaders Among Young and Middle-Age Cadres"]

[Text] At a meeting of secretaries of district and municipal committees, department heads of party organizations, and cadres at the provincial level or above, Comrade Xu Jiatun [6079 1367 1470] pointed out the following: In order to accelerate and guarantee the success of the four modernizations, bold efforts must be made to select and recruit distinguished young and middle-age cadres who have the correct political ideology, expertise in specialized knowledge, and growth potential. They should be given responsible positions which enable them to make decisions and to develop their talents and abilities.

From 21 June to 1 July,the provincial party committee convened a meeting on personnel reorganization. Secretaries of district and municipal committees, deputy secretaries of divisional organizations, department heads of party organizations, and cadres at the provincial level or above participated in the meeting and heard related reports. Responsible organization comrades on the provincial committee related the purpose and spirit of the Party Central Committee at the meeting. At the beginning and end of the meeting, Comrade Xu Jiatun delivered a speech. Comrades who participated in the meeting held discussions and studied the issues.

Comrade Xu Jiatun mentioned in his speech that, over the past 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have achieved a great deal of objectives and made a lot of contributions in organizational work. However, with regard to the first 2 years of our efforts toward realizing the four modernizations, our organizational work has not been appropriate. The composition and structure of our cadre system, especially the nature of our leadership, are unsuited to the tasks of the four modernizations. According to Comrade Xu, the average age of many of the leaders in charge of the four modernizations is still high, their level of education is low, and few of them have expertise in specialized knowledge. In order to accelerate and guarantee the success of the four modernizations, efforts should be made to reorganize the leadership. New viewpoints and standards should be adopted for leadership reorganization. Strong, distinguished, young and middle-age cadres who have the correct ideology, leadership talents, and expertise in specialized knowledge should be boldly selected and recruited to handle responsible positions. We should continue to eliminate the poisonous remanents of the leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and insist on considering intellectuals as a major force in the four modernizations--a force which the party can rely on and which is part of our country's leadership. Intellectuals who have leadership talents should be boldly selected and recruited for responsible positions. Cadres with peasant and factory backgrounds as well as cadres from educated families are equally precious property of the party and the state. Workers, peasants, and intellectuals alike are the masters of our state and our socialist system, and they are the major force in our efforts to realize the four modernizations. We need their cooperation and close alliance in order to succeed in our efforts to fulfill the tasks of the four modernizations.

Comrade Xu Jiatun stressed that the use of educational criteria in the selection of cadres not only will influence the activism of workers and peasants but also will encourage the whole people to diligently study scientific and cultural knowledge. The latter will raise the level of scientific knowledge and education of the entire body of cadres and the whole people. Some comrades wonder whether young cadres and cadres with specialized expertise can handle leadership responsibilities. Examples in some places have shown that they are able to handle responsible positions. They can shoulder important duties, and they can do a good job. Of course, it is possible that some of the young cadres are lacking in experience and organizational abilities when they first start work. But this is not crucial. Generally speaking, a person has to go through a transition period when he is promoted from a lower position to a higher position. We need to acknowledge the necessity of a transition period. Meanwhile, we should adopt a positive attitude and give them appropriate support. When young cadres start work in their new positions, people tend to use high standards and various angles to evaluate them, and they often find more problems than if they do not adopt such an attitude. Therefore, in selecting distinguished young and middle-age cadres, we should uphold the three conditions suggested by Comrade Ye Jianying in conjunction with age and education criteria. We should focus on their major role and growth potential and not find fault with them for not being perfect. In considering their age and expertise, we should not overlook their political attitude. In order to maintain ideological purity among leaders, we must admonish cadres whose ideological orientation is incorrect, who are at odds with the party or resist the party's lines, goals, and policies, and who insist on fostering factionalism, breaking rules, and committing offenses.

There are also some comrades who do not have an adequate understanding of the issue of leadership reorganization and its implications and urgency. This is particularly true today. Quite a few of our veteran cadres are in their late years. We cannot resist nature. If we do not make use of the valuable time of the old cadres, when they are still healthy, to resolve the issue of leadership succession and related problems, we will ruin an important task. We must make use of this time to come to grips with the task because we can ensure, through leadership reorganization, the continuity of the party's ideology and the state as a whole.

Personnel reorganization is related to the question of transition and leadership succession. It involves reforming the structure of our cadre system, particularly those cadres who will be leaders in the four modernizations. It is a strategic measure applied by means of personnel reorganization for the maintenance of a correct political ideology. Therefore, our planning must be comprehensive, practical, meticulous, and efficacious. The task of selecting a large group of young and middle-age cadres is important and most urgent. The fundamental issue of personnel reorganization is that of succession. Our emphasis should be on boldly selecting and training distinguished young and middle-age cadres. From now on, this task should be performed systematically and according to plans. Cadres who possess the right credentials and growth potential should be considered for promotion, and the process should be continuous and systematic. Party committee members should pay special attention to training and educating young and middle-age cadres. They must employ all possible means and avenues to do a good job.

Comrade Xu Jiatun also stressed that accommodating the large number of old and weak cadres is a positive and long-range measure of the party during the new period, and an important cadre policy that has to be adopted on a long-term basis. Our province has relatively more old cadres than do other provinces. In the course of their long-continued and loyal service for the sake of the revolution, these old cadres have worked very hard to make contributions to the party and the people. They have accumulated a great deal of experience. They are the precious property of the party, the core leaders of our organizations, and the pioneers of the four modernizations. However, our old cadres are advanced in years and their energies are limited. If they stay on the front line, they may have difficulties in carrying out their complicated and heavy duties in the same way as they did in the past. We have to examine their individual situations and make proper accommodation for old and weak cadres so that we can utilize their positive role. Many of our old cadres are experienced and skilled. If they do not hold leadership positions, they can review the successes and failures of the history of the party and conduct comprehensive research. They can write books or express their opinions on major issues pertaining to the development of our situation. We should respett them politically and take good care of them materially. When we talk about the role of old cadres in facilitating leadership succession, we refer not only to a few individuals but to the entire new generation. Only by so doing can we really pay them the respect they deserve. All party organizations and units should make proper and practical arrangements for the material welfare of old cadres.

According to Comrade Xu Jiatun, we should resolutely, actively, and boldly put into practice our task of reorganizing and building a new leadership, but the task should be performed realistically, systematically, and in a concrete way according to plan. This is a policy based on a positive attitude and pragmatic measures. On the one hand, the result of our work is to ensure political stability and unity with a view to mobilizing the enthusiasm of various sectors, and on the other hand it is to meet the demands of the Party Central Committee for proper personnel management suited to the needs of the four modernizations. For this purpose, we must grasp the following tasks: First, we must widely launch propaganda in this regard in order to actively change the mentality of people. Second, we must strengthen the work of investigating the nature of our task. Third, we must base our plans on a clear understanding of current conditions. Fourth, we must follow the mass line. We must adopt the method of integrating leadership with the masses, and let the masses know about and discuss our needs for leadership reorganization and related goals. Based on the opinions of the masses, the relevant party organizations should conduct investigations, and the party committees will collectively discuss issues and make decisions.

9471
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTY PARTY SECRETARY IN JIANGSU OFFERS RESIGNATION

Voluntary Resignation

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 80 p 1

[Article by Cheng Jingming [4453 2533 2494]: "Jiangsu Permits County Party Secretary To Turn Over Post to Younger, Stronger Cadre"]

[Text] Haian County Party Committee Secretary Comrade Yuan Guangwen [5913 1684 2429] wrote a letter on 8 June to the provincial party committee voluntarily requesting resignation from his position. The provincial party committee recently granted him his request, allowing him to resign from his position as Haian County party committee secretary and chairman of the county revolutionary committee.

After the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Comrade Yuan told responsible comrades on the Nantong District Party Committee that he planned not to serve any longer as county party committee secretary, so that he could let a younger and stronger comrade to take over his responsibilities. In his letter of 8 June addressed to the provincial party committee, he wrote: "I totally support the spirit of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. To be practical, there should be young and strong leaders on the county party committee who can shoulder the demanding tasks of the four modernizations. I am now 62 years old, and sometimes I feel unable to handle my duties. I voluntarily resign from my position on the county party committee to show that I am a good Communist Party member and continue my struggle for the sake of the party and the revolution." In a speech on 28 June at a meeting of organization leaders and secretaries of district and municipal committees, Comrade Xu Jiatun [6079 1367 1470] highly commended the action of Comrade Yuan Guangwen. He said that Comrade Yuan, Haian County party secretary, was a veteran of the revolution who was diligent at his work, strict with himself, supportive and exemplary of the fine traditions and character of the party,and highly praised by cadres and the masses. Comrade Xu Jiatun pointed out that old comrades like Yuan care for the good of the public, and, for the sake of the party and the people, have voluntarily submitted requests to "relinquish their positions to talented young people," and retreat to the second or third front. In so doing, they have expressed their noble spirit and lofty revolutionary character.

Comrade Yuan Guangwen was born in Rugao County. He joined the revolution in 1943 and the party in the same year. In the course of the resistance against the Japanese and during the civil war, he made many contributions in the name of the revolution, and at risk of death. During the 1950's and the 1960's, Comrade Yuan Guangwen served on the party committee of Haian County and as county magistrate. After the "gang of four" was smashed, he served as deputy secretary, secretary, deputy chairman, and chairman of the county revolutionary committee. During his tenure on the committee, Comrade Yuan Guangwen was a serious and responsible worker. His style was meticulous, and he worked very hard for the revolution and for economic construction in Haian County. This is particularly true with regard to his support of the fine traditions of the party. He maintained a simple living while working very hard. He cared for the people and never attempted to assume special privileges. He has left a deep impression among the overwhelming majority of cadres and the masses.

Action Praised

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "A Noble Revolutionary Stand"]

[Text] "Struggle forever for the sake of communism!" This is the oath of our Communist Party members. In the course of long-continued struggles, many of our old comrades have fought relentlessly for the party and at the risk of death. It is with such an altruistic spirit that they have faithfully performed what they swore when they joined the party and in the course of revolutionary work.

Everybody knows that communism as a noble goal depends for success on the hard work of many generations and not just one or two generations of people. Therefore, our experienced and farsighted old comrades feel deeply that in order to ensure the continuous development of the tasks of the party, they need to think of the whole situation, look at matters from a broad perspective, and resolve the task of leadership succession in a timely fashion. The farsighted leaders on the Party Central Committee have built their sincere hopes upon the whole party, especially the old comrades, pointing out that the task ahead is a solemn historical responsibility. Like other old comrades, Haian County Party Committee Secretary Yuan Guangwen [5913 1684 2429] showed exactly this kind of lofty communist sense of responsibility. For the sake of the four modernizations and the long-term benefit of the party, he expressed to the party his intention to retreat to the second front so that young. energetic, and distinguished young and middle-age cadres can take over leadership positions and shoulder more important tasks. He also expressed to the party that he would continue to struggle for the sake of the revolution for the rest of his precious lifetime, and to be a qualified Communist Party member. Their devotion to the party and the people, expressed in limitless magnanimity, is a reflection of all the people, expressed in limitless magnanimity, is a reflection of the very precious revolutionary spirit of old cadres.

Cadres are the treasure of the party and the state, and experienced old cadres are particularly precious. After accommodating them on the second front, all party organizations should consider the specific conditions of individual old cadres in order to develop their positive role, so that the experience they have accumulated over the years, as well as their fine traditions, can be passed along and propagated. This is particularly the case with regard to old cadres who have rich experiences in leadership roles. After they relinquish the heavy day-to-day work, they can reach even more cadres and people and devote their energy and attention to research and to reflecting on important long-range issues for the sake of the party and the state.

Our party founded the country. Among our old cadres, some experienced the first civil revolutionary struggle,while others went through the war again against the Japanese and the war of liberation. They took part in the founding of the state. As time goes by, some of them will gradually retreat to the second or third front. With regard to these old cadres who have contributed to the state and to the people, we must abide by the decisions of the party to respect them politically and look after their material needs, so that they can live a long life and continue to struggle for the sake of communism.

9471
CSO: 4005

GUANGDONG FIRST SECRETARY ADDRESSES FORUM ON DISCIPLINE

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 80 p 1

[Staff report: "Strengthen Construction of the Discipline Inspection Ranks and Shore up the Party's Working Style in a Down-to-Earth Way; First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee Comrade Xi Zhongxun Receives Members of the First-Term Rotational Training Class for Discipline Inspection Cadres and Also Gives Speech"]

[Text] For the purpose of meeting present needs in rectifying our party style and party discipline, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Chinese Communist Party's Guangdong Provincial Committee and the party school of that provincial committee jointly sponsored the first-term rotational training class for discipline inspection cadres. At the conclusion of this training class, Comrade Xi Zhongxun received members of the entire class and also gave a speech on the question of how to carry out the "guiding principles," shore up the party style, and strengthen the construction of the discipline-inspection ranks.

Comrade Xi Zhongxun pointed out, first of all, that the Discipline Inspection Commission is an important working department of the party committee, and the most important task of the Discipline Inspection Commission is to grasp the party's working style. During the 2 years and more since its establishment, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the provincial party committee has done a great deal of work and its achievements have been quite conspicuous. These achievements include the work done by discipline inspection commissions at various levels. But we must further perceive the importance of such discipline inspection work and clearly recognize that it is necessary for the discipline inspection commissions at various levels to help the party committee shore up the party's working style. He said: The Fifth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee proposed strengthening and improving the party leadership and uplifting the party's fighting stamina. Shoring up the Party's working style, promoting stability and unity, and accelerating the four modernizations are an important aspect of strengthening and improving the party leadership and uplifting the party's fighting stamina. This is a task for the whole party and also is the principle task of the discipline inspection commissions at various levels; this work is very important.

In direct reference to problems which exist in our work in the countryside today, Comrade Xi Zhongxun pointed out: A very important reason why some places cannot do their work well is that the party organizations in those places are not strong, lack fighting stamina, and exemplify a bad style. Of course, we need not tense up right away once any problem is found, or even have any doubts as to whether the party's policy for the countryside has been a mistake--and hence whether we might not be "rectifying the wrong thing." But there are people who remain indifferent to the problems discovered in their places, who do nothing and let them spread; this is also wrong. He said: Before the Cultural Revolution, our party style was good; later it was subject to the serious sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and so we now need to do our best to restore it. As long as our comrades can learn to do mass work, learn to handle contradictions among the people, guide the masses to closely use their own experiences and lessons, such problems are bound to be solved and the masses are bound to listen to the party.

Speaking of how to grasp the party style well, Comrade Xi Zhongxun also pointed out: In order to grasp the party style we must at present especially make a point to grasp well the study of the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," adopt the approach of a minor rectification by making comparisons through practical inspection in the course of this study, and thus consciously rectify ourselves. The "guiding principles" are a powerful weapon for making our party discipline strict and rectifying our party style, and we must earnestly and repeatedly study them in a deepening way. Meanwhile, we must also grasp party style questions that affect the whole situation; we must be determined, adopt measures, and carry out solemn punishment against those who seriously violate our party discipline. Of course, with respect to the great majority of our party members, the question is one of education. But with respect to very bad individuals who refuse to change even after repeated education, and about whom the masses hold rather strong critical opinions, then whoever they may be, we must solemnly punish them and handle them according to our party discipline and the laws of the state. At the same time, we must energetically exalt the good types of personality. Between reward and punishment, the emphasis should be on reward; between criticism and self-criticism, the emphasis should be on self-criticism.

Speaking of the Discipline Inspection Commission's enforcing pertinent discipline, Comrade Xi Zhongxun pointed out: The Discipline Inspection Commission must emancipate its thinking and not do things according to old conventions in the disposal of certain cases, nor should the commission copy without changes methods used elsewhere. Conditions in various parts of the country are different; conditions in various parts of each province also are different. In carrying out the party's policies, we must proceed from the actual situation in a given locality. He said: We cannot substitute our emotions for policy; in carrying out a policy we must proceed from the fundamental interests of the party and the masses of the people, and combine with the specific conditions of the given locality. Discipline inspection commissions at various levels must have a feeling of sharing breath and destiny with the masses, always go out and go among the masses, and go deep into the countryside, factories and mines, and schools to investigate and understand the situations there if they are to insist on the party's principles and do things according to the party's policies. Only in this way can they really do their work well.

Comrade Xi Zhongxun pointed out: On the ideological front we must not only oppose bourgeois ideologies but also criticize feudalist ideologies in a deepening way. Many devious working styles often have to do with feudal ideas, and they have permeated all spheres. The period of China's feudal society was very long and its influence very deep. Our party has led the people of the whole country to overthrow the "three big mountains" imposed on the heads of the Chinese people, but it has failed to carry out a penetrating or systematic criticism of feudalist ideology. For instance, the life tenure which actually obtains with respect to a cadre's office, individual superstition, nepotism, rule by the voice of one man alone, servility and fawning, privilege-seeking, etc., etc., all remain. Some individual leaders are attempting to build so-called Secretaries Edifices on Standing Committee Members Street. Most recently someone wrote to me to note that in trying to pass the entrance examinations of a school, some have tried to enter through the back door again. I ask the concerned departments to exert themselves and grasp this problem with determination. Whoever may be involved, whatever seniority they may enjoy, and however high their offices may be, once such cases are discovered, they must solemnly be brought to book.

Speaking of strenthening the construction of the discipline inspection ranks, Comrade Xi Zhongxun pointed out: Work on the four modernizations is a very complicated struggle; the workteams of discipline inspection commissions at various levels must be strengthened, and their cadres must be well selected and assigned. They must pay heed to transferring old cadres with a strong party character, who are fair in their handling of affairs, to the leading groups of the discipline inspection comissions; some of them may serve concurrently as inspectors. Party committees at various levels must strengthen their leadership over the discipline inspection commissions. He also encouraged discipline inspection cadres to be strictly impartial in their work, daring to struggle without being afraid of attack or revenge, and daring to insist on principles and to maintain party regulations and party laws. Each discipline inspection cadre must do his best to fully absorb the spirit of the Fifth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the spirit of the "guiding principles," follow them, and carry them out in an exemplary manner.

In conclusion, Comrade Xi Zhongxun pointed out: We must have complete confidence in our ability to shore up our party style; we must believe that the overwhelming majority of our party members are good or relatively good, and that the vast ranks of the masses of our people do follow our party. Since past history has proved this point, future history will also prove this point.

9255
CSO: 4005

NANJING SYMPOSIUM DISCUSSES CRITERIA FOR TRUTH

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 80 p 2

[Report by Zhai Bin [5049 2430]: "Explore the Question of Practice as the Criterion for Truth in a Deepening Way; Nanjing Philosophical Society and Provincial Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought Study Association Convene Academic Symposium"]

[Text] In order to further rectify their ideological line, sweep away their ideological obstacles, resolutely and unswervingly carry out the party's political line, and explore the question of practice as the criterion for truth from both theoretical and realistic aspects, the Jiangsu Provincial Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought Study Association and the Nanjing area Philosophical Society jointly convened an academic symposium in Nanjing from 23 to 28 June. Attending the symposium were theoretical workers and comrades of departments of practical work in the organs and schools of the Nanjing area and regions and municipalities of the whole province, plus theoretical cadres of schools of the People's Liberation Army stationed in the Nanjing area; altogether there were more than 90 [participants]. Comrades from units such as the Hubei Provincial Academy of Social Sciences participated in the symposium. During the symposium period, Comrades Sun Gengfu [1327 5087 1133] and Xing Fensi [6717 6321 1835], deputy directors of the Philosophical Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, were invited to speak to the comrades in attendance.

The symposium was of the opinion that the great liberating effects of the renewed perception that practice is the only criterion for testing truth and the effort to restore the dignity of practice during the past 2 years and more have already been proved by practice. In the meantime, comrades attending the symposium also analyzed various ambiguous perceptions still prevailing among the cadres and masses as to the question of the criteria for truth. For instance, some leading comrades turned "practice is the only criterion for testing the truth" into an empty formula; what they said was "practice as the criterion," but what they were doing still pointed to "power as the criterion." Some people took "practice as the criterion" as a shield behind which they actually were practicing utilitarianism. Some people put practice as the criterion of the truth in opposition to the four basic principles. Some people put implementation of the spirit of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and "uniting together to look forward" in opposition to the summing up of our historical experience on the basis of seeking truth from facts. And a few people also had some doubt about practice as the criterion for truth. Theoretically speaking, there have been no small number of arguments concerning the question of practice as the criterion. Hence, comrades attending the symposium consistently held that launching such a discussion on the question of practice as the criterion for truth in a deepening way--thus further applying practice as criterion in the realm of the four modernizations on the one hand and exploring this question theoretically in a deepening way on the other hand--should continue to help people emancipate their thinking and insist even better on the ideological line of dialectical materialism.

At the symposium, the comrades joined in the summing up of historical experiences and connected them to realistic problems, while emphatically exploring certain questions from a theoretical angle. For instance, there was the question of the connotation, essential elements, characteristics, scope and classification of practice; there was the question of the nature of practice as the "only" criterion; etc. They engaged in a heated debate especially around questions like whether the purpose of a person's actions is an essential element of practice, and whether practice is the "only" or "ultimate" criterion for testing the truth.

Under the guidance of the principle of "letting a hundred schools contend," those at this symposium, whether they were theoretical workers or comrades of departments of practical work, whether they were old generals or new soldiers on the theoretical front, and whether they were comrades from Jiangsu itself or from other provinces--all laid bare their thinking and engaged in debating different opinions on the basis of the spirit of exploring the truth. During the symposium, different points of view joined battle; after the symposium, all got together in friendly chats and sought to learn from each other. Everybody spoke only honest words, sought only true knowledge, explored only the truth, and engaged only in comradely discussion. Thus a good example of study and meeting together was duly exemplified.

Through this symposium, comrades generally felt that the study of the question of the criterion for truth, like the study of other philosophical questions, must be connected to reality. But at the same time there were also large numbers of abstract questions which required exploration in a deepening way. From now on, we need not only to acquire new understanding in connecting our discussion to realities but also to achieve a breakthrough in exploring the depths of theory.

9255
CSO: 4005

VALUE OF MONEY TO SOCIALIST SOCIETY DEBATED

Editor's Note

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Ideological Forum: "What Is the Correct Philosophy of Life To Be Followed?"]

> [Text] Editor's Note: On 19 June, this newspaper carried an article by Comrade Gu Shuhua [7357 3219 5478] entitled "Money Brings Happiness." Since then, an animated debate has ensued. Comrade Gu Shuhua's views have been endorsed by some readers and rejected by others. Some comrades have even gone so far as to bring up new problems for discussion. Today, published here are a number of selected articles which represent a cross-section of views valuable to the readers--views which deserve further scrutiny,
>
> We hope that future contributors to this column on the philosophy of life will base their views on their personal experiences or what has come to their attention, and will convince people with facts and reasoning.

Positive View of Money

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Article by Hong Hai [3163 3189] of the Beijing Municipal Dyed Textile Industry Company: "It Is Necessary To Treat Money Correctly"]

[Text] I can hardly calm the waves in my mind after reading Comrade Gu Shuhua's article entitled "Money Brings Happiness." Can money really bring happiness? I consider this question to be an issue of great importance worthy of attention.

Some people seemingly hate for others to talk about money and often link money with the rotten bourgeois ideology. This attitude is wrong. Can we get anything we need from the market without money under our current social system? Few can imagine how happy Comrade Gu Shuhua was when she used 0.05 yuan to buy a pencil with an eraser attached.

Our party also hopes that people will have more money to spend. During the past few years, the party and state have overcome many economic difficulties in raising wages for workers several times, in giving them bonuses, and in adding 5 yuan to each worker's regular pay as a compensation for an increase in the price of nonstaple foods. Are all these measures designed to give workers more money to spend? When they have more money in their pockets, they can buy television sets and electric fans and raise their standard of living. A higher income for each worker is also a recognition of his greater contributions to the country and people and a measure of higher standards of living for him. Can money bring happiness? Yes.

Nonetheless, we must take a correct attitude toward money, which is lifeless and classless, and which can be owned and controlled by anyone. Money in the coffers of the working class can be used to create happiness for mankind and to improve the people's standard of living. But money in the hands of the bourgeoisie can be converted into capital to exploit and oppress the workers. In our society, money remains a common medium of exchange in trade for commodities; it must be used to buy food, clothes, homes, cars and services. But we must also not forget that in our socialist society, money sometimes does not talk or perform magic because it cannot be used to buy many other things, notably, honors of heroes and model workers, virtues of mutual trust, and mutual respect among comrades--things that are happily treasured by people in our society. In my opinion, money itself spells neither happiness nor disaster. If it is used to pay normal labor and services, it undoubtedly spells happiness. If it is used by people to break laws and engage in other illegal activities aimed at acquiring more money, it certainly spells disaster. It is really necessary to treat money correctly. We must refrain from "pursuing profit and making money as the only aim in our career." True, money can bring happiness. But no one should be obsessed with money, because in doing so one may end up ruining oneself and one's country. More often than not I have heard people ask, before they have received an assignment handed down by higher authorities, "How much bonus are we supposed to get?" How hard they will work and how much they will accomplish depend on the amount of the bonus. Work will not start until the bonus is ready. These comrades have misplaced the position between people and money in much the same way as a carriage driver puts the cart before the horse. In other words, they want to make themselves slaves rather than masters of money. This practice sounds really funny. Just as Comrade Gu Shuhua has pointed out, some comrades have abused their authority and practiced bribery to get money. It is a shame to acquire such "dirty money." Worse is the fact that for the sake of money, some people have taken a reckless course and committed crimes. Not long ago, the Beijing Municipal Middle People's Court tried a bank robbery case. The case involved two gun-toting youths who, during bright daytime, held up a bank and escaped with over 1,000 yuan in Renminbi. During the holdup, they also inflicted injuries on some people with gunfire. It was money that drove them to commit such a terrible crime. a tragedy indeed!

We must take the correct attitude toward money. We must emulate some good examples set by many comrades in this respect. Among them are examples set by comrades Fang Zhimin [2455 1807 2404], and Jiang Jie [3068 1195], who preferred to sacrifice their own happiness and lives for the sake of the party's cause rather than accept the enemy's offer of high positions and emoluments. Comrade Lei Feng [7191 6912] donated his many years' saving of 100 yuan to a people's commune. Such comrades are not lacking even in our society today. An example is a factory director in our company. For over 20 years, he has deliberately passed on to other comrades his opportunities for promotion and subsequent pay hikes. Does anyone doubt that he is not aware money would bring him a happy life? I don't think so. I understand that he knows another kind of happiness based on moral beliefs; if he acquires money in betrayal of such moral beliefs. he will feel unhappy.

Today, we should no longer publicize "poverty as a virtue." On the contrary, we should proudly call on people to build a happy life on the basis of their normal and regular income and compensation for their labor. We must also remind them of the need to take a correct attitude toward money. Only in this way can they convert money into genuine happiness instead of disaster.

Money Is Useful

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Article by Wang Saishi [3769 6357 2514] of the Weifang Diesel Engine Plant, Shandong: "The Truth That Money Brings Happiness Is Irrefutable"]

[Text] Comrade Gu Shuhua has perceived of money as a source of happiness. She bases this perception on her personal experiences. So far, the average income of ordinary workers in our country is low. They deeply believe that money will enable them to raise their standard of living, to solve their marriage problems, settle family disputes, and bring them joy and happiness. Without money, they will face difficulties and troubles. This view is shared by almost all low-income workers. Nevertheless, does this view conflict with the proletarian philosophy of life? How can those revolutionaries who have devoted themselves to defending the truth reconcile their views to this perception of money as a source of happiness? I feel that a correct answer to this question can be derived from a realistic evaluation of our current living and economic conditions.

I feel that man's demands for food, clothing, shelter, and other daily necessities must first be met before he can take part in any social activities. Only after his basic daily material needs are satisfied can be engage in social activities. If his basic material demands are not met, all social activities will cease to exist. In popular language, man can do nothing unless he is well fed and well clothed. I have read some articles entitled "Struggle Is Happiness," "Learning Is Happiness", and "Serving the People Is Happiness." I am sure that their writers must first solve their problems of food and clothing before they are able to go ahead with their writing. When a man lives in starvation and trembles with cold, the first things that come to his mind must be food and clothing rather than other activities, including writing and scientific research. True, the proletarian philosophy of life emphasizes the need to serve the people and the struggle for the communist cause rather than profiteering. But we must be aware that the proletariat is not a robot which does not need food. Every human being must be provided with basic daily material needs. The grand objective of the revolution is to take care of the people's interests. Each person has a natural desire to lead a happy life.

Furthermore, there still exists in our country a system of commodity exchange; under this system, money remains a common medium of exchange for daily necessities. This inevitable stage of history is determined by the laws governing the development of society. Normally, whether a worker can enjoy a relatively decent life in material terms depends on his income. In a certain sense, money is a cult of worship which stimulates people to work for additional pay in the form of bonuses, and for promotions and pay hikes. This does not mean that they are selfish. In order to eke out a living, they have to work hard. This is why those relatively low-income workers regard "money as a source of happiness." This should be viewed as a normal desire or demand rather than as a form of bourgeois ideology--a desire beyond reproach. Many people regard money as a source of happiness. As long as they earn their living through regular labor, and as long as they break no law, they should be treated like honest citizens because they have done nothing disgraceful to our society.

Are there any elements in our society today who do not regard money as a source of happiness but believe in serving the people as a source of happiness? Yes. A typical example was Lei Feng. He often placed public interest above self interest and regarded serving the people as a source of happiness. He even donated his years' saving to victims of a natural disaster. Although his donation was small, his workstyle was commendable. Although such communist spirit is worthy of emulation by every revolutionary, people like Lei Feng in our society today are rare, and their philosophy of life is only a lofty example which claims no large following. Under the objective economic conditions, the majority of the people in our country will still have to work hard to eke out a living. Everyone must work for survival rather than for recreation as the first priority of life.

Power Is Better

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Article by Liu Xingmin [2692 6821 3046] of the Changsha Municipal Herb Medicine Wholesale Department: "Political Power Brings Happiness"]

[Text] Political power is indispensable to a happy life. Experience tells us that political power is the soil that engenders happiness, or a source of happiness.

Now let me tell everybody how a commune party committee secretary in Changsha County, Hunan Province, has wielded his power for the benefit of his family. His family is located in another commune. For the sake of his son's future, the secretary used his authority to transfer his boy from that commune to his commune's farm machinery station, whereupon he was enrolled in a driving class. His decision to transfer his son was inspired by the following popular saying: "Once you can drive, you can enjoy everything, including food, clothing and recreation." As soon as the boy graduated from driving class, the county public security bureau wanted to recruit a driver. With the help of his father's friend in the county labor bureau, he was soon hired as the public security bureau's driver. His next step was to ask Miss Cao, a radiobroadcaster of his commune, to be his daughter-in-law because she was supposed to be a good friend of his son. After receiving this proposal, she told her future father-in-law of her desire to eat marketable grain and get a job in the nearby city. The secretary said unhesitatingly: "No problem. It's a deal!"

Six months later, a municipal harbor authority circulated a notice looking for new recruits. As soon as this notice came to his attention, he recommended his future daughter-in-law for a position with the harbor authority. Now both his son and daughter-in-law are employed. With their father's backing, the young couple enjoy a happy life. If they came from a family of an ordinary commune member, they could never expect to have such golden opportunities. For this reason, may I say that political power is indispensable to a happy life?

Money Spells Disaster

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Article by Hu Hanhuai [5170 3352 2037] of the Wuhan General Grindstone Plant: "Money Cannot Bring Happiness"]

[Text] Does money bring happiness? I don't think so. True, money is indispensable to life. When I have money, I can buy good food and beautiful clothes and enjoy many other good things. I can marry a lovely girl and have a lovely family of my own, present gifts to my parents, and help others with donations. In other words, money is a material condition indispensable to life. But money sometimes cannot get you everything you want. Nor is it a source of happiness. Experience proves that although a penniless person is certainly not happy, he is not necessarily happy when he becomes rich, either. For example, money did not bring happiness but tragedy to that millionaire lady in the film "Tragic Death on the Nile." Although Yu Yongze [0151 3057 3419], a leading character in the novel "Song of Spring," is rich, he still cannot make his lover Lin Daojing [2651 6670 7234] happy. In real life, happiness purely based on material wealth cannot endure too long.

Those who consider money a source of happiness really don't know what the term "happiness" really means. The true value of happiness cannot be gaged by money. Happiness built on the basis of money resembles a house built on sand near the seashore which sooner or later will be washed away by the rising tide.

Famous Quotations on Happiness

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Text] If we choose a career that can best serve to enhance man's economic well-being, we can withstand any pressure and endure any sacrifice in the service of all mankind. When that time comes, what we sense is not merely a pitiful joy but happiness which belongs to millions of people. We will feel that our cause is not shortlived but an eternal glory; in the face of our ashes, those noble persons will mourn us with warm tears. --Karl Marx

History will honor those noble and great souls who devote their entire lifetime to the public interest. Experience proves that the happiest persons are those who can make the majority of the people happy. --Karl Marx

Some people say that the happiest persons in the world are those well-fed, well-clothed, and merrymaking people. But I personally feel that the happiest persons in the world are those who work diligently and work hard to create wealth with their own hands, and who devote themselves to the liberation of all mankind and to the realization of communism. --Lei Feng

We will forget our own unhappiness when we can make others live comfortably. We will be pleased to see others live in happiness. --Lu Hsun

Feeling able to serve the people is the greatest happiness in the world -- Guan Xiangying [7070 0686 2019]

Material Wealth Not Important

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Article by Jin Xin of the Beijing Yuanming Garden Duck Farm: "The Happiness I Cherish"]

[Text] To me, so-called happiness is a sublime happy feeling that derives from the realization of a certain cherished ideal. People usually are obsessed with two aspects of life--material and spiritual well-being. I disagree with the notion that only material wealth can bring happiness. The kind of happiness I cherish differs in many ways from that preached by Comrade Gu Shuhua in her article entitled "Money Brings Happiness." Although I cannot deny that material wealth and money are essential to the sustenance of life, neither money nor material wealth can bring or buy happiness.

I love literature. My interest in literary writing began during my third year in middle school when my first article was selected as the most outstanding work of my class. As time goes on and my knowledge about the world grows, I have decided to choose writing as my lifelong career. I am looking forward to becoming a writer capable to portraying and extolling people. This ideal has pressured and inspired me to work hard. At the same time, it has also become the root cause of my agony. I do not care much for the material aspects of life. Nor do I pay any attention to them. At present I still do not have the slightest feeling of happiness although I don't have to worry about my daily provisions. On the contrary, I still feel an increasing strain at not being able to turn my ideal into reality. For over 10 years, I have found that neither material affluence nor money can relieve me of that painful feeling of being unable to realize what I wish to do. I don't think I will feel ecstatic or happy until someday I turn my cherished ideal into reality and until I am recognized as an established writer. This is the kind of happiness I always cherish.

Excerpts on Happiness

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Excerpts of article by Zhang Xinling [1728 1800 7227] of the Suining County Broadcasting Station, Jiangsu Province]

[Text] Genuine happiness derives from the realization of an ideal and a wish, from success in a career, and from a feeling of satisfaction with the successful performance of labor. All this cannot be bought with money.

[Excerpts of article by He Xiaoming [0149 2556 2494] of the general construction group of the Nanjing Military Region]

[Text] Our happiness is closely connected with the destiny of our country and the future of our nation. It is contingent on the social condition of stability and unity, and on whether the destiny of the country is controlled by the people and production can be organized in good order.

[Excerpts of article by Cai Xiang [5591 5046] of the Nanpi County Health Immunization Station, Hebei Province]

[Text] Ten years of catastrophes have turned me into an ignorant person. Today, what I need is not money but knowledge. Genuine happiness will not come to me until I become a knowledgeable intellectual capable of making contributions to the motherland and people.

[Excerpts of article by Hou Shuwen [0186 2885 2429] and Li Xiaobai [2621 2556 4101] of the auto repair and assembly plant of the Heilongjiang Provincial Savings Bureau]

[Text] Once a person comes to believe in an ideal, he will regard his success in realizing it as the greatest happiness of his life. Karl Marx's wife was born of a rich and noble family. But she married Marx against the wishes of her parents, and spent several decades together with her husband leading a difficult life of exile. To some people, hers was not a happy life at all. However, she felt very happy at being able to work together with Marx to create the scientific communist theory.

[Excerpts of article by Liang Chang [2733 7022 1494] of Beijing]

[Text] Man must eat and have clothes to wear. For this reason, the ascetic life is unacceptable to any class. Man must also make constant efforts to satisfy his demands to improve his material well-being. If this demand is met, he will feel happy. But viewing human life this way is far from complete. As everyone knows, man differs from animals in that the former must make efforts to meet his daily needs both in material and spiritual terms. His spiritual life covers a wide range of interests. Among them are culture, morality, ideals, struggle, inventions, friendship, and love. In addition to enjoying material amenities, man must try his best to enrich and expand his colorful spiritual dimensions.

Road to Happiness

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Article by Du Zhe [4648 2124] of Wuhan: "Happiness Means Doing Whatever One Wishes"]

[Text] I believe that happiness means doing whatever one wishes. For example, I will feel happy if I can become a leading cadre who will be in a position to entertain a great number of friends or foreign guests at a banquet, just as our state leaders have done, and who can afford to fly a jumbo jet around the world,to marry a pretty wife, and to eat and do what I want. I also want to tend crops, raise ducks and dogs as pets, and drive a car. In other words, if the dimensions of life I enjoy become wider and broader, I will feel happier.

9574
CSO: 4005

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH LEGALITY OUTLINED

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [STUDIES IN LAW] in Chinese No 3, 23 Jun 80 pp 5-8

Article by Han Mingli [7281 6900 4539] and Guo Yuzhao [6753 1342 2507]: "Democracy Is a State System--Also Discussing Its Relationship with Legality"]

[Text] The term "democracy" is often used in different ways by people, such as, the people's democratic rights, the democratic method to solve the internal contradictions within the people, the democratic style of the leading cadres, etc. All these are doubelessly referring to democracy. However, if one should say that these expressions, or one of them, constitute the fundamental meaning of democracy, one will run the danger of misinterpretation, because they are merely some concrete manifestations of democracy, not its fundamental meaning. Basically speaking, democracy is a state system. Without a democratic state system, there can be no democratic rights and democratic methods. Only by understanding democracy in terms of the state system will one truly master its true significance and connotations.

What is called the state system is the unity of the class essence and the management pattern of a given state. In other word, it is the system which determines the positions of the various social classes in the state (controlling or controlled) and the pattern used by the controlling class to exercise its control. Lenin once pointed out: "Democracy is a form of state, a pattern of state. Therefore, similar to any kind of state, it also organizationally and systematically use force, which is one aspect. In the other aspect, democracy signifies the recognition of the equality of citizens, the recognition that everyone has equal rights to determine the state system and manage the state."* In other word, when discussing democracy, primarily we must not forget that it is also a kind of state political power. Next, as a pattern of control by the state, it is distinguishable from countries under dictatorship.

First, we must understand that democracy is still a sort of state political power. On this point, similar to dictatorial countries, it remains a tool for class control and a systematic organization of force. The term "democracy" came from the Greek word "demokratia," which means the government of the populace. It was a system of government created in Athens after the victory of the citizens in their struggle against the aristocrats in the 6th century BC. Democracy can only be the democracy of a certain class, and signifies dictatorship over the hostile classes (or class enemies). Until now, all state political regimes which once existed in history or which are in existence today are a combination of democracy and dictatorship. All exploiting countries are countries which follow democracy for the minority of exploiters and exercise dictatorship over the broad exploited. A socialist country is completely different; it is a state where the proletariat and the broad laborers enjoy democracy and which exercises dictatorship over the minority of exploiters and their remnants. Lenin called it "a /new type/ of democracy (democracy for the proletarians and the poor in general) and /new type/ of dictatorship (dictatorship over the bourgeoisie)."** It is because the broad laborers headed by the worker class have become the masters of the state and the social production means. Only under such conditions can the people enjoy unprecedented broad true democratic rights. Precisely as pointed out by Comrade Hua Guofeng in his "Government Work Report" at the second meeting of the Fifth People's Congress, "the socialist democracy, or people's democracy, is the supreme power enjoyed by all the people to manage the state on the foundation of the rights of ownership and control over the production means in different forms."

Democracy and dictatorship are the two inseparable aspects in the unity of the state political power. The relationship between them is both antagonistic and united. By antagonism, it means that democracy is only applicable within the people while dictatorship is only applicable to the enemy, and the two must not be confused or turned upside down, for otherwise it will signify a change in the character of the state. By unity, it means that democracy and dictatorship mutually serve as the premise of their existence, and will mutually convert under certain conditions. Without the people's democracy, there can be no effective exercise of dictatorship over the enemies. On the other hand, without dictatorship over the class enemies and the undesirables endangering the people and disrupting the socialist construction cause, the people's democratic rights will lose their safeguard. Therefore, democracy and dictatorship mutually condition each other, and one cannot exist without the other. The second meaning of the unity of democracy and dictatorship is that, under certain conditions, a conversion of their positions may occur. When the objectives of dictatorship, after a long period of reform, have definitely relinquished their reactionary standpoint and become self-supporting laborers, they may transform from the objectives of dictatorship to those of democracy. On the other hand, when individuals within the people, influenced by the exploiting class ideology, commit outrages and antagonize the people, they may transform from the objectives of democracy to those of dictatorship. The situations of both aspects are found in real life. The complete theoretical understanding of the dialectic relationship between democracy and dictatorship will guide us to consciously and correctly distinguish and handle the two different kinds of contradictions and alert us, when developing democracy, to watch out for the destructive activities of the class enemies. When suppressing the destructive activities of the class enemies, we must concretely protect the people's democratic rights. We must not stress one aspect and overlook the other. Meanwhile, the principle of the dialectic relationship between democracy and dictatorship will also direct us to strengthen the political-ideological work within the people and prevent individuals in the people from degenerating into enemy elements. In addition, we must also be skillful in performing the work of converting the enemies, making them change their reactionary standpoint and come to the side of the people. It will benefit the consolidation of the people's political power and the construction of socialism. In the 30 years since the founding of the nation, both the positive and the negative experiences have proved that only by correctly understanding and handling the dialectic relationship between democracy and dictatorship will our socialist state truly produce the effect of protecting the people and suppressing the enemies and attain the goal of continuously expanding the people's strength and undermining, until finally eliminating, the class enemies.

---

* "Selected Works of Lenin," vol 3 p 257

** Ibid., vol 3 p 200

Next, we must understand that there is a distinction between the countries following the democratic system and those following the dictatorial system. The fundamental distinction between the two kinds of political systems is whether the democratic principle of the minority obeying the majority is followed in creating state organs and exercising state powers. The basic principle of the democratic system is the minority obeying the majority. Therefore, Lenin, in "the State and Revolution," called such a state "the state where the minority obeys the majority." It must be pointed out that the principle of the minority obeying the majority is applicable only within the controlling class, and not between hostile classes. In the past, Kautsky applied it to the relationship between the exploiting and the exploited, and Lenin sharply denounced it as a mediocre bourgeois liberal viewpoint in violation of Marxism. However, in states under the democratic system, it must be followed within the controlling class in organizing its own political power and exercising state management. Its concrete application in a socialist state is democratic centralism.

A socialist state is a state where the broad masses serve as the masters under the leadership of the worker class (through the communist party). It is incompatible with any individual arbitrary action or the ultra-democratic decentralism. Therefore, fully developing democracy within the people in order to enable them to exercise their rights as masters is the source of consolidating and reinforcing the strength of a socialist state, while only a high degree of centralism on a broad democratic foundation will assure the party's and the state's centralized and unified leadership. Our experiences in the 30 years since the founding of the nation show that, whenever democratic centralism was correctly implemented, the people's positivity rose and the socialist revolutionary and construction cause flourished; whenever democratic centralism encountered destruction, the people's positivity suffered suppression and the socialist revolutionary and construction cause ran into setbacks and losses. Therefore, whether democratic centralism is correctly implemented in the state is linked with the momentous issue of whether the socialist revolutionary and construction cause will develop, whether the entire society will have a stable and united political situation and whether the political power of the socialist state will consolidate.

Democracy and centralism are also a kind of unity of opposites. Democracy is to recognize the equal rights of everyone to express his opinions and manage the state; centralism requires certain obedience. The two aspects mutually condition each other. Within the people, only by fully developing democracy will it be possible for the masses to exercise their democratic rights as masters and to concentrate their wisdom and strengths on the proper management of the state; only thus will it be possible to correctly adjust the relationships within the people, especially between the leaders and the masses, and strengthen the people's internal unity, thereby guaranteeing the victory of our cause; only thus will it be possible to unify everyone's understanding to the correct ideology, i. e., to attain true centralized unity. Otherwise, when the people's opinions have not been fully expressed, and the correct and the incorrect, the right and wrong, have not been clarified, the so-called "centralism" will be mostly false, empty, and even erroneous. After undergoing the disaster created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people have realized more profoundly that the absence of the people's democracy will furnish an opportunity to conspirators and careerists like Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and that the principle that the people are the masters will become an empty phrase. However, this kind of democracy has leadership, organization, and a clear goal and direction. Without the leadership of the communist party, without an organized and disciplined revolutionary contingent, and without the clear socialist and communist direction pointed out by Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat, as the leading class, will lose its organizational essence and its fighting power, making it impossible to guarantee a stable and united political situation and difficult to pursue a large-scale socialist construction. During Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" rampage, the practice of "kicking aside the party committee to make revolution" and "smashing the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts" was widespread in the entire country, shutting down the plants at will, suspending communication, "beating, smashing, robbing, searching, arresting and killing." It was very "democratic!" But as a result, the democratic rights of the broad cadres and masses were trampled underfoot, many superior party cadres and innocent people lost their lives, and a perfectly good socialist state was almost ruined. The lesson was extremely painful, and the people will never permit a repetition of the tragedy. Therefore, when following the democratic system, the dialectic unity of democracy and centralism must be upheld, and stressing either while overlooking the other will be erroneous.

We must realize that the bureaucratic tendency of absolutizing centralism and the anarchist tendency of absolutizing democracy are both gigantic obstacles to the implementation of democratic centralism and incompatible with the class essence of a socialist state. Bureaucraticism is a product of the state bureaucratic structure of the exploiting class. Breaking down the old bureaucratic structure, abolishing the old bureaucratic system, and abrogating all special privileges enjoyed by the old bureaucrats, and replacing them with public servants of society elected by the people, subject to dismissal at any time and responsible to the people, constitute a basic condition for building a socialist state. The old bureaucrats and the new model proletarian state political power are incompatible with each other. However, though the old bureaucratic structure and system have been abolished, the bureaucratic practice and influence have not vanished along with them. Some people fail to see the fundamental distinction between the cadres of our socialist state and the old bureaucrats, consciously or unconsciously confusing themselves with the old bureaucrats, feeling that, with power in their hands, they can ignore the people, take arbitrary actions, and even turn their power of office into special privileges for private gain, acting like tyrants and oppressing the people. For a revolutionary cadre, such evil bureaucratic practice is the height of disgrace. Though this phenomenon applies only to a handful of our cadres, it cannot be ignored. There are also some people who think that the party's centralized and unified guidance and the proletarian dictatorship are opposed to the full development of the socialist democracy, consciously or unconsciously placing themselves opposite to the party and the state, feeling that democracy signifies absence of restraint, turning the spearhead upward, and freedom from responsibility for their words and deeds. It actually is not socialist democracy, but a reflection of the anarchist trend of thought with the individual as the center. The anarchism of absolute personal freedom, doing away with government and leadership and opposing any authority and any obedience, is the anti-Marxist petit bourgeois thinking. Engels, in "On Authority," made a profound analysis and criticism of it, pointing out that one only had to observe the economic relationships which constituted the foundation of the modern society to discover the tendency that the individual dispersed activities were being replaced more and more by joint activities. Joint activities indicated organizing, but there could be no organizing without authority. Those anti-authoritarians either failed to understand their own words and spread muddled ideas, or intentionally betrayed the proletarian movement.* The facts were precisely thus. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated "great democracy" and incited an anarchist trend, their goal was to disrupt the proletarian dictatorship and seize power in the chaos. The evil influence created by them has not been thoroughly purged even today. If such thinking is permitted to spread freely, it will disrupt our state, which is what the "gang of four's" remnants and other class enemies crave. We must maintain a clear mind toward this. However, we must also realize that, as our socialist society emerged from the womb of the old semi-feudal and semi-colonial society where the small peasant economy predominated, the two erroneous tendencies discussed above have a profound social source. Therefore, clarifying in our mind the meaning of democracy and the fundamental boundaries among democratic centralism, bureaucraticism and anarchism will benefit our long struggle against bureaucraticism and anarchism, the two erroneous tendencies.

---

* See "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 2 pp 551-554

To understand completely and accurately the entire meaning of socialist democracy will help us correctly comprehend its relationship with socialist legality. The relationship between socialist democracy and socialist legality is the relationship between the state system and the legality of a socialist democracy. Such relationship is a dialectic unity. However, different from the opposite yet unified relationship between democracy and dictatorship and between democracy and centralism, it is the dialectic unity of the concretely manifested content and form. Socialist democracy is the content, the basis. Without it, there can be no socialist legality. The socialist legality is the form, embodying and protecting the socialist democracy. Without socialist legality, the socialist democracy can neither be embodied, nor protected. As the content and the form, the two are interdependent and mutually restrictive, forming a relationship of dialectic unity.

As the socialist democracy is the content of socialist legality, if the legal system fails to embody the requirements of the socialist democracy or to act according to the law embodying the requirements of the socialist democracy, it is not socialist legality. Only by acquiring democracy and creating a socialist state political power will the proletariat be able to embody its own will into law and attain the systematization and legalization of the socialist democracy (or people's democracy). Only by adapting to the demands of the socialist economic foundation, creating a socialist democratic political system, and recognizing the equal rights of citizens in state management will the proletariat be able to thoroughly abolish the special privileges beyond the law enjoyed by individuals and act strictly according to law. The socialist democracy is the premise and foundation of socialist legality; therefore, socialist legality must take the socialist democracy as its content. However, we must point out that the socialist democracy, as the content of socialist legality, includes the aspect of democratic rights enjoyed by the people and full democracy within the people and the aspect of dictatorship over the class enemies and the party's and state's centralized and unified leadership, and neither aspect may be used singly as the content or the premise or socialist legality. Some people consider developing the socialist democracy an antithesis to upholding the four fundamental principles and to cracking down on the disruptive activities of the class enemies and serious criminals. It is a one-sided interpretation of the socialist democracy. As proved by the facts, if democracy is not developed and the people have no democratic rights to manage the state, socialist legality cannot be established and realized. However, if the party's centralized and unified leadership is not strengthened and dictatorship is not enforced over the class enemies and the criminals disrupting the social order and endangering the interests of the state and the people, socialist legality likewise cannot be created and safeguarded.

When we say that socialist democracy is the content of socialist legality, we mean that the requirements of socialist democracy must be embodied and protected through socialist legality. The socialist law reflects concentratedly the common will of the broad masses led by the proletariat, and acting according to law provides a greater guarantee than acting according to the will of any individual that the activities of state organs conform to the interests and wishes of the people. As the socialist law is permeated with the principles of democracy and socialism, acting according to law will safeguard the people's status as masters, fully activate their positivity, and guarantee the development of the political, economic and cultural activities of the state along the socialist path. As the socialist law is the summation of the experiences of the broad masses in the production and class struggles and reflects the objective patterns of the socialist economic and political developments, acting according to law will avoid confused and arbitrary orders and ensure observance of the objective patterns. The socialist law serves as the guideline of concrete conduct, stipulates the relationship of the rights and obligations between people, and unequivocally tells people what do do and what not to do, how to do and how not to do. Acting according to law unifies people's understanding and action, serves as an effective means to reinforce centralized and unified guidance, and safeguards and consolidates a stable social order. Therefore, socialist legality is the most effective form to embody and safeguard socialist democracy. It must be pointed out that, as the embodiment and safeguard of socialist democracy, socialist legality itself is also a unity of democracy and dictatorship and of democracy and centralism. To feel that socialist legality is a part of dictatorship and centralism, or that it serves only to safeguard democracy is to explain its role of protecting socialist democracy in one aspect only, not in its complete sense.

In short, the complete concept of socialist democracy is that it is the unity of democracy and dictatorship and of democracy and centralism. Understanding in theory the entire connotation of the concept of democracy will help us correctly handle in practice the dialectic relationships between democracy and dictatorship and between democracy and centralism, and further consolidate and reinforce the socialist state system. It will also help us understand comprehensively and correctly the dialectic relationship between socialist democracy and socialist legality, further develop socialist democracy, reinforce socialist legality, and rally the people of the whole country in the common struggle to build China into a modern socialist power.

6080
CSO: 4005

LETTERS TO EDITOR DEPLORE 'STUPID' PROJECTS

Divert Water

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Aug 80 p 2

[Letter from Jiazhuang People's Commune, Jingxing Mining Area, Shijiazhuang Municipality: "Pingding Should Also Learn Its Lesson in Handling the Project To 'Divert Water From East to West'"]

[Text] Looking at Pingding's project to "divert water from east to west" from the example of Xiyang's project to "divert water from west to east," we think that the former, like the latter, is also a project which ignores natural conditions, puts no premium on economic results, snatches the sources of other people's water, tires people out, and wastes financial resources for nothing; it should be halted immediately.

This project to "divert water from east to west" was designed to force the water from Mian River several hundred meters higher by the use of electric power through a series of engineering measures. The river, which originates in Niangziguan and flows eastward, would thus be diverted westward into Pingding County in Shanxi Province. This huge project was undertaken under the guiding ideology of "think of new things, undertake large projects." It has already been in operation for 4 or 5 years and has exhausted a large amount of labor and a huge investment without yet yielding any benefits.

Originally, Jingxing County and the Jingxing mining area of Hebei Province, which rely on the Mian River for water, as early as 1958 opened up four channels--Mianzuo, Mianyu, Renmin and Minzhu--for the purpose of ameliorating their production conditions. After many years of extension and continued construction work, they already have a well-integrated network complete with the Zi, Dou, Nong and Mao branch channel systems. For over 20 years this network has been irrigating the more than 200,000 mu of land in these two areas and has preliminarily changed the past poor outlook, in which [the people] suffered 9 years of drought out of every 10 and took chaff and vegetables as their provisions half of each year. Since the volume of water of the Mian River is limited and the area it irrigates is very large, the river water supply cannot meet the demand; hence our area is irrigated only once every 20 days or more by rotation. When there is drought, water use becomes even tighter. Under such circumstances, even if only one-half or one-third, let alone all, of the water were to be diverted by Pingding County, the existing water conservancy works in our area would completely cease to function, with all previous efforts wasted, the originally irrigated paddies would become dry fields, and our agricultural production would also be seriously affected.

When it was decided to stop construction on Xiyang's project to "divert water from west to east," the masses applauded with pleasure. We earnestly hope that construction of Pingding's project to "divert water from east to west" also is stopped immediately.

Flatten Mountaintops

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Aug 80 p 2

[Letter from Tian Zhoulin [3944 0719 2651], Agriculture and Forestry Office, Revolutionary Committee of Changning County, Hunan Province: "What Justification is There for Flattening Mountain Peaks Just To Open Up Rice Paddies?"]

[Text] When the decision to fold up and stop construction on Xiyang County's project to "divert water from west to east" was made, people readily hailed its wisdom. Because of the influence of the ultraleft line in recent years, people tended to "think of new things, undertake large projects," and they set out to work on projects in a foolhardy way. Hence, stupid undertakings in violation of natural laws, such as the project to "divert water from west to east," have become rather common in many places. For example, the Shanqiao Brigade of Xingyuan Commune in our county is situated deep in the forest area; on the average, everybody has 11 mu of forest area but less than half a mu of arable land. For many years, however, the leaders in charge have partially stressed the necessity to struggle for self-sufficiency in foodgrain supplies, and hence they choose to work on destroying forests so as to plant crops. Under the repeated urging of some leading comrades, this brigade took out a loan from the credit cooperative of the commune and handed it on to the production brigade. It thus raised capital of more than 20,000 yuan and bought a bulldozer. A plan was made to flatten five mountain peaks in order to open up 200 my of land. Within but half a year (less the time when the bulldozer was sent out to support other units and was under repair), expenses for explosives to break up the hills and rocks and loosen the mounds, plus expenses for fuel oil and repairs for the plough, required a total disbursement of more than 8,700 yuan. Up to this day, less than one-third of the planned work has been done. It is said that in order to level this mountain and turn it into rice paddies, another 3 years will be called for. If machinery depreciation funds and rewards for labor are added, the claiming of each my of land will be extremely expensive.

Recently I asked the local cadres whether or not they planned to close down the project; their reply was that until the land is claimed, they will never give up. So today this project is still going on.

With a forest area production brigade of slightly more than 500 persons working on such a project, which tires people out and wastes financial resources to the extreme, with losses far exceeding gains, the opinion of the local masses can easily be imagined. People say that once the bulldozer entered the mountains, all accumulations were spent and debts were incurred to the whole brigade. Everybody hopes that the bulldozer will get out of the mountains as early as possible so that the burden of the masses can be reduced and the development of forestry production can be facilitated.

I am of the opinion that all stupid undertakings similar to the project to "divert water from west to east" which have still not ended should without exception immediately stop their operations and fold up, when they are within or beyond plans, and no matter what level made the decisions on them. I suggest that the concerned departments should organize special forces to inspect and supervise such projects, and that those personnel who, after education, still refuse to treasure and use sparingly the people's sweat and blood should be solemnly criticized until they are duly chastised by the discipline of the party and the laws of the state.

Common Occurrences

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Aug 80 p 2

[Letter from Wang Kexun [3769 0344 8113], Sheepbreeding Farm, Luxi County, Hunan Province: "WHy Does This Kind of Stupid Thing Become a Common Occurrence?"

[Text] A stupid thing along the lines of Xiyang's project to "divert water from west to east" has not been peculiar to Xiyang, nor has it occurred just in the 1970's. If we look further back, things like this began to occur as early as 1958, the year of the Great Leap Forward. By the time the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway, they became even more prominent. Why have such stupid things prevailed for over 20 years and not been effecitvely stopped? I think we must search for the causes from certain shortcomings in some of our systems:

1. Concerning the system of democratic centralism, at certain times and in certain times and in certain places and units it becomes a mere formality and is not actually carried out. When economic construction is attempted, decisions are often made on the basis of a few people's subjective will. How then can stupid and strange things be prevented from occurring? In order to avoid or reduce stupid things like the project to "divert water from west to east," we must genuinely respect the rights of people's representatives as masters of the house. On major construction projects related to given districts and units, leading government organs at various

levels must submit detailed reports to people's congresses at corresponding levels and their standing committees (including programs of design and operation, natural conditions, economic results, investment figures, sources of capital, etc.), give full scope to democracy, open up wide channels for comments and suggestions, appraise the possible advantages and disadvantages and gains and losses, and then make the final decision. On certain stupid things along the lines of the project to "divert water from west to east," people's congresses at various levels have the right to veto them."

2. Economic construction must operate according to economic laws and natural laws. Economic results should be taken as the only criterion for measuring a construction project, and no premium should be placed on any so-called "political needs." But "political" projects in the past always put the political needs of certain leaders in the place of first importance, completely ignored economic results, and hence turned solemn economic construction of the state into the political capital of individuals who were seeking to win a reputation, establish a record, or achieve higher office. Political projects of this kind often violated objective laws and could not but eventually become subject to punishment. In the end, certain individuals reaped benefits, the state sustained injuries, while the people suffered disasters. From now on, we must fundamentally seek to change this state of affairs.

3. We must work out good economic legislation and establish organs to exercise economic supervision. Since the founding of our state, we have formulated "Regulations on the Punishment of Corruption," but we have failed to come up with a corresponding law to constrain those who waste the state's capital. In the case of those who caused large amounts of waste, legal responsibilities and administrative responsibilities were seldom traced. Some only took a light approach by producing a self-examination in order to have their cases set aside. Thus, certain leaders were objectively tempted to issue blind commands, eyeing only their own face and so-called political needs, while ignoring the interests of the state and the people and unscrupulously wasting large amounts of the state's financial resources and the people's labor. The masses have reflected: "When they use the money of the big boss, they feel no pain whatsoever"; this hits the nail right on the head, indeed.

Today we have already entered a period of economic construction with the four modernizations as its central concern; the scale of the state's construction work has become larger and larger, and investments have become greater and greater. To work out good economic legislation, prevent and reduce the practice of wasting large sums of the state's capital, and give full scope to the economic results of investment have already become urgent tasks. Apart from this, we also need to establish economic procuratorates at the various levels and confer upon them duties and powers similar to those of people's procuratorates at the various levels, so that they can specifically supervise and inspect various measures related to economic construction, accept the people's disclosures, exposes and accusations, and render corresponding adjudications.

Irrigation Canal

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Ag8 80 p 2

[Letter from Huo Baozhong [7202 1405 0022], Jiaocheng County Party Committee, Shanxi Province: "It Is Also Foolish for Jiaocheng To Build Ganquan Irrigation Canal"]

[Text] After the story on the suspension of Xiyang's project to "divert water from west to east" was publicized in the newspaper, it aroused a drastic reaction among Jiaocheng County's cadres and masses. The standing committee of the county party committee and responsible persons of various departments, together with secretaries of various communes, studied and discussed the PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial, and comrades of the water conservancy department held a forum. Everybody was of the opinion that the editorial said what everybody had wished but dared not to say for a long time, as the "Ganquan Irrigation Canal" newly built by Jiaocheng was also a project, worked out under the influence of the ultraleft line, which tired the people out and wasted financial resources for nothing.

The "Ganquan Irrigation Canal" was originally an old irrigation project in Jiaocheng County; it had already had a history of several hundred years. After later expanded construction it should, according to plan, irrigate 400,000 my of land, but in reality it irrigated on 20,000 mu. The source of water was never sufficient; yet efforts were blindly made for the abandonment of the old canal in favor of the construction of a new one.

The new canal was designed and built halfway up the hills; it runs from west to east through four hilltops with four separate channels. It was necessary to dig 9 li of tunnels and build a canal winding along the hill slopes for 40 li, known altogether as "50 li of gan quan [sweet fountain] flowing along the hill slopes." According to preliminary auditing, it was necessary to construct more than 1.1 million of earth/rock blocks, put in more than 1.1 million man/workdays, invest more than 5.2 million yuan of capital, and, according to plan, do 3 years' work in 2. Work began in December 1977 and finished at the end of June 1979. Today, less than 20 percent of the total work has been accomplished, more than 520,000 man/workdays have been put in, and more than 2.45 million yuan of funds have already been spent. If the whole project is to be completed, much more money will have to be spent, but in reality the [new canal] will not irrigate more land than the old one.

How did such a project, which has tired out the people and wasted financial resources to the extreme, ever get started? In the spring of 1977, the Jiaocheng county party committee readjusted its ranks; comrades from Xiyang came to Hiaocheng to preside over the task, wishing to transplant Xiyang's experience intact to Hiaocheng. At the time, some leaders looked upon themselves as saviors; soon after their arrival, instead of doing any investigating as to the actual situation with the Ganquan Irrigation Canal or developing any respect for the opinions of the technical personnel and local irrigation cadres, they paid no attention as to the required size of the investment and went straight ahead to make the subjective, blind decision to dig tunnels and build the canal halfway up the hills. During the period when work first got started, some comrades expressed some opinions, but some leaders of the county party committee could accommodate not even half a point of a different opinion.

As for the guiding ideology on the design and operation of the project, plans were laid out according to imagination, efforts were aimed at creating scale and a foreign outlook, and decorative work was attempted. For instance, when the section of the construction job from Shibi Channel to Shishu Channel was designed, the requirement was inserted that it be done as a project for the benefit of visitors; thus, apart from the channel to be dug, a visitors' road for car traffic must also be built. A bridge therefore was added above the viaduct so that cars could be driven on the bridge, and it was also required that people in the cars should be able to see the noisy running water. All this consequently incurred the unnecessary additional consumption of manpower and material and financial resources, and the waste caused by the project became shocking.

At a recently convened meeting of commune and production brigade cadres, responsible comrades of the county party committee spoke of the lessons from this project, indicating that we should take it as a warning. This was welcomed by the attending comrades.

9255
CSO: 4005

FROM PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP TO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

Hong Kong ZHENMING in Chinese No 34, 1 Aug 80 p 4

[Unsigned commentary: "A Suggestion -- The System of State Should be Changed from 'Proletarian Dictatorship' to 'People's Democracy' "]

[Text] Within the month, the Third Plenum of the Fifth National People's Congress will open and be under close watch from all quarters. Rather than present any perfunctory views, we wish to offer a suggestion:

Article One of the First Section of the Constitution stipulates the Chinese system of state. Henceforth, this should be correctly named a "people's democracy" rather than a "proletarian dictatorship."

There are five reasons for suggesting this change.

1. The term "proletarian dictatorship" came from abroad. It is true that both the Paris Commune and the world's first soviet state were created by the proletariat and invloved the proletarian task of overcoming the class enemies.

However, conditions in China were different, several classes joined together in revolution and the dictatorship is exercised by several classes. Although both the revolution and the dictatorship have proletarian leadership, nonetheless, such leadership does not alter the form or substance of the revolution and the new nation. In the past Mao Zedong adopted a "low key" to benefit the united front by intentionally changing "proletarian dictatorship" to "people's democratic dictatorship." This change was actually quite correct, because the term "people's democratic dictatorship" is more closely in accord with actual conditions in China.

2. This is so even for developed capitalist states which undergo revolution and establish proletarian dictatorship. According to the theories of Manx-Leninism, when these countries enter the first stage of communism (socialism) and the class struggle has basically subsided, there is no particular need to emphasize proletarian dictatorship. "After the revolution any provisional state structures will require a dictatorship." (MA-EN QUANJI [COMPLETE WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS] Vol 5, p 474. Author's emphasis.) "There is absolutely no difference between...the concept of proletarian dictatorship and overcoming capitalist resistance." (LIENING QUANJI [COMPLETE WORKS OF LENIN] Vol 25, p 49) Obviously, after "capitalist resistance" has effectively been overcome and repressed, there is a steadily decreasing need for proletarian dictatorship. In Yugoslavia under Tito, where the level of Marx-Leninism was relatively high, within a few years after establishing the new government it was announced that a system of socialist self-rule would be established, that there would be no more "proletarian dictatorship," and that the substance of self-rule would be the people's democracy. This experience is worthy of consideration.

3. After the new China was established the citizens of this state were composed of the worker class, the peasant class, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie all of whom had equal political status, and among the people there were no relationships of dictators and those under a dictatorship. After completion of the three great transformations and the basic destruction of the exploiting classes, there was even less need for the terms "proletariat" and "proletarian dictatorship" in the questions regarding the state system.

4. In the political life of a socialist state, democracy is the main feature of and is also the prerequisite for dictatorship. "The first step in a worker revolution is to elevate the proletariat to be the ruling class and fight for democracy." (MA-EN QUANJI, Vol 4, p 486) "If victorious socialism does not implement full democracy it will not be able to hold on to victory." (LIENING QUANJI, Vol 23 p 70) During the Enlarged Central Committee Work Conference of 1962, Mao Zedong said: "Without democracy there is no way to mobilize the people and there is no way to oversee the people, so it would be impossible to exercise effective dictatorship over reactionary elements." Although China is engaged in a class struggle at present, the target of this struggle itself is decreasing day by day, and the struggle itself is becoming milder day by day. It is abundantly clear that in the question of whether democracy or dictatorship should take precedence, the term "proletarian dictatorship" is obviously out of keeping with the times. The term "people's democracy" suits the basic features of the

nation's political life as its connotations encompass the dictatorship over or repression of the extremely small minority of reactionary and criminal elements.

5. The saying "If the names are incorrect then the words will be unsuitable" can be supplemented with: If the words are unsuitable then the actions will be incorrect. For the past 30 years, some people in power have been putting "proletarian" hats on themselves and have sought to be superior to others by labeling all those they wish to attack as "bourgeois" and by carrying out a "dictatorship." On the one hand this confuses the two types of contradictions and sees the people as the enemy and on the other hand it overturns the relationship between democracy and dictatorship even to the point of only speaking of dictatorship and not discussing democracy. Under such conditions, the intellectuals, who as a group were always labeled "bourgeois" were constantly encountering calamities, and during the "cultural revolution" even the old and middle-aged cadres suffered deep harm. It is obvious that in this present stage, calling our system of state by the incorrect term "proletarian dictatorship" gives advantages to the improper acts of plotters and ambitious persons and perpetuates the unnecessary disasters suffered by our people and the nation. This historical lesson must be absorbed, now is the time to rectify names.

From the above five points it ought to be clear that to call our system of state a "proletarian dictatorship" is impractical and unrealistic and transgresses against the principles of Marx-Leninism. Therefore, it must be rectified and replaced with the term "people's democracy." This of course is not merely a question of concepts, but has practical significance:

This change is beneficial to the establishment of a true people's democracy.

This change is beneficial in eliminating the intellectual's lingering fears and fears for the future.

This change is beneficial in mobilizing mass enthusiasm for building the four modernizations.

This change is beneficial in opposing feudalism, bureaucratism and privileged behavior.

We hope that the Communist Party, the people's representatives and the people's congress will give consideration to this suggestion, and also hope our readers will express their own opinions.

11582
CSO: 4005

WANG DONGXING AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP ELECTIONS

Hong Kong ZHENMING in Chinese No 34, 1 Aug 80 p 14

[Article by Miao Shuo [5379 3617]: "Wang Dongxing is a Candidate for Party Central Committee Membership"]

[Text] Before leaving Hong Kong I had heard news that the Chinese Communist Party would convene the 12th Party Congress either late this year or next spring. All my Hong Kong friends who are concerned about Chinese affairs were discussing the matter.

"Who will be elected to the Party Central Committee this time?"

"Which people will fall from power?"

"Will this congress produce any new resolutions or reforms?" and so on.

In short, this particular congress was drawing a great deal of attention.

When I arrived in Beijing, I discovered that the people there were thoroughly indifferent about it, no one was discussing or even interested in the congress. At present, most people are particular about material benefits and give no thought to political matters. I spoke to a young worker about this, he shrugged his shoulders saying: "Its the same no matter who is elected. It just those few people trading places. Anyway, I'll never be elected, so why should I care? Its better to pay some attention to when I'll get a salary increase and when I'll get some bonus money."

The words of this young worker reflect the attitude of a portion of the people.

However, there still are some people in Beijing who are concerned about politics and the current situation. Perhaps some are unconcerned, but those who are concerned generally have relatively accurate information, so a discussion with them can really open one's eyes.

Wang Dongxing, Chen Xilian [7115 6932 5114] and Wu De [0702 1795] are all candidates for Party Central Committee membership in the 12th Party Congress. This startling news was given to me by an "informed source."

I wondered at this: "Didn't the resolution of the Fifth National People's Congress eliminate their leadership positions and responsibilities in the Party and the government? Why are they permitted to be candidates for membership?"

"This is precisely where the highest authorities are showing their skills. To let them be candidates in the mass election and fail is really to deprive them of power. And won't they emerge in such a bad light that they will have to be completely submissive?"

"Will they lose for sure?"

"Just as long as it is not a limited candidate election they will surely lose. In the past Chinese elections were always limited candidate elections, so the number of candidates and the number of people elected were exactly the same, and there really was no room for choice as all the candidates were elected. There have been some recent changes; election to the Central Committee Secretariat of the Fifth National Congress was not by limited candidate election, but rather was an unlimited candidate election. Calculations are that the 12th Party Congress won't be having a limited candidate election either."

Does Wang Dongxing still live in Zhongnanhai?"

"No, he moved out of there two months ago."

"Is that imposing home he was building finished yet? What is it used for now?"

"Its finished, and is used by the Central Committee Propaganda Department. They worked out of the Diaoyutai before, but have now moved into Zhongnanhai."

The very mention of Wang Dongxing's change of residence stirred those friends to angrily tell me that the moving operation was really "imposing," requiring two days just to move his belongings.

"Huh, when we ordinary citizens move it takes but a three-wheeled cart and a couple of hours to finish the job, we certainly have no property such as his!"

This hatred of special privileges is common to both those concerned and those unconcerned with politics. Their common hope is that the cadres will limit their own privileges and provide more benefits for the people.

11582
CSO: 4005

CRITICISM OF MAO DISCUSSED

Hong Kong ZHENMING in Chinese No 34, 1 Aug 80 pp 28-29

[Article by Wei Feng [1550 1596]: "The Dangers of Chinese Communist Criticism of Mao"]

[Text] Recently, a cable from abroad reported that the Chinese communists had drafted a document criticising Mao Zedong and that it might be given internal circulation.

Could this be true? Or is it false?

All the way from Hong Kong to Beijing this is the most pressing of questions.

Friends who are in the know say that it is half true and half false.

There definitely is a document in draft form, but the main content is not critical of Mao Zedong. Instead, it is concerned with such historical topics as the Great Cultural Revolution, criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius and criticism of Deng Xiaoping. However, it definitely does touch upon the topic of an evaluation of Mao Zedong. The document is a draft resolution in preparation for discussion during the Sixth National People's Congress and passage by the 12th Party Congress, though perhaps it might even first be passed by the Sixth National People's Congress. The claim made in the foreign cable that the document had been circulated internally is premature.

According to friends, the Sixth National People's Congress is to take place before too long. However, the 12th Party Congress, originally scheduled for the end of this year, might not be held before next spring. "This was mentioned by Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] in late June during a report on the problems of middle-aged and young cadres.

Why is the Truth yet Untold?

Why should the Chinese communists wish to make a resolution concerning a historical problem? The reasons are said to be complex. The immediate cause for this matter was the 16 May 80 RENMIN RIBAO editorial titled "Restore the Original Mao Zedong Thought -- A Discussion of the Rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi," Which stirred up conflicting feelings throughout the nation. One common opinion was:

Since Liu Shaoqi is to rehabilitated, why should the truth remain untold?"

What made people dissatisfied was the editorial's attitude of covering up for Mao Zedong.

Wang Renzhong Makes a Deletion

It is said that the RENMIN RIBAO editorial originally contained a brief section which evaluated Mao Zedong, and the remarks viewed Mao in the spirit of dividing one into two. However, Wang Renzhong [3769 0117 6850], Director of the Propaganda Department, deleted this whole section.

In order to placate mass feelings, the Party Secretariat then decided to quickly draw up a draft resolution regarding certain historical questions, and this document was to evaluate Mao Zedong's successes and failings and rights and wrongs. They even immediately notified the whole country that this resolution would be passed at the Sixth National People's Congress or the 12th Party Congress.

Hu Yaobang First Leaks the News

Just at his time, when speaking with a YUGOSLAV NEWS AGENCY reporter, Hu Yaobang made some appraisals of Mao Zedong. The General Secretary said: "Mao Zedong made enormous contributions to the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Party. But he also committed errors, especially in his later years. These errors brought misfortune to the Chinese Party and the people. Chairman Mao and other leaders bear the responsibility for the abnormal conditions which developed during the Cultural Revolution." On 21 June 80, the YUGOSLAV NEWS AGENCY broadcast the remarks Hu Yaobang had made to their reporter, and the XINHUASHE compilation "CANKAO XIAOXI -- NEWS REFERENCES" quickly translated and reprinted them.

Friends in Beijing say that Hu Yaobang's remarks were in the tenor of the Central Committee document evaluating Mao Zedong.

In Peeling Bamboo Shoots One Encounters Resistance

I have the feeling that in broaching the subject of criticism of Mao Zedong, the Chinese communists are adopting an approach like that of peeling bamboo shoots, which is to peel first one layer and then another, and at a slow tempo. Why are such slow movements necessary?

One important reason is that there is resistance.

This is to say that some people are opposed to or not greatly in agreement with criticism of Mao Zedong. They either wish to safeguard his image or wish to safeguard their options to cover themselves. Because of this, even though there is an ongoing struggle it primarily is in the realm of ideology.

The question of a memorial service for Liu Shaoqi revealed this struggle. On October 14th, the GONGREN RIBAO published an article by Wang Guangmei [3769 0342 5019] titled "In Memory of Comrade An Ziwen"[1344 1311 2429], which reported that An Ziwen,(former Director of the Central Committee Organization Department, a powerful assistant to Liu Shaoqi, and, after the fall of the "Gang of four," Vice President of the Central Committee Party School) on the eve of her death said: "Rehabilitation of Comrade [Liu] Shaoqi would be a victory, but not a complete victory, as the poisons of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have not yet been liquidated, so be careful...."

Incomplete Victory

During the Fifth National People's Congress held this February, there was a decision to rehabilitate Liu Shaoqi and hold a memorial service for him; the service was held in April, but with some unexpected turns so it is imaginable that the result of the struggle was victory, "but an incomplete victory," and that one must "be careful" in the future. This shows the complexities of the matter.

Posters Reading "Smash Liu Shaoqi"

The memorial editorial for Liu Shaoqi in the RENMIN RIBAO said that in order to rehabilitate Liu Shaoqi the Central Committee took "certain dangers" upon itself. Why should redressing such a great injustice pose any dangers?

The answer is that some people are opposed to it, are opposed to any negation of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and are opposed to revealing any of Mao Zedong's failings or errors. These people of course are not the "small gang of four" of

Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281] and the rest. When An Ziwen said to "be careful," she obviously had not meant the "small gang of four" because they had already been smashed when she spoke.

Here, my dear readers, I want to report to you an arresting sight I personally saw. In the neighborhood of the Beijing Zoo there appeared two posters with large letters saying, "Smash Liu Shaoqi." Unfortunately, I did not have a camera with me to record this sight. However, this gave me the very deep impression that although those opposed to Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping are a very small minority they do exist and are active.

Western Reporters Overlooked Two Matters

Those holding power in the Central Committee are taking a serious approach to the possible development of any of those "certain dangers." During the Liu Shaoqi memorial service on May 17th, the foreign reporters overlooked one situation which was that outside of the Great Hall of the People where the services were held, there were gathered many groups of people who expressed their sorrow, all the while noting who did and did not attend the memorial services. Another situation which made people take notice but which was overlooked by the Western journalists was that two days after the memorial services the "Mao Zedong Memorial Hall" was reopened. For a period of time this memorial hall was not open to the general public, so that the Chinese had no opportunity to view Mao's remains. However, on May 18th, all Beijing units issued tickets to individuals, small groups and collective viewers to enter the memorial hall. Could it be that the reopening of the memorial hall and the memorial service were an entirely unrelated timely coincidence? Of course not. It certainly was timely, but a timely arrangement and no coincidence at all. It is not hard to fathom the thought process of those in power. They had calculated beforehand that a Liu Shaoqi memorial service might stir up some people into making trouble and causing a reaction against either Liu or Mao, so they made precautions on both sides, the main action being the opening of the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall the day after the memorial service for Liu Shaoqi. This let people know that to rehabilitate Liu was not to oppose Mao or to be anti-Maoist.

A Balanced Strategy Overcomes Dangers

Those in power were very careful to use a balanced strategy. The evidence of this policy could also be seen in the wording of the memorial speech.

The purpose of this balanced strategy was to blunt anyone's feelings and eliminate any dangers.

The result was a victory. There were winds but no danger and an alert with no harm.

Of course, it is just like An Ziwen said: "It still cannot be counted as a complete victory as the poisons of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have not been eliminated, so be careful...."

However, after the campaign to rehabilitate Liu Shaoqi, Mao's image no longer seemed to be quite the same image.

Do Foreigners See Things Correctly?

Some people overseas believe that the May 16th RENMIN RIBAO editorial "Restore the Original Mao Zedong Thought" was not appropriately titled. These opinions hold that in those years it was Mao Zedong who "bombarded"" the "headquarters" of Liu Shaoqi. Mao's thought was meant to overthrow Liu Shaoqi's "revisionism," and to rehabilitate Liu at this time is to affirm that he was a great Marxist, which is to negate Mao's thought and actions. Therefore, the use of "restore" in the RENMIN RIBAO editorial becomes a humorous contradiction, a statement which simply cannot be justified.

A few intellectuals that I ran into in Beijing had differing views on the appropriateness of the title "Restore the Original Mao Zedong Thought." They said that the Chinese communists believe that Mao's thought has two major features: The first is that it is the crystallization of collective wisdom rather than a "work of genius" by Mao alone. The second is that it is a "scientific system," and only that which is precise and scientific is considered Mao Zedong thought. In the last 10-odd years Mao Zedong thought has been distorted beyond recognition and cut up and broken so that right and wrong are indistinguishable. In his old age Mao himself often violated Mao Zedong thought, so that there were contradictions between the thinking of Mao Zedong the man and the Mao Zedong thought of the crystallization of collective wisdom and the scientific system. This problem must now be clarified, which is to say that it is necessary to "Restore the Original Mao Zedong Thought." So the practical and realistic move to rehabilitate Liu Shaoqi is also a result of the move to restore the original Mao Zedong thought. Therefore, the RENMIN RIBAO ran the editorial on this "restoration."

This writer believes that their view of the matter is not mistaken. This writer also believes that although there is nothing wrong with the title of the RENMIN RIBAO editorial, it can lead to misunderstandings. It is possible, however, to understand the mental construct of the RENMIN RIBAO and the highest authorities: You say that for me to praise Liu is to blame Mao? OK, I'll just say that to rehabilitate Liu is to "Restore the Original Mao Zedong Thought." In this way the opposition has difficulty in finding a handhold to take any action.

11582
CSO: 4005

RISE OF CHEN YONGGUI, FRAUD OF DAZHAI

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 34, 1 Aug 80 pp 50-52

[Article by Chin Jin [4440 2516]: "The Chen Yonggui [7115 3057 6311] I Know"]

[Text] Wrapping a white towel around his head and wearing a peasant suit, Chen Yonggui, with an honest and sincere expression, traveled from Shanxi's Dazhai to Beijing, became a member of the Party Central Committee, joined the Central Politburo and served as a vice premier of the State Council. When he, with the status of a vice premier, led delegations abroad, received foreign visitors and inspected the rural villages in the various provinces of the country, the comments were many. Some people said: Chen Yonggui's style of hard work and simple living remains unchanged. Others said: Chen Yonggui should stay in Dazhai to "defend the flag." What qualifications does he have to become a vice premier? Still others remarked: For a vice premier with his kind of appearance, feigning poverty and playing dumb, it damages China's prestige.... The comments were many. Whether right or wrong, the writer was also confused. However, it happened that the writer, during the middle period of the Cultural Revolution (1969 to 1974), worked for several years in a local organ in Central Shanxi and had some knowledge of Chen Yonggui.

Special Titles

Chen Yonggui's entry into the Central Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party occurred during the 10th Party Congress in 1973, while his selection as a vice premier of the State Council happened at the 4th People's Congress in 1975. However, the Chen Yonggui prior to that was no longer just a secretary of the Dazhai brigade party branch. As early as 1967, upon the formation of the Shanxi provincial revolutionary committee, he became its vice chairman (Liu Geping [0491 2706 1627] was chairman). Subsequently, he served concurrently as the chairmen of the Central Shanxi regional and the Xiyang county revolutionary committees. After 1971, he became secretary of Shanxi provincial, Central Shanxi regional and Xiyang county party committees. After his promotion to Beijing, he still retained all the titles. In view of such special titles, one cannot help but believe in his success, his skill and his bureaucratic fortune. From the secretary of the most basic level party branch, the Dazhai brigade, to a member of the supreme Central Politburo, he indeed enjoyed many official posts!

Between the "Local Tyrant" and the "New Warlord"

Chen Yonggui's bureaucratic star rose during the Cultural Revolution. However, what was amazing was that, while others promoted factionalism and fought factional wars and were badly battered and injured in the process, Chen Yonggui "benefited from the misfortunes" and won promotions.

Between 1968 and 1969, factionalism turned heaven and earth upside down in Shanxi. After the formation of the provincial revolutionary committee, the "local faction" under Liu Geping, its chairman, and the "army support-leftwing faction" under Zhang Riqing [1728 2480 3237], its vice chairman, competed against each other. The Zhang Riqing faction called Liu Geping the "local tyrant of Shanxi" (a Yan Xishan-type figure), while the Liu Geping faction reviled Zhang Riqing as a "new warlord." Both factions resorted to "pen and force" in their strife. From Datong in the north to Zhongtiao Mountain in the south, from the provincial capital of Taiyuan to Dazhai brigade, they were locked in fierce battles. In the summer and fall of 1969, both factions, infuriated in their struggles, mustered forces and prepared for a final decisive battle in Taiyuan, the provincial capital. Fortunately, the central government became aware of the situation in time and issued an "announcement" banning armed struggles, and Taiyuan was saved from the fate of destruction. What was the role assumed by Chen Yonggui at this time? He also became factional, took Liu Geping's side, incited the masses to support Liu, practiced fraud, ran around campaigning, and produced a bad effect. However, after banning armed struggles in Taiyuan, at the "study class" for Liu, Chen, Zhang and others called by the central government, Liu Geping and Zhang Riqing were dismissed from their posts, while Chen remained unscathed, because he made a "profound" self-criticism and concealed his "bureaucratic aspirations," which were the source of his factionalism, by calling it an issue of understanding. Thus, he retained his bureaucratic position (he already became a member of the Party Central Committee at the "9th Congress" of the Chinese Communist Party in April 1969) and rose ever higher. Nevertheless, after the struggles, people began to gain a new understanding of Chen Yonggui. At least, the people of Shanxi found that he was merely one of those!

However, as the red flag of Dazhai was personally erected by Mao Zedong, and as Jiang Qing also took a fancy to Dazhai in the 1970's, frequently coming to Dazhai for a spin and taking pictures, Chen Yonggui well understood the intricacies and knew how to curry favor with "Mama Jiang," while the latter also saw him as a utilizable signboard, thus paving the way for his promotions. If we visualize the grand and spectacular sight of Dazhai, Chen's hometown, in the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, we will realize that he was very skillful in bending with the wind; if we recall how he "wished he could swallow Jiang Qing alive" (general idea), we will have no difficulty to see that this individual was good at telling lies and playing dumb.

"New Stuffs"

It was where the problem was. Originally, after the liberation of the Central Shanxi region in 1945, Chen Yonggui, in leading the people of Dazhai to reform the natural environment and develop production, indeed made some achievements, resolutely turning a poor mountain hamlet of "7 ditches, 8 ridges and 1 slope" into a fairly well-to-do new rural village. Dazhai's grain output per mu in 1953, for instance, was only 250 jin, but increased to 543 jin by 1958. Dazhai could be considered one of the advanced models in the construction of socialist new rural villages in the 1950's, or, to put it more accurately, one of the advanced models in mountain area rural construction. Chen Yonggui was indeed a good branch secretary. However, after Mao Zedong issued the appeal to "learn from Dazhai in agriculture" in 1964, Dazhai gradually took on a mystical hue. As the party branch secretary of the Dazhai brigade, Chen Yonggui was raised to an improper height and became the "prototype" of China's peasants, the "model" of rural cadres, and an "omnipotent talent." During the Great Cultural Revolution, to demonstrate that Dazhai was a "paragon of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship," that its people "attacked without cessation," and that it had "new stuffs" year after year, and to cater to the need of the then spreading "leftwing" line in accordance with the different political climate, Chen Yonggui began to "create new patterns" and learned how to brag and exaggerate.

In rural economic policy, besides "workpoint evaluation according to politics" and "the brigade as the basic accounting unit" (the rural people's communes in the whole country generally used the production team as the basic accounting unit), Chen Yonggui advocated "shutting down market trading," "abolishing family plots, "eradicating household sidelines," etc., and, with these as capital, he bragged about and spread them everywhere. From 1972 on, he traveled to Guangdong, Shaanxi, Guizhou, Gansu, Shandong, Liaoning, Xizang, Guangxi, Fujian, Jiangxi, Zhejiang and Shanghai to make inspections and "imparted experiences" at the meetings to learn from Dazhai in agriculture held in such areas.

On the political-ideological front, he portrayed the Dazhai people as experts in the class struggle and true rebels in the Great Cultural Revolution, and flaunted them as the "vanguard" in seizing power from the capitalist roaders, the "pathbreakers" in criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius, the "brave men" in "counterattacking the rightwing reversal trend," and the "indomitable heroes" in struggling against Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Whenever the delegates of the various trades and professions throughout the country crowded below Hutou Mountain to "observe and learn," Chen Yonggui and Guo Fenglian [6753 7685 5571] (succeeding him as the Dazhai branch secretary) peddled such "new stuffs."

During the Cultural Revolution, the "gang of four" vigorously advocated the theory that even the basic level cadres, especially the "heroic models," " must not only lower their heads to pull the cart, but also raise their heads to see the way." It was actually asking them to embrace the "leftwing" line. With a tacit understanding of the point, Chen Yonggui was good at "raising his head to see the way." The "new stuffs" advocated by him proved the height of his "line awareness," which suited the "gang of four's" taste. The "ultraleftwing" line needed people like him in order to gain publicity with bravado, while Chen Yonggui hoisted the flag with the wind and shouted for everyone to advance.

A Phoney Thing; a Stupidity

Naturally, it was not easy to keep producing the "new stuffs" without interruption, especially for Dazhai. Dazhai first emerged as a red banner on the national agricultural front and Xiyang became famous as the first Dazhai county in the country. Their persuasiveness depended on the grain output. Meanwhile, the proof of the theory that "once the class struggle succeeds, production will automatically improve" also depended on the grain output. Thereupon, Chen Yonggui began to falsify and tell lies.

Xiyang county encountered an unusually severe drought in 1973. Chen Yonggui thought that, as he had served as the number one man of the county for 2 years already, this was a good chance to make a showing. At a meeting of commune secretaries, he personally took charge to "inspire" the commune secretaries to falsify the grain output. Seeing the intent of the superior, the commune secretaries complied. Reportedly, the total grain output of the county for that year was only 140 million plus jin, while the Xiyang county party committee headed by Chen Yonggui, on the basis of the "reports" of the commune secretaries, actually decided to make it 239 million jin, a discrepancy of almost 90 million [sic] jin. Once the figures were submitted to the superior level, the miracle of the "unprecedented severe drought, unprecedented vigorous effort, and unprecedented big bumper harvest" "created" by Xiyang county was immediately published in SHANXI RIBAO and picked up by RENMIN RIBAO, and the national campaign to "learn from Dazhai and catch up with Xiyang" acquired a new content. However, it gave the people of Xiyang a hard time. Since a "big bumper harvest" was reaped in a year of severe drought, besides the grain ration of an average year for the commune members, the remainder must be partly surrendered to the government as public grain and partly purchased by the state in support of construciton, and the commune members had to tighten their belts to make up the shortage. When the writer discussed this instance and Chen Yonggui's entry into the Politburo with a friend in the propaganda group of the Xiyang county revolutionary committee, he recited two lines of a poem: "Talk not about government appointments; the fame of one general cost 10,000 lives." When I asked him what he meant, he replied: "When one person becomes famous and wins promotions, cries of discontent are heard everywhere. I never thought Chen Yonggui was so good at lying, causing the hunger of the people below!"

Ever since Chen Yonggui started lying about the grain output in 1973, Xiyang county made false reports year after year. Even in 1977, after the downfall of the "gang of four," the discrepancy was 60 million plus jin. The total discrepancy of the 5 years was 272 million plus jin, almost 24 percent more than the actual amount. As reports were padded every year, many communes and brigades suffered grain shortages every year. In those years, Xiyang county enjoyed a high reputation in the nation, and who could have imagined that its people suffered so severely for the fraud!

Not only thus, but Chen Yonggui, after his promotion to Beijing, continued to exert "remote control" over Xiyang county and exercised "patriarchal" rule. In 1975, he participated in planning the project to "shift the water in the west to the east," wasted several million yuan of state money and performed a stupidity.

"Shifting the water in the west to the east" was a stupidity which wasted money and manpower. From the day of its planning, it ran into the opposition of the cadres with insight and the engineering and technical personnel. At that time, there was a public outcry in the county, and a violent dispute occurred between the correct and the incorrect views. Chen Yonggui and certain leaders of Xiyang county--Central Shanxi region--Shanxi province rejected the correct views, attacked their advocates and created an unjust case.

falsifying the output and "shifting the water in the west to the east," Chen Yonggui was responsible for the phoney deed and the stupidity in Xiyang county, and he owed its people a debt.

The "Whatever" in the Agricultural Policy

After the downfall of the "gang of four," Chen Yonggui, the dishonest peasant who was in luck during the Cultural Revolution, still wanted to hold on to the red banner of Dazhai.

In the early period after smashing the "gang of four," Chen Yonggui promptly "turned his weapon around and struck." Assuming the role of a victim, he vociferously discussed how Jiang Qing opposed Dazhai, how she smeared its red banner, how he and its people resisted, and how they struggled against the "gang of four."

However, with the movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and to bring order out of chaos, the pragmatists headed by Deng Xiaoping wanted to implement the economic policies and purge the "gang of four's" remnant ultraleftwing poison on the economic front, yet Chen Yonggui, Ji Dengkui [4764 4098 1145] and others who were in charge of agriculture desperately held on to the "gang of four's" stuffs and tightly grasped the red banner of Dazhai, blocking the implementation of the industrial, as well as the agricultural, policies. Chen Yonggui felt that his slogan that "vigorous criticism promotes vigorous effort; vigorous effort promotes great changes," his system of "workpoint evaluation according to politics," and his methods of "eliminating capitalism" and "poor transition" were 100 percent socialism, and that "the Dazhai experience attacked without interruption." However, the pragmatists waged a pinpointed struggle against his views. The newspapers and periodicals criticized false socialism, and the masses resisted it by practical actions and demanded true socialism. Thereupon, Chen and Ji Dengkui, resorting to their special skills, created such big labels as "anti-Dazhai" and "chopping down the red banner personally erected by Chairman Mao" and attached them everywhere. Anyone stressing household sidelines was growing a capitalist tail; anyone advocating market trading was restoring capitalism; anyone upholding the socialist principle of distribution according to labor was resisting "workpoint evaluation according to politics." If anyone criticized "poor transition," they countered that it was necessary and that only it would bring wealth. If anyone proposed diversification, they accused him of opposing "grain as the key link." The Chen Yonggui of this period actually followed the "whatever" principle in everything. However, without much theoretical knowledge, he did not dare to say much at the several important meetings of the Chinese Communist Party, and was not given much attention.

Time to Step Down!

One may say that the Chen Yonggui after the mid-1960's was tied to the war chariot with the "leftwing" line by the "gang of four" and used as a gun. Therefore, the "whatever" of those years was inevitable.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," Chen Yonggui's political star dimmed. With the intensification of the discussion on the criterion of truth, the loss of power of the "whatever faction," and the practical negation of the Dazhai experience, people predicted Chen Yonggui's certain downfall.

However, Chen Yonggui did not step down along with the "minor gang of four"--Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281], Wu De [0702 1795], Chen Xilian [7115 6932 5114] and Ji Dengkui. It was reported that, in the past year or 2, he was mainly engaged in self-criticism--doing so in the central government and returning to Shanxi province--Central Shanxi region--Xiyang county to do so.

Self-criticism is absolutely necessary. Chen Yonggui's issue is not a general one. His mistakes damaged the country and harmed the people. But just self-criticism alone seems to be inadequate. According to the writer's view, with his lack of ability and character, Chen Yonggui is not qualified to serve as a leading party and government cadre. He should be dismissed from his posts of vice premier of the State Council and member of the Central Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party and returned to Dazhai.

6080
CSO: 4005

SITUATION OF DAZHAI AGRICULTURAL MODEL EXAMINED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 34, 1 Aug 80 pp 53-54

[Article by Meng Ren [5536 0088]: "From 'Agricultural Model' to 'Political Model'"]

[Text] By July 1980, people finally learned through official channels how Xiyang misrepresented its output and undertook the large project of "shifting the water in the west to the east" which failed to benefit production but only wasted money and manpower, thereby fully clarifying the true situation of the artificial "Dazhai county" unknown to outsiders for many years. People also thereby realized that, to the leaders in Beijing, removing the "Dazhai model" was indeed not a light decision. However, to act according to the spirit of "seeking the truth from the facts" and solve the practical problems in China's socialist construction, it would have been difficult to progress if the truth of Dazhai was not made known, because the will of the superior to "learn from Dazhai in agriculture," like a 1,000-jin load, pressed down on the heads of China's peasants, and their misery and loss all these years were incalculable!

Today, from the results of "practical inspections," most artificial "models," be they "model plays" or agricultural and industrial models, were found to be wanting. The reason was because such "models" were not formed naturally by the law of development of things themselves. To put it more concretely, all the unsuccessful "models" were created to serve politics, to serve the ultra-leftwing line. In terms of Dazhai, after the failure of the 1958 "great leap forward," those who created and stubbornly adhered to the ultraleftwing line refused to admit their mistakes (forced by the situation, they did once casually admitted the mistakes, but immediately reneged). After launching the "anti-rightwing" movement to crack down on the good cadres in the party such as Officer Peng [1756] who had the courage to tell the truth, they vigorously fostered the cadres who "bent with the wind" and withheld the truth, and continued to defend the practice of boasting and the communist style. The Dazhai brigade headed by Chen Yonggui [7115 3057 6311] was thus chosen as the "agricultural model" and given aid in manpower (the PLA) and material (state funds), and artificially made into a false example of continuous "leap forward." In 1964, the song "Our Good Branch Secretary Chen Yonggui" was widely circulated! Thereafter, the "supreme directive" to "learn from Dazhai in agriculture" was published in the entire country.

Thousands and tens of thousands of rural cadres from all areas in the country were sent daily to Dazhai to observe and learn the spirit of of "hard work and energetic work" displayed by the Dazhai people in their "night battle at Langwozhang" and "chopping open Hutou Mountain." Barely freed from the 1958 great leap forward of "eating out of the same large cauldron," "camping in the field" and "3-foot deep plowing," the people were pushed into the new movement to "learn from Dazhai." The peasants could slow down, but the cadres must "produce achievements," for otherwise they would face dismissal and be accused of "rightwing opportunism," implicating even their wives and children! Thus, projects were started everywhere blindly and aimlessly, and the manpower and material of the production teams transferred without compensation. Everyone was exhausted, and normal agricultural production was held up. When the people complained, the leading cadres could only say: "We must do the political accounts, not just the economic accounts!" Whether to learn from Dazhai became an issue of "whether to be revolutionary," and no one dared to object! The "learn from Dazhai" movement of 10 plus years sapped the energy of the peasants in the whole country and dissipated their morale! Dazhai continued to welcome the peasant delegates of the whole country to come and observe, and its people were unable to conceal their exhaustion from the long-term excessive labor and the very low living standard of "coarse bread and pickles" throughout the year. What did they say to the visitors who had come to observe? Secretary Guo Fenglian [6753 7685 5571] informed the visitors that the basic experience of Dazhai was "vigorously promoting the class struggle... vigorously criticizing capitalism and vigorously promoting socialism," and that, "if the capitalist path is not blocked, socialism cannot stride forward!" What fine words! You come to Dazhai, and this is what you learn! (As for what is "capitalism" and what "socialism," the Dazhai cadres may not know what they mean even today.) The agricultural model of Dazhai thus turned into a political model, and one can imagine that the falsification of output became inevitable. Was it conceivable that the cadres got together to tell lies "to the party and Chairman Mao" when all areas falsified their output during the 1958 great leap forward? Were they not forced to suffer in silence?

Creating models and acting according to the will of the superior completely violate the objective economic laws. The 1958 "great leap forward" created the tragedy of starvation, but, as this tremendous mistake of the subjective idealist line was not exposed and criticized, it continued to harm the people by transforming itself into the "learn from Dazhai" movement. A "deity" was doing mischief in people's mind, and continued to do so for a period after the downfall of the "gang of four."

As small production was helpless against major natural disasters, the peasants of China, for thousands of years, had the negative idea of "submitting to the will of Heaven and resigning to fate." Therefore, the spirit of self-reliance demonstrated by Chen Yonggui and a group of Dazhai people, working hard and refusing to submit to the will of Heaven or resigning to fate, was very valuable. However, one must realize that such spirit was still founded on small production. There were different attitudes toward it. By extolling it, permitting it to "work vigorously and hard," and sublimating it endlessly to the stage of severance from the material conditions and deification in isolation, it was led astray, and actually wasted! The spirit of the "Foolish Old Man removing the mountain," as a whole, is good, and serves to improve morale. However, if it were not the Heavenly Emperor who was touched by such spirit of hard and rash work, but the snake god were sent to carry away the two big mountains, the harm to future generations would have been unimaginable. Today, are not half excavated hills seen everywhere in the country, because people were so exhausted that they oculd not complete the job? "Man will triumph over nature" is not a very scientific statement. Triumph over nature can only be accomplished by acting according to the laws of "nature." In the "learn from Dazhai" movement, the old saying that "man will triumph over nature" was made into an "incantation," the "theoretical" basis to issue blind orders and work rashly!

Stopping the Dazhai movement, permitting China's peasants to rest and recuperate, acting according to the economic laws, "bringing out the good points and avoiding the defects" constitute today the feasible means to develop China's agricultural production. While adopting the timely measures, the subjective idealism of issuing arbitrary orders must be vigorously and thoroughly criticized, beginning with the "people's commune" and the "great leap forward." No construction without destruction, for otherwise there can be no progress.

6080
CSO: 4005

MAO ZEDONG'S MERITS, MISTAKES ASSESSED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 34, 1 Aug 80 p 54

[Article by Fang Wen [2455 2429]: "How Should Mao Zedong's Merits and Mistakes Be Proportionated?"]

[Text] Who should be the ones to assess Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes? The 1 billion people of modern China are the ones most directly concerned. By their own experience and their personal gain or loss, they are the most effective witnesses and the best critics.

On Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes, some people suggest "70 percent (or better) to 30 percent," while others think that it should be "30 percent (or less) to 70 percent." As the views are many, no conclusion can be drawn. Some men of goodwill worry that new contradictions may result from the assessment and lead to confusion, detrimental to stability and unity and to the realization of the four modernizations. I feel that the simple use of figures is unscientific and worrying about getting into trouble and affecting the four modernizations superfluous. On the contrary, clarifying the right and wrong is most beneficial. Mao Zedong's tremendous merits before the founding of the nation cannot be obliterated, but nor can he be relieved of responsibility for the new ultraleftwing line formed after the founding of the nation and the resulting calamities and disasters. Therefore, a prompt and matter-of-fact assessment of all his activities and deeds, be they correct or erroneous, is called for. Clarifying the issue will benefit stability and unity and encourage the people to realize the four modernizations. Mao's merits and mistakes exist objectively in history. From the historical materialist viewpoint, stressing or overlooking either is not fair. From the dialectic viewpoint, the greater the achievements and the higher the prestige to start with, the stronger will be the effect afterward. On the issue of merits and mistakes, everyone must uphold the principles that "mistakes must be amended by merits" and that "mistakes cannot be offset by merits." A person who has made mistakes should be encouraged to repent and to render new meritorious service to the people, making amends for their mistakes by their merits. But a person who does evil on the strength of his merits and bullies others with his power must not be tolerated, because the people trust him for his merits and it becomes easy for him, with his prestige, to do evil, and the detrimental consequences will be inestimable. Therefore, to offset or conceal subsequent evil deeds with past merits will not do. It is even more impermissible for a person who, "once with power in his hands, issues orders indiscriminately," utilizing the power and prestige granted him by the people to do whatever he pleases, defying laws human and divine. If so, what is the use for the people to ask him to establish merits? Therefore, the principle that "mistakes cannot be offset by merits" means that today's mistakes cannot be offset by merits of the past. Past merits are past; today's mistakes belong to today.

Therefore, on the issue of Mao's assessment, it will be meaningless if we depart from the principles discussed above and argue about the mathematical percentages. We must make a comprehensive, historical and objective assessment, seeking the truth from the facts and refraining from sophistry and overpowering, so that different opinions and views are permitted expression, presenting the facts, giving the reasons and convincing people with facts and reasons.

The purpose of assessing Mao is to learn a lesson. It is hoped that the Chinese Communist authorities will not play coy, evading and equivocating, but speak frankly and activate the people to participate in the undertaking. The organs concerned should furnish the facts and information which can be furnished, so that the work of assessment can be launched concretely. Only thus will it be possible to thoroughly purge the remnant poison of the "ultraleftwing" line. It will indeed be the good fortune of the state, the good fortune of the nation!

6080
CSO: 4005

DELETION OF 'FOUR BIGS' FROM CONSTITUTION CRITICIZED

OW100945 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 8 Sep 80

[Text] The delegation of Article 45 of the Constitution has already been decided upon. Vice Premier Deng has insisted on banning the four big freedoms at various meetings since 1978. He has finally achieved his goal.

However, as was pointed out by some deputies at a meeting of the Presidium of the current NPC session, it is justified to correct past mistakes in practicing the "four bigs," but it is wrong to completely deprive the people of the democratic rights they have exercised for several decades.

At the Presidium meeting, three persons spoke one after another, saying that the past inclusion of the four big freedoms in the Constitution was forced by the "gang of four." This argument is extremely ridiculous. When the new Constitution was adopted in 1978, the "gang of four" had long since become stinking political mummies. The overwhelming majority of the people now sitting in the Presidium raised their hands than to support the including of the four big freedoms in the Constitution.

The allegations that in the past some people used the four big freedoms to attack party and state leaders, undermine stability and unity, create disorder in their units and so forth simply cannot be used as reasons to deprive the people of the four big freedoms. Any right, system and measure, when improperly applied, can cause mistakes and problems. We cannot give up eating for fear of choking. We cannot deprive 1 billion people of these rights because some people have misused them.

In the past 5 years, including the 4 years after the downfall of the "gang of four," we have failed to smoothly fulfill any national economic construction plan in any year. Because of imbalances caused by mistakes in planning, we have had to suspend construction of nearly 100 heavy industrial enterprises and so forth. If we are to act according to the principle of seeking truth from facts, does it mean that from now on we should not make plans and should not act according to them?

Moreover, since Comrade Deng Xiaoping criticized in 1978 the past policy of self-reliance and proposed the policy of actively importing advanced technology and equipment to speed up the four modernizations, the country has imported several billion yuan worth of foreign technology and equipment, a lot of which was bought with loans with high interest rates. However, some central leaders can only issue instructions and cannot make economic calculations. As a result, a lot of the imported equipment has become a burden because of a shortage of raw material and electric power, our inability to operate and repair them and lack of spare parts. The foreign exchange earned by the people, who work hard and economize on food and clothing, is thus wasted for nothing. Does it follow that because of what has happened our country will stop importing foreign machinery and equipment? Of course not. Why, then, are the four big democratic rights completely abolished just because some people have misused them?

Our party and army have the fine tradition of accepting supervision by the masses. Leading party, government and army cadres, particularly top leaders, should consciously place themselves under the supervision of the masses inside and outside the party. Only thus can subjectivism, bureaucracy, feudal autocracy and actions harmful to the interests of the masses be reduced to a minimum. But, instead of improving, perfecting and strengthening the people's democratic rights, we are blackening these rights wholesale and flagrantly depriving the people of these rights. This amounts to undermining the fine tradition of our party and army to accept supervision by the masses. Instead of warmly supporting and encouraging the proper growth of the traditional form of mass criticism and supervision, we are finding all kinds of excuses to vilify, check and eliminate them. This attitude is extremely wrong.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

PERSONNEL REORGANIZATION--The NPC will hold a plenary session this morning to vote on the reorganization of personnel of the NPC Standing Committee and the State Council. Voting will be by secret ballot. It is expected that the nomination of Zhao Ziyang as premier will be approved without difficulty. Later, Zhao Ziyang will put forward the list of newly added vice premiers. There is a great deal of speculation about Huang Hua, Zhang Aiping and Yang Jingren being nominated as vice premiers today. Huang Hua has been minister of foreign affairs for many years. Zhang Aiping is now chairman of the science and technology commission for national defense. Yang Zingren is chairman of the nationalities affairs commission. Their appointments as vice premiers will strengthen the leadership of the State Council in various areas. Because the reorganization of the personnel of the NPC Standing Committee and the State Council is voted on by secret ballot, the opening of the plenary session scheduled for this morning has been advanced 0830 and a computer will be used to count the votes. To avoid interference, those observers who do not have a vote, including CPPCC members, will all be seated on the 1st floor. Foreign correspondents and diplomatic envoys will be allowed to attend the closing ceremony this afternoon. [Chang Yun-feng] [Text] [HK100640 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 10 Sep 80 p 1]

GUANGDONG LEADERSHIP CHANGE--The governor and vice governor of Guangdong Province Xi Zhongxun and Yang Shangkun most probably will be appointed as vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee. The last day of the third plenary session of the Fifth NPC is 10 September. Changes in the personnel of the State Council and the NPC Standing Committee will be published in the morning and the closing ceremony will be held in the afternoon. Xi Zhongxun and Yang Shangkun are expected to be elected as additional vice chairmen. Besides them, Pang Chong, Ban Shan and Su Yu are also expected to be elected. These five people have already been nominated by the Presidium and if they are elected at the NPC session on 10 September, there will be changes in the Guangdong leaders. However, Xi Zhongxun probably will stay in Guangdong while Yang Shangkun will be transferred to Beijing. [Cheng Yun-feng] [Text] [HK100626 Hong Kong WEN WEI PAO in Chinese 10 Sep 80 p 1]

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

EX-KUOMINTANG RADAR SPECIALIST--Beijing, 24 Aug (XINHUA)--Zheng Naisen, formerly a Kuomintang captain and assistant research fellow at a radar research institute under the Kuomintang's national defense ministry, has been appointed deputy chief engineer of a research institute by the PLA Air Force headquarters. He is now leading efforts in designing a new type radar equipment. Zheng Naisen, 56 years of age, graduated from Zhejiang University in 1946, served in the Kuomintang army for 2 years and returned to his hometown when Nanjing was liberated. On learning that the PLA had taken over the radar institute, he returned to the institute to give technical instructions. In the past three decades or so Zheng Naisen has been engaged in conducting radar research for the PLA Air Force. He was admitted into the CCP in 1978 and has been commended many times for his achievements in research work. [OW291331 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1211 GMT 24 Aug 80]

CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO' COMMENTATOR DISCUSSES TRAINING YOUNG PEOPLE

OW061325 Beijing XINHUA in English 1307 GMT 6 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 6 (XINHUA)--Whether China can educate more young people and dare to promote them is vital to the success or failure of the country's modernization, says a today's PEOPLE'S DAILY commentator's article.

China's modernization, to a large degree, depends on the younger generation, says the article. "We should do away with backward and conservative ideas and reform many systems, including examination system, employment system and promotion system."

The article gives as an example of open mindedness the Chinese Academy of Sciences enrollment of 13 young people for graduate studies though they did not have college diplomas. There are many young people with great potential and the thing to do is to discover them and help them.

The article laments the fact that some leading comrades do not feel the urgency of finding people of great promise for the country's modernization. They either do not feel the need or else complain that there are none. Most young people want to study and accomplish something. They need encouragement and help.

However, the article goes on, some leading comrades, instead of caring for them and educating them, try to stifle them. They fear that giving working time to study may affect production. They set production against education, and are blind to the fact that without raising the workers scientific and cultural level, productivity cannot be raised. The article tells how a Zhengzhou factory put all kinds of obstacles in the way of a young worker who wanted to take T.V. courses.

The commentary urges leading comrades to create favorable conditions for talented young people to learn and mature.

CSO: 4020

MORE YOUTH TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES NEEDED

OW071305 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1223 GMT 6 Sep 80

[RENMIN RIBAO 6 September commentator's article: "Create Conditions for Young People To Become Persons of Ability"]

[Text] Beijing, 6 Sep--In his opening speech at the third session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: building China into a modern, powerful socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization calls for great efforts to bring into play the superiority of China's socialist system. Organizationally, we must do our best to discover, train and promote people who are qualified for the work of modernization, opening all avenues so that competent people can fully use their talents.

An important task confronting us is none other than training more young people to become persons of ability and selecting a large number of talented persons from among youth. People have different answers to such questions as "how should we treat the youth of this generation?" "Are there able young people around?" and "Can a large number of qualified personnel be trained from among youth?" Before we answer these questions, let us take a look at some examples.

Shen Youtang, age 28, of the Shukuang Hospital, affiliated to the Shanghai College of Traditional Chinese Medicine, graduated from a junior middle school in 1967. For a long time, he painstakingly studied the way to determine the output of an impeded heart [zu kang xin 7091 2123 1800]. He has achieved a great deal in his studies, filled a gap in China's medical science in this field and aroused international interest. Some foreign medical experts have asked him for relevant research papers. The international angiology committee offered him membership. In 1979 Shen Youtang was promoted a lecturer of the Shanghai College of Traditional Chinese Medicine.

Chen Ling, age 25, graduated from a junior middle school in Beijing in 1972. He has learned English, German, French and Russian in 8 years of hard self-study. He took part in the examination for linguists sponsored by the Bureau of Higher Education and came out fourth in the

English test among more than 100 competitors. Recently the No 1 branch of the Beijing Industrial University has hired him as a foreign language material clerk.

Su Yongiong, 31, was a worker of the Zhoudong County Brewery in Heilongjiang Province. For many years he has seriously learned vocational skills and made achievements in improving the quality of wines. HEILONGJIANG FAXIAO [HEILONGJIANG FERMENTATION] journal has published four research papers he wrote and hired him as a member of its editorial committee. One of his research papers is entitled "An Introduction to the Distillation of White Wine." He has been director of the brewery since 1979.

Zhang Yuanzheng, 30, is an educated youth who has settled in the Dongsheng production team of the Zhenzhu production brigade in the Changan commune in Arun banner of Nei Monggol Autonomous Region. Since he became leader of the production team in 1978, he has led the commune members in working hard and brought about great change in the team. Per-capita income among team members has increased by 100 yuan yearly in the past 2 years and 60 percent of the team's farming has been mechanized.

Zhou Jiwu, 30, of the data room of the Zhuzhou Municipal Electronics Research Institute in Hunan Province has translated more than 400,000 words over the past 4 years. With remarkable ability in organizing information collection, he is one of the sponsors for China's miniature computer information network. Recommended by four electronics experts in Zhuzhou Municipality, he has recently been made an exception in personnel regulations, being promoted engineer.

The above-mentioned examples are only a small portion of what has recently been reported by the press. In fact, many outstanding young people like them exist of various fronts throughout the country. Most of them were born in the 1950s and were indeed adversely affected by the 10-year turmoil. Nevertheless, many of them did not neglect their studies even in those turbulent years in which they could not receive adequate school education. They seized every minute and second and redoubled their efforts particularly after the downfall of the "gang of four." Therefore, they have made outstanding achievements on their workposts.

Facts show that youths now in the 20's or early 30's are not of a "collapsed generation" or "lost generation," although they were adversely affected by the turmoil. There are many persons of ability among them. It is important that we should take a broader view, know how to distinguish them and dare to select and promote them once we decide that they show great promise.

The Sichuan Provincial CYL Committee has helped Wang Yinju, a parttime worker, become an editor of theoretical materials which is an enlightening example indeed.

A senior middle school student interested in social sciences, Wang Yinju meticulously collected reference materials and wrote an article "The History of Communist Alliances," a subject on which few people at that time did any systematic study. However, for this article, he was considered "presumtuous" and "a dangerous element" and was forced to leave school. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," he was designated "ideologically reactionary" for the same reason and was put in jail on fabricated charges. Released in 1972, he became a parttime worker. In 1979 he appealed to the authorities concerned. Determined that Wang's was a wronged case and that he himself was a young man of great promise, the committee wholeheartedly helped solve his problems. It assisted the public security department to redress and rehabilitate him, and return his manuscripts to him, recommending him to the Sichuan People's Publishing House where he became an editor in the theoretical editorial room. This highly reponsible attitude of seeking, discovering and fostering people of great promise should indeed be encouraged.

Contrary to this example, some comrades do not feel it urgent that a great number of talented people are needed in the modernization drive. With plenty of cultivable talent around, these comrades just do not show concern for them, train them or use them. They even repress, stifle and ruin them with all sorts of excuses. A young man of Lanxi County, Zhejiang, named Li Zixian, was quite good at raising bees. Since 1975 he had published over a dozen commendable articles on the theory and practice of beekeeping in the magazine CHINA APICULTURE. Simply because he had an undesirable family background, he was driven out of the bee farm and was forced to work at a foodstuff center. Terribly pained by the separation from the bee farm, he has appealed several times to be sent back. The problem is not yet solved. Cases like this--cherishing no talents, not putting their strong points to use but putting them in a difficult situation and even unreasonably repressing them--can be found in many places and units. Leading cadres at all levels should take note of these cases as food for thought.

Some cadres always lament the shortage of talent but make no efforts at all to cultivate it. To cultivate young people of promise means helping a great number of them make up for lost time, time they have been forced to lose. Nowadays, many young people are keenly enthusiastic about study and eagerly want to acquire some knowledge by all possible means. This is something valuable. Leading cadres should do their best to facilitate their study and create conditions for it so as to train more talent. Some leading cadres are only concerned about immediate production tasks and are terribly afraid of letting young people have some time to do study lest "production be affected." Thus, they set production against education, not knowing that without raising the workers' scientific and educational level, it is impossible to raise production efficiency and even impossible for them to handle the advanced equipment and master advanced technology. This is shortsightedness, unable to perceive the long-term benefits. What is more serious is that some leading cadres not only refuse to give support to but go out of their way to obstruct or even abuse young workers who are keenly interested in attending television or spare-time universities. Quite a number of young people have sent letters to newspapers complaining against this situation. Recently HENAN RIBAO published a letter from Zhang Qinghua, a worker of the experiment plant affiliated to the Zhengzhou Machine Manufacturing School under the First Ministry of Machine Building, saying: He became a full-course television university student last year after obtaining approval of the leadership and passing an examination, studying in daytime and doing production work at the work shop at night. Later, the party committee demanded that he fulfill the monthly work-hour quota. Knowing that it was difficult to carry out this order, he was willing to do half the work and have his wages cut by half. Not long afterwards, the party committee disqualified him as a television university student, saying that he had not worked enough. To fulfill the quota of work hours, he asked his wife to work at the workshop with him, leaving their baby in the locked house. Even then, the party committee sent people to the classroom to drag him out. He insisted on attending the class. The party committee held a number of meetings to criticize and denounce him by name and ordered the workshop to organize meetings to do the same. Later, his wages were withheld for 8 months and he was given a warning on the pretext that he could not do day-shift work and it was impossible to give him another assignment. "I really do not know what crimes I had committed by choosing to be a television university student and why should I be dealt such a blow!" This is a problem and complaint the young man has put to society. Is this tolerable in our socialist country when the party Central Committee has called for raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation?

Fortunately, this case has been correctly handled by leading organizations concerned. Outstanding examples like this are not very many of course. However, it is quite common that young people are "stifled" and not allowed to have more opportunity to acquire education. We hope leading cadres at all levels pay more attention to this problem and correct any wrong practices.

Today's younger generation is called "the generation of the next century." To a great extent, success of China's modernization depends on them. Therefore, whether or not we can train more young people as useful persons and whether or not we can boldly select and promote talented persons from among the young people is an important matter concerning the success of our modernization. In this matter, we have to totally eliminate various backward and conservative ideas and reform our systems. Systems of examination, employment and promotion for workers and cadres and so on must all be conducive to young people's advancement through more education. We must resolutely emancipate our minds and dare to break old conventions. This year the Chinese Academy of Sciences enrolled 193 research fellow, 13 of them middle school or technical school graduates. According to regulations, applicants as research fellows must be graduates of regular universities. Not sticking to any single stipulation, the academy enrolled some young people who, although lacking regular schooling, acquired comparable knowledge and gave a good showing in examination. It is fine to break through this "stipulation." This attitude is also desirable in using and promoting cadres. For instance, granting of titles such as technicians, engineers, agronomists, medical doctors in charge, editors, reporters, lecturers, professors and research fellows should not be based on schooling alone. People without adequate schooling but having comparable knowledge should be granted commensurate titles and appropriate jobs. There are now plenty young people of great promise or great ability. If leading cadres at all levels adopt a fervent attitude and adhere to the correct policy and principles, they can certainly discover more people of great promise. This is entirely necessary for the acceleration of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005

PARTY VETERAN CALLS FOR RETURN TO TRADITIONAL TEACHING

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 25 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by Duan Zhen [3008 6966], Shanghai municipal party commissioner of Communist Youth League: "Traditional Method of Teaching Defended; Remembering How the Underground Party Led Us in Youth Work"]

[Text] I support the exploring spirit advocated by teacher Feng Enhong [7458 1869 3164]. To bring up a new generation in socialism and to establish Chinese-style socialist education, we need not only "explorers" but also "innovators."

Exploration is for innovation, but innovations cannot be isolated from history. Progress requires reform, but only those stale and backward ways that are in the way of new growth should be removed. The good traditional methods of education distilled from our long experience in political educational work must not be discarded.

The present problem in dealing with traditional educational methods is not so much the "nostalgia on the part of quite a few comrades for traditional educational ideas and methods," as described by some comrades. On the contrary, it lies in some comrades' failure to understand the excellent educational traditions formed in the practice of political ideological work and their failure to understand how to inherit, make use of, and develop those traditional experiences. Some comrades even mistake the kind of feudalistic and ultraleftist educational methods pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"--which consist of nothing but mythical and superstitious restraint, simplistic and crude repression, boring and vacuous teaching, glib deception, and denial of character and emotion--as the "traditional educational ideas and methods of our party." Therefore, I consider it an important task at present to redress what was wrong--that is to say, to revive the good traditional educational methods that were damaged and defiled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and to enable them to attain new development in the new era.

Further the Mass Line Tradition of Conscientious Work

I have engaged in mass political work since the mid-1940's. At that time, what methods did the underground party organization use to guide us in ideological work among the youth? In sum, there were two items: conscientious work, and the mass line. At that time, special emphasis was placed on trusting the masses, caring about the masses, and depending on the masses. Starting from the realities of the masses, we led them in self-education and self-liberation through practice. Under the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, it was common to find young people unable to attend school and schoolteachers in abject poverty. Thus the underground party organization led the masses in the "learning aid movement," the "tutor movement," and the "honor-the-teacher movement." From their own practice, the masses realized that the root of poverty was the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek's traitorous dictatorship, and they also came to understand the power of unity and organized forces. Their revolutionary consciousness was therefore raised, and sympathy for the people and thoughts and feelings for the people's welfare were gradually cultivated among them. These were the bases for a philosophy of revolutionary life. The party also instructed us that political propaganda work for young people must cater to their interests and must approach their intellectual level through rich and varied forms of mass activities. Activities, such as summer camps, campfires, summer evening parties serving watermelon and mungbean soup, and field trips, which enjoy great popularity among young people today, were pretty well developed in the youth movement in preliberation days. Mass concerts and theater were also effective ways of uniting and educating the masses. Today, many of the middle-age cadres received their first enlightenment through songs like "Yellow River Chorus," "Wonderful Place Beyond the Mountain," "Teahouse Ballad," and "Stumbling Is Nothing," and mortality plays such as "Put Down Your Whip" and the "Match-Vending Girl." Propaganda at that time emphasized realism and image; a variety of interesting and lively methods were preferred to boring and empty teaching. The resulting methods were attractive, effective, and persuasive. We also emphasized the individual approach: we organized pingpong teams to bind together those who liked sports; we built libraries and organized reading clubs for those who like to read. We taught children who like to watch "peepshows" the "peepshow song" in Shanghai dialect: "Look inside and peep inside/ Shanghai is truly a bustling city/. Neon lights are bright/ Rich people eat and eat/ Poor people cry cold and hungry." We also led them in "relief movement" in ghettoes and made "little reporters" and "little teachers" out of them to visit the poor, so as to be exposed to class education.... Until the 1950's, following the good tradition of preliberation days, and adapting to the new situation and new characteristics of the 1950's, the broad political education workers created many new working experiences. Educational activities, such as "birthday parties," were initiated and popularized by the summer camp of the Pioneers. A series of principles on youth ideological education extracted and refined from the rich traditional educational experiences at that time included "combine ideology with knowledge and interest," "education through entertainment," "one key to open one lock," "little by little, change and influence imperceptibly, "like fine carving, penetrate deeply and skillfully," "patient persuasion and active leadership," "integrate with the masses and be their intimate friends," "snowballing", etc. We still find those scientific educational experiences and traditional methods of ideological education heartwarming and refreshing, because they are close to reality and meet the demands of the present. We must make an effort to clean up the remaining evils of feudal education and the ultraleftist educational methods which have become rampant since the Cultural Revolution, and develop further the good educational traditions of the past.

Some comrades believe that the traditional revolutionary method of comparing is no longer appropriate. Some specialists on juvenile problems also subscribe to this view. I do not concur, however. We must not forget that one of the characteristics of youth in the new era is their lack of historical knowledge and experience. To teach them patriotism, don't we need to tell them something about modern Chinese history? Don't we need to say something about the suffering of old China, and how new China emerged from struggles? If one knows only to compare material culture and creature comforts with the capitalist countries, without understanding the original bases of our motherland, without understanding the exploitation and repressions suffered by our grandparents, without understanding the achievements and the progress our country has made, and without understanding the social evils of the capitalist countries, how can he understand socialism? Without comparison, there will not be strong likes and dislikes or a distinction between good and evil, and there will not be knowledge gained from facts. This kind of traditional revolutionary educational method is needed not only today but also in the future. Failure to use this method means putting our youth in danger of forgetting about our motherland and our history.

What are we to do when some young people are not responsive to the remembering and comparing method of education? This question requires specific analysis. Responsiveness is not dependent on the method itself but on its application. Method is at the service of object and content. Of course, there should be new content and new forms for the new objects of the new era. Nowadays, many schools encourage students to read "Lovely China" written by Fang Zhimin [2455 1807 2404], listen to stories told by Zhang Qiong [1728 8825] the motherly revolutionary, watch "stars twinkle tonight," and appreciate musicians playing good music created in different periods. The Pioneers also engage in "comparing childhood with grandpa and grandma." Aren't these "remembering and comparing" activities lively in image, informative in content, and varied in form? Aren't they popular among the young people who embrace them enthusiastically? The comparison method was abused during the time of the "gang of four." At that time, the life of the people was going from bad to worse, but the masses were required to appreciate the so-called paradise where "birds chirp and swallows dance" through "remembering bitterness and reflecting on sweetness." The masses became even more exasperated through recalling bitter memories. Who would be responsive to this stuff? Playing on ultraleftism, the "gang of four" made remembering and comparing simplistic and vulgar. For example, following the theory of expanding class struggle, they pushed "monthly comparison, daily comparison" and invariably adopted the same mode of "an old worker's bitter memory," which became endlessly repetitive and trite. The masses naturally found this distasteful. The so-called "remembering bitterness meal" was the worst of all. Before eating mooncake at the Mid-Autumn Festival and dinner on New Year's Eve, one first had to eat "bran dumplings and wild grass gruel." The more one ate, the "higher" the level of awareness. Should you have a stomachache or toothache and thus be unable to swallow or chew, you would be accused of "bourgeois thinking" and "forgeting your past." This was not only formalism but making a fool of the masses. Although the "gang of four" has been smashed for 3 years, the harmful effects of this superficial, stifling, and simplistic approach still remains in education. No matter how good an educational method has been, once affected by any of these diseases it produces only "resistance" among those being educated. We must clean up the pollution of ultraleftism, revive and popularize the good tradition of political ideological work, and defend the "remembering and comparing" method.

At present we are in a great transitional age. Educational ideology and methods must aim at "the future" while planting our feet in "the past." We must inherit creatively and create from our inheritance. We must have the courage to change and to innovate--to change feudalism and the outmoded educational methods which are unequal to the demands of socialist modernization, and create new educational experiences in the new era of socialism. Let me share this thought with the "explorers."

9507
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BEIJING RIBAO' LETTERS ON YOUTH, CULTURAL LIFE

OW060837 Beijing XINHUA in English 0819 GMT 6 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, 6 September (XINHUA)--"Young people are not robots, they like to play. After 8 hours of work, they need recreation, education and companionship. They are forbidden to do certain things, yet no attention is paid to their lives outside of work." A young worker wrote this in a letter that appeared in today's BEIJING DAILY.

He wrote: "What's wrong with having a party and dancing, wearing pretty flared trousers or high heels?" The society is progressing and times are changing. Old habits will eventually be replaced by new ones. "Some cadres and older people tend to be old-fashioned. Anything they are not used to they think is bad. I don't think this attitude is correct."

He urged the Communist Party, Youth League and trade unions to pay attention to young people's lives.

Two textile workers, in another letter, were in favor of dancing at parties. Their textile mill held six dances this year and they livened up the workers cultural life, and some new friendships were made. They think that dances are good as long as the people don't wear weird clothes or act indecently. They suggest that dances should be for about two hours.

In the same column the Youth League Committee of a printing plant suggests that the young people's lives need to be more interesting. The committee has organized outings, mountain climbs, boating, dances, performances, summer camps, and contests on international affairs, literature, music and others. The young workers at the plant have been very enthusiastic about the activities. The letter said that it is the duty of the Youth League to care for the young workers.

CSO: 4020

'BA YI RADIO' ON INSUFFICIENT FUNDS FOR EDUCATION

OW081351 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 7 Sep 80

[Text] The day after three deputies from Shanghai criticized the 1980 national budget and the 1981 national budget estimate, deputies from Guizhou, Anhui, Gansu, Qinghai and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, at a panel discussion of the Third Session of the Fifth NPC, expressed their views on funds for education. In light of the limited educational funds and the excessively small percentage of such funds in the national budget, scores of deputies from various provinces and municipalities had submitted a 7-point proposal.

It is really not strange that the NPC deputies showed great concern over the educational funds. Half of China's young people are under 21 years old. That means the issue of education involves every family and person. At present, about 60 percent of the people in the countryside in a number of provinces in China such as Guizhou, Anhui, Gansu, Nei Monggol and others are illiterate. Some 48 percent of the rural cadres in these provinces are illiterate. In some national minority areas, more than 90 percent of the people are illiterate.

Militarily, China is the most powerful nation in Asia, ranking fourth in the world. In terms of military aid for foreign countries, China ranks third in the world. But in terms of the number of college students in relation to population, China ranks 131st among 141 countries in the world. At present, 150 million people in China are illiterate.

At a presidium meeting, Tan Zhenlin, chairman of the budget committee, quoted the words of Yao Yilin and Wang Baingquan. They explained at a panel discussion that the main reason for China's low educational funds is because of the nation's efforts to spend more funds for national defense and capital construction projects in the fields of industry and agriculture and to catch up with the advanced countries of the world. This explanation is foolish. To limit educational funds to increase national defense expenditures is tantamount to "cutting out a piece of one's flesh to cure a boil."

9

Practice has proven that it is impossible to achieve the four modernizations without enough experts who have the necessary professional skills and without engineers, technicians and technical cadres, let alone catching up with advanced countries of the world. At present, educational funds in the United States and Japan account for 7.4 to 7.5 percent of national income, but China's funds earmarked for education only accounted for 2 percent of national income last year. Let us take the example of the Ministry of Farm Machinery, an important organization for the realization of agricultural modernization. Only 30.9 percent of the cadres have studied agriculture. The situation is even more serious in other farm mechanization departments. Only 5 percent of the cadres have mastered agricultural skills. The situation in various other organizations is also deplorable.

The problem concerning professional cadres remains very serious. At the same time, China's institutions of higher learning can only admit 4 percent of the senior middle school graduates in the country. Our army also needs cadres with professional knowledge. Therefore, funds for education, culture and public health, particularly funds for education, contained in the 1980 national budget and the 1981 national budget estimate should be revised on the basis of the proposal put forward by many NPC deputies.

CSO: 4005

'GUANGMING RIBAO' CARRIES 'ZHEXUE YANJIU' TABLE OF CONTENTS

HO041315 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 80 p 4

[Table of Contents of ZHEXUE YANJIU No 8, 1980]

[Text] Article by Huan Xiang: "Philosophy as a Social Science Should Serve the Modernization of the Country."

Article by Wu Jiang: "Emphatically Publicize the Dialectical Materialist Theory of Knowledge--Views on Improving the Teaching of Philosophy of Cadres."

Article by Ma Ming: "Neither Aim Nor Interest Are Criteria for Testing Truth."

"Forum on Philosophy": [as received]

Article by Qing Tiankui: "The Logical Beginning of the Theory of Historical Materialism."

Article by An Yanming and Wu Xiaoming: "A Tentative Discussion of Plekhanov's Basic Theory Relating to the Role of Geographical Environment."

Article by Hou Hongxun: "On Hegel's Attitude Toward the French Revolution."

Article by Fu Jizhong: "Comparison--A Scientific Way of Thinking and Knowing."

"A Study of Zhuang Zi's Philosophy":

A) Article by Cao Chuji: "A Pyramid System of Objective Idealism."

B) Article by Han Jiang: "A Tentative Discussion of the Three Basic Categories of Zhuang Zi's Philosophical System."

C) Article by Liu Qin: "A Further Discussion on the 'Framework' of Zhuang Zi's Philosophical Thinking."

D) Article by Cheng Yishan: "Views on Zhuang Zi's Philosophical Ideas."

Article by Li Qingzhen and Li Fenglin: "Scientific Achievements and Philosophical Ideas of Natural Scientists."

Article by Ma Boying: "A Brief Discussion on the Different Integral Approach to Chinese and Western Medicine."

"Trends":

Question discussed at the National Seminar on Ethics.

Party schools throughout the country hold seminars at Lushan.

A summary of discussions on the relationship between the superstructure and ideology.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

BEIJING VOCATIONAL CLASSES--Beijing, 2 Sep (XINHUA)--More than 4,000 senior students gathered at a ceremony at the Beijing gymnasium today and pledged to study hard and contribute to China's modernization drive. The ceremony marked the opening of 110 senior vocational classes for junior middle school graduates. The classes are being run at 50 senior middle schools and 57 factories throughout Beijing. The schools provide the classrooms and teachers for academic subjects and the factories provide funds and teachers for vocational subjects. Speaking at today's ceremony, the vice-mayor of Beijing, Bai Jiefu, called for more vocational schools to provide the skills needed for China's modernization drive. Students will attend the vocational classes for 3 years and on graduation will be given high school diplomas and selected for employment based on examination results. They will also be eligible to take university entrance exams. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 2 Sep 80 OW]

BEIJING WORKERS THEATRICAL FESTIVAL--Beijing, 2 Sep (XINHUA)--The Beijing Workers' Theatrical Festival organized by the municipal trade union council and the municipal culture bureau, opened at the Theater of the Beijing Workers' Club today. Taking part in the festival are more than 5,000 amateurs from all parts of the city. They will give 40 performances with 500 items, including music, dances, folk art forms and dramas. These pieces were all created by the workers themselves. The festival will last 25 days. The best items will be chosen for citywide presentation. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1511 GMT 2 Sep 80 OW]

GUANGXI CULTURAL GATHERINGS--The Regional Conference on Cultural Relic Work, the Regional Forum of Cultural Hall Directors and the Regional Conference of Library Work pointed out that their work is to realize the four modernizations. These three gatherings were held simultaneously in Nanning from 20 to 25 August. He Yiran, director of the Regional Propaganda Department of the Regional CCP Committee and vice chairman of the Regional People's Government; and (Zheng Shaodong), deputy director of the propaganda department of the Regional CCP Committee, attended the gatherings and spoke. The participants pointed out that it is necessary to launch propaganda work on protecting cultural relics so that the people can understand that protecting cultural relics is the responsibility of everyone. It is necessary to further strengthen the building of cultural halls, restore the masses' art halls, rectify, consolidate and improve the commune cultural stations, run commune cultural centers on a trial basis and strengthen cultural work in the revolutionary bases and among the minority nationalities. [Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 26 Aug 80 HK]

JIANGSU BROADCASTING, TELEVISION UNIVERSITY--The Jiangsu Provincial Broadcasting and Television University started on 1 September. The Central Broadcasting and Television University held its inauguration ceremony for the 1980 academic year on 30 August. Some 28,000 faculty members and students of the Provincial Broadcasting and Television University as well as of its 14 branches watched the live relay of the ceremony. The broadcasting and television university is an important means of developing higher education, training more competent personnel to work for the four modernizations and raising the people's scientific and technological level. The university's faculty members are determined to improve their teaching methods so as to give better instructions to the students in this coming academic year. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Sep 80 OW]

JILIN TEACHERS TO XIZANG--According to the decision of the central authorities, Jilin Province has dispatched 24 teachers to work at Xizang Teachers' College. These teachers have been selected from a dozen or so colleges, universities and parties concerned in Changchun, Jilin and Siping municipalities. They all have good teaching credentials. Before their departure on 29 August, leading comrades of the provincial CCP committee and departments concerned received them and encouraged them to, under the leadership of local authorities, do a good job in teaching Tibetan people. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Aug 80 SK]

NEI MONGGOL ENROLLMENT--China's key universities and colleges have enrolled 1,475 students from Nei Monggol Region this year. Among them 288 are of minority nationalities. Nei Monggol University admitted 432 and Nei Monggol Normal University admitted 419 students. The enrollment for nonkey universities and colleges is to be completed in the near future. [UK040933 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Sep 80 SK]

SHANDONG SUPERSTITITIONS AT BURIALS--In view of the increasing superstitious activities at burials and the increasing practice of burying the dead instead of cremating them, the Jining Prefectural Administrative Office, Shandong Province, recently formulated 10 regulations reforming the burial ceremony. [SK041219 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 2 Sep 80 SK]

TIANJIN TEACHER TRAINING COURSE--Sponsored by the Tianjin Educational Institute, a full-time training center for middle school teachers began its first course on 29 August. Attending the opening ceremony were leaders of the Tianjin Municipal CCP Committee and the municipal people's government, including Liu Gang, Bai Hua and others. This training course, attended by some 250 students, will cover the Chinese language, mathematics and foreign languages. It will last 2 years. Those who apply to study at this center must have a highschool education or its equivalent and must take an entrance examination. During 2 years' schooling, they will learn cultural and professional knowledge and will attain the standards of junior college graduates. In addition, this institute helped six districts in Tianjin to institute part-time teacher training courses. Two full-time teachers' training centers had been established in Nankai and Hongqiao districts. Through the opening of teachers' training courses, it is hoped that the cultural knowledge and teaching capability of most teachers in Tianjin will improve in 2 to 5 years. [SK011259 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 29 Aug 80 SK]

XINJIANG STUDENTS CONGRESS--The First Congress of the Xinjiang Regional Students' Federation concluded in Urumqi after 5 days in session. The congress participants summed up the work of students' associations of institutes of higher learning in Xinjiang, discussed the tasks for the federation in the new historical period and formulated guiding principles for the work. The participants pledged to uphold the four fundamental principles, foster lofty aspirations of communism, study hard to master modern science and culture needed for the modernization program and implement the party's nationality policy in order to strengthen unity among students of all nationalities in Xinjiang. A chairman and several vice chairmen of the federation were elected at the congress. [OW030523 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 30 Aug 80]

XIZANG MINORITY STUDENTS--Lhasa, 30 Aug (XINHUA)--Universities and colleges in the Xizang Autonomous Region will admit 234 students this school year, 168 or 71.8 percent of whom come from minority nationalities. Altogether 416 young men and women from Tibet will enter colleges as freshmen in all parts of the country in September; 214, or 51.4 percent, are from minority nationalities. Of these, 43 will enter the country's top rated universities. In Xizang, 1,199 highschool graduates sat for college entrance exams this summer; 25 percent passed and will enter college in the autumn. [OW301715 Beijing XINHUA in English 0940 GMT 30 Aug 80 OW]

XIZANG PICTORIAL--The People's Fine Art Publishing House of Xizang Autonomous Region and the Joint Publishing Company of Hong Kong have decided to cooperate in editing and publishing a large-size color pictorial XIZANG. The joint photographing team composed of personnel of both sides has begun working in Xizang. The pictorial features both words and pictures to introduce Xizang's natural scenery, customs and habits of the people of minority nationalities, world famous temples and monasteries, Xizang's culture and arts and its socialist construction achievements. [OW010049 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 28 Aug 80 OW]

CENTRAL RADIO, TV UNIVERSITY--Beijing, 30 Aug--An opening ceremony for the 1980 class of the Central Radio and Television University was held in Beijing on 30 August. This year, the radio and television universities in Beijing, Jiangsu, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Nei Monggol, Henan and Shandong have enrolled 15,000 students. The 1979 and 1980 classes of such universities throughout China enrolled a total of 420,000 students. Education Minister Jiang Nanxiang spoke at the opening ceremony, promising to expand facilities and enroll more students. Zhang Xiangshan, director of the Central Broadcasting Affairs Administration Bureau, also addressed the ceremony. [OW312350 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1203 GMT 30 Aug 80]

XINJIANG FOLK STORIES FILMED--Beijing, September 9 (XINHUA)--"The Effendi," one of the best loved heroes in Xinjiang folk literature as well as in the Muslim world, is to be put on screen by the Beijing Studio. All the roles will be played by minority nationality actors and actresses from Xinjiang. A clever and resourceful figure, industrious, brave, optimistic and humorous, Xinjiang's "Effendi" denounces feudal rule and ridicules hypocrisy. The Tianshan Film Studio in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is producing two new color feature films. "Nightingale and Rose," based on the Uygur epic "Alip and Saynam," tells how a king's daughter Saynam and her friend Alip fight against feudal intrigues to usurp the throne. Justice and true love prevail. "Aselbec" concerns tsarist Russian expansionism and shows the patriotism of the Kazak herdsmen. Filmmakers are currently shooting on location on the northern Xinjiang plateau. [Text] [OW090816 Beijing XINHUA in English 0801 GMT 9 Sep 80]

RURAL EDITION OF 'BEIJING RIBAO'--Beijing, 6 September (XINHUA)--The first issue of the rural twice-weekly edition of the BEIJING DAILY will be published on October 3. Man Yunlai, one of the editors, said that the new four-page edition is intended to furnish news and views to the people in Beijing's rural areas. The paper will have special stories for peasants on agricultural science, technology and management. It will also report on the party's agricultural policies and introduce agricultural news from other parts of the country. The peasants are being asked to make suggestions about the coverage. "We'll do our best to make the paper meet the peasants' needs," he added. The paper will be published on Tuesday and Friday each week and be circulated in China only. [Text] [OW060803 Beijing XINHUA in English 0742 GMT 6 Sep 80]

CSO: 4020

END

JPRS 76474

23 September 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 119

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76474

23 September 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 119

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' Correspondents View Zimbabwe's Agriculture
(XINHUA, 12 Sep 80) 1

Resolution on Military Conflict in El Salvador Noted
(XINHUA, 7 Sep 80) 3

International Conference on Namibia Opens in Paris
(XINHUA, 12 Sep 80) 4

Briefs

French Official Receives Journalists 5
Belgian Views NATO Commitment 5
Singapore Official on USSR, Refugees 5
Puppet Troupe in U.S. 6
Swiss Military Band 6
Nepalese Government Presents Rhinoceros 6
Acrobats Premiere in Adelaide 7
Acrobatic Troupe in Rwanda 7
Minority Troupe in Togo 7
Australian-French Nuclear Agreement 7
Guatemalan Unrest 8
Romanian Military Expenditures Cut 8
Seychelles Delegation in Jiangsu 8
Burmese Delegation in Jiangsu 8

PARTY AND STATE

CPPCC Personnel Changes Reported
(Chang Yun-feng; WEN WEI PO, 12 Sep 80) 9

Liu Shaoqi's Role in Postwar Negotiations With Chiang Recalled
(LISHI YANJIU, 15 Apr 80) 10

Report of Tangshan Symposium on Evil Practices
(GONGREN RIBAO, 30 Jul 80) 19

County Official Charged With Misuse of Authority
(GONGREN RIBAO, 30 Jul 80) 22

'Class Struggle' Said to Still Exist Among the People
(Ran Zongfu; LIAONING DAXUE XUEBAO--ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN, No 2, 1980) 24

Marxism and Emancipation of Mind
(Wang Ruoshui; RENMIN RIBAO, 8 Aug 80) 28

Principle of Conformity Assailed
(Lu Yanyu; DAZHONG RIBAO, 10 Jul 80) 32

Listening To Truth Is as Important as Speaking Truth
(Zhao Jinliang; DAZHONG RIBAO, 10 Jul 80) 36

Intellectuals' Wages, Status Must Be Raised
(Li Chun; RENMIN RIBAO, 7 Aug 80) 39

Briefs

Xizang CPPCC Delegation 42
Gansu National Day Delegation 42
Gansu Personnel Affairs Conference 42
Liaoning Young Cadres 43
Liaoning CCP Committee Delegation 43
Liaoning Reception 43
Jilin People's Congresses 43
Hunan Urban Work Conference 44
Hunan Newspaper Readers' Letters 44
Hubei Rural CYL Conference 44
Hubei Leader Memorial Service 45
Henan Discussion Meeting 45

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Sichuan Air Force Unit Trains First Group of Tibetan Pilots
(SICHUAN RIBAO, 6 Aug 80) 46

Briefs

Shenyang Public Trial 47
Hubei Soldiers Flood Resistance 47

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

First Public Opinion Poll Conducted in Shanghai
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 8 Jul 80) 48

Briefs
Yunnan Village Library 50
Yunnan Education Meeting 50
Tianjin University Fire 50
Beijing Tourism College 51
Qinghai Primary Education 51
Hubei Tomb Find 51
Shanghai TV Programs 51

'XINHUA' CORRESPONDENTS VIEW ZIMBABWE'S AGRICULTURE

OW120956 Beijing XINHUA in English 0933 GMT 12 Sep 80

[Text] Salisbury, September 11 (XINHUA correspondents)--Zimbabwe's agriculture, the mainstay of the country's economy, has bright prospects. This is the conclusion drawn by these correspondents after visiting the Salisbury agricultural show which ended here recently.

Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe praised the exhibition, the first of its kind since the country's independence, as the showcase of the country's agriculture.

On display were products of agriculture and animal husbandry, and agricultural machinery, which attracted some 170,000 visitors.

At the show, visitors also saw high-quality maize and wheat, beans and peanuts, red sorghum and millet, in which Zimbabwe is now self-sufficient.

Zimbabwe is one of the few central southern African countries which enjoys a high level of agricultural development. The country produces an average of three million tons of grain per year, of which one-third is exported.

Normally, farm products account for 45 per cent of the country's total exports.

Despite a drought last year, agricultural output was valued at 523 million Zimbabwean dollars, accounting for 12.5 per cent of the country's GNP. Net income from grain exports reached 190 million Zimbabwean dollars, 30 per cent of the country's foreign exchange earnings.

The grain on the markets in Zimbabwe mainly comes from the 5,400 farms throughout the country. But individual farmers have been producing more and more grain.

It is reported that the reason why Zimbabwean farmers have stable and high yields of maize, the country's staple food, is that they keep breeding seeds of good strain.

On display at the show were also a dozen varieties of maize cultivated by the Zimbabwean Maize Seeds Association.

The 145 members of the association breed and test various kinds of maize seeds on their farms and sell them after strict examination.

Besides grain, Zimbabwe also produces cash crops such as tobacco, cotton, sugarcane, fruit and coffee.

Although the history of cultivating apples and citrus fruit is not long in Zimbabwe, large quantities of these fruits are now produced, with a surplus for export after meeting domestic demands.

Leaving the exhibition hall, we went to a large tract of lawn where sheep, cattle, pigs and poultry were on display. The mere number of pigs and cattle shows that animal husbandry is thriving in the country.

The section of the agricultural development department drew special interest from the visitors.

There, people were informed of the work done by the departments concerned to resettle refugees and restore agricultural production.

An official of the show said that up to now, 75,000 bags of seeds of maize, peanuts, cotton and vegetables have been distributed to 280,000 refugee families. This ensures that the 1.2 million refugees in the country will be ready for the first post-independence spring sowing before the October monsoons.

CSO: 4020

RESOLUTION ON MILITARY CONFLICT IN EL SALVADOR NOTED

OW071634 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 7 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 7 (XINHUA)—The confrontation within the Salvadoran armed forces has been solved for the time being, according to Western news agency reports quoting Salvadoran military sources from San Salvador.

The Salvadoran five-man ruling junta met with the military garrison commanders on September 5 over the recent crisis in the armed forces. With the mediation of the three civilian junta members, the commanders agreed at the meeting to stand by the reassignment order which triggered off the confrontation a few days ago. But they pointed out that similar decisions to be made in the future would be ineffective without the signature of all the junta members.

The order, signed only by junta member Colonel Jaime Gutierrez and Minister of Defence Guillermo Garcia, would strip the troop commands from the supporters of moderate junta member Colonal Adolfo Majano, thus provoking the moderates' strong reaction. The two sides had placed their troops on a virtual state of alert.

Observers in El Salvador believed that the two sides' compromise had brought about an end to the crisis on the surface, but had not eliminated the root cause of the crisis.

According to a UPI report, at present the Gutierrez loyalists control 10 garrisons, while Majano supporters command five barracks, with eight commanders reportedly neutral.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA OPENS IN PARIS

OW120302 Beijing XINHUA in English 0250 GMT 12 Sep 80

[Text] Paris, September 11 (XINHUA)--A 3-day international conference in solidarity with the struggle of the people of Namibia opened at the UNESCO House here this afternoon.

Paul J. F. Lusaka, president of the United Nations Council for Namibia and permanent representative of Zambia to the U.N., said in a statement that "South Africa has intensified the militarisation of the territory. The concentration of troops which now reaches some 75,000 to 100,000 men, aims at intimidating the Namibian people and launching armed assaults against independent African states, particularly Angola and Zambia."

He pointed out: "By pretending to negotiate under the sponsorship of the five Western powers, South Africa has attempted to change international perception of the character of its actions in Namibia." He declared that "the United Nations will never allow its solemn commitment to the people of Namibia, to be jeopardised by the false initiatives of the Pretoria regime."

In his address, Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO of Namibia, expounded the situation in southern Africa. He declared that "our resolve remains firm and our commitment stronger than ever to persevere in the struggle until Namibia's total liberation is achieved."

He said that SWAPO is ready to cooperate in the implementation of the U.N. plan for Namibia, to sign a cease-fire, and even to meet directly with the South African regime in face-to-face talks. However, he strongly rejected "the idea of an 'all parties constitutional conference' where SWAPO is being asked to meet with South Africa's puppets and other non-representative elements in Namibia, or attempts to side-step the U.N."

He demanded that the Western countries and their multi-national companies cease their support for racist South Africa and implement comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against it.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

FRENCH OFFICIAL RECEIVES JOURNALISTS--Paris, September 10 (XINHUA)--"The recrudescence of Soviet hegemonism worries us very much and, under such circumstances, united action of the great powers in the world should be organized," declared Jacques Chirac, mayor of Paris, here today. He was receiving a visiting group of Chinese journalists who arrived for a two-week tour in France at the invitation of the Frency Ministry of Foreign Affairs prior to President Giscard d'Estaing's visit to China. Calling to mind Sino-French relations, he noted, "We have every interest to form closer ties. China can supply a great deal to France and France can contribute to the economic development of China." He was prepared, the mayor said, to accord "exceptional welcome" to the mayor of Beijing who is expected to pay an official visit to the French capital in mid-October. [Text] [OW111230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1216 GMT [no day] Sep 80]

BELGIAN VIEWS NATO COMMITMENT--Brussels, September 11 (XINHUA)--"It is necessary to honor the commitments to the collective defense system of the Atlantic alliance. Any other attitude is harmful," Belgian Prime Minister Wilfred Martens said in a recent interview with the Belgian paper LE SOIR. The interview was published by the paper today. Belgium has not yet made a decision on the deployment of cruise missiles on its soil because of internal disputes over NATO's decision of last December on the installation of 572 cruise missiles and "Pershing II" missiles in Western Europe from 1983 onward. The prime minister said, "Belgium should and is able to play a role in the European Community and in the alliance." He added, "If we truly want the negotiations with the Soviet Union to be a success, we must show that we are firm." [Text] [OW120758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0741 GMT 12 Sep 80]

SINGAPORE OFFICIAL ON USSR, REFUGEES--Islamabad, September 11 (XINHUA)--"It is the Soviet Union which is responsible for the sad conditions both in Kampuchea and Afghanistan," and "this is an evil force," Mr S. Rajaratnam, deputy prime minister of Singapore, told the Afghan refugees near Peshawar this afternoon. Addressing them during his visit to their tentage village, Mr. S. Rajaratnam paid high tribute to their morale and urged the Afghan refugees to forge unity in their ranks. With unity they could fight even the biggest power successfully, he said. He told the Afghan refugees that their struggle is not only for themselves, but is also for the Singaporeans. He assured them that the people of the countries of this area, including Thailand, Singapore and Kampuchea, had full sympathies for them. Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq and Deputy Prime Minister S. Rajaratnam exchanged views in depth here yesterday afternoon about the global situation in general and the situation in Southwest and Southeast Asia in particular. There was a complete identity of views on these questions. Rajaratnam is winding up his two-day visit today. [Text] [OW111752 Beijing XINHUA in English 1744 GMT 11 Sep 80]

PUPPET TROUPE IN U.S.--New York, 9 Sep (XINHUA)--The Fujian Puppet-show Troupe ended its performance here today. The four shows presented by the troupe in the auditorium theater of the American Museum of Natural History attracted an audience of nearly 2,000. In the plays, all derived from legend and Chinese classics, the singing, dancing, acting and acrobatics were combined so well that the puppets seemed alive on the stage. Every show received a long-standing ovation. The spectators praised the troupe as one of the best Asian art performance group. At the invitation of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association and the Asian Society, the Fujian Puppet-show Troupe, the first one touring U.S., arrived in Boston on 29 August and gave a performance there to celebrate the annual national convention of the USCPFA. The troupe will leave here tomorrow for Washington D.C., Houston, St. Louis, Los Angeles and other U.S. cities. It will also visit Toronto and Montreal in Canada. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0220 GMT 10 Sep 80 OW]

SWISS MILITARY BAND--Guangzhou, 10 Sep (XINHUA)--A capacity audience of 1,500 warmly applauded the Swiss "Landwehr" (National Defense) Music Corps of the state and the city of Fribourg at its Chinese premiere here this evening in the Guangzhou Friendship Theatre. Under the baton of composer Jean Balissat, the Swiss musicians presented Swiss, Chinese and compositions from other countries. Present at the concert were Huang Jingbo, vice-governor of Guangdong Province, Luo Peiyuan, vice-chairman of the Guangzhou Revolutionary Committee, and the corps leader, Mr. Pierre Glasson. The "Landwehr" artists arrived in Guangzhou from Hong Kong by train yesterday afternoon. A reception in their honour was given the same evening by the cultural bureau of Guangdong Province. The corps will leave here for Beijing on 12 September after 1 more concert here tomorrow. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1638 GMT 10 Sep 80 OW]

NEPALESE GOVERNMENT PRESENTS RHINOCEROS--Int Kathmandu, 10 Sep (XINHUA)--A female rhinoceros was presented by his majesty's government of Nepal as a gift to the Chinese Government recently. The 11-month-old rhinoceros weighing about 500 kilos was transported to Rangoon by a Nepalese charter flight on 26 August. It will be taken to Beijing by a special Chinese plane today. Supervisor Muktinarayan Shrestha and rhino caretaker Bishnu Bahadur of the Nepal Zoo left for Rangoon to hand over the rhinoceros to two responsible workers of the Beijing Zoo who were already there. Meanwhile, the Nepalese Government presented a pair of rhinos to the Burmese Government. According to the Nepal national park and wildlife preservation office, rhinos had been made gifts with a view to increasing friendship and goodwill with friendly countries. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 10 Sep 80 OW]

ACROBATS PREMIERE IN ADELAIDE--Adelaide, South Australia, 9 Sep (XINHUA)--The first performance by the Nanjing Acrobatic Troupe of Chine here this evening was applauded over 120 times by 2,000 spectators. K. Seaman, governor of the state of South Australia watched the performance and went backstage to greet the Chinese acrobats. He said, "The audience loved every minute. You are great ambassadors of the people." Adelaide is called "Festival City." "The Adelaide Festival" is held annually and a lot of international artists come to visit and perform here. The troupe arrived here on 7 September after a performance tour of Perth. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1821 GMT 9 Sep 80 OW]

ACROBATIC TROUPE IN RWANDA--Kigali, 9 Sep (XINHUA)--The Shaanxi Provincial Acrobatic Troups of China left here for Mauritius this afternoon after a 10-day visit to Rwanda. During its stay, the troupe gave six performances in the capital and other cities. The performances were praised by spectators who said they had never seen such wonderful performances before. Thanks to the meticulous arrangements of the Rwandan Government, the troupe's visit was a complete success. Rwandan artists performed national dances to entertain their Chinese colleagues. The Rwandan Ministry of Youth and Sports gave a farewell reception in honour of the Chinese acrobatic troupe. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1300 GMT 9 Sep 80 OW]

MINORITY TROUPE IN TOGO--Lome, 9 Sep (XINHUA)--The Xinjiang Song and Dance Ensemble of China gave its premiere here this evening to the warm welcome of over 2,000 spectators. Watching the presentation, which included 14 items of songs, instrumental music and national dances, were Togolese Minister of Youth, Sports and Culture Voule-Frititi and diplomatic envoys of various countries here. The Chinese ensemble arrived here yesterday.[Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0357 GMT 10 Sep 80 OW]

AUSTRALIAN-FRENCH NUCLEAR AGREEMENT--Canberra, September 11 (XINHUA)--Australia and France have decided to strengthen their cooperation in resources area including nuclear transfers, announced a joint statement issued here today. The statement by visiting French Industry Minister Andre Giraud and Australian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade and Resources Doug Anthony said that a joint Australian-French resources committee would be formed to explore the potential for closer collaboration between Australia and France in the area of resources trade and development. In regard to uranium, the statement said, officials of the two countries have agreed on a draft nuclear transfers agreement which is now being submitted to both governments for ratification. It is provided, among other requirements, that Australian uranium would not be used for military or explosive purposes. At a press conference, Andre Giraud said that France will need approximately 10,000 tons of uranium a year by 1990. [Text] [OW111910 Beijing XINHUA in English 1902 GMT 11 Sep 80]

GUATEMALAN UNREST--Beijing, September 6 (XINHUA)--A high-powered bomb exploded in front of the National Palace in Guatemala City yesterday, killing seven people and injuring over 50 others, according to a report from Guatemala City. According to an official report, the bomb planted in a car parked outside the building of the National Palace went off at 9:45 a.m. At least 30 cars were destroyed. Guatemalan President Romeo Lucas Garcia was not in his office when the blast occurred but some government employees were injured. Security forces blockaded the spot immediately after the explosion and made investigations. The blast could have been aimed at scaring the general public from attending a rally scheduled for September 7 to show support for the Guatemalan Government, official sources said. On the same day, two other explosions took place in the city, but no damage or injuries were caused. The Red Cross Society and fire brigade had received anonymous telephone calls warning that more explosions would be set off in the city. Guatemala has been under military rule since 1954. Social contradictions and acts of violence had increased in recent years. In the past two years, about two thousand people lost their lives because of incidents of political violence. [Text] [OW061335 Beijing XINHUA in English 1326 GMT 6 Sep 80]

ROMANIAN MILITARY EXPENDITURES CUT--Bucharest, September 10 (XINHUA)--The executive political committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party at a session yesterday decided to cut down the country's military expenditures for 1980 by about 2,000 million lei, administrative and other expenditures by 4,000 million lei in order to boost the programmes of national development and higher living standards for the people, according to the Romanian AGERPRES News Agency. Yesterday's session also approved the principles governing Romania's participation in the forthcoming 35th U.N. General Assembly session and its proposals. The session also ratified some bills including one of development of small industrial enterprises. [Text] [OW101218 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 10 Sep 80]

SEYCHELLES DELEGATION IN JIANGSU--The delegation of Seychelles People's Progressive Front led by Guy Sinon, general secretary of the front and minister of administration and political organization, arrived in Nanjing, Jiangsu, on 3 September, greeted at the railway station by Hu Hong, secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee. The same evening, Hu Hong hosted a banquet in honor of the guests from the Seychelles. Having toured Nanjing, the delegation left for visit to Wuxi on 4 September. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 4 Sep 80 OW]

BURMESE DELEGATION IN JIANGSU--The Burmese agricultural delegation led by U Kyaw Htain, vice minister of agriculture and forests, arrived in Nanjing on 8 September for a visit to Jiangsu Province. During its stay in Nanjing, the delegation visited the provincial academy of agricultural science and experimental plots for paddy and cotton and had discussions with experts concerned. On 8 September, provincial vice governor Li Zhizhong met and feted the Burmese friends. Provincial agriculture and forestry department deputy director (Zhu Tongwen) and deputy director of the provincial alien affairs office (Bai Xizhi) were present on this occasion. The delegation left Nanjing for visits to Zhenjiang and Wuxi on 9 September. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Sep 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

CPPCC PERSONNEL CHANGES REPORTED

HK120429 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 12 Sep 80 p 1

[WEN WEI PO special correspondent Chang Yun-feng's long-distance call from Beijing early 12 September: "CPPCC Session Closes Today--There Will Be Changes in the Leading Personnel"]

[Text] A closing ceremony of the third session of the current CPPCC National Committee will be held this afternoon. During the closing ceremony, the nomination of eight people as CPPCC vice chairmen will be put to the vote and approved. Following are the names of those nominated by the CPPCC Standing Committee: He Changgong, Xiao Ke, Cheng Zihua, Yang Xiufeng, Sha Qianli, Bao Erhan, Zhou Peiyuan and Qian Changzhao. Since they have been selected through full consultations, it is expected that today's session will vote for the nomination.

CPPCC vice chairmen Wei Guoqing, Peng Chong, Zhao Ziyang, Song Renqiong, Yang Jingren and Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain will resign their positions as vice chairmen because they have taken up leading posts of the State Council, the NPC and the party Central Committee. Their resignations will be approved at today's session. Hong Kong's well-known Henry Fok (Huo Yingdong) has been nominated CPPCC Standing Committee member. The nomination of him and other people as CPPCC Standing Committee members will also be put to the vote and approved at today's session. The current CPPCC session opened on 28 August and will close today, thus lasting 15 days. In line with the spirit of telling all, CPPCC members at the current session have expressed many critical opinions and put forward many proposals. Their speeches have been carried in the CPPCC session's bulletins. Moreover, some national newspapers and journals including RENMIN RIBAO have also carried many of their speeches.

CSO: 4005

LIU SHAOQI'S ROLE IN POSTWAR NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHIANG RECALLED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 2, 15 Apr 80
pp 33-46

[Article: "Refutation of the Slander by Liu Biao and the 'Gang of Four' Against Comrade Liu Shaoqi on the Topic of 'A New Phase of Peace and Democracy'"]

[Excerpts] Early in 1967, Comrade Liu Shaoqi fell victim to a false charge framed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who accused him of "pursuing a capitulationist line in the name of 'a new phase of peace and democracy.'" In the years that followed, they continued to sling mud at this eminent revolutionary leader who had devoted over 40 years to the cause of the proletarian revolution and who enjoyed high popularity with our party. After suffering from telling blows and cruel torture, he died in November 1969 without getting his name cleared. Over 10 years have passed since the death of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was known as a great Marxist. Nevertheless, "no one can avoid being judged by history" ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 12, p 5). Nor can anyone tamper with it. Today, we must restore history to its true face by citing historical facts to expose how Lin Biao and the "gang of four" conspired to take advantage of the "new phase of peace and democracy" to create a political fraud. First, it is necessary for us to review how those historical scums framed charges against Comrade Liu Shaoqi.

During the 1960's, the first man who accused Liu Shaoqi of "pursuing a capitulationish line in the name of 'a new phase of peace and democracy'" was Qi Benyu [2058 2609 4416], a self-styled "leftist" and a historical clown.

On 8 January 1967, in a speech to representatives of the mass organizations, he framed charges against Comrade Liu Shaoqi on the basis of the latter's report entitled "A New Phase of Peace and Democracy." On 1 April 1967, he published an article entitled "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" In that article, he said: "As soon as China won the war over Japan, Liu Shaoqi became panicky in the face of aggression launched by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Taking a gloomy and dismal view of the future of the Chinese revolution, he spared no effort to sell his capitulationist line to the party in the name of 'a new phase of peace and democracy.'"

On 13 April 1967, that self-styled "theorist," who had never published any theoretical work, told the enlarged session of the Military Commission: "In the wake of the victory in the war of resistance against Japan, Liu Shaoqi was frightened by war and the revolution, and was obsessed with peace. His capitulationist line was presented against this historical background. On 1 February 1946, he delivered a report entitled 'A New Phase of Peace and Democracy.' In that report, he portrayed the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek as a dove, preached class capitulationism, emphasized struggle through parliament, and denounced the armed struggle. He also urged the party to give up its leadership over the armed forces and to place the people's revolutionary armed forces under the unified command of the Kuomintang." Qi Benyu added that "the famous speech entitled 'The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan' delivered by Chairman Mao on 13 August 1945 is a criticism of the capitulationist line within the party." Since then, under the direct command or influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people have often seen similar articles published in newspapers and journals. Among their representatives were "Bankruptcy of The 'Assertion of Struggle Through Parliament' in China" originally written by the editorial departments of Shanghai WEN HIU BAO, JIEFANG RIBAO and ZHIBU SHENGHUO [BRANCH LIFE] and reprinted by RENMIN RIBAO on 12 August 1967, and two other articles entitled "A Reactionary Capitulationist Program--Refuting the So-called 'A New Phase of Peace and Democracy' Proposed by China's Khrushchev" and "A Variety Show Performed by Liu Shaoqi and Chiang Kai-shek--exposing the Counterrevolutionary Nature of 'A New Phase of Peace and Democracy.'" These two articles were published in RENMIN RIBAO on 19 September and 1 December 1968 respectively.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi once remarked: "China is in a new stage of peace and democracy." This remark was a subject of continuing criticism by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who called it the essence of his "capitulationist line." For example, Liu Shaoqi was criticized in the draft political report to the Ninth Party Congress, and in the articles: "The History of the Two-line Inner-party Struggle" and the "Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party--Two Masterpieces of the Lin Family." Comrade Liu Shaoqi was also a subject of systematic criticism even in the "educational instructions on the history of the Chinese Communist Party" compiled by the former writing group of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, a group of hack writers hired by the "gang of four," and published on the eve of their downfall.

In this connection, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" distorted history, and confused merits with demerits and right with wrong.

We must repudiate all asburdities concocted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

I. On the Problem of Merging Our Army With the "Nationalist Army" and Militia Units With the Self-Defense Corps

In the wake of the victory in the war of resistance against Japan, there was a proposal to merge our army with the "nationalist army" and militia units with the self-defense corps. A perusal of the "Double-Tenth Agreement" shows that this was not Comrade Liu Shaoqi's idea but a decision by the CCP Central Committee. But ironically, this proposal was finally rejected by the Kuomintang. The struggle between our party and the Kuomintang over the future of the people's armed forces was a long story. The CCP Central Committee and Comrade Liu Shaoqi had never agreed to hand over our people's armed forces without conditions attached. The proposal for "a coalition government" adopted by the Seventh Party Congress pointed out: "The moment a new democratic coalition government comes into being in China, the Liberated Areas of China will hand their armed forces over to it. But all the Kuomintang armed forces will have to be handed over to it at the same time." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong," combined edition, p 974) In dealing with the question of the armed forces, our party has followed these two principles: First, the armed forces can be nationalized only under the democratic government system; second, it is necessary to reorganize the Kuomintang-controlled army as the first step in nationalizing the armed forces throughout the country. By sticking to these two basic principles, our party not only foiled the reactionary Kuomintang group's conspiracy to annex the people's armed forces and suppress the revolution but also effectively won over to our side the middle-of-the-road elements. A review of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's speeches and statements revealed that he had never deviated from these two principles. On the basis of these two principles, the CCP delegation presented "a draft of the program to build the country by peaceful means." On the basis of an agreement to reshuffle the Nationalist Government and the Military Commission, it also suggested that "all armed forces which took part in the war of resistance against Japan be recognized as elements of our nation's army; reasonable steps be taken to regroup the armed forces throughout the country." As a result of hard work, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) adopted two resolutions—one on the democratization of the country and the other on the nationalization of the armed forces--resolutions which call for the formation of a three-man military commission to continue the search for specific measures to regroup the armed forces through negotiations. Although the principles concerning the military affairs set forth in the resolutions were at variance with our party's principles for building up the army, our party approved of them on the condition that millions of the Kuomintang-controlled soldiers disavow their allegiance to the fascist forces and that relevant terms contained in the resolution on the democratization of the country be carried out to the letter. Our party promised to hand over its armed forces to a democratic coalition government as soon as the Kuomintang did the same following the shakeup of the Nationalist Government. We must understand that the handing over of our armed forces did not mean converting them into an army against people bxt reorganizing them and the Kuomintang-controlled soldiers into an army serving the people's interests.

On 19 February 1946, Comrade Zhou Enlai flew to Yanan from Chongqing to deliver a report to the CCP Central Committee on progress in negotiations on the regrouping of the armed forces. He returned to Chongqing from Yanan on 20 February. On 25 February, he signed for our party a "basic proposal on the regrouping of the armed forces and the overall reorganization of the CCP armed forces into the Nationalist Army." On 27 February, JIEFANG RIBAO published the text of this basic proposal. On 5 March, JIEFANG RIBAO front-paged a statement by Chairman Mao Zedong saying: "I want to take this opportunity to reaffirm that the CCP will do everything possible to resolutely and thoroughly implement the three agreements (the armistice agreement, the CPPCC resoltuions and the proposal to regroup the armed forces throughout the country)."

On 12 October 1945, the CCP Central Committee issued the following inner-party instruction: "Even after regrouping, our side still can devise ways to keep its military strength intact." In other words, we would never hand over the people's armed forces to the reactionary group in betrayal of the principles we stand for. Yet, this does not mean that we could not adopt a flexible policy to reach a certain agreement with the Kuomintang in the people's interests. The CCP Central Committee's strategy at that time was to combine the firm principles the proletariat stood for with a flexible policy. But in disregard of the aforementioned fact, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" described this correct strategy adopted by the party as a capitulationist line promoted by Liu Shaoqi. In order to deceive the people, they falsely accused him of "ganging up with the reactionary elements of the International Communist Movement in laying down guns."

II. On the Problem of Being Officials in the Kuomintang Government

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" said: "Liu Shaoqi wanted our party to hand over its army and revolutionary base areas to Chiang Kai-shek, to send a few men to "be officials" in the Kuomintang government and to "join the U.S.-Chiang reactionary group in building the country." Was this a kind of national betrayal? Those who did not know history could be easily deceived by them.

As far as the talk about being officials in the Kuomintang government was concerned, Comrade Liu Shaoqi always shared the same view with the party. CCP members have never vowed not to be officials. Before becoming officials, we must make sure what kind of officials we are going to be. Col David D. Barrett, head of the U.S. Army Observer Group in Yanan, once said to Chairman Mao Zedong: "You should listen to Hurley and send a few men to be officials in the Kuomintang government." Chairman Mao Zedong replied: "It is no easy job to be an official bound hand and foot; we don't do it. If we become officials, our hands and feet must be unfettered, we must be free to act, that is, a coalition government must be set up on a democratic basis." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," combined edition, p 1031) This statement clearly tells us that we can agree to become officials in a coalition government under the democratic system. This was precisely what Comrade Liu Shaoqi once said.

The problem of being officials was closely connected with the problem of a coalition government. A dispute over official appointments to the coalition government came after the CCP acted in the people's interests in proposing to set up a coalition government on a democratic basis. A fierce struggle erupted over this issue during a CPPCC session. During that struggle, the CCP fought hard in order to win enough seats in the proposed coalition government for the proletariat and the broad masses, while the Kuomintang did everything possible to keep the interests of the big landlords and the bourgeoisie intact. The struggle was in essence a debate over whether or not the Kuomintang dictatorship should be nullified.

Chiang Kai-shek resolutely prevented us from joining the government. At that time, on the basis of an understanding between the CCP and the Kuomintang, the Nationalist government had to undergo a reshuffle as soon as the CPPCC session closed. Our party insisted on reshuffling the National Government. In order to preserve his dictatorial rule, Chiang Kai-shek reneged on his promise to allocate 14 out of 40 Cabinet members to the CCP and the People's Democratic League in order to stall the proposed reshuffling of his government. On 2 October 1946, Chiang Kai-shek sent a memorandum to George Marshall, informing the latter of his decision to apportion 13 Cabinet-level positions instead of 14 as he had promised earlier to the CCP, the China Democratic League and "a democrat without party affiliation recommended by the CCP." In his memorandum to George Marshall dated 9 October 1946, Comrade Zhou Enlai sternly pointed out: "According to a principle agreed upon by both sides, 14 Cabinet members out of 40 or a little over one-third of the total are allotted to the CCP and the China Democratic League as a garantee to prevent the other side from unilaterally changing the program to build the country by peaceful means. Now the apportionment of 13 Cabinet members to the CCP and the China Democratic League as proposed by the Kuomintang government cannot give this guarantee. Furthermore, counting that lone Cabinet member allotted to a democrat without party affiliation as part of our representation in the government is inconsistent with the resolution adopted by the CPPCC session."

The outcome of this dispute over 14 or 13 seats reserved for the CCP and the China Democratic League in the government would determine whether or not the two parties could retain their veto power and whether or not the nullification of the Kuomintang or one-party dictatorship could be guaranteed. While falsely accusing Comrade Liu Shaoqi of seeking an official position for himself in the government, and echoing the voice of the international revisionist line, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" never mentioned the proposed coalition government and relevant facts. Would such charges anger the Marxists and gladden the Kuomintang reactionary group?

III. On "Three Nations, Three Political Parties and Three Categories of People"

The hack writers of the "gang of four" said: the "essence" of Liu Shaoqi's capitulationist line was a call for "cooperation among three nations, three political parties and three categories of people in introducing democracy to China." From 1967 to 1976, they repeatedly criticized this "essence." Their efforts proved ineffective because the "essence" they criticized represented the correct political line of the CCP Central Committee.

On 11 February 1945, the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom ended their Crimea (Yalta) conference with a communique opposing the civil war and favoring the formation of a coalition government in China. This proposal was endorsed by Comrade Mao Zedong in an editorial he wrote for XINHUA. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," combined edition, p 1049) On 26 August 1945, the CCP Central Committee issued an inner-party circular saying: "At present, the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain all disapprove of civil war in China." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," combined edition, p 1051) On 15 December, U.S. President Truman made a statement opposing the civil war and favoring the convention of a national assembly represented by the major political parties in China. On 27 December, the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom issued a joint communique indicating that the Nationalist government should absorb democrats, the civil war in China should be stopped and that the three countries had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of China. On 30 December, a spokesman for the CCP Central Committee issued a statement "warmly welcoming" the agreement reached by the three foreign ministers. Years later, a footnote explaining this situation was added to the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong." This footnote was inserted as an explanation of the following sentence: "At present, the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom all disapprove of civil war in China," contained in the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong." On 28 August 1945, in his "Report to Comrades Going To Work in Northern China," Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out that the United States had never stopped serving the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The "three political parties" refer to the Communist Party, the Kuomintang and the China Democratic Party. At that time, any coalition government without the Kuomintang's participating was an idiot's day dream. The "double-tenth agreement" was an agreement between the Kuomintang and the CCP, while the CPPCC resolutions were mainly a result of cooperation between the two parties. Our party never regarded Chiang Kai-shek as an "angel of peace." In this connection, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said in his "report on the situation" on 1 February 1946: "It seems that the Kuomintang or Chiang Kai-shek is very reluctant to introduce democracy to China. Therefore, the path to democracy in China is still marked by twists and turns. In the future, the possibility of violence and of scrapping agreements to introduce democracy to China still cannot be ruled out." He concluded this report by calling Chiang Kai-shek a representative of "forces against the people and democracy." (Please draw your own conclusion on whether this is a capitulationist line!)

After the CPPCC adopted those resolutions, the talk about cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CCP had to go on as a part of the political struggle. Our party undoubtedly had to secure the cooperation of the China Democratic League in this connection. An assessment of the aforementioned quotation from Comrade Zhou Enlai's memorandum to George Marshall also reminded us of the need to achieve close unity between the CCP and the China Democratic League in order to retain their veto power in a coalition government. "Cooperation between the two parties (plus the Democratic League)" was also mentioned in the inner-party circular of the CCP Central Committee. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," combined edition, p 1051) As a matter of fact, the China Democratic League was willing to cooperate with our party at that time.

The "three categories of people" refer to the working people, the national bourgeoisie and part of the big bourgeoisie. Cooperation among the three categories of people was mentioned in such historical documents as the "double-tenth agreement" and the CPPCC resolutions. The Kuomintang's repeated reneging on its promise eventually led to the cancellation of its cooperation with our party. Could we deny the non-violent aspect of the revolution?

During the liberation war, the revolution advanced triumphantly at an unprecedented pace. This was a victory for our party's political line and a triumph of the revolutionary strategy over the counterrevolutionary strategy. Although the military struggle is important, the importance of the political struggle should not be underestimated. Only by achieving successes on these two fronts could our party attain the aim of winning the all-out support of the people throughout the country to completely isolate the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary group until he was defeated and new China came into being.

During the liberation war, the so-called "capitulationist line" was non-existent. The September 1948 meeting of the CCP Central Committee concluded: "Since the Seventh Party Congress held in April 1945, the Central Committee and the leading cadres of the whole party have displayed even greater unity than during the war of resistance against Japan." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," combined edition, p 1236) What were Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" motives behind their criticism of the "new phase of peace and democracy"?

A review of their absurd criticism reveals that in order to overthrow Comrade Liu Shaoqi, they could call a stag a horse, confuse right with wrong, and adopt dirty tactics to frame charges against the victim without looking into the CCP Central Committee documents and without taking into account historical facts. Their aim was to overthrow not only Comrade Liu Shaoqi but also a large number of old cadres and to topple our party; their unreasonable opposition to peace and democracy was a manifestation of an ultraleft trend of thought.

According to their logic, talking about peace means practicing revisionism and a towering crime. Under their influence, such phrases as "the party struggles for peace and democracy" were obliterated from the instructions on the history of the party in schools. People were even prohibited from publicizing and conducting research on achievements by Communist Party members in the Kuomintang-controlled areas. According to a strategy based on the ultraleft trend of thought promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the CCP should have started a civil war and openly proposed such slogans as "struggle to prepare for war" "down with Chiang Kai-shek and liberate all of China!" as soon as China won the war over Japan. They neither analyzed historical events in concrete terms nor observed all forms of struggle in history from the historical point of view. They were only good at mechanically copying such dogmatic terms as "we are believers in the inevitable victory of the revolutionary war." In this way, they trampled under foot Marxism.

Lenin once said: "Marxism holds that all forms of struggle should be adopted." ("Collection of Lenin's Works," vol 11, p 196) "Marxism calls on us to adopt a historical attitude toward all forms of struggle. Only those who did not know dialectical materialism would discuss such matters without taking into account the historical background." ("Collection of Lenin's Works," vol 11, p 197) During the Democratic Revolution in China, the war was the primary form of struggle, which had to be accompanied by secondary forms of struggle. A review of the long history of our revolution shows that war is a solution to problems. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said, under specific circumstances, the form of armed struggle must be changed to a peaceful form of struggle. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," combined edition, pp 242-243) It is entirely wrong to deny all peaceful forms of struggle. After the victory in the war of resistance against Japan, there was a stalemate in peace negotiations between ourselves and the enemy because either side could not wipe out but was actively prepared to wipe out the other. The political form of struggle became very important at a time when the people demanded peace and we had to respond in kind. But we must always bear in mind the objective of our struggle. On 17 August 1958, Comrade Mao Zedong said in this connection: "The new phase of peace and democracy will provide time and opportunity for us to capture the national political power."

On 15 September 1956, Comrade Liu Shaoqi delivered a "political report to the Eighth Party National Congress on behalf of the CCP Central Committee." In that report, he said: "The Seventh Congress of our party adopted a policy calling on the Kuomintang to form a coalition government with the participation of all democratic forces throughout the country. After the war of resistance against Japan was over, our party had held a series of peace negotiations with the Kuomintang in hopes of avoiding the civil war and realizing the social and political reforms in China by peaceful means. In the quest for peaceful reforms, our party had neither lowered its guard nor given up the people's armed forces. Our policy was: If the Kuomintang wanted peace and were willing to carry out reforms for the benefit of the people, we would try our best to do our part. But we must realize that whether peace could be achieved or not depended on the ruling class at that time rather than on us. If the Kuomintang reactionary group wanted to impose war on the people, we were also fully prepared to mobilize the people's forces to defeat it and make its starter taste its own bitter fruits.

Our party had adopted a revolutionary line which led to the birth of the People's Republic of China." ("Documents of the Eighth CCP National Congress," p 13, People's Publishing House, 1957) This political report of the Party Central Committee was adopted by the Eighth Party Congress. The aforementioned quotation is a conclusion drawn from history.

9574
CSO: 4005

REPORT OF TANGSHAN SYMPOSIUM ON EVIL PRACTICES

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 80 p 2

[Symposium Report: "Courageously Carry Out in Uncompromising Struggle Against Evil Practices; Report of a Conference of Concerned Comrades Held at Tangshan To Expose and Resist the Mistakes of Guo Huichuan and Others"]

> [Text] Editor's Note: To strictly enforce party discipline and promote justice, the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee recently convened a conference to publicize the punishment of Guo Huichuan [6753 1920 1557] and others and commended the concerned comrades of the party committee and league committee at the Huaxin Textile Plant in Tangshan and the Lubei District Public Security Bureau. On the morning of 22 July this newspaper invited those comrades to a symposium and asked them to discuss the situation of the struggle against the mistakes of Comrade Guo Huichuan the others and to discuss their own feelings. Below is a report of that symposium.

Trade Unions Should Dare To Speak for the Workers

Liang Yufeng [2733 3768 1496] (cadre from the Tangshan Huaxin Textile Plant Trade Union): "After GONGREN RIBAO published our letter exposing the mistakes of Comrade Guo Huichuan and the others, it was broadcast by the Central People's Broadcasting Station early that morning and the workers discussed it a great deal. Some said I had let the cat out of the bag and were anxious for me, concerned that we might suffer the "expected retalization." But I felt that speaking for the workers is the unshirkable responsibility of a trade union cadre. Later, RENMIN RIBAO, ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, and TANGSHAN LAODONG BAO reprinted it one after the other, and the Hebei Provincial Party Committee and the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee organized a joint investigation team to look into it. HEBEI RIBAO also ran a report and published an editorial. This increased our courage and confidence in the struggle against evil tendencies. The mistakes of Comrade Guo Huichuan and the others were finally punished. We feel very happy. From the punishment decided by the municipal party committee, one can see that, though it is not death by beating or overlenient, they can learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient. We hope that in the future the press will grasp questions of evil practices and strive to correct party style."

In Struggling With Mistaken Tendencies, One Cannot Fear Retaliation

Jiang Shun [3068 7311] (secretary of the party branch at the Huaxin Textile Plant Repair Shop): "The Tangshan Municipal Party Committee dealt severely with the mistakes of Guo Huichuan and the others, and embodied the principle that no matter how high a party member's office, everyone is equal before party discipline. This shows the greatness and hope of our party. If we can maintain this hold, then the will of the people will incline toward the party, spirits will be happy, the work will be vigorous, and the four modernizations will be carried out well. Guo Huichuan's son Guo Zhonglin [6753 1813 2651] works in our shop, and when we exposed the problem concerning father and son, someone said we had better be careful. I said that if one is a communist, he cannot fear retaliation. He definitely cannot turn a blind eye toward evil tendencies and not do something about them."

Enforce the Law and Don't Be a Muddled Official

Wang Peng [3769 2590] (head of the Lubei District Public Security Bureau): "Last year I went to a police substation on an investigation and the substation chief told me that Guo Huichuan's son had a girlfriend from Baoding who was living with him and was demanding that he marry her. The section committee (at the time, Guo Huichuan was head of the section committee) planned to send a car and demand that the police substation dispatch two policemen to run the girl out of town. Once I had carefully thought about the matter, I understood that Guo Huichuan wanted to cover up for his womanizing son. I said that we couldn't help a bad man do bad things, nor could public facilities be used for this sort of thing. Later, Gu Jian [6253 0256] (deputy head of the Tanshan Revolutionary Committee) and a deputy secretary of the Lubei District Party Committee came looking for me, and on the pretext of maintaining social order they wanted me to let the police substation get rid of the girl. They also pointed out that human life must be treated with respect and if there was an accident the police substation would bear the responsibility. I said that the girl who had gone to Guo Huichuan's home was not an object of social concern and we would not take her in. Thus, if anyone caused an accident, they would bear the responsibility and the police substation would not be responsible. The deputy secretary of the district party committee said as well: 'Old Wang, if you can help, then help; but you can't help, and you can't violate principles, either.' Gu Jian could only leave in disappointment. The third time, Gu Jian brought Guo Huichuan's wife to the police substation with a story that the Guo family had lost a watch, and they framed the girl for stealing it (actually, the watch had not been lost at all), but we concluded by rejecting that story, too. Gu Jian and the others kept looking for us, making up stories to deceive and scare us, and if we had been the least bit negligent, we too would have made a mistake. This time we did not lose our heads. From now on we should heighten our vigilance and firmly clarify the true facts. In enforcing the law we should be strict and fair, upright, and outspoken, and not be muddled public security bureau chiefs."

Bai Huanzhang [4101 3562 4545] (deputy chief of the Lubei District Public Security Bureau): "The crime rate of our cadre brothers is very high now. Our cases sometimes involve the detention of the children of leadership cadres, and some people frequently attempt, through a variety of means, to 'go through the back door,' demand leniency, and make trouble in the conduct of cases. This shows that the party work style is not right and that the problem some leadership cadres have in being unable to control their children is serious. These evil practices are not good. If we do not first of all stop these evil practices within the party, the four modernizations will be just idle theorizing. Old cadres fought the revolution for many years and should discipline their children and definitely not be so lenient."

We Cannot Be Tolerant of the Errors of Old Comrades in Arms

Tian Zhong [3944 0022] (head of the Huaxin Textile Plant and second secretary of the plant party committee): "Guo Zhonglin, with the connivance of his father, committed serious mistakes, and his punishment was entirely appropriate. But a responsible comrade from the municipal revolutionary committee personally came looking for me and demanded that we remove the punishment from Guo Zhonglin's file without a trace and release Guo Zhonglin. I thought that with old comrades in arms we should do things even more in accordance with party principles, so with justice on my side, I criticized his mistake and advised him not to meddle in this matter again. The second secretary of the municipal party committee for inspection of party discipline also came running to put pressure on me, but we resisted.

"From the above events, I understood that as a grassroots-level cadre, whatever one does one should keep an eye on conforming to party principles. From now on we should take the lead in maintaining party principles, strengthen the establishment of party committee team ideological work style, and improve the ranks of staff and employees to make appropriate contributions to the four modernizations.

8226
CSO: 4005

COUNTY OFFICIAL CHARGED WITH MISUSE OF AUTHORITY

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 80 p 2

[News Report: "Liu Mingqi Abuses His Position of Authority To Advance Personal Interests With Ill Effects"]

[Text] XINHUA reporter Zhao Derun [6392 1795 3387] reports that Liu Mingqi [0491 7686 1477], deputy head of the County Revolutionary Committee and the County Standing Committee of Feixiang County in Hebei, brought his son, his daughter, and his son-in-law into the party between December 1979 and April 1980--a period when he was in charge of organization work. His wife's application to join the party was also approved by the county party committee's organization section and formally reported to the county standing committee for examination and approval.

Some of Liu Mingqi's relatives had applied for party membership previously, but they were not approved because they did not meet enough of the conditions to be members of the Communist Party. After Liu Mingqi was put in charge of organizational work, he asked the party organizations of his children's and relatives' units to "grasp the training" of his relatives and "send up a report." He pressed the organization section to expedite matters, and he personally chaired the working session of the county party committee's organization section "to study and approve" it.

In March 1980, Liu Mingqi's wife was transferred from the Planned Parenthood Office and given the position of deputy head of the County Public Health Bureau. Less than 2 weeks later, Liu wanted the party organization at the Public Health Bureau to conduct "key point training" of her. Then he called the comrade from the county party committee's organization section who was responsible for recruiting new party members to come to his house for a chat. He "told about" how his wife's "work was good," and "if organizational questions were resolved he could live a little longer," etc. His wife had been punished for committing an error, and so Liu Mingqi also asked a deputy secretary of the county party committee to hurry up the matter of her entry into the party. Under these circumstances, the party organization of the Public Health Bureau did not call a meeting of the party branch to discuss the matter, but just sent Liu Mingqi's wife's application for party membership on to the upper-level party organization. Later, the party branch held a supplementary meeting of party members and an introducer read the application for party membership but concealed the facts of her punishment and hastily passed her application for party membership. When the county party committee's organization section held a work session to discuss this matter, it was chaired by Liu Mingqi personally, and the matter was approved.

Liu Mingqi's son-in-law had already gotten into the party. He had gone to work in the county supply and marketing cooperative in 1976. The masses had many views on his work and his work style. Liu Mingqi had personally sought out the responsible persons from the supply and marketing cooperative's party general branch for a chat and had asked this responsible person to send his son-in-law's application materials for party membership to the county party committee's organization section. In less than 2 weeks, the organization section had approved his application. Then Liu Mingqi approved the organization section's transfer of his son-in-law to the county wages adjustment office and planned to assign him to the county human affairs bureau, which was just being set up.

Not long before, Liu Mingqi had given a report on the study of "Certain Guiding Principles of Political Life Within the Party" to agency cadres in the county party committee's auditorium. After hearing this report, cadres said angrily that this was a mockery! They demanded that the party organization section discipline Liu Mingqi for violating party rules and regulations.

In accordance with the demands of the broad party membership, the Hubei Provincial Party Committee and the Handan District Party Committee have conducted an investigation of Liu Mingqi's and others' use of positions of authority for personal gain, their efforts to hoodwink the organization, and their behavior destructive of the norms of party life, and are prepared to deal with them.

8226
CSO: 4005

'CLASS STRUGGLE' SAID TO STILL EXIST AMONG THE PEOPLE

Shenyang LIAONING DAXUE XUEBAO--ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN [LIAONING UNIVERSITY JOURNAL--PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION] in Chinese No 2, 1980 pp 25-26

[Article by Ran Zongfu [0373 1350 4395]: "Class Struggle Still Exists Among the People at the Present Stage"]

[Text] At the present stage of our country, while the exploiting class has been abolished, does class struggle still exist among the people? The answer ro this question must be in the affirmative. Comrades Gao Guang [7559 0342] and Li Zhenxia [2621 2182 7209], however, gave a negative answer to it in their article "At the Present Stage of Our Country, Class Struggle Does Not Exist Among the People" (LIAONING UNIVERSITY JOURNAL, 1979, Vol 6). They felt that contradictions and struggles among the people resulting from the influence of the ideology of the exploiting class are problems of ideology and awareness, and that they cannot be directly summed up as class struggle among the people. I think this view needs further deliberation.

With regard to the question of the definition of class struggle, authors or Marxist-Leninist classics have expounded that, in general, it is a struggle between two sharply contrasting classes--the oppressor and the oppressed. However, we must not derive from this that class struggles and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are identical, and thereby deny that class struggle does exist among the people. Authors of Marxist-Leninist classics have also expounded on this. Lenin pointed out prior to the October Revolution: "Marx has consistently and ruthlessly been opposed to the fantasies of the petty bourgeoisie, which suggest that the 'people' are unanimous and that class struggle does not exist among the people." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, pp 620-621) Since the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin not only called a class struggle the struggle between the proletariat and the small farmers who sold grain on the blackmarket and engaged in speculative activities, as well as the struggle between the force of habit of the petty bourgeoisie and anarchistic trends of thought, but he also pointed out that class struggle exists among the working class. He said: "In order to protect the interests of the working class, doesn't the struggle during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism oppose that small minority of workers, workers' groups and strata of workers which uphold capitalist traditions (customs) and continue to use old standards to judge the Soviet nation (wanting to do less and worse work for 'it' and wanting to drag more money out of 'it')." (Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 82) Comrade Mao Zedong's theory on the existence of class struggle among the people is identical with that of Lenin's. He not only regarded class struggle between the working class and the national bourgeoisie both during the democratic revolution and prior to the basic completion of the socialist transformation as class struggle among the people, but he also called the struggle against the well-to-do middle peasants during the Agricultural Cooperative Movement a class struggle among the people. At that time, "the well-to-do middle peasants said: 'The pauper wants to operate a cooperative! Never before has it been seen that chicken feathers can fly high.' Yet chicken feathers have unexpectedly flow high. This is precisely the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road." It has also been said: "In the rural areas of China, one important aspect of struggle between the two roads is manifested through peaceful competition between the poor and the lower-middle peasants and the well-to-do middle peasants." ("The Climax of Socialism in China's Rural Areas," Vol 2, p 777) What is pointed out here is the struggle between the two roads, which of course has the nature of a class struggle. Comrade Hua Guofeng continues the basic concept of Comrades Lenin and Mao Zedong regarding the existence of class struggle among the people. He explicitly pointed out in his "Report on the Work of the Government" to the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress: "The influence of bourgeois and the ideology of the feudal class will continue to exist for a long time among the people and, to control this influence, protracted struggle and education must still be carried out. He called on us to "continually carry out class struggle economically, politically and ideologically in a correct way" at the same time as we devote our major efforts to developing social productivity.

At present, it is a fact that class struggle is mainly a struggle waged against the "six different elements" and the "two remnants." Meanwhile, there is no inner organic link among these elements and remnants to rebuild an exploiting class. Therefore, it is also a fact that a struggle against them is a class struggle without the exploiting class, which makes it a class struggle different from its original meaning. However, the realities of life in our country prove that in the course of socialist construction and development, various kinds of contradictions and struggles exist, and that among them are factors which are antagonistic to and conflict with the basic interests of the people. There are some people whose behavior objectively represents the interests and desires of the abolished exploiting class, and this thereby becomes class struggle among the people. For instance, at present there are people who engage in graft and embezzlement, speculation and profiteering, and undermining of socialism, all of which are detrimental directly or indirectly to the socialist economic foundation. These activities are comparatively prevalent in their manifestation and are serious in their nature. Some young people blindly worship Western democracy. They regard the outworn concepts and deceitful philosophy of the capitalist class and all exploiting classes within our country and abroad a "treasure" and do their utmost to give lavish praise and high commendation to it. They combat the leadership of the party and attack the socialist system. There are also some cadres who are seriously imbued with a bureaucratic style of work and a "special privilege" mentality. They engage in legitimizing their special privileges and try to bring evil trends into the open. They therefore do not enjoy popular support and have damaged the relationship between the party and the masses of the people, and so forth. All of these are absolutely not ordinary problems of ideology or awareness but are reflections and manifestations of class struggle among the people, having the nature of class struggle itself. If we deny that this is class struggle and do not recognize that class struggle exists among the people, but believe that only the struggle waged against the "six different elements" and the "two remnants" can be called class struggle, it seems that enacting laws and a penal code as well as strengthening the legal system are not absolutely necessary at the present time, since the abovementioned people are already very few in number and will pass away in not too many years. The date when class struggle will no longer exist can be set. It is obvious that this does not conform to reality.

Comrades Gao and Li regarded that under given conditions, contradictions among the people will transform into antagonistic contradictions, which will turn into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and then this can be called class struggle. This approach does not start from objective reality to study problems. Certainly we do not mean that contradictions among the people constitute class struggle but that class struggle does exist among the people. If the understanding of both Comrades Gao and Li is accepted, then 90 percent or even more of the offenders in our country are criminals among the people, and only a few counterrevolutionaries whose political rights have been removed and offenders who have committed serious crimes comprise the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. There is the problem as to the kind of struggle the remaining offenders, whose political rights have not been deprived, are part of. Do all of them constitute an ideological problem or a cognitive problem? Can this merely be called "a critical ideological struggle having factors of class struggle?" I am afraid that they cannot.

Comrades Gao and Li are also worried that if class struggle is regarded as still existing among the people, the same old ways of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in going all out to magnify class struggle among the masses of people will be reinstated. Actually, intensification of class struggle is not due to the recognition of the existence of class struggle among the people, but results from the line adopted during class struggle. Only when we have committed the mistake of being "left" and broadening the scope of class struggle subjectively will there be the problem of intensifying class struggle. Lin Biao and the "gang of four," in carrying out their ultraleft line, confused the problem of ideological awareness of the masses with class struggle among the people, and also confused class struggle among the people with contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. They went all out for a "total dictatorship" and eventually brought about a great calamity. Now, since Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have been smashed, if we can take note of the distinctions mentioned above and adopt correct ways for handling them, we shall not commit mistakes that will intensify class struggle. If class struggle is regarded as only creating contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, it will inevitably result in intensifying all problems of class struggle into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and thereby intensify class struggle. At the same time, class struggle, which itself is a problem among the people, can probably be treated wholly as a general problem. All that needs to be handled has not been handled; all that needs to be grasped has not been grasped; and all that needs to be punished has not been punished. This is very detrimental to strengthening stability and unity, consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist system, and accelerating the four modernizations. We can avoid committing mistakes of being "left" or right only by correctly recognizing the objective existence of class struggle among the people at the present stage.

9560
CSO: 4005

MARXISM AND EMANCIPATION OF MIND

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 80 p 5

[Article by Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055]: "Marxism and Emancipation of the Mind"]

[Text] There is a theory that an excess of emancipation of the mind tends to lead to rightism which in turn leads to a negation of Marxism. In order to avoid an excessive emancipation of the mind, it is necessary that we do not lose sight of the over-riding importance of Marxist ideas when we strive for the emancipation of the mind. For this reason, in order to uphold Marxism, certain limits must be set to the emancipation of the mind.

I wish to express certain views on this subject.

What is it that we seek to emancipate when we talk about emancipation of the mind? First, we must seek to emancipate our minds from the latter-day superstitions and ultra leftist ideas promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over a period of years. Next, we must seek to emancipate our minds from all forms of superstitions, dogmatism, stereotyped writing, forbidden zones, outdated modes of thought, hackneyed bigotry and false conclusions born of limited experience, all forms of idealism and metaphysics. All these mental shackles prevent us from seeing the truth and must therefore be shattered.

The object of emancipating the mind is to find the truth, and the only criterion of truth is practice. So long as we recognize this fact, the problem of going overboard will not arise. The problem arises only when we smash to pieces what should not be smashed and give affirmation to something which should not be affirmed. As to what should be smashed and what should be affirmed, we must let practice be our guide. Why should we not smash something to bits when actual practice has proved that it should be smashed and why should we not affirm something when actual practice has proved that it should be affirmed? Of course, when there is a lack of sufficient practice, we should withhold our conclusion as to what is right and what is wrong.

When the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee called for emancipation of the mind, it was not concerning itself with that alone. Rather, it was stressing the fact that truth can only be found when we take practice as the criterion for determining what is true and what is not. That, in short, underlines the need to eschew the bigotry which prevailed in 1958. In that year, we shouted to the high heavens to "emancipate the mind and get rid of superstitions." That slogan led us to set our sights too high, to issue orders without rhyme or reason, to make a fad of communism and boastfulness, all of which are undesirable from an objective point of view. However, the fault did not lie with the slogan itself, but rather with the fact that we did not have a full understanding of the slogan and that we did not go about publicizing it in a proper manner. When we talked about superstitions at the time, we were referring to superstitions from abroad, superstitions in the so-called experts and superstitions in the printed word. In the process of demolishing these superstitions, we also demolished science and the need to make a conscientious effort in getting things done. At the same time, in our propaganda work, we created superstitions in our infallibility and superstitions in our subjective points of view. That gave rise to the superstitions that "the amount of production is determined by the extent of our courage" and that "we don't need to fear what cannot be done, only to fear what we fail to realize in thinking." It seemed as if the more arrogant boasts a man made, the more emancipated he was in his mind. "Eradication of superstitions" became eradication of science and "emancipation of the mind" resulted in outlandish way of thinking. Those who indulged in outlandish thoughts, while appearing to be highly emancipated, were actually the least so. Their thoughts were tightly bound by their subjective "views of the authorities," by their own petty-bourgeois fanaticism and by their selfish personal considerations. They were afraid not of unthinkable thoughts, but only of seeking truth from facts. At that time, it was fashionable to make "high-sounding claims," however irresponsible they might be. The truth of the matter is that it takes real courage to face the facts and to withstand the tremendous political and ideological pressures. The truly emancipated person is not one who spews forth patent lies to please the authorities. He is one who speaks the truth at the risk of being labelled a "rightist and conservative." When the Communist Central Committee advanced the policy of "readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement," it called for the emancipation of the mind. For this reason, the slogan "emancipation of the mind" is not to be taken only as being opposed to rightism and conservatism, but also to unreasoned adventurism as well.

In short, so long as an error is allowed to become fashionable or a trend or "the views of the authorities" or a policy or a line, the human mind becomes shackled and an obstacle is placed in the emancipation of the mind. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] and Shi Yunfeng [0670 0061 1496] were the true heroes in the realm of mind emancipation. Although physically in chains, their minds were liberated and they were truly exemplary protagonists of Marxism.

Marxism, far from shackling the mind, emancipates the mind. In fact, Marxism itself is the product of the emancipation of the mind. Adherents of communism must make a clean break with conservative ideas. They must throw off the shackles of bigotry and narrow-mindedness represented by the enslavers, the landlords, the bourgeoisie and small producers. Does that not represent complete emancipation of the mind? Today, some young people are such ardent admirers of Western capitalism that they are completely enamored of the dregs of capitalistic culture. That is not emancipation of the mind. It is superstition. We seek to work on their minds not to stymie their thinking, but to help them to liberate themselves from their superstitions.

Marxism has also dealt a crucial blow to the fantasy cherished by thinkers in the past, namely, that they had found the "ultimate truth." In the history of philosophy, it was Hegel who first propounded the idea that the thoughts of all the thinkers of the past were the products of the time period in which they lived, that they represented but a stage in the absolute and undonditional development of the mind, that they had found only one phase of the ultimate truth, and that despite their contributions to and their stature in the history of philosophy, they had no right to lay claim to having exhausted the search for the absolute truth. Nevertheless, Hegel considered himself the only exception, claiming that he himself had finally found the absolute truth. In his critique of Hegel, Feverbach made it clear that Hegel himself was a product of his particular era. That being the case, Hegel had no right to claim that Hegelianism represented the ultimate in the search for the absolute truth. In like manner, we should also regard Marxism in the same light. "Marxism-Leninism has in no way exhausted truth but ceaselessly opens up roads to the knowledge of truth in the course of practice." ("On Practice")

One important contribution made by Marx is that he made practice the foundation of knowledge and the criterion of truth. In the past, divine revelation served as the criterion and the standard was set by the authorities (such as saints and the churches). These and other factors served as shackles of the mind. During the 18th century, the French school of enlightenment made "reason" the sole judge for all beings: "all must defend themselves for their existence or give up their right to existence at the court of reason." (Engels: "Anti-Duhring") Does that represent emancipation of the mind? Does that mean that "reason" is so all-important that it should be above examination? Marxism makes practice the sole judge of knowledge. According to Marx, all theories must be subjected to the test of practice. That applies not only to "reason" as espoused by the proponents of enlightenment, but also to Marxism itself. No theories are above the test of practice. Thus, all superstitions and dogmas will be shattered.

Through the test of practice, Marxism must be continually supplemented, revised and further developed. Otherwise, it will cease to exist and

Marxism will become dogmatism. Dogmatism not only is no Marxism, but is the opposite of Marxism. Although Marxism originally has the effect of emancipating the mind, it may, in its development, be turned into dogmatism by certain people. Thus, a tool for the emancipation of the mind may be turned into a shackle that holds the mind in bondage. If I may be permitted to use an unfamiliar philosophical term, that is tantamount to the "dissimilation" of Marxism.

We are, of course, opposed to revisionism. We must, however, have a clear idea as to what "revisionism" means. To oppose revisionism does not mean to oppose all forms of revision. If we do not permit the revision of Marxism, are we then not guilty of dogmatism? By revisionism, we mean the revision of the basic principles of Marxism. We must not lose sight of that when we talk about revisionism. For instance, is it revisionism to oppose "the persons in power traversing the capitalistic road"? It is not, because that has nothing to do with the basic principles of Marxism, not to mention the fact that that idea does not stand up to the test of practice.

The most basic Marxist principle is the unification of theories and practice. So long as we keep that in mind, we are the adherents of the basic principles of Marxism. Both revisionism and dogmatism are opposed to that principle.

In short, emancipation of the mind is in complete consonance with Marxism. If it is true that thought emancipation is predicated upon a strict adherence to Marxism, it is even truer to say that Marxism itself demands the emancipation of the mind. Adherence to Marxism requires that we develop the ideas of Marxism and the development of Marxist ideas requires that we emancipate the mind. Otherwise, strict adherence to Marxism will come to mean strict adherence to dogmatism. So long as we have a correct understanding of thought emancipation and Marxism, a strict adherence to Marxism not only does not hamper thought emancipation, and emancipation of the mind will not lead to the negation of Marxism.

9621
CSO: 4005

PRINCIPLE OF CONFORMITY ASSAILED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Lu Yanyu [7120 1484 1502]: "Persist in Differentiation and Oppose Indiscriminate Uniformity"]

[Text] All things have some universal and some individual traits. In other words, they have something in common with one another as well as something that sets them apart from one another. This concept is one of the most important points in Marxist epistemology. Comrade Mao Zedong elaborated on this subject in great depth in his philosophical treatises and evolved from it a scientific method of reinforcing universality with individuality and of enhancing individuality with universality. Today, the importance of studying Marxist epistemology and applying a scientific method to our endeavors to achieve the four modernizations cannot be overemphasized.

"In considering each form of motion of matter, we must observe the points which it has in common with other forms of motion. But what is especially important and necessary, constituting as it does the foundation of our knowledge of a thing, is to observe what is particular to this form of motion of matter, namely, to observe the qualitative difference between this form of motion and other forms. Only when we have done so can we distinguish between things." (On Contradiction) The particularity of a thing comes from within itself. It stems from its innate specialty, singularity and individuality.

These qualities constitute the particularity that sets one thing apart from another. This particularity forms the scientific basis for our preception of the world. If we look at the processes of the mind in establishing knowledge, we will realize that the mind recognizes the individual traits of things first and then, through generalization, perceive their common traits. In other words, it is a process of going from particularity to universality. We say that particularity is a component of universality. However, the former cannot substitute for the latter. By the same token, when we say that universality is the sum of particularity, we do not mean that universality is the sum of particularity, we do not mean that the former cancels out the latter. For example, the guidelines and policies of the CCP

Central Committee are formulated on the basis of a summing-up of a host of practical experiences and from an overview of the national situation. They reflect the objective laws in general and chart a general course for the nation. They are the sum of the common and universal traits of things. They are the outcome of the process of reducing particularity down to universality and letting the latter speak for the former. Lenin said in his article "On Dialectical Questions" that "Generalization only roughly describes individual traits of all things. However, no individual trait can be represented in its entirety in any generalization." ("Philosophical Notes" by Lenin, page 409) By the same token, the party's guidelines and policies, while they serve as a guide on what to do under particular circumstances, cannot cover all contingencies and may not suit every circumstance. This gives rise to the need to study the special conditions as exist in our locale and at our work unit, to adapt the party's guidelines and policies to those conditions through dialectically meshing universality with individuality, and to implement the guildelines and policies of the CCP Central Committee in a way suited to local conditions. It does not mean making all feet fit the shoe.

We must treat each case on its own merit. Failure to do so means a lack of policy. This may sound simple, but it is easier said than done. Some leading cadres exercise their leadership in disregard to the particularity of contradictions. Forgetting that different contradictions require different solutions, they practice indiscriminate uniformity in all matters, like "cutting things uniformly with a knife." When they see the party's guidelines and policies or receive instructions from their superiors, they merely copy them as they are, forward them as they are, and quote them as they are. They are content to be mere "mail rooms" and "message forwarding centers." They look upon advanced experiences as set formula and all they want to do is to repeat them. When required to do a project, they require strict conformity, to one standard and to one style. Practicing "cutting things uniformly with a knife" they are encouraging the spread of formalism, to the detriment of our party and the people. For example, when they hear "taking grain as the key link," they would have grain crops planted everywhere, whether it is a high mountain, or a beach, or a forest, or a grassland. They require cotton growers to grow food for themselves. They deny vegetable growers access to commercially available grain. In this way, they want to turn agriculture into a one-crop economy. When they hear that "pigs rank first among all domestic animals," they would allow people to raise only pigs to the neglect of other domestic animals and poultry, thus reducing animal husbandry to a one-animal activity. When they hear "agricultural mechanization," they would set the same timetable for every production brigade regardless of its financial status. As a result, the better-off brigades fail to mechanize and the poor brigades sink in debt. Similar examples defy enumeration.

How has this indiscriminate practice of "cutting things uniformly with a knife" come about? There are three reasons.

One reason is that some comrades have failed to free themselves from the mental shackles imposed by the "gang of four." When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were riding roughshod over the nation, idealism held sway and metaphysics spread unchecked. They messages were "to be forwarded before the night is out." Their instructions were "to be followed to the letter." Their orders were "to be carried out whether they were understood or not." Only those who did their bidding in such a manner were considered their "close followers" with "unquestionable loyalty." Anyone who took local conditions into consideration and displayed some initiative of his own would be considered rebellious and head into trouble. Those who were at their "beck and call" could stay out of trouble or, even win their favors. Thus the practice of "indiscriminate conformity" was born out of necesity if one were to survive under the "gang of four." It has been 4 years now since we smashed the "gang of four." It is time that we abandon our "survival philosophy" of the days of the "gang of four."

The second reason is blind obedience to instructions from a higher authority. Some people are content to relay the messages from their superiors word by word without any attempt to find out through investigation and study whether the instructions are suited to existing conditions and without any thought as to how to carry them out. While they themselves believe they are obedient, they are actually neglecting their duties.

The third reason is opportunism. Some people work for appearances only for their own benefit. They have no intention of doing a conscientious job as long as they can please the public and their superiors. They insist upon the indiscriminate practice of "cutting things uniformly with a knife" for no other reason than to make themselves look good. They do not care whether they are doing the right thing or the wrong thing or whether their action will benefit or harm the people. Now that we know why some people demand indiscriminate conformity, we can see that with some people it is an epistemological problem and with others it is a problem with their way of thinking and their way of doing things. To solve these problems, we must also treat each case on its own merit and prescribe a specific medicine for a specific illness.

We must study dialectical materialist epistemology. As we are faced with the historic task of realizing the four socialist modernizations and the numerous new situations and new problems that come with it, we will do well to avail ourselves of the "telescope" and "microscope" of Marxist dialectical materialism for a closer observation of things to help us solve problems. With such Marxist aids, we will be able to pinpoint the particularity and individuality of each and every problem. This is the best medicine to treat the ill of "cutting things uniformly with a knife."

We must also persist in investigation and study. There is a saying: "Once we see things clearly, we can work with great determination and use the right methods." "Seeing things clearly" is the prerequisite to "working with determination" and "using the right methods." For example, one of the most important principles guiding our economic operation is to use our strong points to their best advantage, to do what we are good at and to avoid what we are not good at, and, to pursue economic benefits and to avoid economic disadvantages. If we are to use our strong points to their best advantage, we must make investigation and study to determine what our strong points are from one locality to another. Unless we know our strong points and weak points, we cannot make the right choice between what to do and what not to do. Unless we are sure of the advantages and disadvantages, we cannot decide what will bring benefits and what will bring disasters. Otherwise, we can say all we want to say and we can write all we want to write about "using our strong points to their best advantage: and accomplish nothing. In this context, investigation and study is an effective method to overcome bureaucratism, objectivism, indiscriminate conformity and the habit of "cutting things uniformly with a knife." We must adhere to the mass line. "What comes from the masses goes back to them." What this means is that we must sort out and systemize all the individual, scattered and unsorted experiences from the masses into theories, guidelines, policies and measures of broad application. Next we must apply these theories, guidelines, policies and measures to real-life problems so as to test them out, correct them, supplement and improve them among the masses. The process is precisely the same as combining individuality with universality and leadership with the masses. To follow the mass line means that we must respect the creativity of the masses and always keep the benefits of the masses in mind. It is not right to act according to one's personal preferences and instincts. We know that some leading comrades at certain localities are acting purely on their personal likes and dislikes when assigning responsibilities to various production units. They are wielding their "knife" to cut this and to chop that. These comrades are advised to go out and mix with the masses and to find out what the masses are thinking and doing, what they like and what they dislike. The boundless creativity of the masses will offer a cure for the nasty illness of "cutting things uniformly with a knife."

The lofty task of achieving socialist modernization has never been attempted before. Therefore, without a pioneering spirit and an ability to adapt to new conditions, it is impossible to blaze a trail toward a Chinese-style modernization. As we are embarked on a new long march, it is necessary for us to give free reign to our imagination, to be pragmatic, to dare to try new ideas and to explore new avenues. Only thus can we create a colorful and heroic world of our own.

9055
CSO: 4005

LISTENING TO TRUTH IS AS IMPORTANT AS SPEAKING TRUTH

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Zhao Jinliang [6392 6930 5328]: "Pay Attention to Hearing the Truth"]

[Text] Lately there has been a good deal of discussion on the importance of speaking the truth. Newspapers have also published articles on this subject. It is, of course, very important that we all speak the truth, not untruth. Here I wish to add that it is just as important to promote the habit of listening to the truth as that of speaking the truth.

What makes people lie and why are lies so prevalent? The problem is just as much a fault of the speaker as the habit of certain comrades, particularly certain leading comrades, who do not listen to the truth, who like to be told the untruth and believe in the untruth, and who let the liars benefit from their falsehood. If we are to encourage the telling of truth, we must not only encourage the truthful speakers but also find an audience for them. In a sense, unless our party is all ears for the truth, there is no way we can revive and develop the virtue of truthfulness.

Truthfulness has two meanings: one is to tell it as it is, to call a spade a spade. There is no exaggeration of our achievement, there is no hiding of our faults. There is no distortion of facts, just a presentation of facts as they are. The other is to speak one's mind. It means honesty and candidness in expressing one's true feelings about certain people, certain things and certain problems. The words come straight from the heart. Our souls are completely bared. When we listen to the truth, it means opening our ears to the plain statement of facts and to the words from the heart. Some comrades only listen to what they like to hear and make a judgement on the basis of their personal likes and dislikes. They often mistake lies for truth and sneer at truth as lies. This is totally wrong. What is music to the ear is not necessarily the truth. The truth is not always pleasant to hear. Some comrades are all ears when there is talk about achievements, about advancements, about smooth performance, and about successes. They close their ears to any mention of shortcomings, backwardness, hardship and problems however true they may be. Some comrades enjoy listening to those who agree with them, and who compliment them and flatter them. They get upset and refuse to listen to unfavorable comments, criticism and complaint. Obviously this is not the right attitude. We must realize that constant good news, constant reports of success, sweet talk and flattery, no matter how pleasant they may be for the ear, are often unreal. On the contrary, straight talk may be unpleasant to the ear but is good for the soul. Some sharp and unpleasant words are needed when presenting certain facts. This is because the facts of life are not always gratifying, therefore the words that speak those facts cannot always be appetizing. Everything has two sides, a good side and a bad side, a bright side reflecting progress and a dark side reflecting backwardness, a side showing smooth performance and a side showing difficulties and obstacles. If we want the whole truth, we must lend our ears to both sides of a story and to both pleasant and unpleasant words.

Straight talk does not necessarily mean complete truthfulness. For one reason or another, a person's opinion may be totally correct, partially correct, or totally incorrect. Straight talkers like to get things off their chest, with no pretending, no beating around the bush, no bragging and no cheating. They say what is on their mind. There is nothing wrong with them. In fact, we must encourage them to speak out by listening closely to what they have to say, regardless of whether they make sense or not. This way we can understand their way of thinking and their true feelings. If we refuse to listen to them, how can we formulate a program of ideological education that will suit the public? If we will listen only to correct opinion and not incorrect opinion, and if we reject an incorrect opinion outright and take the speaker to task for expressing it, we will only discourage the straight talkers from speaking their mind and turn them into "evasive talkers."

When we listen to the truth, we must not stop at listening. We must also think and observe. If there are truth and untruth in real life, we as listeners must have the ability to distinguish between them. First, we must think it over and determine whether the speakers are being factual and truthful. It is not right to accept a one-sided story as truth and readily act upon it. From time to time we must get a second opinion or hear the other side of the story, or even do some investigation and study on our own, before we make a judgment. Second, we must match words with deeds. Confucius said: "Listen to what one says and then watch what he does." These words still ring true today. Some people say nice things, talk big, and promise this and that, but they do not mean what they say and have no intention of keeping their words. Even if what they say makes sense, it is still a deception. These people must not be trusted. In fact, they should be subjected to severe criticism. It is important for every comrade, especially those in leadership positions, to develop the habit of listening to the truth. The importance is two-fold: on the one hand, our listening enables us to understand the true feelings of our cadres and the masses as well as the facts as they are. With such understanding, we can make the right plans, carry them out properly, and accomplish what we set out to do. On the other hand, once the leaders prove themselves to be upholders of democracy, good listeners and champions of truth, the cadres and the masses will feel free to speak out and to report the facts as they are, and their willingness to speak the truth will grow. Otherwise, if the leaders are bureaucratic and isolated from the public, ready to listen to and accept untruth, and generous in dispensing favors to those who speak untruth, they are in fact penalizing truthfulness and indulging falsehood. Certain self-serving and unscrupulous individuals, seeing this weakness in their leaders, will say only what their leaders want to hear, make up stories and use flattery to mislead their leaders into one blunder after another. There were many such cases in history as well as in real life. Therefore, the importance of listening to the truth is no small matter. It is a vital issue that affects the image of our party and our execution of the "Guidelines on How to Achieve the Four Modernizations."

9055
CSO: 4005

INTELLECTUALS' WAGES, STATUS MUST BE RAISED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Li Chun [2621 2504]: "It Is Necessary To Show Concern for the Livelihood of Intellectuals"]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party's policy toward the intellectuals has gradually come into force. Many intellectuals feel extremely grateful, and have instantly enhanced their sense of responsibility as masters of society. Quite a number of them are working diligently day and night, determined to devote themselves to the sciences and to the four modernizations.

However, there are still a number of problems. For instance, with respect to training the intellectuals, managing their affairs, and employing and taking care of them, things have not turned out entirely as one would have wished. Recently, during a conversation with some intellectual friends, they discussed with me quite a number of problems to be solved. They said that though they are now "red No 3," they are still "poor No 3." Is this not like "Feng Huan [7458 7536] tapping the hilt of his sword and singing--poor but waiting for an opportunity to advance in life"--to reach out for a yard after taking an inch? In my opinion, this is not the case.

In complaining about being "poor," they were talking mainly about their livelihood. The livelihood of intellectuals, especially of the middle-aged, is truly fairly "poor." First, their wages are low and their income is scanty. The actual income of most intellectuals is often about one-third less than that of workers of the same age. The wage readjustments made on several occasions in recent years were not applicable to the intellectuals, mostly because of their short duration of service. (For people who are the same age, the longer their length of schooling, the shorter must be their length of service.) Even for those with longer years of service, since they were not engaged directly in material production they were looked upon as "having made no clear contributions" and were not given promotions. The majority of them have parents to support and children to take care of, so they have never been able to make ends meet. Secondly, their living conditions are too poor. Their living quarters are crowded, many people go very far to work and cannot return home during the noon break, and the offices where they work have no accommodations for them to rest after lunch. Very often they voluntarily work overtime and thus have no time to do their household chores, buy food from the market, or cook meals. They cannot eat and drink properly, and live in hunger and cold. Thirdly, they have difficulties in their work. Most of them do not understand, nor do they have time to study, the "art of establishing ties," which is very prevalent these years. When they are handling affairs without any "person of common interest," they will always run into snags and be foiled everywhere.

As regards "poverty," the overwhelming majority of intellectuals can face the situation squarely. They understand the difficulties of the state, see correctly the realities of society, cautiously restrain themselves, and would rather be like a cnadle burning to ashes than seek comfort, wealth, respect, and glory. Many of the intellectuals, such as Chen Jingrun [7115 2529 3387], become more determined by poverty without losing their aspirations. Others, such as Li Siguang [2621 0934 0342], are old but vigorous and always think about making greater achievements. There are even some people who, for China's good cause, are willing to give up excellent working and living conditions abroad, overcome their difficulties, travel far across the ocean, return to the motherland, and devote themselves to the four modernizations. How admirable are these noble qualities of our intellectuals, who suffer hardship in poverty, strive selflessly, but never utter a word of complaint!

However, those who are the leading comrades of all departments and units at all levels should show close concern for and deal carefully with the problems of the livelihood of intellectuals. At present, they should first do a good job of propaganda work with a view to straightening out public opinion and correcting concepts concerning intellectuals in all quarters. Secondly, they should do a solid and concrete job of the work of organization and logistics, and help the intellectuals solve their specific difficulties. They should encourage all quarters to serve the scientific, cultural and educational workers, fully use the facilities and actively create more such facilities, and try by all means to help them improve their livelihood. Thirdly, they should study and change certain current irrational policies and replace them with scientific policies that will encourage people to learn and progress. Doing so will help the intellectuals to concentrate their energy and, with undivided attention, to make a success of their vocational work, and it will also help to bring about the social fashion of "admiring learning" and to attract more people to scale and peaks of science and culture. In a word, this helps to produce talents and results quickly. If [it is a case of] the more the knowledge, the "poorer" the livelihood; the longer the years of study, the lower the wages, then it almost means advocating ignorance and encouraging illiteracy. If things go on like this, certainly it will be difficult to produce talented people and difficult to get results, and it will be hopeless for the four modernizations.

It has always been true that one's status is linked with one's role, and that rights go along with duties. It should be all the more so under the socialist system. In order to give play in socialist construction to the role of intellectuals as persons to guide and command (this is the viewpoint of Lenin and Stalin), it is necessary to give them the social status they should have. To get them to take up the duties of fostering and promoting the modernization of science and technology, it is necessary to give them corresponding political and economic rights. If we talk only about their role and duties but not about their status and rights, turn a blind eye to the poor plight of the intellectuals, and turn a deaf ear to their proper demands, it will almost be like "making the horse run without allowing it to graze." To quote a statement by Han Yu of the Tang Dynasty: "Whip a horse without any good reason, feed a horse without making the best possible use of it, and loudly urge on a horse without knowing its language." ("Miscellanies, No 4") In this case, though there is a famous horse, it "has not enough to eat, becomes weak, cannot show its ability and beauty, and will not be equal to even an ordinary horse. It can hardly be expected to run a thousand li in a day!"

Although the Party Central Committee has repeatedly laid stress on the issue of intellectuals, especially on questions of their rights and status, there are still some comrades, especially some leading comrades, who have not yet truly straightened out their thinking and understanding. Take wages and remuneration as an example. After bringing order out of chaos on the question of distribution some comrades now are not afraid of workers becoming well-to-do and also are not afraid of peasants becoming well-to-do. However, if someone suggests raising the wages and remuneration of intellectuals to help them also become well-to-do, these comrades will be stunned. Either they are unwilling or they dare not do so. Among those who are unwilling, some people say that the work of intellectuals is "light and leisurely" and not as heavy as that of workers and peasants, and so their wages are already good enough. Others say that if their remuneration is high, they will easily become "intellectual aristocrats." As a matter of fact, they don't understand the hardship and complexity of the mental labor of intellectuals, and they even harbor the prejudices of despising knowledge, looking down upon science, and discriminating against intellectuals. Those who "dare not" are afraid of taking on the bad name of "fostering intellectual aristocrats" and relying heavily on the service of "bourgeois intellectuals" and "reactionary academic authorities." This proves that the pernicious ultraleft influence of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and like ilk in trampling on and persecuting the intellectuals is still far from being liquidated, and that the task of emancipating thought remains very great. In a certain sense, this is the key to giving full play to the role of the intellectuals, and it cannot be treated lightly.

9039
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

XIZANG CPPCC DELEGATION--The 36-member Xizang Autonomous Regional CPPCC Committee visiting group with Cui-ke Dun-zhu-cai-ren, vice chairman of the regional people's congress Standing Committee and member of the regional CPPCC committee Standing Committee, as its leader and Sengqen Losang Gyancan, vice chairman of the regional people's congress Standing Committee and vice chairman of regional CPPCC committee, and Jiang-zhong Zha-xi-duo-ji, vice chairman of the regional CPPCC committee, as deputy leaders returned to Lhasa recently after winding up visit and study tour to Chengdu, Nanjing, Shanghai, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Tianjin and Beijing. On 1 September, the regional CPPCC committee Standing Committee held a discussion meeting to hear reports on the tour. Responsible comrades of the regional CCP committee, people's congress Standing Committee and people's government were present to report. [OW111411 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Sep 80]

GANSU NATIONAL DAY DELEGATION--A 25-person Gansu provincial national day minority study-visit group headed by (Sa Yuxu), chairman of the Gansu Provincial Nationalities Affairs Committee; (Jia Side), chairman of the Standing Committee of the Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefectural People's Congress; and (Ma Jicheng), vice president of the China Islamic Association, departed Lanzhou for Heilongjiang, Jilin and Beijing on 1 September. This study-visit group is composed of cadres, technicians and commune members of 9 minority nationalities from 10 prefectures, autonomous prefectures and municipalities in the province. Before their departure, Wang Bingxiang, Standing Committee member of the Gansu Provincial CCP Committee and provincial deputy governor, received all group members. [SK072128 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 4 Sep 80]

GANSU PERSONNEL AFFAIRS CONFERENCE--The Gansu provincial personnel affairs conference was held 21-30 August in Lanzhou. This was the first conference of its kind in 15 years. The conference contended that with the shift in the emphasis of party work, personnel departments should help party organization departments reform the cadre structure so as to establish a force of professional, competent cadres who uphold the socialist road. Many problems persist: ossified thinking, the one-sidedness of metaphysics, a feudal ideology, conventional thinking and inhibitions and the force of habit. Personnel work is beset with irregularities such as personal connections and backdoor dealings, overemphasis on hiring those with personal connections and the exclusion of persons with professional knowledge and special skills. These irregularities must be resisted and corrected. Cadres in charge of personnel work must heed party discipline and state law and eliminate these practices. [SK062305 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 5 Sep 80]

LIAONING YOUNG CADRES--As of early August, Liaoning Province had promoted 3,868 young and middle-aged cadres to leading posts at or above county-level organs. It is anticipated that by the end of 1980, about 1,000 persons will be selected to reinforce the leading bodies above county-level organs; 346 persons have already been selected. It has been decided that about 16 counties in the province will have one or two cadres under 45 years of age serving in the first and second leading posts by the end of this year. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 4 Sep 80 SK]

LIAONING CCP COMMITTEE DELEGATION--The Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee delegation led by Zhang Zhengde, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and (Li Zhongye), first secretary of the Anshan Municipal CCP Committee, returned to Shenyang by train 4 August after completing its friendly visit to North Pyongyan Province, DPRK. [SK052045 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 4 Sep 80]

LIAONING RECEPTION--On 7 September leading comrades from the Liaoning provincial and Shenyang municipal party, government and army organs as well as from the Shenyang PLA units, including Chen Puru, Zou Yan, Shen Yue and Zhang Tiejun, cordially received the heads, deputy heads and representatives of various minority nationalities from minority delegations which are visiting Liaoning Province. These visiting minority delegations are from the Xizang Tibetan Autonomous Region and from Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou, Zhejiang, Fujian, Jiangxi, Hebei and Henan provinces. During the reception, Chen Puru, secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee and governor of the provincial people's government, extended warm welcome to the visiting comrades on behalf of the Liaoning provincial and Shenyang municipal CCP committees, the Standing Committees of the provincial and municipal people's congresses, the provincial and municipal people's governments, the provincial and municipal CPPCC committees, the Shenyang PLA units and the provincial military district. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 7 Sep 80 SK]

JILIN PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES--Changchun Municipality in Jilin Province completed the elections of deputies to county and district people's congresses on 4 September. A total of 3,222 deputies were elected by secret ballots. [SK090045 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Sep 80]

HUNAN URBAN WORK CONFERENCE--From 16 to 23 August, the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee and the provincial people's government held a conference on urban work to sum up and exchange experiences and study how to further improve urban work and management. The participants said that to reaffirm urban planning, it is necessary to first formulate the scale of urban developments and follow the principle of developing more small cities and townships. Generally, the population of the cities and townships should be around 200,000. The scale should be formulated from the very beginning, so as to avoid blind planning. It is necessary to be economically rational and technologically advanced, pay very serious attention to saving electricity and speedily develop the cities in accordance with the plans and proportions. It is also necessary to base things on existing foundations, give play to the strong points and avoid the weak ones, make better use of local resources and increase production by relying on tapping potential and technical innovation. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Aug 80 HK]

HUNAN NEWSPAPER READERS' LETTERS--In accordance with the instructions of the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee, the general office and propaganda department of the provincial CCP committee issued a notice on seriously handling the people's letters that appear in the party newspapers. The notice revealed that most units are now handling such matters solemnly and seriously. However, some units still have not paid serious attention to it and cannot handle it correctly. With cases which should be solemnly dealt with, some units failed to do so, while others avoided doing so and some even covered them up. In some cases, the writers were being retaliated against, causing definite damage to the party's work and giving it a bad image among the masses. The party organizations at all levels must seriously handle the people's letters and appoint a person to be specifically responsible for them. The leadership must be personally concerned about it. The results of handling these letters which were openly published in newspapers must also be published in newspapers. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 27 Aug 80 HK]

HUBEI RURAL CYL CONFERENCE--The Hubei rural CYL work conference ended in Huanggan County on 28 August. The participants pointed out that the implementation of the economic policy has speeded up development in the countryside. It is necessary to do CYL work in the basic-level units, persist in reforms and fully enliven the scientific research work in the countryside. In launching the activities to be the shock troopers in the new long march, the young people in the countryside must persist in such activities. However, they must not engage in formalism. The numerous junior and senior middle school graduates who have returned to the countryside must have jobs. The CYL organizations must also be concerned about their growth. It is also necessary to help the young people to solve the problems of families, marriage and love. During the conference, Wang Qun, deputy secretary of the provincial CCP committee, spoke. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Aug 80 HK]

HUBEI LEADER MEMORIAL SERVICE--Li Minghao, member of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the Fourth Hubei Provincial CPPCC Committee, died of illness on 25 August 1980 in Wuchang, aged 83. A memorial service was held at the hall of the provincial CPPCC in Wuchang on 30 August. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Aug 80 HK]

HENAN DISCUSSION MEETING--The Standing Committee of the Henan Provincial People's Congress held a discussion meeting on 3 September to discuss the provisional PRC regulations on lawyers. It was attended by some of the Standing Committee members, the responsible persons of the provincial judiciary and civil affairs departments and the representatives from the relevant units and departments. The participants pointed out at the meeting that the promulgation of the regulations is important for strengthening the legal system and judiciary work and will play an important role in the people's political life. [OW111427 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Sep 80]

CSO: 4005

SICHUAN AIR FORCE UNIT TRAINS FIRST GROUP OF TIBETAN PILOTS

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Aug 80 p 3

[Article: "First Group of Tibetan Pilots Trained"]

[Text] A certain air division of the PLA air force stationed in Sichuan recently announced some good news that the first group of Tibetan pilots has successfully completed their last training course of flying in four kinds of weather conditions which consist of flying in daytime, nighttime and in clear and adverse weather conditions, and they have achieved all-weather operation and combat standards.

The average age of this group of Tibetan pilots is 25 years old and they are a part of a larger group of minority pilots recruited through the beloved Premier Zhou's suggestion when he was alive. After their arrival to the air force unit stationed in Sichuan, the party committees at various levels organized them to study the basic principles of Marx-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the unit made special efforts to write teaching materials on aviation theories for them and selected instructors with rich experiences to direct them in study and training. Moreover, with respect to the customs and practices of various nationalities, the unit created fine conditions for them in their study and livelihood.

Tibetan pilots Luo Ga, Liu Jian and Liu Dongjiu said: "We absolutely cannot disappoint the premier's hopes and the party's concern and must become able pilots to win honor for the Tibetan people." They conscientiously and diligently studied the Chinese language and aviation theories and rigorously trained in flying skills, devoting themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of flying. By virtue of their diligent studies and success in overcoming one obstacle after another, all of them have chalked up 100 percent in high quality and safe flying days. On one occasion, Luo Ga was flying in adverse weather conditions when suddenly his radio contact was cut off. Flying in poor weather conditions with only 2 to 3 kilometers of visibility, he nevertheless remained calm and flew the fighter aircraft safely back to base under the situation of having no ground command and guidance. On one occasion, Liu Jian was flying in adverse weather conditions at night when the left engine of his plane suddenly stopped. It was hard to control the plane lopsided. He and the instructor coordinated their efforts and flew the plan through the cloud and fog and used one engine to land safely. He was awarded a meritorious citation, third class.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

SHENYANG PUBLIC TRIAL--On 4 September the Shenyang Intermediate People's Court, Liaoning Province, held a public trial to pass a death sentence on (Zhao Baoyu), a murderer who killed a shopkeeper in the course of an optical shop robbery on 18 October 1979. The Liaoning provincial public security organ cracked this robbery case on 11 July 1980 and convened a public trial. More than 1,000 observers attended the trial. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Sep 80 SK]

HUBEI SOLDIERS FLOOD RESISTANCE--The Wuhan PLA units, the air force of the Wuhan PLA units and the Hubei military district have mobilized their units and militia to fight floods and insure the safety of the people's lives and properties. In the past few days, leaders of these units have gone to embankments in Changjiang to investigate the flood situation. At the same time, the soldiers have actively supported the people in the affected areas to prevent flood and drain the waterlogged land. The Wuhan PLA units have helped the people in Hanyang County recover 2 million jin of maize. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Aug 80 HK]

CSO: 4005

FIRST PUBLIC OPINION POLL CONDUCTED IN SHANGHAI

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 80 p 2

[Article: "Shanghai Workshop Sponsors First Public Opinion Poll"]

[Text] What is your present most urgent need? Your answer must be one of the six alternatives listed as follows: 1) education; 2) an ideal job; 3) pay hike; 4) an ideal companion; 5) a home; 6) a complete set of new furniture.

This was one of six questions contained in the first public opinion poll conducted by the branch of the Chinese Communist Youth League of the workshop no 2 of the Shanghai no 2 battery plant. The five other questions were: What is your faith? Do you believe that the four modernizations can be accomplished? What objectives are you trying to achieve during the 1980's? Do you have any complaints to make? Respondents to this poll were CYL members and were not required to sign their names at the end of the questionnaire, so that they could feel free to answer it as sincerely as possible. Some CYL members even brought the questionnaire home so that they could think it over carefully. Their answers to this poll represented a cross-section of the genuine view of our younger generation on the current situation, after having suffered 10 years of disorder.

This poll was conducted not to sample public opinion alone. Its primary aim was to inspire the youngsters to tell what they really have in their minds. Another aim was to help them raise their political consciousness, achieve a common understanding of the current situation, and arrive at a correct answer to the problems they face today. Their original answers to the questions have been carefully analyzed and grouped into 10 thought-provoking questions as subjects of further discussion by youngsters at the workshop. The CYL branch has also organized the respondents to the poll to study these 10 questions and to answer them one by one in their own equitable way.

The 10 questions have become subjects of animated debate among the members of the CYL branch, thus introducing an exciting element into their daily activities. In order to seek truth from facts, many youths have debated one another not only at their group discussion meetings but also at their workshop and dining tables.

One day, the CYL branch scheduled a discussion meeting for 4 pm, 2 hours after the close of their workshop. They came to the meeting immediately after taking showers. The central theme of discussion at that meeting was the question: Since communism cannot be realized in the immediate future, what should we do now? A young lady said: "As individuals, we should be realistic and should not be fooled by promises that cannot be delivered." This remark immediately drew fire. Dong Qinkuang [5516 0530 0562], a youth who spent 7 years in the Da Xingan Ling forest area, disagreed with this "selfish way of thinking." He said: "Since the revolutionaries of the older generation had sacrificed their lives for the sake of our country, we must work hard to accomplish the four modernizations. In cherishing the memory of their achievements in creating happiness for us, we should try our best not to hand a disaster down to the generations to come."

Some youngsters said: "Because we cannot count on the support of our fathers, we must stand on our own feet in raising families of our own. To sustain our own families, we must work hard 8 hours a day in hopes of winning more bonuses, and we must devote spare time to sideline production in order to supplement our regular income." Some young opponents of this idea held that youngsters should aim high to foster lofty ideals; they should not allow the idea of building "small cozy families" and self-interest to prevent them from thinking and doing something big. A lively debate produced this consensus: Everyone has a legitimate right to seek a better and more comfortable life. But it is a shame to envy a bourgeois way of life. Only by accomplishing the four modernizations can we bring a better life to the generations to come. At this time, Wang Minjuan [3076 2404 1227], secretary of the CYL branch and female worker of an equipment maintenance group, urged youngsters to plant and grow more shady trees to shield the younger generation. In this connection, she said: "As members of this generation, we are fortunate to be able to enjoy the shady breeze under those tall socialist trees cultivated by many revolutionary martyrs. They displayed a revolutionary spirit and sacrificed their lives for the communist cause when they were younger than we are. Today, we youngsters should emulate this revolutionary spirit of self-sacrifice by planting and growing more trees and make contributions to the development of the four modernizations and the communist cause."

This public opinion poll has received a favorable response from CYL members and youngsters. They described this activity as a step in broadening the vision of their future, and in cultivating new ideals. Some CYL members have pledged to study science and technology and to do a good job in production. This activity has also stimulated a newly recruited young worker to apply for CYL membership. This public opinion poll marks only a good beginning. The CYL branch is prepared to lead CYL members and youngsters to further discuss problems reflected in the poll. Only in this way can the CYL gradually arm its members with the communist philosophy of life and inspire them to serve the great cause of the four modernizations.

9574
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

YUNNAN VILLAGE LIBRARY--Kunming, 4 Sep (XINHUA)--The Heshun library, the largest village library in China, has played an important role in raising the educational and cultrual level of the peasants of Heshun people's commune, situated in the southwestern corner of Yunnan Province. The commune has a population of 5,000. Ninety percent of the adult members have an educational level of junior middle school. The commune has produced several hundred college students. Only 77 people are illiterate. The library, established in 1928, has a floor space of more than 1,000 square meters, with four rooms housing the stacks and two reading rooms. It has more than 40,000 books which include rare ancient books, local historical records from the Qing Dynasty, and contemporary books and journals. It has made a speciality of collecting Chinese journals published between 1911 and 1949. The government has allocated funds for maintenance of the library and provided it with some books. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 4 Sep 80 OW]

YUNNAN EDUCATION MEETING--On 31 August, the Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee held a meeting on education work to discuss the issues of education and science and technology. The participants demanded that the party committees at all levels include education work in their important daily agenda. They pointed out that education work must conform with socialist modernization and strive for a great development in the 1980's. Education and science must have long range plans. It is necessary to pay very serious attention to building the ranks of teachers. The locations of ordinary middle schools must be properly readjusted. It is also necessary to strive to run the technical secondary schools and enhance the cultural and scientific levels of the staff and workers. [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Sep 80 HK]

TIANJIN UNIVERSITY FIRE--A conflagration broke out at Tianjin University 2 September. Tianjin mayor Hu Qili, who was attending the third session of the Fifth National People's Congress in Beijing, rushed home to help fire victims solve housing and living problems. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 4 Sep 80 SK]

BEIJING TOURISM COLLEGE—Beijing, 3 Sep (XINHUA)--Beijing No 2 Foreign Languages Institute's branch school in East Beijing is to be expanded into a college of tourism as part of a plan to train personnel for China's fast growing tourist industry. This was revealed at the inaugural meeting of the preparatory committee for the Beijing college of tourism held at the workers stadium here this afternoon. The 550 students now studying languages at the branch school will also select subjects relating to tourism, including management of the industry, guide and interpreter services, and economics. Zhang Zhongshi, director of the Beijing administration, told today's meeting that the number of foreign and overseas Chinese visitors to Beijing had almost doubled in the past few years and the capital's tourist industry fell far short of their needs. "In order to make the tourist industry a major undertaking in the capital, we must build more tourist hotels and train more competent personnel," he said. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 3 Sep 80 OW]

QINGHAI PRIMARY EDUCATION—Qinghai Province has set up a number of key primary boarding schools in minority areas this year. The provincial party committee has solicited opinions regarding expanding primary school education in minority areas at an enlarged standing committee meeting held earlier this year. Afterwards, Ma Wanli, deputy provincial governor, presided over a conference of responsible persons from departments concerned to discuss minority education. The provincial authorities have appropriated 3.2 million yuan on two occasions this year for the six autonomous prefectures to set up or expand over 30 boarding primary schools. These schools can accommodate a combined enrollment of some 3,000 minority children. [Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Sep 80 SK]

HUBEI TOMB FIND--Wuhan, 11 Sep (XINHUA)--Fifteen Persian silver coins of the Sassanids have been found in a 1,300-year-old tomb in Hubei Province. Peasants digging a well in Anlu County chanced on the tomb. It was built for the wife of a prince of Wu named Li Ke, third son of Tai Zong (627-649) in the early Tang Dynasty, according to the inscription of the stone tomb tablet. The multi-chamber brick tomb in a large vertical earthen pit that is 34.4 meters north-south, 6 to 8 meters east-west and 4.5 meters deep consists of a main chamber, side chambers with funerary objects, the entrance passage and corridors. An integrated sewer conduit runs through various chambers. Archeologists also found more than 400 gold and silver objects, pottery and porcelain, bronzes, pearls and jade objects. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0747 GMT 11 Sep 80 OW]

SHANGHAI TV PROGRAMS--Shanghai, 5 Sep (XINHUA)--Beginning New Year's Day next year, Shanghai television station will broadcast additional television programs on Channel 20. For this purpose, Shanghai's television industrial departments, with support from the Fourth Ministry of Machine Building and the State Bureau of Broadcasting and Television Industry, are producing the all-channel television sets which can receive television programs on Channel 13 and above. The older existing models, too, are being remodelled so that they can receive television programs on the new channel. A 12-inch all channel (Channel 1 to Channel 48) black and white television model produced by Shanghai will soon be on the market. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0112 GMT 5 Sep 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76506

26 September 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 120

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76506

26 September 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 120

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE

Leading Cadres Follow 'Guiding Principles'
(RENMING RIBAO, 16 Aug 80) 1

County Party Official, by Li Chunze
Mine Bureau Chief

Trade Unions Exhorted To Use 'Guiding Principles' in Their Work
(Huang Minwei; GONGREN RIBAO, 14 Jun 80) 4

Party Members in Guangdong Unit Uphold 'Principles'
(NANFANG RIBAO, 28 Jul 80) 9

Trend To Use State Products as Private Property Exposed
(Tang Daiqing, Wang Yuan; GONGREN RIBAO, 26 Jul 80) . 11

Security Chief Praised for Following Rules, Refusing Gift
(Lin Denan, Li Qilin; NANFANG RIBAO, 28 Jul 80) 13

Feudalists Attitudes Toward Children Must Be Eradicated
(Huang Suzhen; NANFANG RIBAO, 28 Jul 80) 15

Smuggling Ring Run by Children of Cadres Broken
(RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Aug 80) 17

Lengthy Delay in Investigating Capsizing Questioned
(Qianhong; RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Aug 80) 19

Economic Responsibility Puts End to 'Buying Things Cheap'
(Gao Shan; RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Aug 80) 22

Worker at Wristwatch Plant Becomes Expert Technician
(Yang Jun; GONGREN RIBAO, 26 Jul 80) 24

Leading Cadres Urged To Step Up Study
(Shi Bi; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 6 Aug 80) 26

Further Attention to Proposals From Experts Urged
(Zhou Zhen; GONGREN RIBAO, 30 Jun 80) 28

Elimination of Improper Practices in Reception Work Urged
(BEIJING RIBAO, 29 Jun 80) 30

All Vestiges of Feudalism Must Be Eliminated
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 1 Aug 80) 32

Cadres Must Not Think They Have Lifelong Positions
(Zhang Ruisheng; DAZHONG RIBAO, 31 Jul 80) 34

Framed Party Officials in Hebei Rehabilitated
(Wang Yulu, Li Chunze; RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Jul 80) 37

County in Shaanxi Strengthens Collective Leadership
(RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Jul 80) 39

Vocational Training Opportunities for Cadres Expanded
(RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Jul 80) 41

Need for Four Modernizations Stressed
(Gong Shiqi; QUNZHONG LUNCONG, Jan 80) 43

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Hard Study Pays Off for SAM Battalion Commander
(Liu Feng, et al.; BEIJING RIBAO, 1 Aug 80) 56

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Population Control Vital to Economic Development
(Zhou Zhenhua; SICHUAN RIBAO, 10 Jul 80) 59

Shortage of Books Causes Concern, Hardships
(ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 19 Jul 80) 63

Readers' Complaints
Remedial Measures

Institutions of Higher Learning to Further Develop Talents
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 4 Jul 80) 66

PARTY AND STATE

LEADING CADRES FOLLOW 'GUIDING PRINCIPLES'

County Party Official

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 80 p 3

[Report by Li Chunze [2621 2504 3419]: "New Workstyle of a New Leader; Principal Responsible Comrade of Zunhua County Party Committee Takes the Lead in Rectifying Party's Workstyle"]

[Text] The principal responsible person of the reorganized Zunhua County Party Committee in Hebei Province, in carrying out the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," has taken the lead in rectifying the working style of the party. This is in clear contrast to the example of the principal responsible person of the old county party committee, who in previous years reigned high above the masses and did his best to seek feudal privileges. Below is a discussion of a few small things in this regard.

After County Party Committee Secretary Zhu Changxin [2612 7022 2946] arrived in Zunhua, the first problem he encountered was housing. He has five members in his family (counted as five according to household, but the actual number of his family members is nine), which comprises four generations from great grandmother to great grandson: above him he has an old mother, and below him he has children and grandsons. Going by the housing level of ordinary cadres and workers in Zunhua, it would have been nothing special if he occupied four or five rooms. Comrades wanted to make more spacious arrangements for him, but he would agree to have nothing of the sort and insisted on moving into a place that has only two bedrooms and one corridor-hall--i.e., a flat three-room house.

In previous years, if the former county party committee standing committee members felt ill, it was a routine practice to telephone for doctors to come. The original responsible person on the county party committee was provided with his own special personal physician who practiced both Chinese and Western medicine and stood ready to carry out his assignments at all times, and who hence was called "the imperial doctor." If he was going out of his residence for treatment, then subordinates had to surround him to see him off. Today, this kind of decadent practice has been eliminated. Not long ago, Comrade Zhu Changxin had colonitis, with blood and pus in his stool and continued diarrhea, and he needed an enema. Comrades thought of the frequent trips required for the enema he had to take because of diarrhea and his attendant need to lie in bed and rest, and so they suggested calling the doctor to come to the office to adminster the treatment to him; he declined this in solemn words. They thought of sending him to the hospital by car; he did not agree with that, either, but insisted on walking to and from the hospital. The medical personnel observed: This county committee secretary asks no privilege for himself whatsoever.

As a matter of fact, it has been well known that Zunhua County has many cars; there are more than 20 small jeeps, alone. In the past, leaders in the county would ride in a car whenever they had any excuse to do so Whenever they went out to inspect production, there would be even more uninterrupted processions of passenger cars on the road with pomp. The masses had this to say about them: "They ride in passenger cards, look out through their glass windows, have lunch [at the inspection site] at noon, and go right back to the county seat in the evening." When Comrade Zhu Changxin came to Zunhua, he was determined to start with himself as an example and take the lead in rectifying this common practice. At the beginning of last year, he led comrades of the agricultural, forestry and water conservancy departments on an inspection tour of the mountainous districts in the north. They made visits to 14 communes and 110 production brigades along the Great Wall in more than 2 months, and in the course of their travels, totaling more than 1,000 Chinese li, they rode only bicycles or walked all the way; no car was ever ridden. During the three-summer period this year, the county organized trade union committee members and commune secretaries to inspect the wheatfields and the growth of late autumn crops; they arranged for 4 "130" trucks. County Party Committee Deputy Secretary Li Qing [2621 7230] let old and weak trade union committee members and commune secretaries ride in the driver's cab, while he himself and others stood in the rear sections where the covers were lowered.

The party's working style in Zunhua County suffered serious sabotage in the past, and the masses had pretty drastic reactions. Today, the principal leading comrade of the county party committee is taking the lead in carrying out the "guiding principles." This has brought hope and confidence to people.

Mine Bureau Chief

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 80 p 3

[Xinhua dispatch from Beijing: "Leading Cadre of Beijing Mining Bureau Seriously Follows 'Guiding Principles' in His Operations; Sets Example for Basic-Level Cadres"]

[Text] Not long ago, the chief of the Beijing Mining Bureau, Zhang Ruihua [1728 3843 5478], twice led cadres of his organization to Wangping village and Muchengjian mine to inspect work. Unlike the practice of the past, they did not ride in passenger cars to go there but took the ordinary workers' commuter train. This event was praised by the workers. Not a few workers said: When the bureau leader takes the lead to change the workstyle and sets an example for us, we too must make strict demands on ourselves.

In reality, an event like this was but one of the many new phenomena that have come about since this bureau started to lead the cadres in studying and carrying out the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life."

The Beijing Mining Bureau is situated relatively far from the Beijing municipal area, and it is also some distance from the various mines. In the past, the leading cadres of this bureau regularly required passenger cars to take them back and forth whether they were handling public or private affairs, and they took this as a treatment they should enjoy. Hence, although the bureau had 15 trucks and passenger cars, these were found to be still not enough, and drivers often could not rest even on Sundays. In May of this year, party members were organized by the Bureau Party Committee to study the "guiding principles." Many leading cadres examined [their conduct and activities] against the "guiding principles" and hence recognized that theirs was a style of particularization. If this style was not changed, practices at the mines and in the local society would be very hard to correct. From then on, whenever they went to the city on private errands or when they sent off relatives and friends, they usually tried to use these publicly owned passenger cars as little as possible. When they really required the use of the organization's passenger cars because of special circumstances, they usually applied first at the Bureau Office according to regulations, and they also paid the fees after such use according to regulations. When they went to the city to hear reports, attend meetings and handle public affairs, or when they went to the mines to work, they usually refrained from using passenger cars but generally rode in trucks or buses together with other cadres and workers in the organ.

Through study and checking against the "guiding principles," this bureau also succeeded in stopping devious practices such as using public funds to entertain guests or buy gifts. And when the bureau convened meetings for ordinary work, no meal subsidy would be granted.

Recently, leading cadres of this bureau also took the initiative to suggest that the past practice of using public funds for each leading cadre of the bureau to subscribe to a few newspapers and journals be rescinded, and that the leading cadres subscribe to them with their own money.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

TRADE UNIONS EXHORTED TO USF 'GUIDING PRINCIPLES' IN THEIR WORK

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 80 p 3

[Article by Huang Minwei [7806 3046 0251]: "Uphold the Party's Mass Line, Do a Good Job in Trade Union Work During the New Period; Learn From 'On Certain Principles of Political Life Within the Party']

[Text] After "On Certain Principles of Political Life Within the Party," formulated by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was made public, it received the enthusiastic support of cadres from the entire party and trade unions throughout the country and from the broad masses of workers and staff members. This very important document has very important significance for the comprehensive restoration and development of the party's excellent work style, for the improvement and strengthening of party leadership, for carrying out comprehensively the political, ideological and organizational lines formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. It is a "magic weapon" for guiding the hundreds of millions of the people in the country to build the socialist modernizations in the new period with one heart and mind. There is absolutely no question but that this "magic weapon" has very important guiding significance for strengthening our trade union construction, and is a powerful weapon for the trade unions to organize and mobilize the broad masses of workers to carry out the modernizations in the new period.

One of the basic elements of the "Guiding Principles" is the demand that party organizations at all levels and each party member uphold the mass line and keep close ties with the masses. This point is extremely important for us to do a good job in trade union work during the new period. Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out in his political report at the party's Seventh Congress that keeping close ties with the masses is one of the clear signs of the difference between the Communist Party and other political parties. In wholeheartedly serving the people one cannot depart from the masses for a moment. Everything starts with the interests of all the people and not from the interests of the individual or a small clique. The coincidence of being responsible to the people and being responsible to the party is our party's point of departure. In his report on revising the party charter at the Seventh Congress, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said the mass line is the fundamental political line and organizational line of our party. Marxism has long recognized that the masses of the people are the creators of history and the masses of the people are the masters of history. Proceeding from this fundamental viewpoint, we Communist Party members in trade union work must uphold the party's mass line and establish the ideology of serving the people wholeheartedly.

In serving the people, first of all, the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people should be represented politically, and a political line which conforms to the will and demands of the broad masses of the people should be carried out. Comrade Mao Zedong has said: all correct missions, policies and work styles are those which conform to the demands of the masses at that time and place and which keep close ties with the masses; all incorrect missions, policies and work styles are those which do not conform to the demands of the masses at that time and place and are divorced from the masses. All words and deeds of Communist Party members must take as the highest standard conformity to the greatest interests of the broad masses and what is supported by the broad masses of the people. At the present time, in speaking of serving the people, first of all, the party's general mission and general line during the new period, i.e., the political line "to unite all peoples in the country to build a modernized, highly democratic, highly cultured socialist nation and develop a socialist economy single-mindedly, in a planned and proportional fashion, quickly and economically," should be carried out. This line fully embodies the highest interests of the broad masses of the people and reflects the will and demands of all the people of the country. To talk about serving the people divorced from the party's political line during the new period can only be empty talk.

Serving the people, the relationship between Communist Party members and the masses of the people should be set to rights. That the masses of the people are the masters and that Communist Party members, no matter what their rank or position, are public servants and servants of the masses of the people should be accepted. Communist Party members have only the task of serving the people diligently and conscientiously and do not have any other special rights to do things for themselves in politics or their private lives. Privileged party members lording it over the people and acting as lords and masters should be resolutely opposed.

Serving the people is to struggle hard and share the joys and sorrows of the people. The evil practices of not distinguishing public and private, using public office for private gain, using various excuses or pretexts to seize and squander the property of the state and the collective has always been unpopular, and the masses of the people are fed up with these evil practices. If we want to mobilize the initiative of the masses to engage in the four modernizations single-mindedly, we must develop the glorious tradition of bitter struggle and sharing the joys and sorrows of the masses of the people.

In serving the people, the immediate interests of the masses should be of concern. Do what the masses plan, think what the masses think, be anxious about what the masses are anxious about, listen to the voice of the masses, be concerned about the life of the masses, show consideration for the sufferings of the masses and pay attention to the feelings of the masses. Resolutely oppose the aristocratic work style of turning a deaf ear to the voice of the masses and being unconcerned about the sufferings of the masses. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: we communists should talk less idle talk, "all idle talk is useless, the people must be given visible material benefits." (MAO ZEDONG XUANJI [SELECTED WORKS OF MAO ZEDONG] Beijing shudian, May 1958, p 876)

Uphold the mass line and keep close ties with the masses, in addition to ideas of serving the people discussed above, ideas of having faith in the people and relying on the people, i.e., the idea that the masses can liberate themselves, should be firmly established, too. Revolution is a matter for the thousands and millions of the masses. The liberation of mankind can only be done by mankind itself, and not by any "immortal," "emperor" or "saviour." All the victories we have won in revolution and construction were the result of unified struggle of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the party. That we can win out over the destruction and disruption of enemies both domestic and foreign, is also the result of the heroic struggle of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the party. Similarly, the mistakes we made in work can only be corrected promptly and completely by relying on the criticism, supervision and help of the masses. Every time all levels of leadership and the broad cadres can be intimately concerned with the interests of the masses, listen carefully to the voice of the masses, experience and observe the feelings of the masses deeply, listen sincerely to the criticism of the masses, we commit fewer mistakes in our work, i.e., it makes the mistakes committed, even if they are severe ones, easier to correct.

In summary, the party's mass line is an important feature of the difference between the Chinese Communist Party and other political parties and organizations. For the party to realize the great objective of the socialist modernizations, it must firmly maintain this important feature and strive to develop and embody this excellent work style and glorious tradition.

Upholding the party's mass line and developing the glorious tradition of keeping close ties with the masses has very important significance in terms of the mass organizations and trade unions of our worker class. As the mass organizations of the worker class, the trade unions are first of all, the "bridge" between the party and the worker masses. In Lenin's words, it is the "transmission" between the party and the broad masses of workers. Lenin pointed out that if we did not have this kind of "'transmission' to link up" the vanguard and the masses of workers "we would be unable to realize dictatorship," and "if the 'transmission' (trade unions) between the Communist Party and the masses were poorly established or made mistakes in its work, then our socialist construction would of necessity meet with disaster." (LIENING XUANJI [SELECTED WORKS OF LENIN] Vol 4, p 404, 489) Close ties with the masses are the basic condition of the trade unions doing their job well. Many years of practical experience proves that the vitality of trade union work lies in keeping close ties with the masses. But keeping close ties with the masses also requires the adoption of appropriate measures and systems. That is, to get into actuality and into the grassroots level constantly. The grassroots is where the masses gather and is the first line of production. The most vital and lively first-hand material is at the grassroots level, and the richest experience is at the grassroots level. Trade union cadres at all levels need only place themselves among the masses of workers and at the grassroots level to be able to put trade union work truly into operation in production and to get to the masses and thus make trade union work full of sound and color and lively; only then can they learn true capabilities and make a new contribution to the four modernizations.

The trade unions are an important representative of the broad masses of workers, so trade unions should certainly work with initiative and independent responsibility and coordinate with the concerned agencies, and at the same time certainly should firmly uphold the interests of the masses they represent, actively resolve the personal problems in their daily lives and oppose bureaucracy, which is not concerned with the sufferings of the masses. That is to say, for the trade union to be the representative of the masses and aside from setting an example, keeping close ties with the masses, being concerned with the masses and doing a good job, at the same time, it should also dare to present the masses, speak for the masses, truly make the trade union "the worker's family," protect the legitimate political and economic interests of the masses of workers and dare to struggle with all evil tendencies which harm the interests of the masses. To struggle with all evil tendencies which harm the interests of the workers, especially struggle with bureaucracy, the broad trade union cadres must further liberate thinking, smash the spiritual cangue of "welfarism," "economism" and "syndicalism" which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" forced on the trade union. The vulgar work styles of "I know very well that it's wrong, but it's best if I don't say much," "better to offend the masses than dare to offend the leadership," "I'm not afraid of being divorced from the masses, I'm just afraid of offending the party committee" must be corrected and the autocratic work style of using trade funds for the personal benefit of a minority must be resolutely opposed. On the surface these comrades seem to have a strong party concept, but in actuality they only play with the interests of the masses of workers, they put their responsibilities to the party and their responsibilities towards the masses in opposition to each other, and this in itself is a bad work style which is divorced from the masses. If this is not overcome, not only will it be impossible to develop the organizational and helping functions of the trade union, but instead of helping, it will harm keeping close ties between the party and masses.

The formulation of the "Guiding Principles" was a great victory in the rectification of party style and party discipline in the new period and a revolution in the political life of our party. But just talking about the "Guiding Principles" is one thing, to carry them out thoroughly and conscientiously in party life is another. We certainly should get in close touch with actuality, combine the "Guiding Principles" we studied with the "Guiding Principles" we implement, and in the spirit of "starting now," "starting with me," "starting with each thing done" everyone should use the "Guiding Principles" as a rule and compass, inspect himself according to the "Guiding Principles," get more results, overcome deficiencies, become a proletarian advanced soldier who is up to standard and charges forward to realize the four modernizations.

8226
CSO: 4005

PARTY MEMBERS IN GUANGDONG UNIT UPHOLD 'PRINCIPLES'

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 80 p 3

[Article: "Study 'Guiding Principles'; Strengthen Unity"]

[Text] Since "Certain Guiding Principles Regarding Political Life Within the Party" (draft) was issued last spring for the benefit of all party members, members of the party committee of the armed unit of Puning County have made a conscientious effort to live up to the principles, with a view to strengthening unity within the party and achieving better results in all areas of work undertaken by the armed unit. From being one of the more backward units in Guangdong Military Region, the armed unit has progressed to being one of the most advanced. Its experiences and methods may be summarized as follows:

The secretary and deputy secretary of the party committee of the armed unit took the lead in promoting friendship, mutual understanding, and cooperation. Neither Zhao Xuezhong [6392 1331 1813], party committee secretary and political committee member, nor Zheng Jiuhe [6774 0046 0678], party committee deputy secretary and department head, spared themselves in setting personal examples in studying the principles and promoting mutual respect with a view to strengthening "group" unity. Toward the end of last year, Zhao Xuezhong was given the responsibility of signing up recruits for the armed services in the Lihupien area. At that time, a young man who answered the call for military service suffered a bout of depression because he had failed to pass the physical examination. When Zhao Xuezhong learned of the incident, he was so concerned that he decided to see what he could do. Zheng Jiuhe, knowing that Zhao's visit to the military units had been a brief one and that he therefore was not too familiar with the local situation, volunteered to take upon himself the responsibility of finding a satisfactory solution to the problem. Zhao was very much moved by this thoughtful gesture on the part of Zheng Jiuhe. Both the secretary and deputy secretary were mindful of the need to handle problems according to the principles of the party, to preserve the good name of other people, and to fulfill their responsibilities in a creditable manner. Shortly after Zhao Xuezhong was given the assignment, he heard that it was the opinion of certain cadres that Zheng

Jiuhe was too brusque in criticizing people. On the one hand, he urged these comrades to accept the criticisms made by the department head in the right spirit. At the same time, when he had the opportunity to engage Zheng Jiuhe in conversation, he pointed out to him in an earnest manner his shortcomings, hoping that in the performance of his duties Zheng would try to inspire a positive attitude in the cadres, and that he would come to realize his own shortcomings and to overcome them. Because of the personal example set by the secretary and the deputy secretary, they were able to promote mutual support, mutual understanding, and a spirit of cooperation between the members of the lower and upper echelons of the armed unit.

Supporting collective leadership and decisions made by the Communist Party Committee. Through their experience, members of this party committee came to realize that in order to strengthen unity and establish an identity of purpose, it was important to keep in mind the interests of the public, to conduct themselves according to the rules of discipline and to make a conscious effort not to tolerate any action that smacked of sycophancy and toadyism. Once, when 2 percent of the cadres were due for promotion ahead of schedule, the party committee, acting in accordance with decisions of the higher-ups, and in deference to public opinion, unanimously passed a resolution promoting a leading cadre ahead of schedule. Later, a comrade came to the home of Chen Zhengzhong [7115 0524 1813] and told him that because of his low wages, he would recommend a promotion for him instead. Feeling that the cadre was out of line, Chen told him that any decision collectively made by the party committee should be final, and that the comrade was wrong in keeping silent at the meeting and then talking after the meeting was over. This action on the part of Chen in upholding Communist Party principles served as a lesson for the cadre.

Keeping lines of communication open. The party committee of the armed unit has made it a rule to call a meeting every quarter to review the life and living conditions of the people and to engage in criticism and self-criticism. On one occasion, Zhang Mingdai [1728 2494 0108], deputy chief of the unit, rather unjustly criticized Liu Qingxiang [2692 1987 4382], chief of the political section. Feeling he had been wronged, Liu was for a time not on speaking terms with Chang. Later, at a meeting for an airing of views, the atmosphere was cleared when both of them made their views known in an amicable manner. It was Comrade Chang who took the initiative in criticizing himself. All misunderstandings were dispelled, and unity was strengthened.

9621
CSO: 4005

TREND TO USE STATE PRODUCTS AS PRIVATE PROPERTY EXPOSED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 80 p 1

[Article by Tang Daiqing [0781 0108 3237] and Wang Yuan [3769 3293]: "Sichuan Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission Calls for Resolutely Checking the Tendency of 'Trial'"]

[Text] The Sichuan Provincial Party Committee's Discipline Inspection Commission recently issued a circular calling on all prefectures and departments to resolutely stop government offices and individuals from taking possession of the products of state-owned enterprises without pay, on the pretext of "trying them out," or demanding lower than market prices for these products following a trial. This circular was issued in response to a similar circular issued earlier by the [Central] Commission for Inspection of Discipline.

Since the beginning of this year, the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee's Discipline Inspection Commission has conducted an investigation into this problem in Chongqing and Chengdu municipalities, in Mianyang Prefecture, and at light industrial enterprises throughout the province. Its findings constitute a warning that this malpractice has become serious, because many units and individuals have taken possession of merchandise without pay, on the pretext of "trying them out," and then have come back many days later with demands for an unreasonable lowering of their prices. From 1971 to the end of 1979, central, provincial, and municipal departments or individuals have taken 466 television sets to their offices or homes "on approval" and watched them before buying. These television sets were trial-produced by the Chongqing No 3 radio plant, the Chongqing Bashan instrument plant, the Chengdu No 1 radio plant, and the Mianyang plant No 780. An inventory has showed that thus far, some 48 of these television sets worth 30,000 yuan are still being watched by units or individuals in their offices or homes on a trial basis. Of those television sets that were returned, some 54 could not be sold as new products because of the prolonged tryout by potential buyers. They eventually had to be sold at reduced prices, with a loss of over 10,000 yuan to the state. Similar serious cases have also been reported by the manufacturers of brocade bedspreads and high-quality cigarettes and other light industrial products.

The Sichuan Provincial Party Committee's Discipline Inspection Commission has called on all prefectures and departments concerned to resolutely stop this practice from spreading--a practice aimed at turning the products of state-owned enterprises into private property and at pursuing private interests under the guise of official duties. All units and individuals that have taken possession of such products without pay, on the pretext of "trying them out," should voluntarily return them to the enterprises concerned or buy them at the market price. Leading organs and leading cadres are not permitted under any pretext whatsover to take possession of these products without pay, or to demand to buy them at lower than market price. Nor are production units permitted to sell their products to leading organs and leading cadres at lower than market price or present them as gifts.

9574
CSO: 4005

SECURITY CHIEF PRAISED FOR FOLLOWING RULES, REFUSING GIFT

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Lin Denan [2651 1795 0589] and Li Qilin [2621 9706 7207]: "Implement 'Guiding Principles'; Do Not Accept Gifts"]

[Text] The Yangchun County Party Committee recently issued a public notice lauding Comrade Zhong Wenfeng [6988 2427 6912], chief of the Public Security Bureau, for observing rules and regulations in refusing to accept gifts. It called on Communist Party members throughout the country to emulate Comrade Zhong, who, by his exemplary conduct, took the lead in implementing the "guiding principles."

On 29 April 1980, when Zong Wenfeng, chief of the Public Security Bureau of Yangchun County, returned home from a stay in the hospital, his wife took a large heavy envelope from a desk drawer and handed it to him. When Zhong opened the envelope, he found a large stack of 10 yuan bills totaling 500 yuan. Also enclosed was a letter which in effect asked the bureau chief to accept the 500 yuan and to give his early approval to the sender's application for an exit permit so that she could take her family to Hong Kong. The letter was signed by a Mrs Liao [1675] of a certain overseas Chinese logging station. After having read the letter, Zhong said, "It is a violation of 'Certain Guiding Principles Regarding Political Life Within the Party' to ask me to abuse my authority by permitting her family to leave for Hong Kong." Thereupon he demanded to know how the letter was delivered. His wife told him that on 20 April, an overseas Chinese woman whom she had not previously met had come and asked to see him. Told that he was in the hospital, Mrs Liao handed her the envelope and asked her to give it to him. In compliance with her husband's standing order not to allow anybody to read his mail, she had put the envelope in the drawer.

Upon being told the circumstances, Comrade Zhong instantly made a report to the county party committee with his personal comments and, at the same time, turned the money over to the concerned department of the Public Security Bureau. He pointed out to the comrades of the party committee of the Public Security Bureau that what the overseas Chinese woman did was wrong, since applications for permission to leave for Hong Kong should be handled according to certain set policies. He further suggested that the overseas Chinese woman should be made to understand the importance of observing rules and regulations and that, in the performance of their duties, it was the practice of communist cadres to adhere to party principles. He also recommended that the money be returned to her. Originally, Comrade Zhong had intended to talk to the woman himself, but since circumstances did not permit him to do so, he asked his comrades on the bureau's party committee to do so on his behalf.

9621
CSO: 4005

FEUDALISTS ATTITUDES TOWARD CHILDREN MUST BE ERADICATED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Huang Suzhen [7806 4790 6297]: "Cadres Must Adopt Correct Attitude Toward Relatives"]

[Text] Everyone has his own family and children. Whether or not one adopts a correct attitude toward one's children is not just a minor personal family matter, but one which has an important bearing on the healthy development of future generations of revolutionaries, the relationship between the party and the masses, and the prestige of the party itself. For this reason, all members of the Communist Party, particularly cadres in positions of leadership, must adopt a correct attitude in the treatment of their relatives and children.

The ultimate objective of Communist Party members is the realization of the goal of communism. The task is not one which can be accomplished during our own lifetime, but one which takes generations of effort. Members of the Communist Party should not, therefore, consider their children merely as just their children but as future carriers of the torch in the proletarian revolution. To insure the healthy development of their children, it is the duty of all Communist Party members to inculcate in their children the communist ideology and the communist code of conduct so that they may turn into dedicated servants for the public good and lifelong warriors in the cause of communism. On the other hand, Communist Party members must not instill in their children feudalistic ideas and feudalistic concepts of morality or imbue them filial piety toward their families and parents. Parents must demand that their children be trained to brave the storms and high seas and to derive their sustenance from the party and the masses in their development. For the same reason, parents must not "raise" them with a view to chalking up a plus in their credit book. Moreover, they must not give them special privileges and unearned rewards.

Many veteran proletarian revolutionaries in our party regard their children as future torchbearers in the revolution and demand that they not be accorded a share of their own honors and privileges. In this respect, Comrade Zhou Enlai set an excellent example. He made heavy demands on his children and his nephews and nieces, and absolutely refused to let them capitalize on his "name" to obtain special privileges. He forbade them to list their relationship to him when filling out biographic sketches and application forms for Communist Party membership or membership for other organizations, for fear that they might be accorded special treatment and that they might come to acquire a sense of superiority, which is not conducive to progress. At the same time, however, he demanded that, in conducting their affairs, they be constantly mindful of their relationship to him and that they refrain from acts of negligence which would be prejudicial to the interests of the party and the people and would damage the prestige of the party.

There are not a few Communist Party members and cadres in positions of leadership who exemplify the best traditions of the party in adopting the correct attitude toward their relatives and children. However, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that certain comrades are remiss in this regard. These comrades tend to look upon their children as the apple of their eye, lavish on them excessive love and permissiveness, and use their positions to obtain special privileges for them. When their children run afoul of party discipline or the laws of the land, instead of restraining them they try to cover up their wrongdoings and absolve them of their crimes, thus encouraging them to flaunt the law and even to pursue a criminal career. These comrades should stop and think and ask themselves whether or not such an attitude toward their children and relatives is in line with the basic position of Communist Party members. Such an attitude will not only ruin their children's future, but will also jeopardize the task which the party has set for itself.

According to feudalistic ideas on morality and ethics, children are the private property and the inheritors of the special privileges of their parents. Those among our comrades who fail to adopt a correct attitude toward their children may be said to be consciously or subconsciously under the influence of feudalistic ideas of morality and ethics. For this reason, in order to adopt a correct attitude toward our relatives and children, we must eradicate the influence of feudalistic ideas and adopt a worldwide outlook according to the tenets of proletarianism. We must teach our relatives and children the socialist and communist moral concepts and standards, we must insist that they strictly adhere to the principles of the party in their work, their life and their dealings, and we must refrain from according them special privileges. If we can set an example for the masses in adopting a correct attitude toward our relatives and children, we can eliminate the evil practices prevalent in the treatment of relatives and children and restore the excellent traditions and style of the party.

9621
CSO: 4005

SMUGGLING RING RUN BY CHILDREN OF CADRES BROKEN

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 80 p 3

[Report: "Chaoyang Public Security Subbureau of Beijing Breaks Smuggling Ring"]

[Text] Recently, the Chaoyang Public Security Subbureau of Beijing Municipality investigated and broke a smuggling and doubledealing ring organized by the children of cadres. The culprits in this case, Xia Jingping [1115 2529 1627], Wu Jijun [0702 4949 6511] and Han Dongwei [7281 2639 0251], were arrested on 14 August according to the law, after the approval of the people's procuratorate of the Chaoyang District, Beijing Municipality. Among the members of the ring, 7 were sentenced to labor education and forced labor, 8 were given the punishment of detainment and 21 were subject to criticism and education by public security organs, ordered to return the stolen funds, and turned over to the units where they were stationed for further disposal.

Since June 1979, this smuggling and doubledealing ring connived with merchants in Hong Kong and opportunists and doubledealing elements inside the country, and spread to big cities such as Beijing, Tianjin, Guangzhou, Huhehot, Baoding, etc., where they engaged in smuggling and doubledealing activities. By February of this year they had smuggled 43.75 grams of gold, 11 television sets, 43 radio-cassettes, 283 small electronic calculators, 80 imported watches of various kinds, 519 assorted garments and 127 jin of rare Chinese herbs with a total value of more than 100,000 yuan. The profits after their devious sales were more than 10,000 yuan.

In breaking the ring, the Chaoyang Public Security Subbureau insisted in this case on the principle of everybody being equal before the law, and determined to handle it according to the law. During the early period when this case of the ring was being investigated, the Chaoyang Public Security Subbureau first detained culprits Wu Jijun and others. After only a few days, the Defense Division, the unit where criminal Wu's father was stationed, dispatched some people to the Chaoyang Public Security Subbureau with a letter of introduction to look up the

leaders concerned and express their wish to be informed of the situation and to review pertinent data regarding the case. This request was immediately refused. The visitors again pointed out that criminal Wu was the son of a leading cadre, and they expressed the hope that he would be dealt with in a relatively light manner. The personnel receiving them replied firmly: "We do things according to law; please tell his parent accordingly." From investigation to final uncovering of this case, there were more than 20 instances of parents of members of the ring coming to the Chaoyang Public Security Subbureau to plead for leniency on their behalf, but they were all firmly rejected by the comrades at the subbureau.

9255
CSO: 4005

LENGTHY DELAY IN INVESTIGATING CAPSIZING QUESTIONED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by Qianhong [0578 4767]: "A Discussion Beginning with the Notion 'Under Investigation': Thoughts on the Disposal of the Incident of the Capsizing of Oil-Drilling Rig Bohai No 2"]

[Text] A letter from the reader published on page 1 of the 24 July issue of RENMIN RIBAO said that, concerning the major incident of the capsizing of the oil-drilling rig Bohai No 2, no report was seen until 8 months thereafter; "This is perhaps a rare case even in the world history of journalism." The reader must have his reasons for criticizing the newspaper on this matter, and he should certainly have called the attention of journalism workers to it. But I feel that just to criticize the newspaper, just to ask the newspaper to make a timely report, is still not enough. Please note certain things which have happened since the occurrence of the capsizing:

This major incident occurred in the early morning of 25 November last year. It was not until 5 months later, on 21 April of this year, that the Labor Bureau of Tianjin Municipality filed a complaint before the municipal people's procuratorate. Let us consider that if a man is struck and killed by a car on the street and his relatives are going to lodge a complaint against the driver, they perhaps can't wait even for 5 days, or even 5 hours, let alone 5 months. Naturally, a major incident involving the death of 72 persons is fár more complicated than a fatal accident involving one person; but is it not astonishingly slow when a complaint is not lodged for as long a period as 5 months?

After another 16 days, on 7 May, the people's procuratorate of Tianjin Municipality accepted the complaint submitted by the Municipal Labor Bureau. From submission to acceptance of the complaint, between 1 act and another, 16 days were spent; this speed was also shockingly slow, indeed!

After still another 2 months, it was then learned from the newspaper that the matter had been "examinad and registered, and is now under investigation." How much more time this "investigation" will require, it is very hard to tell; people can only wait patiently.

Our march toward the four modernizations is symbolically called the "new long march." Then there is no harm in our comparing it with that "old long march." The Long March of the Red Army had to fight against being encircled, pursued and cut off by several hundred thousand enemy soldiers, to overcome inconceivable difficulties caused by natural conditions such as the snowy mountains and grasslands, and to walk 25,000 li, and yet they only took 1 year. But a capsizing incident, after a lapse of 8 months, is still "under investigation." During the well-known Haui Hai battle, more than 500,000 enemy soldiers were killed; including the 20 days for resting and regrouping on the battlefield, our army spent only 65 days. But the investigation of a capsizing incident has already taken nearly 4 times the period of 65 days and the matter is still "under investigation." Surely there can be no possibility whatsoever for us to say that this is because it is more complicated and difficult than the Huai Hai battle! Where does the problem lie in this case?

In a socialist country, when an incident occurs, even if just one single person has died, no one should remain unmoved. When as many as 72 persons have died, one should become even more concerned with a burning heart and attempt with the urgency of a shooting star to investigate and clarify the situation, and hence attend as quickly as possible to rehabilitation and the summing up of lessons. Every day earlier the lessons are summed up is one day less that such a tragic drama could be repeated. It has already been 8 months since the capsizing incident occurred. If during this process of "investigation" a similar incident should occur, how would one explain it to the people?

The two reporters of GONGREN RIBAO pointed out that there were four lessons in this capsizing incident. I think another one should be added, and that is why the investigation and disposal of the incident this time have been so slow. What lesson is there in this for the people?

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has suggested that since we wish to realize the four modernizations in 20 years, we must not misuse a single day. Yet today, some units are still using this pretext and that, dragging their feet on things they should have handled and done well earlier, and not showing the slightest concern if a day, a week, or a month is misspent, or feeling nothing unusual if perhaps even a year is misspent. In such places, many people are carrying out to make contributions to the four modernizations but cannot hear their steps in the march toward the four modernizations.

I think it would be best if all trades and all professions, every time they do something, were to propose the question of how they can uphold their responsibility to the people and improve their efficiency. Those who are responsible and efficient should be rewarded; otherwise, they should be punished. If they drag their feet on everything, with a delay of a few days, a few months or even half a year or a whole year, then no person who is enthusiastic about the four modernizations can tolerate them!

9255
CSO: 4005

ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY PUTS END TO 'BUYING THINGS CHEAP'

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 80 p 2

["Countryside Miscellaneous Talk" by Gao Shan [7559 1472]: "The Responsibility System Stops the Practice of 'Buying Things Cheap'"]

[Text] When the season to pick spring tea leaves began this year, there were once again several passenger cars driven to a certain production brigade with the intention, as in past years, to buy "high-grade cheap tea." But this year was not the same as past years. When the honking of the horns was heard, commune members who were picking tea leaves and baking tea leaves all came out and surrounded the cadres of the production brigade, expressing their opinions as if in a contest: "If the guests are going to be entertained, you had better stretch your hands into your own pockets, but don't show your generosity by making a gift of the tea we have produced as part of the contracted output quota!" "No matter what kind of leaders come here to buy tea, our tea must be priced according to its quality, and payments must be made according to such prices."...Seeing this situation, the people in the cars had simply to drive away [emptyhanded].

In past years, whenever the tea-baking season was at hand, and thus the fragrance of tea was spreading from the tea hills, big cars and small cars would drive here in crowds to buy "cheap tea." In order to rectify this devious practice, concerned departments repeatedly issued documents and posted notices of warning and reprimand, but to little avail. This year, the tea farms and tea production brigades established their own responsibility system. Now that the masses have risen to protect their own interests, anyone who wishes to continue to buy "cheap tea" encounters a relative amount of difficulty. This not only spares the cadres of the communes and brigades a great deal of trouble, but it is also in the interest of the state, the collectives and the commune workers.

The fact that some cadres dared to consume and take the sideline products and indigenous and special products of the collectives without compensation was closely related to Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who for a long time sought to ruin the working style of our party; such a practice made the arms of some cadres unusually long and their mouths exceptionally avaricious. But, on the other hand, the approach of eating "from the common pot" also made some commune members indifferent toward the property of the collectives, as if there was always a difference between what belongs to the "public" and what belongs to "oneself." Even though everyone knows that what is in the pot is nothing more than what is distributed to the bowls, when encroachment upon collective interests was encountered few would speak out and act differently. Some occasionally even tended to calculate this way: "If someone took away a basket of peanuts from the brigade, how many individual shells would that mean to me? If someone hooked a fish from the brigade, how many fishscales would that mean to me?" This indicates that if the practice of eating "from the common pot" is not changed, we are more likely to have those who stick to their own affairs, like "Xiwang" [0823 2489], than to have those who would defend the collective interest, like "Li Shuangshuang" [2621 7175 7175].

Ever since the practice of connecting awards to production quantities and other forms of the responsibility system were put into effect, the sense of responsibility on the part of the commune members has been strengthened, their enthusiasm has been further mobilized, collective interests and individual interests nave become more closely combined, and hence "someone taking tea from the brigade makes one's heart ache, just the same as someone taking away a chicken from one's own home." As a result, commune members have been prompted, from the standpoint of their economic interests, to love their communes just like their own homes, and thereby to have the practice of people banking on "buying cheap tea" accordingly stopped.

9255
CSO: 4005

WORKER AT WRISTWATCH PLANT BECOMES EXPERT TECHNICIAN

Beijing CONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 80 p 1

[Article by Yang Jun [2799 6511]: "Guo Xinfang Changes from Amateur to Expert"]

[Text] Guo Xinfang [6753 2946 5364], secretary of the party general branch of the Tianjin No 2 Wristwatch Plant, has devoted the past year or more to assiduously studying electronic wristwatch manufacturing technology. As a result, he has converted himself from a nonprofessional in this field into an expert capable of dealing with foreign businessmen, organizing production, and solving technical problems.

Guo Xinfang is a 38-year-old retired serviceman. He was transferred from active duty to the political work group of the Tianjin No 2 Wristwatch Plant in 1969. In May 1979, at the plant's request, he led a team of 10 workers and technicians to study fourth-generation electronic wristwatch assembly technology at the Jialin Wristwatch Company in Hong Kong. While each of the other comrades who accompanied him could learn to master only two steps in the process, Guo Xinfang distinguished himself by quickly acquiring the entire technological process with equanimity. Since his return to Tianjin, he has passed on what he acquired in Hong Kong to 130 other wristwatch assembly workers at his plant, whose monthly output now totals 100,000 wristwatches. Not long ago, a foreign businessman complained that electronic wristwatches assembled by this plant vibrated a second faster a day. In response to this complaint, some workshop comrades absolved themselves from any blame by saying that this was caused by the poor quality of electronic watch components provided by foreign plants. But a careful analysis of the regulating mechanism in some of these watches by Guo Xinfang and other experts revealed that, poor quality notwithstanding, the problem was caused mainly by an improper connection between the battery and the quartz vibrator. He then called on assembly workers to strengthen their sense of responsibility and to try their best to overcome their shortcomings in order to make the watches keep time more accurately. According to some foreign businessmen, the electronic watches assembled by the Tianjin No 2 Wristwatch Plant are now being well received by consumers in the United States.

Guo Xinfang is not satisfied with what he has achieved. He has taken a step forward in systematically learning basic electronic theory. Because he knows wristwatch manufacturing technology relatively well, many foreign businessmen now prefer to confer with him on production and management problems. But he still needs an interpreter in communicating with them. One day, when he met with a foreign businessman to discuss the purchase of components and equipment in the absence of an interpreter, he created a lot of misunderstandings with his counterpart. This experience has reminded him of how important it is to learn foreign languages. To overcome this shortcoming, he is now persistently and conscientiously studying English over the radio.

9574
CSO: 4005

LEADING CADRES URGED TO STEP UP STUDY

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Shi Bi [2457 4310]: "Leaders Must Study Widely"]

[Text] I have two classmates who are now the number-one leading cadres of a factory. One of them, who is in charge of production, is interested neither in reading nor in anything else. But he often becomes nervous and panicky in the face of problems. This has prompted workers to call him a cadre without stratagems and ideas at his fingertips. The other person is entirely different. A versatile, talented person, he is interested in almost everything. He is also the most frequent visitor to libraries and is so knowledgeable that workers often call him a think-tank. Apart from all these talents, he is also very good at promoting production.

These two examples tell us that every leader needs knowledge. The more one learns, the more intelligent and effective one becomes in solving problems and handling all kinds of work.

When reminded of the need to increase their knowledge, some leading cadres often contend that learning is a job that should be reserved solely for youngsters, adding: "We are too old to learn but we are proud of our long record of service, which has enabled us to acquire a lot of basic skills." They ask: "Do you think that people like us are required to learn more?" This conservative way of thinking is clearly wrong. The ancients said: "Learning bears a striking resemblance to a boat struggling upstream. It will certainly go downstream if it fails to keep moving forward." Today, as science and technology develop at an incredible pace, and the cycle of their renewal becomes shorter, the horizon of knowledge is expanding on a larger scale than ever before. It is estimated that some sciences and technologies now should be renewed once every 5 or 10 years. Unfolding before us today, are countless new sciences never heard of before. Among them are lasers, computer science, infrared technology, and genetic engineering. Under such circumstances, if we fail to keep abreast of these developments, we will certainly lag far behind others. Furthermore, the number of chemical elements has increased from 103 to 107 as a result of new discoveries. If a chemist is unaware of this change, he will also trail behind others in this field. On the other hand, we must keep ourselves well informed of progress made by other countries in scientific research. If we don't, we may start projects that will waste money and time. Professor Qian Sanqiang [6929 0005 1730] once said: "Whether a student can continue to make progress depends mainly on whether he can always learn something new on top of his basic academic achievements in school." This remark reflects that a student must study matters of interest spontaneously. Only in this way can he keep abreast of the latest developments.

Some leading cadres contend: "Bridgebuilders don't have to get involved in the construction of the highways; a professional worker is required to know his own department well, but not unrelated areas." This idea is also wrong. As everyone knows, all truths are interrelated. For example, natural science and the social sciences and their branches now grow like trees and are intertwined with one another. By means of grafting, they have reaped good fruit. A single specialty will never lead to invention. Today, all leading comrades must keep themselves widely informed about what has taken place in the world. As early as the 1950's, this awareness prompted Comrade Mao Zedong to advise leading comrades at all levels to take courses in natural science, technology, philosophy, political economy, history, law, literature, grammar, logic, and foreign languages.

Facts show that almost all persons with outstanding achievements both in ancient and modern times were scholars in many fields of endeavor. In Chinese history, Zhu Geliang [6175 5514 0081] was known as an embodiment of wisdom, which he drew from books. He was also a military expert. He once placed straw soldiers on boats so as to draw arrows from enemy positions in foggy weather and thereby help his army solve a shortage of this weapon. This fact reflected that he was a good student of meteorology. On another occasion, he resorted to a bluff in order to single-handedly turn back an advancing enemy army at a time when he could not quickly muster enough troops to defend the city in which he lived. This story tells people that he also knew psychology well. Zhu Geliang once said: "A general who knows nothing about astronomy, geography, philosophy, maps showing the deployment of troops, astrology, or war games should disqualify himself as a soldier." Zhu Geliang was talking about warfare in ancient times. Does anyone doubt that we need a wide range of knowledge in carrying out the four modernizations?

It is true that life is too short to learn everything in the world. For this reason, we must take courses with purpose in mind. In other words, we must try our best to acquire useful knowledge in a scientific way. Only in this way can we reap good fruits from learning.

9594
CSO: 4005

FURTHER ATTENTION TO PROPOSALS FROM EXPERTS URGED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jun 80 p 1

[Article by Zhou Zhen [6650 5271]: "We Must Dispense With Empty Talk in Tackling Urgent Tasks in Four Modernizations"]

[Text] At the recent Second Conference of the Scientific and Technical Societies in Beijing, many scientific and technical experts took strong exception to the bureaucratic practices on the part of those in leadership positions, pointing out that such practices were a hindrance to the free and full development of scientific and technical personnel at the present time.

When is empty talk going to stop in the face of the pressing need to implement the four modernizations? Many delegates at the conference expressed impatience over the tendency to indulge in empty talk on the part of the concerned parties without really seeking to find solutions to problems. In recent years, with respect to the pollution problem in Beijing, projects of municipal reconstruction and matters affecting the living conditions of the people, many experts have made a long list of proposals, sometimes over and over again, but these proposals have vanished without a trace. As an example, the situation regarding the supply of vegetables in Beijing has reached crisis proportions due to a sharp decline in production as a result of faulty plans regarding sowing, methods of production and the management system. Although scientific and technical personnel in the field of truck gardening have repeatedly come forward with proposals to remedy the situation, these proposals have been ignored and the problem remains unsolved. Although the planting of trees is vital for environmental protection and the health of the people, the rate of reafforestation in Beijing not only lags far behind international standards, but also falls below that of many of our provinces and cities. The Beijing Forestry Society on two occasions advised the concerned departments what measures they should take, and although Professor Fan Jizhou [5400 3444 3166], executive secretary of the Beijing Forestry Society, had personally written to the concerned authorities, nothing further has been heard. It is known that although many of the 540-odd proposals made by the Second Conference of Scientific and Technical Societies had been made, they have not been seriously studied and acted upon. An old scientist in his seventies said to a reporter, "We don't expect the authorities to know everything or to be able to find an instant solution to every problem. We only hope that they will give some consideration to our views. Our only hope is that we may be permitted to make some concrete contribution to the four modernizations in our lifetime. Many things can no longer be put off."

Another problem voiced by the delegates was that those holding responsible positions are not given any authority and that the experts have no power to make decisions. The heads of some organizations have yet to have technical cadres on their staffs. Out of 20-odd factories under the industrial bureau of a certain county, not one has put a technical cadre in a leadership position. One expert pointed out that out of the 16 people working under him, not one meant what he said. On the contrary, because scientific and technical personnel are accustomed to speaking their minds in a forthright manner, they have incurred the displeasure of the authorities who do not happen to appreciate their opinions.

When one has reached middle-age, one is likely to be faced with many difficulties. Large numbers of middle-aged scientific and technical workers, who are at the peak of their productive years, are burdened with problems as regards their remuneration and working conditions. Oftentimes, they get no recognition or acceptance for their achievements. A young scientific and technical worker, conversant in 14 foreign languages, had compiled a dictionary on physics in five languages. The 50 veteran scientists who volunteered their services in reviewing and proof-reading his work were greatly impressed with his dedication and erudition. Although this work had won their approval, it was ignored and shelved by the concerned department for 3 years.

These problems point to the fact that some of the cadres in positions of authority have yet to appreciate that the productive potential is dependent on the solution of scientific and technical problems and that they have yet to have full confidence and trust in scientific and technical personnel. On the contrary, they have served to highlight the problems existing in the system and the structure relating to cadres. Some scientists have pointed out that in order to make worthwhile proposals, one must have a scientific attitude and a certain knowledge of science, that in order to understand these proposals, one must also have a scientific attitude and a certain knowledge of science, and that it is virtually impossible for an outsider to evaluate and adopt such proposals. For this reason, measures must be taken for the development of cadres and for revising the structure of the cadre system.

At the conference, many delegates called for the development of young scientific and technical talents and the full utilization of those in the scientific and technical field. They also called for the solution of the problems in the academic field and the publication of scientific and technical works so that more young and middle-aged scientific and technical workers may have a platform to express their views and that they may be enabled to break the "barrier" that hampers their full development.

9621
CSO: 4005

ELIMINATION OF IMPROPER PRACTICES IN RECEPTION WORK URGED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 80 p 1

[Text] The Chinese Communist Party Commission For the Inspection of Discipline recently issued a directive calling on concerned parties to put an end to improper practices in reception work.

According to the directive, since the central government issued certain documents relating to the tightening of party discipline, members of Communist Party committees of various levels have conscientiously heeded the instructions and many cadres in leadership positions have won the praise of the masses for setting personal examples in complying with the instructions regarding reception work. However, there are still many who, on the pretext of entertaining cadres in leadership positions, touring groups, inspection teams, academic missions, comfort missions and delegates to various conferences, are not above going to inordinate lengths in wining and dining the visiting parties and in presenting them gifts at public expense to cultivate their good relations. In the name of providing security, sentry boxes have been set up and even traffic has been diverted. Many of those engaged in reception work use the pretext of entertaining visitors to seek personal favors by devious means.

The directive pointed out that such base and corrupt thoughts and practices run counter to "Certain Standards Governing Political Life within the Party" and that they did serious damage to the excellent traditions of our party, that they hurt the credibility and prestige of the party and party cadres in positions of leadership, that they spoil the good relationship between the party and the masses and that they dealt a serious setback to the positive participation on the part of the masses in the implementation of the four modernizations.

The directive called on those in leadership positions at various levels to seriously address themselves to these problems and to take what action is necessary to correct such evil practices instead of letting them continue to spread and fester.

The directive called for the following:

1. Cadres in leadership positions, especially those in senior positions, must set personal examples in strictly complying with "Certain Standards Governing Political Life within the Party" and regulations concerning the remuneration of senior cadres. Members of their party are not permitted to use their status as cadres in leadership positions to indicate to those engaged in reception work that they expect treatment over and above what they are entitled to receive. Cadres in leadership positions and members of their group must resolutely refuse to accept acts of hospitality on the part of those engaged in reception work not in keeping with stipulations issued by the Central Committee and the State Council.

2. Under no circumstances are the various regions, the various departments and the various cadres to be permitted to run up inordinate expenses under the pretext of having to entertain visiting dignitaries or to meet the needs of extraordinary circumstances. The financial and accounting departments must not approve expenses not in keeping with stipulations provided by the Central Committee and the State Council. The committees responsible for maintaining discipline at the various levels and the comptrollers in the financial departments must exercise their duty in identifying the culprits guilty of violations and to make those who permit such violations or are guilty of such violations make monetary restitution for the amounts incurred.

3. Cadres in leadership positions in the different regions and departments who are not entrusted with reception work are not to take part in welcoming or sending off visitors or to organize the masses for such activities.

4. The guest houses and hostels must accept payment from leading cadres and members of their group for their accommodation, food and transportation. Such expenses are to be the responsibility of the parties concerned. No subsidy is to be paid the visitors by those engaged in reception work.

5. No departments or individuals are permitted to dip into public funds for entertaining guests or for buying gifts. They must pay for their meals. Aside from what they receive for lodging and incidental expenses according to regulations, they are not permitted to receive subsidies from the guest houses and hostels.

6. Those who are engaged in reception work must be strictly supervised. Those responsible for security, in taking the necessary security measures, must be sensitive to the reaction of the masses. The practice of enforcing overly tight security measures must be discontinued.

7. The Communist Party discipline inspection committees at the provincial, municipal and prefectural levels must, under the leadership of the Commission For the Inspection of Discipline and in cooperation with the financial and public security departments, review the reception work in their areas in accordance with stipulations concerning the treatment of senior cadres and regulations promulgated by the Central Committee and the State Council.

9621
CSO: 4005

ALL VESTIGES OF FEUDALISM MUST BE ELIMINATED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Eliminate the Pernicious Influence of Feudalism; Improve the Party's Leadership"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 31 July, Comrade Li Fengping [2621 0023 1627], secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee, presented the second party lecture for party members in provincial-level agencies.

Almost 2,000 party members from provincial-level agencies and party member leading cadres of the provincial Standing Committee and the various provincial level commissions, offices, departments, and bureaus heard this party lecture.

The subject of Comrade Li Fengping's lecture was "Eliminate the Pernicious Influence of Feudalism; Improve the Party's Leadership." He discussed this subject in terms of three separate problems: the first is the clear recognition of the various manifestations of the pernicious influence of feudalism within the party; the second is the deep historical roots of feudal ideology in society; and the third is the leading role that Communist Party members must play in eliminating feudalistic concepts and resisting all nonproletarian ideology.

As soon as Comrade Li Fengping began, he pointed out that "Some Guiding Principles for Political Life Within the Party," which was prepared and published by the party Central Committee, and the study and discussion of the draft revision of the party constitution throughout the party are penetrated by a single basic spirit, and that is to uphold and improve the party's leadership, increase the party's combat strength, and make our party capable of undertaking the heavy responsibilities of leading the socialist modernization of a strong country. If we are to improve the party's leadership, we must not only clear away the influence of the ultraleftist line in politics, but we must also eliminate the ideological influence within the party of feudal consciousness and every kind of nonproletarian thinking.

Comrade Li Fengping said that the pernicious influence of feudalism has had a great effect in the political life, economic life, and social life of our party and nation, and is a serious obstacle to the realization of the four modernizations. Our party was born in the tempest of anti-imperialism and antifeudalism, and it was our party that led the Chinese people in personally burying the feudal system. However, the history of feudal society in China was very long and feudal-thinking is deep rooted, so eliminating the influence of feudal consciousness within our party will still be one of our combat missions for a long time. Our purpose in proposing the elimination of the pernicious influence of feudalism is to make the whole of our party even more healthy and to make the thinking and work-style of the broad party members more appropriate to the nature of a proletarian political party.

Comrade Li Fengping said that Communist Party members, and especially the leading cadres of the party, must take the lead in eliminating feudal consciousness and in consciously opposing all nonproletarian ideology, which means breaking with the bourgeois ideology and the traditional ideas of the petty bourgeoisie, as well as a complete break with traditional concepts of feudalism. In that case, if we want to eliminate feudal consciousness, where should we apply our efforts? We must develop ideological education, study history, integrate with practice, summarize experience, draw clear lines of demarcation between socialism, capitalism, and feudalism on the basis of a combination of theory and practice, raise our consciousness in the elimination of and opposition to feudal thinking and bourgeois thinking, uphold the policy of one education and two reforms, and not pursue this and that movement with great puffery, but emphasize doing, not talking. We must uphold collective leadership and oppose giving prominence to any individual; important questions must all be decided in collective discussion and not left to what one person says; and the relationship between party secretary and committee members should be between persons each having votes, and not between the leader and the led. We must fully develop democracy within the party and people's democracy, and earnestly guarantee the democratic rights of the party members and the people. Whoever violates these rights must suffer the punishment of national law and party discipline. We must strengthen the concept of the legal system; everything that we do should be governed by laws that can be followed; and violations of law must be investigated. We must focus our strength on the four modernizations, strive to develop our economic and cultural advancement, constantly raise the level of our productive force, and create a material foundation for the annihilation of the remnants of feudalism.

9284
CSO: 4005

CADRES MUST NOT THINK THEY HAVE LIFELONG POSITIONS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Zhang Ruisheng [1728 3843 3932]: "Liberate Thinking; Be Able To Go Up and To Go Down"]

[Text] Abolition of the system of lifetime cadre positions that exist in reality will make our cadres feel that they are able to go up and go down, able to advance and able to get out, able to be an "official" and able to be an ordinary civilian. It expresses the law of social developmnt and the will and requirements of the four modernizations and an urgent need. We cadres must all liberate our thinking, eliminate biases, and treat this new problem with the correct attitude.

Basically, party cadres, whether their positions are high or low, are servants of the people, and all authority is given them by the people. Changes in position, either up or down, are ordinary occurrences. However, why should there be some cadres who only can move up and not down? At bottom, what is it that determines their movements and makes them forget the moral character and style that a Communist Party member ought to have, moreover making leadership positions a thing to be pursued for their advantage? This is a question about which we must clarify the rights and wrongs, come what may.

The view that "if you have authority, you have everything" and the phenomenon itself are great obstacles to cadres' being able to move up and not move down. This view and phenomenon are fallacies left over from the period of feudal privilege. In the feudal society, "When a man gets to be an official, even his pets may ascend to heaven." Thus, being an official is to have everything--to enjoy glory, splendor, wealth, and rank. This is what our Communist Party members resolutely oppose. In the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used this pernicious influence of feudalism to advocate "happiness for those in authority and suffering for those without authority." They induced the cadres to forget their identities as servants of the people and to become alienated from the welfare of the party and the people, to seek private advantage and seize individual power, and to use this power to seek personal advantage and practice favoritism. Under the effects of this pernicious influence, some people showed very little concern for the future of the party and the country or for the hardships of the people. They blindly desired only to move up and not down, wanted to have the first position and not that of the deputy, wanted to be in the front rank and not the last, wanted the city and not the rural areas and, in short, wanted their positions to be a little higher, their authority a little greater, their work a little lighter, their connections a little broader, and their lives a little better. These improper tendencies have undermined the fine traditions of our party and damaged the party's high prestige among the masses, creating undeserved losses to party affairs.

Related to this, the phenomenon in society of "when a person is present, so are human sensibilities, but when a person is not present, human sensibilities fly away" also is a reason for cadres' being able to go up and not go down. The force of this deep-rooted feudal practice originally exerted a very wide influence in society, and it was further aggravated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" adding fuel to the flames. Some people regard other people according to their authority and assess them according to their influence, so that someone with neither authority nor influence need not be yielded to in any situation. It is just as the people say: If you are an official and have something to do, someone will help you, but if you are not an official and have something to do, your heart will be broken. The result is that some cadres not only can go up and not come down; furthermore, since they have failed to finish their own work, they ought to retire but do not.

The foolish idea that "to be an official until old age is a natural thing" is also a stumbling block for cadres to be able to go up and not come down. People always get old; this is a natural law that cannot be defied. When people get old they decline physically, they haven't much energy, they really cannot keep up with ordinary work, and they consciously turn over the heavy burdens to those relatively outstanding comrades who are strong and in the prime of life. This is the kind of broadmindedness that revolutionaries ought to have. However, some comrades feel that Communist Party cadres are "lifelong officials," and that as long as they don't make any errors, they can serve into old age. Comrades who think like this are fundamentally influenced by the feudal concept of "once you become an official, you can receive a lifelong salary."

Circumstances concerning the realization of the four modernizations have placed the new problem of cadres being able to go up and go down squarely before us. It requires that each of our cadres, and particularly leading cadres, conscientiously liberate thinking and eliminate old ideological frameworks. They must have the correct attitude in dealing with changes in duties. Our Communist Party members don't want to be officials; they want to make revolution. This is the aim of the party and the pledge of Communist Party members. With regard to our Communist Party members, they do not have individual authority, but only the authority to uphold truth and principles. Not considering the revolutionary situation as paramount, but only viewing "up" and "down" in terms of individual gains and losses, goes against the will of the people and the times and should not be.

If we want cadres truly to be able to go up and go down, the most important thing is to carry out education in the traditions of the party's good ideology and good workstyle, to make the cadres deal with changes in their job assignments properly and with the correct attitude. At the same time, we must also gradually improve those systems that are not compatible with the four modernizations. We must transform the cadre practice of simply depending on superiors to make appointments and establish a perfected complete system for cadre selection and system of appointments and removals. We must carry out a rational reform of the system of material remuneration of the various grades of leading cadres and draw up rules and regulations preventing and opposing special privileges. Only when the position they occupy no longer brings people any special privileges will being able to go up and go down become natural. We must place our cadres under the supervision of the party, and especially under the supervision of the masses, and transform those circumstances in which there is no discrimination between right and wrong, no clarification between rewards and punishments, and where doing well and doing poorly are both the same.

Cadres' being able to go up and go down is a new idea and is independent of the people's will. We hope that our leading cadres of various grades and comrades of the organization and personnel departments will liberate their thinking, get things started, adapt to the new situation, study the new problem, and strive to establish a new form of cadre system appropriate to the four modernizations.

9284
CSO: 4005

FRAMED PARTY OFFICIALS IN HEBEI REHABILITATED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by HEBEI RIBAO reporter Wang Yulu [3769 5940 6922] and Hebei radio station reporter Li Chunze [2621 2504 3419]: "Completely Redress All Cases of So-Called 'Usurping Power and Restoring the Old Order'"]

[Text] On 10 July, the Zunhua County Party Committee, in accordance with the decision of the Tangshan Prefecture Party Committee, called a county-wide broadcast conference to completely redress the case of the so-called [attempt] by county party committee deputy secretaries Wu Duanquan and Li Huayi and Standing Committee member Chen Shizeng [7115 1102 1073] to "usurp power and restore the old order." The conference was enthusiastically endorsed by the broad masses and cadres throughout the county.

During the 10 years of turmoil, democratic life within the party in Zunhua County was seriously damaged. The principal responsible persons of the former county party committee placed themselves above the higher level party committees and instituted a "family head system" and "one person laying down the law"--a violation of party discipline and national law that created many unjust and erroneous cases. Between May 1975 and September 1977, they created the case of the [attempt by the] so-called Wu-Li-Chen clique to usurp power and restore the old order--the most serious unjust case in the county. At that time, the principal responsible person on the county party committee had said at a meeting of the Standing Committee that the leadership of the prefectural party committee had sought him out to talk with him and was preparing to assign him to work on the prefectural party committee, leaving the work of the county party committee to Comrade Wu Duanquan. When news of this got out, some of the cadres on county party committee organs commented that for this responsible person to be transferred and for Wu Duanquan to take over all the work would be a happy event for the 580,000 people of the county. When this word got around to the responsible person on the committee, he blew up and said that this was "creating public opinion for counterrevolution and seizure of power" and that "if someone puts forth counterrevolution, he must want to take charge of counterrevolution!" He immediately called an emergency meeting of the county Standing Committee and organized a special team to conduct a close investigation. During the investigation it was subjectively assumed [that what was said was true], and an exaggerated case was framed against Wu Duanquan, Li Huayi, and Chen Shizeng as "careerists," "capitalist roaders," and "bourgeois elements within the party." Personnel arrangements resulting from formal research and discussions within the organization were framed up to be "plotting to seize power and restore the old order." They transposed true and false, cooked up charges, and framed the charge that Wu Duanquan had "opposed the 'pauper' [4522 2761 1311] red flag personally set up by Chairman Mao," and had "maliciously attacked the great leader Chairman Mao." Criticism and struggle were carried out against Wu Duanquan and the other comrades throughout the county for a long time. Later, comrades Li Huayi and Chen Shizeng were each sentenced to 20 years' punishment, nominally for their crimes, and Comrade Wu Duanquan was detained under investigation for almost 2 years. They also used dictatorial tools, acted on hearsay evidence, arrested people arbitrarily, and isolated themselves and opposed the province in carrying out an investigation throughout the county of people and affairs connected with the Wu-Li-Chen case, further expanding this erroneous case. From the administrative organs to the factories, the commune held a large number of "study classes" that employed methods of "first play the tune, then collect the data," and "have the existence of something in mind, and then find a firm foothold for it," causing torment and physical deterioration by forcibly obtaining confessions and then giving them credence. More than 140 persons throughout the county were directly investigated, processed, and implicated, and of these, 4 were found guilty of crimes, 2 lost their party membership and public office and were labeled bad elements, 36 lost their party membership and public offices and were given other punishment, and 2 were driven to commit suicide. many comrades sustained unredressed political wrongs and serious physical and mental harm, with very grave results.

The broad masses and party members of Zunhua County have written many letters to the higher party organizations relating the true facts of this case. In 1978, the organizational department of the Central Committee, the Hebei Provincial Party Committee, and the Tangshan Prefectural Party Committee sent a joint workteam to reinvestigate and to submit a report of the reinvestigation on redressing the case of "usurping power and restoring the old order." Following this, although there was a certain rectification and correction for the comrades who had been oppressed and implicated, the policy was not conscientiously carried out and there was no thorough resolution of the problem. On 3 July of this year, the Tangshan Prefectural Party Committee issued a formal resolution that the case of the Wu-Li-Chen "seizure of power and restoration of the old order" would be completely redressed and the good names of the principals restored. All comrades who had been implicated in this case have uniformly received redress and the restoration of their reputations.

9284
CSO: 4005

COUNTY IN SHAANXI STRENGTHENS COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 80 p 3

[Article: "Collective Leadership Upheld by 'Team Leaders' Not Acting as 'Family Heads'"]

[Text] According to reports in SHAANXI RIBAO, the Baihe County Party Committee in Shaanxi Province conscientiously studied the "guiding principles" in integrating with practice, reviewed and summarized the lessons of experience in upholding collective leadership, correctly dealt with the relationships of the division of work and responsibility between the collective leadership and individuals, and further strengthened the collective leadership of the party, promoting the development of various items of work.

For the past few years, the relationship between the "team leader" and committee members of this county party committee was not handled well enough, resulting in the phenomenon of "one person laying down the law" and operations "dancing to the same tune." After the breakup of the "gang of four," and especially since last year, although there had been some changes in the workstyle of the county party committee, there was no deep comprehension of the proper meaning of collective leadership. As a result, the principal leading members of the committee were afraid that others would say their methods were not democratic, so all matters, great and small, were taken to the standing committee, where everyone discussed and decided on them. Following publication of the "guiding principles" (draft), the county party committee organized "the members" to review the portion of the "guiding principles" concerned with "upholding collective leadership and opposing individual arbitrariness" and to review the lessons of experience up to that time, so that the division of work and the responsibility relationships between the collective leadership and the individuals could be properly recognized and handled.

To implement correct collective leadership, the principal leading comrades of the county party committee required of themselves that they act as ordinary members, and, when discussing important questions, that they let everyone speak without inhibition and express his views, rather than act individually and arbitrarily. When differences of opinion occurred, they conscientiously listened to the opinions of all sides, and if the matter could not be resolved on the first round, they discussed it again, fully developing the wisdom and usefulness of each member. In August 1979, when the county party committee was discussing implementation of the production policy proposed by the prefectural party committee, some people suggested acting in accordance with the proposal and letting it go at that. County party committee secretary Liang Shangmou and several comrades felt that they should begin with the actual facts and propose production policies appropriate to the conditions in their own area. With two sets of opinions before him, Comrade Liang Shangmou did not use simple measures and pass his own proposal, but went separately with several Standing Committee members to look into circumstances in the rural villages, investigating things at more than 10 communes and teams and listening extensively to the ideas and demands of cadres and commune members. Thus he came to understand a large amount of data and conditions. Following three separate discussions, the Standing Committee finally formulated a policy comparatively well suited to the actual conditions in their county.

In strengthening collective leadership, the "members" of the county party committee did so by taking care that the "team leader" not become a "family head" and that the committee members not act as his foil, and by requiring that each leading member, in the course of dividing work and responsibility, divide the work not by dividing the family but by preserving mutual support and making mutual allowances.

9284
CSO: 4005

VOCATIONAL TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES FOR CADRES EXPANDED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 80 p 3

[Article: "Hubei Province Adopts Many Ways To Train On-the-Job Cadre"]

[Text] Reporter Shi Delian [4258 1795 6647] and news researcher Xing Pingan [6741 1627 1344] report: All levels of party and government departments in Hubei Province have adopted many ways to train on-the-job cadres and are striving to establish a corps of cadres with professional knowledge for the four modernizations.

The first thing was for Hubei Province to pay attention to developing the usefulness of the vocational schools. At present there are 7 higher level schools and colleges and 17 secondary vocational schools that have cadre training classes associated with them. These training classes are not uniform but start from the actual circumstances at each school. If the school has potential qualified teachers and potential space, an on-campus class is established; if there are potential qualified teachers but a shortage of space, a day-student class is established; if there is potential space but a shortage of qualified teachers, the department concerned will assign someone to teach and will operate the class jointly with the school. Through training classes for on-the-job cadres and correspondence instruction, etc., the finance and economics and the politics and law departments of the Hubei College of Finance and Economics has already trained more than 22,000 on-the-job cadres. Beginning the second half of last year, the Huazhong [Central China] Agricultural College has held training classes attended by agricultural leading cadres of county level or above, with rich and vivid content and the integration of theory with practice. The length of the class term is more than 4 months. Students declared that studying truth is very "thirst-quenching" and has caused them to understand problems that were confusing to them before.

Hubei Province has also paid particular attention to encouraging the activism of various systems and units operating their own cadre training classes. On the basis of their own actual circumstances, the main Wugang Machinery Plant operated secondary vocational classes, college professional classes, television university classes, and foreign-language classes that were participated in by almost 2,000 persons who were given time off or partial time off. They referred to teaching materials from colleges and professional schools and combined them with actual operations of the plant to write teaching materials for the on-the-job cadres, going easily from basic to advanced. The grades of those participating in the training was entered into their records as one basis for determining technical job titles and promotion recommendations.

One characteristic of Hubei Province's training of on-the-job cadres was to follow "study what you are working at and supplement what you are lacking," and the avoidance of "cooking everything in one pot" and "irrigation to flooding and overflowing." The training classes operated by the vocational schools and by the various units themselves all paid attention to teaching the materials and combining the study contents with the students' jobs, with an eye to their application. Last year the Second Automobile Manufacturing Plant set up universal training for leading cadres of scientist grade or above, stressing the study of professional knowledge and enterprise management for automobile plants. With a view to product quality, they also held a class in quality management. That plant completed its year's production tasks 98 days ahead of schedule and turned over more than 46 million yuan in profit. There was a close relationship between this achievement and training cadres and raising the level of management.

9284
CSO: 4005

NEED FOR FOUR MODERNIZATIONS STRESSED

Nanjing QUNZHONG LUNCONG [MASS FORUM] in Chinese No 1, Jan 80 pp 1-8

[Article by Gong Shiqi [7895 1102 0368]: "On the Need for the Party to Shift the Focus of Its Work"]

[Text] At the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, it was decided that the focus of the entire party's work be shifted to socialist modernization. This decision was made according to the objective demand of our historical advance and the urgent desire of the people throughout the country so as to continue the unfinished task of Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation at their behest. It has won the wholehearted support of the whole party and the people of various nationalities throughout the country and strengthened their determination, confidence and militant will in carrying out this task. In his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress," Comrade Hua Guofeng further expounded the necessity of the shift of the party's work and indicated that conditions in our country were ripe for this task. We firmly believe that under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, we can basically end our country's present poverty and backwardness and build China into a powerful and modernized socialist country.

With political power in the hands of the proletariat and the task of suppressing the resistance of the exploiting elements virtually completed, the party must shift the focus of its work to socialist economic construction. In theory, this task was systematically elaborated by Lenin long ago.

Beginning with the change of the basic task of the proletarian revolution, Lenin described the necessity of the shift of the party's work in his article "The Immediate Task of the Soviet Government." He pointed out three basic tasks for the proletarian party: To convince the broad masses of the correctness of the program and policies of the communist party; to seize political power and to suppress the resistance of the exploiting classes; and, after seizing political power, to concentrate all forces on socialist economic construction. The ultimate purpose of the first two basic tasks for the proletarian party, as cited by Lenin, was to liberate the productive forces, raise labor productivity, and gradually improve the people's material and cultural life in the course of building socialism. Socialist economy cannot be produced in a capitalist society. Therefore, the proletariat must first seize the political power before it can talk about building socialism. The seizure of political power itself is not the end, but rather the means for building socialism and communism.

Then after the socialist October Revolution and the suppression of the resistance of the exploiting classes, what were the new conditions and new problems in Russian history on the basis of which Lenin set these new historial tasks?

First, there was a fundamental change in the position of the Russian proletariat. After the October Revolution, the proletariat became the leading force in the country and the enterprises were owned by the whole people as masters of the state. The proletariat is not only the most progressive, most resolute and most thoroughgoing revolutionary force, but also the main force in building socialism. It must shoulder the responsibility of leading and organizing the workers in not only new social construction, but also in building socialism along with the transformation of the old society. Otherwise, it could not fulfill its historical mission of defeating the bourgeoisie, building a worldwide socialist society and ultimately emancipating itself. Therefore, it would be in the best interest of the proletariat to carry out socialist economic construction.

Secondly, according to the law of correspondence of the relations of production to the productive forces, the proletariat holding political power had changed the old relations of production, emancipated the productive forces and was in a better position to develop productive forces. At the same time, after the establishment of a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic system, particularly in an economically backward country, there was an imperative need to build a strong material foundation. As Lenin pointed out, it would be basically impossible to speak of socialism without a rapidly developing, large-scale industry. This statement is all the more true for a country where small peasants predominated. For Russia in those days, it was absolutely necessary to strengthen the economic relationship between industry and agriculture; to defeat the spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie; to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat; to bring about an economic recovery after the severe havocs wrought by the civil and foreign wars; to end the extreme suffering of the broad masses of workers and peasants; and to be prepared for foreign invasion at all times.

Thirdly, there were important changes in the class relations and the principal contradictions in Russia. Lenin pointed out the existence of three class forces: The first was the proletariat which then held political power. The second was the peasants. The work-peasant alliance was then the foundation of the Soviet political power. However, in view of the serious damage to the national economy after overthrowing the landlord class, the petty bourgeoisie with its spontaneous forces became stronger. The third force was the landlord and capitalist classes. Politically, their dominating positions had been smashed, and economically, their possessions had been thoroughly expropriated. According to the figures announced by Lenin in 1921, 15-2 million landlords and capitalists had been exiled. Although they were virtually exterminated in the country, they had become an outwardly invisible force. Based on these three conditions, Lenin held that the petty bourgeoisie with its spontaneous force was the principal enemy to socialism at that time. The state could certainly be able to deal with the spontaneous capitalist forces of petty peasantry--manifested in profiteering and so forth--in various ways. As for the peasantry, particularly the peasants, however, neither exproporation, exile nor suppression was possible. The only way was to carry out socialist remolding on them. To do this, however, there should be a certain material foundation. Lenin said: "It will take generations to remold the small farmer, and recast his mentality and habits. The only way to solve this problem of the small farmer--to improve, so to speak, his mentality--is through the material basis, technical equipment, the extensive use of tractors and other farm machinery and electrification on a mass scale. This would remake the small farmer fundamentally and with tremendous speed."[1]

The struggle between the proletariat and the spontaneous tendency of the petty bourgeoisie was still essentially a struggle between the proletariat and socialism on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and capitalism on the other, because it was also a struggle to eradicate capitalism and the conditions for the birth of capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Therefore, before the completion of socialist remolding of the petty peasantry economy, the struggle between the two classes and the two roads was still the principal contradiction in the society. However, class struggle at that time had already developed to a new stage and the form of struggle had changed, because, instead of landlords and capitalists, the petty bourgeoisie with its spontaneous force was the enemy directly confronting the proletariat. The task of class struggle had been completed in many respects, and this makes it not only possible, but also necessary, for the focus of party work to be shifted to ecnommic construction. As Lenin pointed out, after breaking the resistance of the capitalists, destroying all that needed to be destroyed and reducing to ruins what should be reduced to ruins, the foundation has been laid for the important task of building socialism.

Lenin's thesis on shifting the focus of party work onto economic construction after the proletariat's seizure of political power is universally applicable, although this shift may required different conditions and take different forms according to the concrete circumstances of different countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrade Mao Zedong applied this universal truth in the light of China's reality and raised this question way back in the Second Plenum of the Seventh CCP Central Committee. He said: "From the very first day we take over a city, we should direct our attention to restoring and developing its production," and let the other work in the cities "revolve around and serve the central task, production and construction." In 1952, when the party put forward the General Line for the Transition Period, he again pointed out that it was a general line with industrialization as the main body and the socialist transformation of agriculture handicraft and capitalist industry and commerce as the wings. In 1954, Comrade Zhou Enlai said in his "Report on the work of the Government": "The work of economic construction has already occupied the foremost position in the entire national life." At that time, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisis was the principal contradiction. The main purpose of the party's General Line for the Transitional Period was to change the system of ownership of the means of production and the various relations of production based on the system of private ownership. However, the class relations in our country were different from those in Russia. We had already overthrown the main component of the bourgeoisie, being comparatively weak, was powerless to resist the general trend, particularly because of the correct policies we adopted in dealing with it. Therefore, the transformation of capitalist industry and commercial was carried out fairly smoothly. Our party had a firm foundation for its work in the countryside. Our land reform was very thorough, and the political superiority of the poor and lower-middle peasants and been established in the countryside. Since the land reform, the petty bourgeoisie, despite its spontaneous forces, has never been the proletariat's arch enemy. It was thus possible for us to carry out large-scale socialist construction while conducting a large-scale socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production and a socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts. At that time, our party adopted the policy of simultaneous revolution and construction along with simultaneous industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft and capitalist industry and commerce. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We must on no account regard industry and agriculture, socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture as disconnected or isolated things, and on no account must we emphasize the one and play down the other."[2] "The social and economic features of China will not be completely changed until the socialist transformation of the social and economic system is completely accomplished and, in the technical field, machinery is used in all possible branches and places."[3] By 1956, the socialist transformation of the means of production had been basically completed, and only remnants of the bourgeoisie existed. Although class struggle had not ended, the principal contradiction in our society was undergoing a fundamental change. This change was expounded in our Eighth National Congress of the CCP which advocated a shift in the focus of the whole party's work in order to "change our backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial country." In 1957, in his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the large-scale, turbulent class struggle of the masses characteristic of times of revolution had in the main come to an end, and that our basic tasks had changed from the unfettering of productive forces to protecting them in the context of the new relations of production in order to carry on the battle with nature. In 1958, Comrade Mao Zedong again unequivocally advocated the shift of the focus of party work onto technical revolution. Later on, according to the directions of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Zhou Enlai put forward the lofty goal of accomplishing the four modernizations within this century at the Third and the Fourth NPC. It is obvious that the historical mission of accomplishing the four modernizations was based on the change of the principal contradiction in our society.

In the first part of his "Report on the Work of the Government," Comrade Hua Guofeng succinctly described the present situation of classes and class struggle in our country, which is of great significance in both theory and practice. The Report pointed out that since the exploiting classes in our country have been eliminated, our society is now composed of socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals, although class struggle has not yet ended, in view of the two different types of contradictions which still exist. In theory, it showed that there cannot be any more large-scale, turbulent class struggle in our country. The people are hoping that the political stability and unity can be permanently preserved and that the socialist democracy and the socialist legal system can be quickly developed and implemented. Neither the expansion of class struggle nor the lack of vigilance against trouble conforms with objective reality and both are wrong. It was precisely on the basis of this analysis that the Report further demonstrated the principal contradiction in our present society and the necessity as well as possibility for the shift of the focus of the party's work.

In my personal opinion, Comrade Hua Guofeng's analysis of the present principal contradiction in our country indicates the following: First, after the basic resolution of our contradiction with the exploiting classes, the principal contradiction in the socialist society is no longer class contradiction or class struggle. Secondly, the development of social productive forces is on the one hand brought about by the innate contradictions of the productive forces, such as the continued scientific and technological development and the continued replacement of old technology by new technology, and, on the other hand, promoted by the change of the relations of production and the superstructure which do not correspond with the productive forces. At present, the main aspects of the principal contradiction in our society is to raise our backward productive forces up to a modern level in order to accomplish the four modernizations. Thirdly, the objective demand of the basic socialist economic law is to satisfy the constantly increasing material and cultural needs of the society. To satisfy the social needs, it is necessary to maintain the growth and improvement of production on the basis of an advanced technology. The people want to promote the development of productive forces and to strengthen the motive force in the change of contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure. Therefore, to sum up, the principal social contradiction at present is the contradiction between the people's material and cultural needs and the backwardness of the productive forces.

The principal social contradiction at a certain historical stage is the main basis for our party to determine its historical mission. Our most basic historical mission at present is to accomplish the four modernizations.

In the above, we have studied the necessity for the shift of the focus of the party's work from a theoretical point of view. Now let us study this necessity from the practical point of view based on our socialist revolution and construction. In the 27 years from the founding of New China to the downfall of the "gang of four," we have on the whole achieved great success in our socialist construction, although we have also suffered severe setbacks as a result of taking the wrong path. Specifically, our economic development has gone through three different stages: First, in the first 8 years following the founding of New China and in the 3 years after 1962, the development was fairly rapid. Secondly, in the 3 difficult years after 1958, our national economy experienced a serious upheaval. Thirdly, from 1966 to the smashing of the "gang of four," our socialist economy suffered serious disruptions and was brought to the brink of collapse.

What do these three stages show? First, after the proletariat came to power, particularly after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the system of the ownership of the means of production, the focus of party work should have been shifted onto socialist construction, as long as there was no foreign invasion. During the first five-year plan, despite the movement to transform the system of ownership and other political and ideological movements on a large scale, our production developed rapidly along with the improvement of the people's living conditions, because we adopted the correct policies and paid close attention to economic construction. If the party still failed to shift the focus of its work, and this was exactly what happened because of the disruption by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our national economy would suffer severely. Secondly, for the focus of the party's work to be shifted onto economic construction, we should observe the socialist economic laws. Although the focus of the party's work did not deviate from economic construction during the second five-year plan, we failed to follow the objective economic laws and the shift of the focus of work was not really accomplished.

Judging from our past experiences, we can see that our failure to shift the focus of work and to promote our national economy had something to do with the following theoretical problems, which we had not been able to clarify for a long time, and which became even more confusing during the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

First, we must proceed from reality, acuurately appraise the situation of class struggle and correctly and objectively handle the principal contradiction in different historical periods before the shift of our work focus can be smoothly accomplished. When the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production had been basically completed and only remnants of the bourgeoisie existed after 1956, we still laid increasing stress on class struggle, which continued to assume serious dimensions. For many years, one political movement followed another with increasing violence. Because of the ultra-leftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," a large number of party and state leading cadres were struck down, and the broad masses of revolutionary cadres and people suffered untold misery. In the "all-out civil war," the party became estranged from the masses and suffered unprecedented outrage.

Why was class struggle so unrealistically stressed? The opinions of some of our comrades were as follows:

1. The theory that the basic contradiction in a class society is directly manifested as class struggle was mechanically applied to a socialist society. Although classes and clsas struggle exist in a certain stage of historical development, a socialist society is no longer a class society. However, we did not modify our theory in the light of objective reality, and still held that the basic contradiction in a socialist society was as a rule manifested as class struggle and that class struggle was the principal contradiction in a socialist society. In this respect, that notorious "advisor" played a most diabolic role. He openly declared that the socialist society, in its independent social form, was a class society in which classes, class struggle and class contradictions permanently exist. This is a reactionary "socialist theory," because, in fact, no exploiting class can exist in a socialist society. As Lenin pointed out, socialism means the abolition of classes, or the abolition of not only the exploiting classes but also the class difference between workers and peasants, so that all people should become workers. If anyone thinks that exploiting classes have all along existed in a socialist society, then it would be impossible to build socialism. In an effort to look for exploiting classes when these classes had already been basically eliminated, this "advisor" again advanced the fallacy that people's class status should be classified according to their political and ideological mentality. Marxism teaches us that the basic indication of class difference is the people's position in social production or their relations to the means of production. Class classification in isolation from the social relations of production is obviously a violation of Marxism. This was only a tactic for persecuting the broad masses of revolutionary comrades and to slap on them "bourgeois" labels. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "With the overthrow of the landlord class and the bureaucratic-capitalist class, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiciton in China."[4] This statement was made in 1952 when the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production had not yet been carried out. After 1956, however, when the objective conditions had already changed, this theory, formerly correct, was replaced by a new theory, and we should not stick to an outdated theory. According to the objective laws of class struggle in a socialist society, the exploiting classes have been gradually eliminated in our country. Our first step was to remove the landlord class and the bureaucratic-capitalist class from their dominating political and economic positions, confiscate their landlords' land, and expropriate or nationalize the means of

production and other properties of the bureaucratic capitalist class. Our second step was the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft and national capitalist industry and commerce with a view to gradually reducing the difference between workers and peasants and eliminating the conditions for the birth of capitalism and new exploitation. Our third step was to basically abolish the class difference between workers and peasants, to gradually eliminate the remnant and the new exploiters. From this, we can see that when the socialist transformation of the system of the ownership of the means of production has been basically completed, the system of private ownership is replaced by that of socialist public ownership; the exploiting classes are abolished; and the bourgeoisie is also basically eliminated. Therefore, class contradiction has been relegated from the primary to the secondary position in our social life.

2. In his article "On Correctly Handling Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong made an important contribution to Marxism with his theory on the basic contradiction in a socialist society. However, we were not quite clear about the correspondence as well as the contradiction between the productive forces and the economic base on the one hand and the relations of production and the superstructure on the other. We usually described correspondence in absolute terms and set correspondence and contradiction against each other in the belief that where there is correspondence , there can be no contradiction, and vice versa. On the one hand, we refused to believe that there can be contradictions in the correspondence between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure, and to accept the theory that there is always some contradiction in the course of all developments. On the other hand, whenever we discovered certain contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces, we thought that the relations of production were inconsistent with the productive forces, and then changed the relations of production. For example, we have twice abolished the piecework system and many times abolished private lots, family sideline occupation and country fairs. We seemed to feel that our action in changing the relations of production was fully justified and cited several instances to support the charged that the former relations of production had obstructed the development of productive forces. Yet, these repeated abolitions have been futile. It shows that our relations of production have been basically consistent with out actual level of productive forces. Yet whenever we made unnecessary changes to certain aspects of the socialist relations of production, we based our action of the same viewpoint as we did during the land reform and the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce--the viewpoint that the change of the relations of production would as a rule encounter the obstruction and sabotage by decadent classes and that therefore, class struggle was necessary. This viewpoint is basically untenable. Under the socialist system, the working people constitute the main productive forces as well as the main component of the socialist relations of production, and there are no representatives of the decadent class forces of the old relations

of production, there may be contradictions between the advanced and the backward among the people, as well as conflicts of interests among the state, the collectives and the individuals. However, these are contradictions among the people, and most of them are attributed to the problem of understanding. The interests of the state, the collectives and the individuals are basically identical; therefore, problems of this type can be properly adjusted and solved. In handling these problems, we should not mainly resort to the method of class struggle. The viewpoint behind these methods was probably used as a pretext to suppress democracy so that anyone disagreeing with the arbitrary change of the relations of production could be repudiated as representatives of the decadent classes. This is a very dangerous viewpoint.

3. The law that the relations of production must correspond with the nature of the productive forces is applicable to all forms of society. Under the socialist system, when the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production becomes acute, the relations of production have already obstructed the development of the productives and must have to be changed. However, when the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production is in a state of relative rest, the latter, on the whole, still corresponds to the former and can help in the former's development, despite certain unfavorable effects. In this case, the relations of production should not be changed. Failure to observe this principal will handicap the development of productive forces and violate the law that the relations of production must correspond with the nature of productive forces. In fact, this failure means a rejection of the decisive role of productive forces on the relations of production. For a long time, the problem with us was that we neither devoted efforts on the construction of the material and technological foundation, nor tried to find out to what extent had the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces developed. We invariably tried to find solutions from the relations of production and the superstructure in the belief that a change of the relations of production and the superstructure would promote the development of productive forces. We were always over-eager in carrying out a transition, a "pauper's" transition to higher stages of collectivization, which demanded that the productive forces should keep pace with the development of the relations of production. Our movement of agriculture cooperation was quite successful and was a contribution to the Marxist treasury. But were our steps too quick? The excessive speed of transformation of cooperatives from the preliminary to the advanced stage produced some side effects, such as the death of some farm animals. From 1956, when the cooperatives of the higher stage were formed, to 1958, no experiment had been carried out according to the objective requirements of the developing productive forces before people's communes were set up throughout the country. Such a high speed of development had its obvious problems. In 1958, there was the "communist wind" and the "pauper's" transition, mainly intended for the abolition of the system of collective ownership as soon as possible. The system of collective ownership is a socialist economy and has strong vitality under the present conditions

in our country. Development of the urban and rural economy was of great significance in developing our industrial and agricultural production, in satisfying the requirements of people's daily life and in providing job opportunities. The two different forms of public ownership should coexist for a long time to come, and the way for the transition of the system of collective ownership to the system of ownership by the whole people should be based on practical experiences. We must not act rashly in this matter.

In my personal opinion, our failure to clarify this theoretical issue has been one of the important causes of the frequent political movements and changes of the relations of production, and the constant attack on "rightism" instead of "leftism" in all political movements. In the absence of socialist democracy and a legal system, political movements were frequently used as a means of settling intra-party differences and paving the way for economic changes. This certainly has an adverse effect on political stability and unity. The struggle against the so-called "rightist opportunism" in 1959 was obviously an instance of such political movement. During the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," when all sorts of fallacy about class struggle were in circulation, there was even no stability and unity or the shift of the focus of the party's work to speak of. It must be pointed out that what I have mentioned here is by no means a general appraisal of the changes of the economic system and of the many political movements since 1957. These experiences should be carefully reviewed on the basis of information in minute details. What I intend to say is only that there have actually been problems in this respect which should be taken as a warning.

Secondly, under the socialist system, there should be a combination of the respect for the objective economic laws and the development of people's subjective initiative. This is the objective demand in the development of socialist economy. For a long time, however, we usually overlooked the objective economic laws and over-emphasized people's subjective initiative. In 1958, for example, some people said" "The earth will yield good harvests provided people have great courage" and "as long as we can think of something, we don't have to worry about doing it." This is a sign of subjective idealism. Under the socialist system, people have for the first time a full opportunity to understand economic laws, and to meet the objective requirements of socialist economic laws through such conscious activities as economic planning. But we must never have the mistaken idea that with our strong political power and a socialist economy in addition to our indomitable spirit, we can act as we please regardless of the objective laws. Authority and courage are ineffective in dealing with objective laws. We must honestly proceed from reality and act according to objective laws so that our subjective understanding will conform to the objective laws. Only thus can we attain the expected result in our work.

Thirdly, the correct handling of the relationships between politics and economics and between revolution and construction is an indispensable condition for insuring stability and unity and for shifting the focus of party work onto economic construction. During the first five-year plan, we handled this problem fairly well. But we failed to follow up and the many fallacies created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" further confused the people's minds.

1. They reversed the relationship between politics and economics and refused to recognize economics as the foundation of politics and the primary source of all things. Babbling that politics determines economics, they spread the "theory that superstructure decides everything."

2. They refused to admit that proletarian political movements are only the means to attain economic benefits, and claimed that political movement itself was an end because it meant the seizure of political power. (For the present, we will not touch on their reactionary goal of seizing power from the proletariat.) They vigorously criticized the so-called "theory of the unique importance of productive forces" and tried to separate proletarian politics from the current socialist economic construction and from the economic interests of the broad masses of people. Such action was also extremely reactionary. Marx pointed out: "The economic emancipation of the working class is the great goal to which all political movement should serve as a subservient tool." Before the proletariat won political power, the purpose of proletarian political movements was to liberate itself from its subservient position; after seizing political power and the basic transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, the main purpose of proletarian politics is to serve socialist construction.

3. They regarded politics as class struggle and persistently stressed the politics of class struggle, while basically negating the politics of economy. Marxism taught us that when the proletariat had come to power, and the party had shifted the focus of its work, the meaning of politics as a concept changed. Speaking of this concept when the Civil War was about to end in 1920, Lenin pointed out that there were two aspects to the political struggle: On the one hand, it was for "foiling the repeated attempts of the whole bourgeoisie to crush the Soviet state," and, on the other hand, "for the politics of state organization" and "economic policy." He further pointed out: "Our main policy must now be to develop the state economically, so as to gather in more pools of grain and mine more pools of coal, to decide how best to utilize these pools of grain and coal and preclude starvation--that is our policy." At that time, it was not enough and may even be wrong to interpret politics as only class struggle. At that time, many people in the Russian Communist Party had been for a long time in the habit of interpreting politics in terms of class struggle, and did not understand that restoring and developing economy were also politics. Lenin sharply pointed out to them: "How is politics to be understood? If politics is understood in the old sense, one may fall into a grave and profound error."

4. They distorted the theory that, compared with economics, politics should occupy the first place and insisted that the party should focus its

work on class struggle all the time. When the exploiting classes had already been basically eliminated, it was quite obvious that the party should not focus its work on class struggle. There should be a united and complete interpretation of the primacy of politics and the shift of the focus of work onto economic construction. After the shift of the focus of the party's work, the theory of the primacy of politics should still be valid. Our striving for the four modernizations now is still consistent with the theory of the primacy of politics, because the most fundamental and most long-lasting benefits for our people lie in the complete elimination of exploitation and of all class differences, the final triumph over the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the indispensable material basis. Therefore, the accomplishment of the four modernizations is the biggest politics now and will remain so for a fairly long historical period hereafter. Thus the so-called primacy of politics should mean, first, that politics should serve economics; second, that in economic construction, we should look at problems from the standpoint of politics in order to insure that economic construction has a socialist orientation. Precisely as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, we should firmly uphold the socialist road, the proletarian dictatorship the party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in striving for the four modernizations.

After all, the relationship between politics and economics is one of the unity of opposities. This unity is manifested in three different respects: First, a direct unity. Under certain conditions, politics means economics and economics means politics. Our four modernizations are the biggest politics at present. Second, the unity of means and end; and finally, the mutual infiltration and mutual transformation of politics and economics. Under certain conditions, the economic aspect of politics can and must become the main aspect of politics. However, it must be noted that when we talk about the unity of politics and economics, we do not mean that politics and economics are one and the same, and that they can be equated with each other. When we say that accomplishment of the four modernizations is the biggest politics and the most fundamental revolutionary task, we cannot ignore or overlook the aspect of class struggle in politics or the need for political and ideological work in economic construction simply on this account.

Fourthly, in order that the focus of party work can actually shift onto economic construction, we should, besides clarifying the several theoretical problems about class struggle as mentioned above, first of all follow the basic socialist economic law, develop the national economy in a planned and proportionate way, and so forth, in carrying out socialist economic construction. For example, to attain a high speed in economic construction, we should first cater to the people's material and cultural needs, and then carry out economic construction in a planned and proportionate way. This is a truth we have learned at great expense in 1958. At that time, we were striving for high speed and raised the slogans of "taking steel as the key link" in order to double steel output, and "letting one horse take the lead so that 10,000 horses will follow in full gallop" without the slightest regard for people's needs or for agriculture as the foundation. The target for steel production exceeded the comprehensive production capacity, and this naturally led to a serious imbalance among all sectors of the national economy. At that time, we did not pay much attention to proportionate planning and had the mistaken notion that balance was only relative while imbalance was absolute. Originally, developments are always not balanced, but the relative balance of things is also the basic condition of their development. Engels pointed out: "The possibility of a body being at relative rest and the possibility of temporary states of equilibrium are the essential conditions for the differentiation of matter and hence for life."[8] The development of national economy is unbalanced; however provided the proportionate relationships among various sectors of the national economy or a relative balance is preserved, development will be possible. This is the objective requirement for economic development. The task of national economic planning is to attain an overall balance and to solve the problems of imbalance in the course of economic development. There are now serious dislocations in our plans; this is entirely contrary to the objective laws of proportionate planning, and can cause great damage to our national economy because of the imbalance among various sectors.

It is now necessary for our party to shift the focus of its work as proved in both theory and practice. The Party Central Committee has decided to devote 3 years time to the readjustment of the entire national economy, and adopted the policy of readjustnent, restructuring, consolidation and improvement in order that there can be a sustained high speed for the development of our national economy and thus an acceleration of the four modernizations. All conditions in our country are favorable for the implementation of this policy. In order that our national economy can be improved, we must strive for the four modernizations with renewed spirit, with concentrated energy, and with one heart and one mind. Our immediate task is to firmly implement the eight-character policy formulated by the Party Central Committee and to fight this battle well.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 32, p 205.
2. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 182.
3. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong: Vol 5, p 188
4. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 65.
5. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 2, p 136.
6. "Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 4, pp 370-371.
7. "Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 4, p 370.
8. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, p 653.

9411
CSO: 4005

HARD STUDY PAYS OFF FOR SAM BATTALION COMMANDER

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by Liu Feng [0491 1496], Xiao Shan [5135 1472], and Cai Shanwu [5591 0810 2976]: "How Did He Become an Expert?"]

[Text] Recently, in the suburbs of the capital we visited Comrade Yan Shizhong [7346 0013 1813], commander of a certain air force surface-to-air guided missile "heroic battalion." This man, praised by the cadres and soldiers as an "expert guided missile battalion commander," said modestly: "What I have done is still far from meeting the requirements of the party and the people. Henceforth, only by studying even harder will I be able to do my job well."

Yan Shizhong had just finished the second year of upper middle school when he came to this surface-to-air guided missile unit in April 1968. This is an heroic unit that grew to maturity under the loving care of Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou, and Commission Chairman Zhu. The battalion he was in had, while engaged in antiaircraft battles in both the north and south of our territory, performed the military exploit of shooting down five enemy high-altitude reconnaissance aircraft of various types, thus defending the sacred airspace of our great motherland. In 1964, the Ministry of National Defense bestowed upon it the honored title of "heroic battalion." Yan was determined to carry on the glorious tradition of this unit, mastering modern military techniques and becoming a qualified soldier.

A surface-to-air guided missile is a modern weapon with complicated technology, and it is required of those personnel who engage in this technological work that they possess a high educational level. After starting work he felt that his scientific education and knowledge was too deficient. He did not believe what was advocated by Lin Biao, viz, "by giving prominence to politics everything else will be sorted out." Borrowing books on radio and electrical engineering from a veteran technician, he tenaciously attacked them. He finally mastered the technology of testing and repairing radio instruments and became a radio repair technician.

In February 1976, the unit's party committee sent Yan to a certain military technical school for study. At that time the "gang of four" was indulging in unbridled propaganda for "blank examination paper heroes." Some of his fellow students were infected by the virus of the "theory that knowledge is useless," and as a result were slack in their studies. Yan thought to himself: "Without knowledge how can a complicated guided missile be launched into the sky to knock down an elusive enemy aircraft?" He fully valued this opportunity to study, and not only completed the courses prescribed by the school, but also, under the guidance of a teacher, studied on his own higher mathematics, basic radio, pulse techniques, and other higher level courses, taking more than 700,000 Chinese characters of study notes. In his graduation examinations, he was among the best of the successful candidates and achieved excellent results.

In April 1978, the party committee of the unit, basing itself on Yan's outstanding results in studying at that school, appointed him to be deputy commander of the 1st Company in the "heroic battalion." Yan felt that he didn't understand how to operate, safeguard, and fix weapons, and that this would be a great difficulty for him in organizing company training. Therefore, he went down to the squads and platoons and attended lessons given by technicians on how to operate the weapons, seizing every opportunity to study. Not long afterward, the company commander was transferred and the higher level authorities appointed Yan to take his place. In order to become familiar as quickly as possible with the theory, operational essentials, and repair of the weapons in the company, he and the company's political instructor Yan Juqi [7051 1446 1142], did research on how to further strengthen the cadres' own studies. At Yan Shizhong's proposal, activities of mutually teaching and learning from each other were launched. Owing to Yan's assiduous study, in 1 year as company commander he mastered the principles of all the weapons and the actual operational techniques of most of the weapons in the company. During this year he and all of the cadres and soldiers of the company took part in the divisional and regimental examinations and were rated overall as outstanding. At the end of the year, the 1st Company was judged by the party committee of the division to be an advanced company in learning from the Hard-Boned 6th Company.

In October of last year, Yan was appointed commander of the "heroic battalion." He recognized that his promotion to this post certainly did not mean that his ability had been enhanced, and that only by persisting in untiring study and practice would he be able to shoulder the heavy burden of being battalion commander. In order to become familiar with every specialty of the battalion, besides using his spare time to read all sorts of weaponry teaching material, he studied in training classes. When taking part in a company's training, he carefully watched the movements of every operation, asking the comrades to explain the functions of the equipment and the essentials of its operation. He also firmly grasped the detailed rules and regulations for safeguarding guided missiles, took part in guided missile training tests and, together with the cadres and soldiers clarified the sequence and requirements of these tests. After tenacious study, Yan was fairly familiar with every specialty in the battalion and had skillfully mastered combat operations at the battalion level. Since the beginning of this year, he and the other cadres in the battalion have organized 49 combat drills of every type that were basically accurate in operation. By efficiently completing its missions, the unit has become the best trained battalion in the division.

9727
CSO: 4005

POPULATION CONTROL VITAL TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Zhou Zhenhua [0719 2182 5478]: "Population Control and the Four Modernizations"

[Text] Our country has a large population with a small amount of cultivated land. With such a poor foundation to start with, in order to being about the four modernizations we must consider population control an extremely important strategic task.

Bringing about the four modernizations means using contemporary advanced scientific technology to equip the various branches of the national economy to break free from backward economic techniques and come up to advanced world standards. A comprehensive criterion for measuring a nations economic strength and size is the per capita gross national product [GNP] and the national income: This index hinges on two factors. One is the GNP and the total amount of national income. The other is the number of people. If the GNP and the national income increase rather quickly while the population increases slowly, then the strength of the economy will increase constantly. Conversely, if the GNP and national income increase slowly while the population grows very quickly, then the strength of the national economy will correspondingly weaken.

If we look at the absolute value of our GNP and national income, then the value is not very low. However, for a population of 970 million people it is very low. For example, our gross output value for industry and agriculture in 1978 reached 569 trillion yuan. Converted into U.S. currency, this comes to $336.8 trillion, trailing only America, the Soviet Union, Japan, West Germany, and France, and occupying the number six position in the world. However, in per capita GNP, America averages $7,890; West Germany, $7,380; France, $6,550; Japan, $4,910; and England, $4,020. Our country only averages $345. Our per capita GNP is only a fraction of that of the developed nations. Therefore, we are one of the most impoverished and backward nations in the world today. Impoverished in what way? We are in one respect because our production level in industry and agriculture is so low. Another aspect is the large size of the population base and the speed with which it grows. Our country has 970 million people, accounting for a quarter of the world's population. We are the most populated country in the world. However, we have only 1.4 billion mu of cultivated land, which is only one-fourteenth of the area under cultivation throughout the world. In terms of cultivated land per capita, we have one of the smallest areas in the world. During the past 30 years our rate of population increase has been over 2 percent, for a total increase of 65 million; this averages out to over 20 million births per year. Therefore we cannot avoid running into sharp contradictions between rapid population increase and realization of the four modernizations.

Because our population rate increases so quickly, the strengthening of the economy has been seriously hindered. According to the calculations of some experts, if the population has a new increase of 1 percent, then the rate of national income should also have a corresponding decrease of 1 percent. Conversely, if the existing population rate decreases by 1 percent, then the national income rate will have approximately a 1-percent increase. What this means is that the rate of population increase and that of national income are of inverse proportion. In order to raise our per capita GNP from the present figure of over $300 to the level of $1,000 by the end of this century, we must not only work hard to develop agricultural and industrial production, but we must also work hard to control our population growth rate. According to calculations made by departments involved, if the total number of people in our country neither increases nor decreases, then our GNP will show a yearly increase of 6.8 percent, enabling us to reach a per capita figure of $1,000 by the year 2000. If every woman of childbearing age gives birth to an average of 1.5 children, then our population at the end of the century will be 1.125 billion, and we will need a yearly increase of 7.6 percent in order to achieve a per capita figure of $1,000. Or, if every woman of childbearing age gave birth to an average of 2 children, then our population by the end of this century would be 1,217 billion, and we would need an average yearly increase in GNP of 8.1 percent in order to reach a per capita figure of $1,000. Should our population continue to increase unchecked, we will find ourselves in a long-term backward and impoverished condition, with the danger that the four modernizations will fail.

Owing to the rapid increase in our population, accumulation of funds for modern capital construction and improvement of the people's lives have been hindered. According to present price calculations, a child from birth until the age of 16 will require a yearly average of 2,500 yuan just for minimum living expenses. There were 650 million people born in the past 30 years and 1.625 trillion yuan has been spent, the equivalent of one-third of the national income for this period. What this means is that an average of one-third of the national income has been consumed by the increase in the number of births. Under these conditions, how can we ever accumulate funds for use in modern construction? In addition, how can we ever accumulate a large amount of funds for use in improving the people's lives? If the population born after liberation had been just one-half of the actual total, we could have had available over 800 billion yuan. Of this sum, half could have been used for accumulation and half for consumption. Therefore, yearly funds for accumulation and consumption could have increased by over 1.3 billion yuan. Compared to the actual situation of the past, this would have been much better for development of national construction and improvement of the people's lives.

Owing to the overly rapid increase of our population, we are faced with the contradiction of having too many people with too little cultivated land. The contradiction between increasing labor productivity and bringing about the full employment of the labor force seems especially prominent. During the 1980's we will have a yearly average of over 23 million people reaching working age. Of this number, approximately 20 million workers will engage in agricultural production, sharpening the contradiction between too many people and too little land. We will also have over 3 million people seeking work in the towns and cities, and this will cause the contradiction between [efforts to] raise labor productivity and bring about full employment in the cities to become more and more intense.

It is easy to see that the number of children born and raised certainly is not merely the private business of an individual or one family. It can affect the success or failure of the four modernizations, whether or not national construction will be able to develop and whether or not we will be able to improve the lives of the people overall.

Engels said: "The determining factor in history, in the final analysis, is the scale of expansion of the production of the means of livelihood. However, production has two types. One is production of the means of livelihood: food, clothing, and housing as well as production of the necessary tools. The other type is human reproduction. ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 2) The size and density of a population are important factors for the condition of material well-being in society. They can either speed up or delay the development of productive forces. Therefore, a definite proportionate relationship should be maintained between human reproduction and the production of material goods. Once the population situation is in harmony with the development of the national economy, then all the various aspects of social economic relations will be well coordinated. We will then be able to push forward the development of productive forces and advance the strengthening of the new social system. When the population situation and the development of the national economy are not in harmony, the development of productive forces may be slowed up or even blocked, affecting the strengthening of the new social system. The failure to balance rapidly increasing population with the realization of the four modernizations and the development of the national economy is the most serious imbalance of all. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the fact that the period for reproduction of the population is longer than that for material goods. During any period of time, a continuing rapid increase in population will seriously affect production and living, not only now but also for several generations to come. Usually, the various sections producing material goods and the serious imbalance between various industries can be initially corrected after undergoing 3 to 5 years of adjustment. However, a serious imbalance in the proportion between the production of humans and that of goods may take anywhere from 60 to 70 years, maybe even 100 years, before being rectified. We strongly advocate family planning as a means of controlling population growth in order to regulate the critical imbalance between human reproduction and the production of material goods. If we do not adjust this imbalance, then the cause of building the four modernizations will be harmed.

Recently, several scientists utilized modern cybernetic methods to predict trends in the development of our population 100 years from now. If every couple has three children, our population will reach 1.414 billion people in the year 2000 and 4.26 billion in the year 2080. If every couple has two children, our population in the year 2000 will be 1.217 billion people and 1.539 billion in 2052. The two situations described above are not suitable to the demands of the four modernizations. If, starting this year, the rate of population growth decreases year by year and we reach an average of one child per couple by 1985, and we continue to maintain this rate afterward, then our population will be 1.054 billion by 2000 and 960 million by 2028. This is an ideal plan, and it has raised new demands for the work of population control. The focus of our work must be on advocating one child per couple.

In his "Report on the Work of the Government" given at the Second Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: "The advance toward reducing the population rate will be of great strategic significance in speeding up the realization of the four modernizations and enhancing the health and welfare of our entire people. We cannot slacken in the slightest. All quarters throughout the country must earnestly do their best in the work of ideological education, public health, and infant health care, so as to enable the masses willingly, safely, and effectively to carry out family planning." These words brilliantly clarify the dialectical relationship between population control and the four modernizations.

In short, we must place population control in an extremely important position in the construction of the four modernizations. We must maintain a firm grasp of these two types of production. One way will be to investigate roads to modernization that are suitable to conditions in our country, using any and all means to raise industrial and agricultural production. Another way will be to successfully advance the work of population growth. Only if we firmly grasp these two means and achieve practical results will we be able to put into effect a Chinese-style modernization in this century.

9686
CSO: 4005

SHORTAGE OF BOOKS CAUSES CONCERN, HARDSHIPS

Readers' Complaints

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 19 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Youths Ask, Why Is It So Difficult to Buy Books?"]

[Text] Recently, over 200 readers have written letters to this paper appealing for a quick resolution of the problem of finding nourishment for the mind while we are on this new long march. According to the letters which we have received, there are three aspects to the present urgent need of young people for books and the inability to buy them:

There is a lack of reference books. Young people from Hunan, Sichuan, Jilin and over 10 other provinces have reported: The "Xinhua Zidian" ["Xinhua Dictionary"], the most basic of the liberal arts reference books, is a matter of being "a one-day best seller and then unavailable for a hundred days" in many small and medium-size towns and cities. It's impossible to locate even a copy of "Gu Hanyu Changyongzi Zidian" ["Ancient Chinese Dictionary of Common Characters"] or the "Shuowen Jiezi"["Dictionary of Etymology"]. [A reader from Minggang, Henan Province, wrote to us saying: The Xiandai Hanyu Cidian ["Modern Chinese Dictionary"] and other reference books are extremely scarce, and there is no way to relieve our concern over self-education.]

The supply cannot meet the demand for good works in classical and modern literature. Liu Fangning [0491 5364 1337] of the second transportation team in Fuyang, Anhui Province, said: I like literature and I plan to study liberal arts intensively during my spare time. In the study of liberal arts we rely mainly on books. However, famous literary works in Chinese and foreign languages are all grabbed up as soon as they come out. According to Li Rongtang [2621 2837 1016] of Lingbi County, Chengguan Zhen: I still have not been able to buy even one of the 25, award-winning short stories from 1978 that were published last year. I recall that Gorki once said that in seeking knowledge, one should be like a starving man pouncing upon a piece of bread. However, there are no books for us to pounce upon.

The demand for books on science and technology cannot be satisfied. Cheng Shengli [4453 516B 0448], of the Dong Mu Commune in Macheng County in Hubei Province, reported: Rural youth account for over 80 percent of the total youth of China; books issued for these youths are way too few! "Nongcun Qingnian Zixue Congshu" ["Rural Youth Self-Study Series"] cannot be bought anywhere. Some young people wanting to learn how to operate tractors are unable to purchase "Tuolaji De Weixiu Han Baoyang" ["Tractor Maintenance and Upkeep"]. Others who want to achieve higher rice and cotton output are unable to buy books dealing with cultivation techniques in these two areas. Zhang Ronghao [4545 2837 3185] of Xuyi County, Jiangsu Province, said: In order to buy books dealing with radios, I made visits to a total of 10 small and large cities and counties, and I still have not managed to buy one.

Gu Xinli [7357 2459 4539], of the People's Park in Siping Municipality, has written saying: I am a young worker who raises flowers and plants. Each time I see these exquisitely beautiful, bright-colored, fragrant flowers, my love for my work deepens and I resolve to master the necessary techniques. I urgently need books on planting and growing flowers and plants. I've been to every bookstore in the city and I have been to Changchun and Jilin, but I still have not found one book.

Several young people from outlying districts and remote mountain districts who are studying on their own have written in expressing the hope that their problem will not be overlooked in the distribution of books.

Remedial Measures

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 19 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Responsible Personnel from Bookstores and Bureau of Publications Discuss Books"]

[Text] Taking the questions raised by young people concerning the difficulty in buying books, we interviewed responsible comrades from the State Publications Administration Bureau and the Peking distributors for the Xinhua Bookstore. They explained to us the situation concerning the publishing and distribution of books:

Students and workers taking tests to gain entrance to schools and jobs, and the wide number of young people studying diligently, have revealed the contradiction concerning the inability of supplies to meet the demand for all types of books. In order to turn around the "book shortage," publishing departments have exerted a great deal of effort. In 1979, the type and number of books had doubled in comparison to 1971. However, we are still far from satisfying the sharp increase in the wide-ranging needs of the vast number of readers. In addition, the poor job done in issuing books has created a situation in which those who are in need of certain books are unable to buy them, while other books are overstocked. Also, the paper shortage has had an effect on the large amount of books being issued.

In order to alleviate this "book shortage," the Bureau of Publications has decided to give priority to the publishing of Chinese and foreign-language reference books. They have already allocated paper and organized the publishing houses concerned to make reprints in order to guarantee the availability of important books, as well as a variety of other books. They also plan to help bookstores maintain a standing supply of dictionaries. Printings of "Ci Yuan" ["Etymology"] (Vols I & II), "Xinhua Zidian" ["Xinhua Dictionary"], "Xiandai Hanyu Cidian" ["Modern Chinese Dictionary"], "Xiandai Hanyu Xiao Cidian" ["Modern Chinese Pocket Dictionary"], "Hanyu Chengyu Xiao Cidian" ["Pocket Dictionary of Chinese Idioms"], "Xin Ying-Han Cidian" ["New English-Chinese Dictionary"], and "Ri-Han Zidian" ["Japanese-Chinese Dictionary"], as well as of other books, have all been increased and will be supplied this year in succession, with a small amount coming out during the first quarter of next year. During this year Beijing and Shanghai will publish over 80 literature and art books for rural areas. Republication of Chinese and foreign literary classics, such as "Hong Lou Meng" ["Dream of the Red Chamber"], "San Gwo Yanyi" ["Romance of the Three Kingdoms"], "Xi You Ji" ["Journey to the West"], "Gangtie Shi Zenyang Lianchengde" ["How Steel Is Meshed"], "Anna Karenina," etc., is also planned.

At present, aside from committee publishing organizations under the Party Central Committee and the State Council, 13 provinces and municipalities have already established technical publishing houses. In 1979, there were 4,199 technical books published in 258.62 billion volumes. Generally speaking, the supply should not be tight. Beijing and Shanghai have "Keji Xin Shumu" ["List of New Science and Technical Books"] in tabloid form. These can be subscribed to at local post offices. They help people learn about developments in technical books and periodicals, and make it convenient to place orders.

Readers in outlying districts wishing to buy books may do so through mail order. At present, the Xinhua Bookstores in each province and municipality have established mail order departments. Several publishing houses have opened mail order businesses one after another so readers can contact bookstores and publishing units directly.

9686
CSO: 4005

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING TO FURTHER DEVELOP TALENTS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 80 p 2

[Article: "Six Viewpoints on Training of Talents by Institutions of Higher Learning"]

[Text] The talents research department of the Shanghai Higher Education Research Association held a discussion on June 25 and 26 to discuss how institutions of higher learning should go about developing talents. The participants enthusiastically took the floor to express their views, many of which were most commendable. These views may be summarized in the following six points:

1. The lack of planning in the admission of students and in the assignment of jobs after their graduation has created an anomalous situation. It is the opinion of many comrades that the selection of students is similar to the selection of seeds. The quality of the seeds determines the quality of the product. The present practice of determining whether a student should or should not be admitted on the basis of the result of one examination leaves something to be desired. There is no question but that this practice has dealt a blow to middle school education in that it has failed to provide guidance and encouragement to the students in their over-all development. The proposal was made that in the selection of students, institutions of higher learning should in the future take note of their middle school records. Those in positions of responsibility in the institutions of higher learning should be allowed to go directly to the middle schools to scout and select prospective students. Middle schools, on the other hand, should be allowed to recommend the admission of highly-qualified students into the universities. It was also noted that the present standards governing the admission of students to institutions of higher learning are not really based on any admission policy and that the number of students admitted to certain courses is not based on the needs of the nation, but, rather, on the educational facilities available at the various institutions of higher learning. This practice has resulted in a surplus of certain special talents who are unable to find suitable jobs and in an inadequate number of certain special talents to meet the needs of reconstruction in the four modernizations. While suffering from a serious shortage of talents on the one hand, our nation finds itself in a situation where there is a serious waste of talents on the other. For instance, graduates in public health in medical colleges have been sent to the factories to do such janitorial work as cleaning open ditches. Graduates in medicine have been assigned to dispensaries to work as druggists. Graduates in ship designing

in engineering colleges have been assigned to do electric welding in factories. This situation has been brought about by three factors. First, there is a lack of planning in the admission of students. Secondly, those responsible for personnel management, lacking an adequate knowledge of the operations of their outfit, are incapable of assigning the right jobs to the right people and making full use of their services. Thirdly, there is no fixed rate of remuneration and university graduates are being traded without consideration of the question of compensation. Since the outfit in question is able to get hold of a university graduate without having to spend an extra cent, it is not very particular about what job to assign to him. These problems must be rectified in order to eliminate the waste of talents and to make adequate use of them.

2. The ratio of the different categories of talents is not related to actual needs. Although we need all categories of talents in our four modernization movement, we tend to over-emphasize physics and engineering at the expense of arts and agriculture. The shortage of agricultural experts is particularly acute. According to our comrades in the Shanghai Agricultural College, there were in 1979 a total of 70,000 students enrolled in agricultural and forestry colleges throughout the nation, or 6.8 percent of the total number of college students, whereas, in the United States, there were 100,000 agricultural and forestry students, not to mention the 1 million students enrolled in agricultural schools. At present, one farm worker in the United States is capable of producing enough food to feed 59 people, whereas a farm worker in our country is capable of producing enough food to feed only three people (including the farm workers themselves). The success in the agricultural sector in the United States is due to the abundance of agricultural scientists and technicians while our country, which coined the slogan "Leave agriculture to old farmers," is negligent in the development of agricultural talents. This obsolete idea must be eradicated. To solve the problem of feeding 1 billion people and to make a success of the four modernization movement, we must increase our efforts towards the development of agricultural scientists and technicians. It has been suggested by some comrades that in order to encourage students to enroll in agricultural colleges, agricultural colleges should be allowed to accept students ahead of other colleges, that those admitted should be given free board, and that the pay for graduates should be no lower than that for graduates in other special courses.

3. We must change the prevailing composition or structure of courses offered university students. Different courses should be offered students in the universities and those in trade schools. For example, trade schools should place more emphasis on application than on basic theories. At the present time, however, the teaching materials used in trade schools are basically similar to those used in the universities. Then, too, insufficient emphasis is placed in the trade schools on practical training. This system cannot but produce students who fail to come up to the level of the main course graduates of the universities and who, at the same time, lack the agility and dexterity associated with graduates of trade schools. Main course students in the universities tend to confine themselves to their special fields. Students of physics know little of art or engineering. Students of engineering know

little of art and physics. Students of art know little of physics and engineering. For this reason, they fail to meet the needs of modern scientific and technological development which calls for the synthesis and interlocking of different fields of knowledge. It was the opinion of many comrades that the main courses in the universities should reduce the number of compulsory courses and to increase the number of elective courses so that the students may acquire a wider range of knowledge. They pointed out that the purpose is not to expand the field of knowledge without rhyme or reason, but to enable the students to take, as a matter of necessity, some courses outside their main courses.

4. Attention should be paid to the development of the students' abilities. Some students do extremely well in school, chalking up top grades in every subject, but are incapable of working independently in a job after their graduation. Many comrades are agreed that rather than to develop "book worms," we should develop talents capable of doing creative work. It was pointed out that the present method of teaching in the universities is riddled with shortcomings. Some teachers are only concerned with instilling knowledge without teaching the students the method of acquiring knowledge. They tend to cram knowledge down the students' throats and to impose too tight a schedule. Sometimes, main-course students are subjected to 30-hour weeks (or 80-hour weeks including work outside the classroom), leaving the students little time to study independently or to participate in extra-curricular activities. Examinations are designed to test the ability of the students to retain what they have learned in the classroom and not their ability to apply what they have learned or to analyze and solve certain given problems. There is also too little practical work. The ratio of classroom lectures and practical work is 8 to 1 in engineering colleges (the ratio is 1 to 1 in some British universities). This system is not conducive to developing the abilities of the students and corrective steps must be taken.

5. The standard for teachers and the quality and quantity of teaching materials must be raised. The quality of teachers and teaching materials has a direct bearing on the development of talents. Many of the present crop of young and middle-aged main-course teachers have failed to measure up to the standards of older teachers. So limited is their range of knowledge that many teachers are capable of teaching only one single subject or even half a subject. We must have a plan for the development of young and middle-aged teachers by assigning them specific jobs or specific responsibilities. Those who have failed to quality should be assigned other jobs. It has been said by not a few of the comrades that teaching materials are sub-standard because they are compiled to meet an emergency situation. At the expense of not neglecting the schools concerned, all teaching materials compiled by them are put to use without discrimination. Some of these teaching materials are so out-dated that they give no indication of the latest developments and achievements in the field of science and technology. It would be futile to expect to develop talents for the 1980's by using teaching materials dating back to the 50's and 60's. It was suggested by some comrades that encouragement should be given individuals to compile textbooks so that the shortage of reference books may be alleviated. In certain subjects, use should be made of original foreign

teaching materials. The teaching manual "The Dynamics of Materials" produced by Chiaotung University in Shanghai, for instance, is based on the English original. The use of English also helps main-course students to familiarize themselves with the English language.

6. It is not necessary for the government to monopolize the education of university students. At the present time, university students are taken care of entirely by the government. They do not have to pay tuition or for room and board. Their medical expenses are taken care of and they are awarded fellowships (75 percent of the students). After graduation, the government is responsible for assigning them jobs. The advantages of this system are that large numbers of students from labor and farm families are afforded the opportunity to enter universities. However, since the liberation 30 years ago, the standard of living of the people has been substantially raised, and certain changes should be made to place the right students in the right jobs. Some students who diligently applied themselves while in middle school slack off dramatically once they have been admitted to universities because, irrespective of their scholastic standing, they are paid 48 yuan upon graduation. Some students show little self-discipline and squander the subsidy paid to them. It was suggested that the system of awarding fellowships should be adopted and that the practice of paying subsidies should be curbed. Boarders should have to pay for water and electricity while day students should be paid a transportation allowance. A tight rein should be held on expenditures. Those students who do poorly should be made to drop out. The rate of remuneration should also vary for different graduates.

It was agreed among the comrades attending the discussion that middle schools play a vital role in the development of talents. In recent years,since only some 4 percent of middle school graduates go on to the universities, we should give serious study to the development of high quality talents from this minuscule number of university students. It was unanimously agreed that the subject should be further explored. It was also suggested that a meeting should be held in September to hear research reports on the development of talents in institutions of higher learning.

9621
CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76527.

2 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 121

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76527

2 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 121

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE

Independent Judicial Functions, Party Leadership Relationship Discussed
(Zhang Jinqing, Xie Bangyu; FAXUE YANJIU, 23 Apr 80) 1

Features of New Election Laws Described
(Li Zaizao, Chen Jinluo; FAXUE YANJIU, 23 Apr 80) 6

Kang Sheng's Relationship With Mao Zedong Reviewed
(Du Feng; ZHENGMING, 1 Aug 80) 14

Gains Made in Rehabilitating Unjust, Framed-Up Cases
(RENMIN RIBAO, 2 Aug 80) 29

Importance of the Party After the Revolution Expounded
(Dai Xueji; GUANGMING RIBAO, 26 Aug 80) 32

Responsibility System, Ownership System Discussed
(Zhang Guangyou; RENMIN RIBAO, 21 Jul 80)........ 36

Living Conditions of Sanshan Production Brigade Fishermen Improved
(Liu Heng; RENMIN RIBAO, 21 Jul 80) 38

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

New Militia Company Commanders Must Replace Old Ones
(Xia Zhenhong; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 26 Jul 80) 42

Education on 'How To Be a Good Militiaman' Launched
(Wang Huayou; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 26 Jul 80) 43

Briefs

Traditional Warfare Training 45
Militia Cadres Master Weapons 45

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Higher Education Reform Must Meet Needs of Science (Yu Chengzhou, et al.; GUANGMING RIBAO, 5 Aug 80) 46

INDEPENDENT JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS, PARTY LEADERSHIP RELATIONSHIP DISCUSSED

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [STUDIES IN LAW] in Chinese No 2, 23 Apr 80 pp 27-28, 22

[Article by Zhang Jinqing [1728 2516 3237] and Xie Bangyu [6200 6721 1342]: "Independent Administering of Justice and the Leadership of the Communist Party"]

[Text] The principle of independent administering of justice is basically an inherent requirement for the state judical organs to perform their duty of exercising proletarian dictatorship. It is an indispensable component of the proletarian democratic system. In order to effectively suppress the enemy and protect the people, the people's court must be faithful to the law and the legal system, faithful to the people's interests, and faithful to facts. This naturally brings up a very important question, namely, how to resolutely preserve the dignity and prestige of law and how to follow law to the letter. The dignity of law demands that the judicial organs should accurately ascertain the facts of the case, correctly interpret and apply the law, and persistently raise the ideological and vocational levels of the judical workers. The prestige of law demands that the judicial organs should enjoy due independence. In other words, in exercising their judicial authority within the sphere of law, they should be free from external interference and influence, and need only follow the laws. Provided there is a unity of the dignity and the prestige of law, the people's court will be able to guard against prejudice and mistakes in court trials and be actually protected in its execution of law. We emphasize the need for independence in the administration of justice only for the sake of preserving the prestige of the legal system so that the state's judical authority will be exclusively exercised by the people's court, which, in turn, will try all cases according to law, and no other organ or individual, no matter what they may be, can have the right to illegally interfere. As proved by experiences in the past 30 years after the founding of the People's Republic, this is an important legal system for protecting socialist democracy as well as a very important measure for our party to provide leadership over judical work.

Some people have set "independent administration of justice and obedience to law alone" against party leadership, claiming that stress on independent trials means "asserting independence from the party." This view is obvious wrong. Since the people's judicial organs are formed under party leadership "independent administration of justice" is an integral judical principle which has actually been formulated under party leadership instead of being divorced from it. As a form of state judical activities, "independent administration of justice" means that the whole trial process should be conducted independently, because it is impermissible for the state's judicial authorities to be shared or in any way influenced by any other organs or individuals. In other words, no external interference or influence is permitted. "Obedience to law alone" as a prerequisite for the people's court in conducting independent trials, means that in the trial of cases, the law court must scrupulously uphold the principle of following the law and meting out punishment only according to law instead of the direction of any other organ or individual. The organic combination of "independent administration of justice" and "obedience to law alone" means that judicial organs should maintain due independence from other organs or individuals in their duty performance or other activities, and should at the same time be absolutely obedient to state laws. We consider absolute obedience to laws as a prerequisite for independent administration of justice because our laws are formulated under party leadership according to the basic state system, on the foundation of extensive democracy and through the legislative process as approved by the National People's Congress. Law embodies the will of the proletariat, represents the basic interests of all the people, and is a concentrated expression of the party's lines, principles and policies. Lenin said: "Dictatorship of the proletariat means proletarian leadership over policies."[1] Law, as the embodiment of the state's will means the finalization of party policies in the form of a set of articles. Therefore, obedience to laws means obedience to the people's will and the party's policies. Any viewpoint which does not respect law or the functions of the judicial organs are erroneous and damaging to the party's leadership and prestige.

The CCP is the core of our state leadership. As a state organ under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the people's court must be under party leadership in conducting trials independently. This should be beyond question; otherwise the people's court will not be able to perform its duty of suppressing the enemy, protecting the people, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Practice has proved that party leadership is the basic guarantee for the efficient and independent administration of justice by the people's court as well as its freedom from illegal interference from any organ or individual. Any tendency toward the weakening of party leadership will lead to the instability or weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But how shall we uphold party leadership over judical work? It must be understood that the party committees and the judicial organs have separate duties which are not interchangeable and cannot be confused at any time. Stalin once said that the party was the core of state power, but the party and the state are not, and cannot be, the same. The party provides leadership over the state, but we can never mix the party with the state and regard the function of party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the same thing. According to the Marxist view, the function of party leadership over the state does not mean that the party can directly issue orders to the state. Instead, the party should rely on the work of the party organizations and party members in the state organs to help the state organs carry out the party's lines, principles and policies. The party's leadership over the judicial organs should be directly manifested as protection for the judicial organs in the exercise of their duties according to the state constitution and laws. The handling of a case from investigation to prosecution and then the final verdict is a very complex process and involves a series of procedures, all requiring in-depth and meticulous work. If the party committee gets involved in the actual administration of justice, regardless of the seriousness of each case, its energy will be dispersed and its attention will be diverted from the major policies concerning judicial work. Thus the party's leadership over judicial work will be weakened instead of strengthened. At the same time, if the party committee has to directly participate in the actual administration of justice and to comment on every case, the judicial workers may tend to rely on the party committee to "guard the pass" and neglect their own duties, resulting in their poor work performance. Furthermore, the leading comrade of the party committee assisting in judicial work, no matter how thoroughly he may know about law and how well experienced he may be in dealing with cases, can have only a partial understanding of the whole procedure because he does not personally attend to the case. If his comments are only based on his perusal of files or reports, the verdict may turn out to be a wrong one. Therefore, under no circumstance can we confuse party leadership with the specific duty of the judicial organs. We must overcome the idea of undivided party-government or undivided party-judicial authority.

Comrade Dong Biwu said: "The correct function of the party in relation to the state organs should be: (1) To provide correct guidance on the quality and orientation of the work of state organs; (2) to enforce party policies through the state organs and their work departments, and to exercise supervision over their activities; and (3) to select and promote loyal and capable cadres (party as well as nonparty members) for work in the state organs."[2] A restudy of venerable Dong's views, expressed shortly after the founding of the People's Republic, is still of great significance to us in strengthening party leadership over judicial work.

Party leadership over judicial work is mainly the leadreship in the implementation of principles and policies, or political leadership, organizational leadership, and leadership over the state legal system. Therefore, we must resolutely overcome and change the practice--the outcome of a very incomplete socialist legal system--of substituting the party for the government, substituting some people's statement for law, failing to observe laws, and displacing judicial work wholesale. We must include the work of strengthening the socialist legal system in our agenda, and, based on the party's tasks at different periods and on the actual situation of struggle, promptly issue instructions on the correct methods to implement policies and to enforce laws. We must keep ourselves informed of the conditions of judicial work, carry out periodical investigations on the work of the people's law courts, direct the judicial organs in conducting analyses on enemy activities and on the social and other related situations, and help them determine the focus of their work and solve their real problems. We should also conduct timely inspections of the way the people's law courts are implementing the party's lines, principles, policies and state laws, and help them sum up experiences, improve their work style, develop their achievements, correct their defects and mistakes, and combat unlawful acts.

In providing party leadership over the people's law court, the relationship between party leadership and the enforcement of law must be well handled. The party should change the method of supplanting the people's court, and, more important still, should find some way to preserve the independence which the people's law court should enjoy. We should constantly carry out education on the legal system and adopt suitable systems and measures to insure that the people's court can handle their cases independently according to law and without interference from any other organs, groups or individuals. The party committee should also exercise careful supervision over the people's courts so as to be sure that the people's court will strictly abide by state laws. At the same time, the party committee should see to it that outer units and individuals concerned should give unqualified support for the verdicts and decisions reached by the judicial organs and based on laws. Should there be any disagreement with the verdicts or decisions, the units and individuals concerned should strictly follow the legal procedures of appeal, to be handled by the responsible judicial organs. Thus the party committee will more effectively free the people's court from external interference and influence.

In providing leadership over the law court, the party should organizationally assign to the judicial organs competent cadres of high integrity and with the courage to uphold the legal system. The party should also strengthen the political and ideological education as well as education on the legal system among the judicial personnel so as to set right their ideological and political lines and raise their ideological and vocational levels. It should also help restore and develop the fine traditions and style of our judicial work so as to insure that they will always be able to apply laws correctly.

After all, the most important condition of party leadership is to protect the execution of laws and the constitution and to give full scope to the role of the judicial organs. However, the way for party committees at various levels to provide leadership over the work of the people's courts is still a problem requiring careful study and solution. The party committees at various levels must conscientiously instead of perfunctorily and vaguely sum up their experiences by linking theory with reality and really emancipate their minds before they can consciously uphold the dignity of the legal system and energetically help the judicial workers enhance their own sense of responsibility. In this way, the important principle of "independent administration of justice by the people's court and obedience to law alone" will be strictly upheld.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 32, p 332.

2. Dong Biwu, "On Socialist Democracy and Legal System" pp37-38.

9411
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

FEATURES OF NEW ELECTION LAWS DESCRIBED

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [STUDIES IN LAW] in Chinese No 2, 23 Apr 80 pp 12-15

[Article by Li Zaizao [2621 0961 5678] and Chen Jinluo [7115 6855 5012]: "A Talk on the Fundamental Spirit of Election Laws and the Significance of Direct Election of People's Congresses at the County Level"]

[Text] The "Election Laws of the People's Republic of China for the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses at All Levels" (hereinafter briefly referred to as New Election Laws) approved at the Second Session of the Fifth NPC have become effective as of 1 January 1980. This is an important event in our political life attracting worldwide attention.

The new election laws, as proved in the experiments of direct election carried out in 66 county-level units (including counties, autonomous counties, districts under the jurisdiction of a municipality, and municipalities not divided into districts) in the second half of 1979, fully embody the people's will and amply safeguard the people's democratic rights. That is why they are warmly supported by the broad masses.

I. What Is the Fundamental Spirit of the New Electional Laws?

Our election laws are socialist election laws, and the established system of election is a socialist election system. The new election laws are based on the requirements of the new socialist period for developing socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system with the unity of democratic essence and democratic form as their main objective in the light of reality. In many respects, including principles, organized leadership, procedures and the methods of election, these laws, according to their stipulations, are intended to help the people exercise their power as masters of the state.

The fundamental spirit embodied by our election system has been determined by the socialist character of our country. The Constitution stipulates that our country "is a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." People are the masters of the state, and "all power in the People's Republic of China belong to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at various levels."

In his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: "Socialist democracy is first of all a question of the state system in socialist countries." All the people can exercise their supreme power in managing state affairs through the people's congresses; this is the immutable principle of the socialist system. According to this principle, there should be in our socialist country democracy of a broader and higher form than any ever experienced before, or democracy in name as well as in fact for the overwhelming majority of people. This form of democracy is unprecedented in our history. Lenin aptly pointed out: "All citizens must take part in the work of the courts and in the government of the country. It is important for us to draw literally all working people into the government of the state. It is a task of tremendous difficulty. But socialism cannot be implemented by a minority, by the Party. It can be implemented only by tens of millions when they have learned to do it themselves." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 27, p 123) The new election laws stipulate the principles, procedures and methods for the people to exercise their right to vote and to supervise or recall their deputies. The fundamental spirit behind this whole process is to further develop socialist democracy; to demonstrate that people are the masters of a socialist state; to provide safeguard in the form of laws for the people's supreme right to manage state affairs; to effectively supervise the work of state organs; and to urge the state personnel to serve the people faithfully and to lead the people in the struggle to accelerate our socialist modernization.

II. What Are the New Stipulations in the New Election Laws?

The election laws of 1953, based on reality soon after the founding of the People's Republic, already embodied a practical system of democratic election. The fundamental spirit behind them are still applicable today. However, because of the 10 years of severe destruction by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people's democracy and the legal system were trampled underfoot. Yet they took advantage of certain weak links in the 1953 election laws. For example, they used the system of listing as many candidates as the number of deputies to be elected and the method of nominating candidates from the top down as a means of excluding the cadres who were faithful to the people and the advanced exemplary workers from the list of candidates, while their sworn follows, the backbone elements of their faction, and the "smashers and grabbers" were pulled into the people's congresses at various levels and placed in charge of various state power organs. The final list of candidates was worked out by them only for the masses to endorse. Democratic election was turned into a means of fooling the people and defiling public opinion. The fundamental principle and spirit behind the election methods were thus scattered to the winds. The new election laws are based on the requirements for developing socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system as put forward by the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. In these new laws, we have inherited and carried forward the democratic spirit of the 1953 election methods, discarded the weak links which had been taken advantage of by the "gang of four," and added some new contents based on the developments and changes of the objective conditions in the previous 26 years. The new stipulations are mainly as follows:

(1) The direct election of deputies to the people's congresses is extended to the county level. This is an important change in the election system and an important measure for enlarging people's democracy.

(2) The system of nominating as many candidates as the number of deputies to be elected is replaced by that of nominating more candidates. In other words, the number of candidates should be greater than that of deputies to be elected. The number of candidates for the directly elected deputies should exceed that of the deputies to be elected by 50 to 100 percent. By this means, the voters can choose the best ones after careful comparisons and freely exercise their right to vote, and the defects of nominating as many candidates as the number of deputies to be elected, and of preparing the list of candidates at the higher levels to be endorsed at the lower levels, can be avoided. It will also prevent undesirable elements from worming their way into the state apparatus.

(3) The procedure of nominating candidates for deputies is improved. In addition to those jointly or separately nominated by the CCP, the various democratic parties, people's organizations and so forth, it is further stipulated that any voter or deputy (when seconded by no less than three others) can nominate his candidate. If, after repeated discussions and democratic consultations from the bottom up and from the top down several times, the number of candidates turns out to be excessive, then a preliminary vote is taken by secret ballot, and the list of official candidates will be decided by the majority of voters. The list of official candidates should be publicized 5 days prior to the election day so as to give the voters sufficient time to consider their final choice. Practice has proved that the key to an efficient nomination of candidates lies in a firm belief in the masses and a respect for the voters' democratic rights. The practice of taking things out of the voters' hands must be opposed.

(4) The division of electoral districts is based on a combination of the production units, establishments and work units on the one hand and the location of the voters' residence on the other. In the division of electorial districts, the stipulations of the new election laws are different from those of 1953 when the method of division was purely based on the location of the voters' residence. This new method is more convenient

for the voters' participation in election activities and the organizational work for election; more convenient for the voters to know more about the deputies and for the deputies to maintain their contacts with the voters; and more convenient for the voters to exercise their right in supervising and recalling the deputies.

(5) The method of secret ballot is now exclusively used. This will eliminate the defects of voting by a show of hands. At the same time, it is stipulated that "the illiterates and those who are sick or disabled, and therefore cannot write, are allowed to ask others to write for them."

(6) The new election laws stipulate the number of ballots required for a deputy to be elected. According to the election laws of 1953, a candidate would be elected provided he won just a simple majority of ballots cast. The new election laws stipulate that the candidate to be elected must win ballots exceeding one half the total number of electorate. This method insures a broader representation by the deputy.

(7) The voting rights of the minority nationalistes are more effectively protected. A supplement to the laws stipulates that all minority nationalities' own languages is permitted.

(8) There is a special chapter dealing with the right of supervision over the deputies and their recalls, as well as the legal procedure for their recall. Our former election laws also included some articles concerning the right to recall the deputies, but the legal procedure for such recall was not clearly spelled out, and therefore could not be easily followed. The new election laws specifically stipulate the legal procedures for people to exercise their right of recalling their deputies, and thus guarantee the right of supervision to be exercised by the people.

III. The Profound Significance in Implementing the New Election Laws

In his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: "We shall continue to improve and consolidate our socialist state system and the political system of democratic centralism, so that no minority will ever be able, by any means, to impose their will on the majority, but will have to obey the majority and submit to their interests and will." The new election laws were made precisely to "improve and consolidate our socialist state system and the political system of democratic centralism. They are the legislation for "improving and consolidating" They are the legislation for "improving and consolidating" this basic system; the laws for plugging the loopholes whereby the small number of conspirators can plot counter-revolutionary restoration; and the laws for safeguarding the people's democratic right in managing state affairs and placing the state apparatus, the people's government at various levels, and the state cadres under the people's supervision.

Adoption of the new election laws and the setting up of a democratic election system will enable the state apparatus at various levels (the people's congresses and their standing committees) and the administrative organs (the people's government) to truly practice democratic centralism. They will be formed through democratic election, be responsible to the people and be under the people's supervision. There should be regular re-elections so that the power in the hands of those who are incompetent and unsatisfactory to the people can be taken away from them and transferred to the newly emerging advanced elements. In this way, the leading bodies of the state apparatus at various levels will constantly preserve their vitality; serve as powerful militant command posts to lead millions upon millions of people, united as one, in striving for the four modernizations; and continually advance the cause of socialist revolution and construction. This is an important event in our people's political life as well as a mandatory task for our party and our state.

IV. The Importance of Direct Election at the County or Autonomous County Level

The new election laws extend the scope of direct election by voters from the people's communes, towns, municipal districts and municipalities not divided into districts, to the counties and atuonomous counties, is an important measure for expanding the people's democracy as well as an important change in our election system. Direct and indirect elections are two different forms for the people to exercise their democratic rights. Both forms have been used during the building of our proletarian political power. Our election laws of 1953 stipulated indirect election at and above the county level. In 1957, Premier Zhou pointed out that the systems of direct election at and above the county level was a fairly good form of democracy and was suitable for the conditions in our country at that time. But he did not rule out the gradual extention of direct election to the county and higher levels when conditions are ripe for so doing. At present, important changes have taken place in our political, economic, cultural and other fields; the people's political consciousness and cultural level have been raised; and the material conditions including the conditions of communications have been greatly improved. At the same time, after 30 years' tests and comparisons, the broad masses in the counties have generally gained a better understanding of the state apparatus and the state personnel. The timely extention of direct election to the county level is not only practical but also necessary.

Political power at the county level occupies a very important position among various levels. Its position is in between the province on the one hand and the people's communes and towns on the other, and serves as a link between the higher and lower levels as well as a key to the implementation of party policies and state directives and the improvement of agricultural production in the countryside. Direct election at the county level is an important measure for strengthening the county political power through a democratic system and by giving a broader scope to its leading role.

Direct election of the county deputies by the people and the election of the standing committee and the people's county government by the county deputies will place the county political power completely under the supervision of the broad masses of people. Since such a form of county leading body is elected by the people, it can count on the confidence and support of the broad masses, and will be in a position to arouse mass enthusiasm in the implementation of party and state lines, principles and policies throughout the county and in the successful fulfillment of various socialist undertakings in construction in the county. The strengthening of the county political power will lay a solid foundation for the political power at not only the provincial, but also at the national level in addition to setting a good example for the people's commune and towns in political power building.

In his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng called on people throughout the country to "firmly uphold the guiding ideology of taking agriculture as the foundation and concentrate all forces on promoting agriculture." This is a major issue for people throughout the country, and the central task for the state power with a close bearing on the immediate interests of all peasants. The county political power is the command post directly responsible for the fulfillment of this task. The purpose of direct election at the county level is precisely to strengthen and to give full scope to the leading role of the county political power in developing agriculture. Through the establishment and improvement of the direct election system at the county level, we will be able to effectively handle the job of political power building in more than 2,000 counties throughout the country and further implement the various economic policies in the countryside. This will greatly arouse the socialist activism and creativity of the 800 million peasants and speed up agricultural modernization, and then the development of the entire national economy and the four modernization.

V. Emancipation of the Mind Is the Key to Smooth Election Work

In December 1979, the Ministry of Civil Affairs held a meeting for the exchange of experiences in direct election at the county level throughout the country. A preliminary review of the experiences of the experimental counties was carried out as a preparation for election work throughout the country. The initial impression gained from these experiments indicated that the key to the smooth proceeding of election work lies in the emancipation of minds and a serious approach to the problem of ideology and understanding among the cadres.

Our country has been under feudal rule for a long time and lacks a democratic foundation. Before the liberation, the working people had hardly any democratic right to speak of. Despite the fairly through political and economic revolution against feudalism after the liberation, ideas of autocracy, patriarchal behavior, seeking privilege and so forth still exist among some cadres. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in particular wantly distorted Marxist-Leninist theories on democratic election, and confused democratic election of the proletariat with that of the bourgeoisie. They called democracy a purely bourgeois trait and created many perplexing ideas. For example, anyone talking about democracy was accused by the "gang of four" of propagating bourgeois democracy and working for "capitalist restoration." He might even be attacked for "competing with the party for democracy" on behalf of the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists. Such pernicious influence is still fettering some of our cadres' minds, with the result that they are always hestitant, over-cautious, and afraid of getting into trouble. The most deceptive means used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was that, in the name of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, they only stressed democracy as a "means" but never mentioned that dictatorship too was a "means" instead of an "end." They deliberately created this confusion in order to mislead the people into believing that "dictatorship alone is important and democracy does not count," and so forth.

The masses are the makers of history and the masters of the state, while our cadres and the people's public servant and their attendants. This is the basic tenet of historical materialism. When we speak of democracy, democratic system and the election laws, we are guided by these basic viewpoints which our cadres too must always bear in mind. The idea and work style of distrusting the masses and not daring to develop democracy are basically contrary to this viewpoint. For example, some county leading cadres, whose minds have not been emancipated, still think that "democracy is a means and centralism is an end." Thus in directing an election, they stressed centralism and followed the old pattern by setting up rules to limit the number of candidates. In the stage of nomination of candidates from the leadership before the electoral district had time to discuss about the nomination. Sometimes, when certain electoral districts nominated more candidates than were necessary (and this is quite natural), the leading cadres would impatiently cross out the names at will on the ground that "the masses nominate candidates, but the leadership makes the decision." If effect, this is a typical example of "the list of candidates being put up by the authorities for voters to endorse," which turns election into a mere formality and leads to mass dissatisfaction.

Some county leading cadres still complain that "there is only democracy but no centralism" in the new election laws. This is an incorrect view and the outcome of a fettered mind. In directing election work, these comrades are still sticking to the old pattern. For example, in the division of electoral districts, they insist on division by areas; in registering voters, they insist on using the voters' permanent address; and in the nomination of candidates, they insist on using the "from the top down" method. After all, they distrust the masses, dare not uphold democracy, and are afraid that the masses do not elect their favorites.

Election is a type of work involving all the people. Experiences in the experimental counties have proved that provided the cadres have gained a better understanding of the work, adopted a correct attitude, formed the concept of democracy and legal system, and mastered the spirit, principles, methods and requirements of the election laws, it will be possible to launch an extensive and intensive propaganda campaign among the masses, and the people will be able to dispel whatever misconception they may have about election. In the process of election by the masses, we must encourage them to gradually deepen their understand of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, to have a keener sense of responsibility as masters of the state, to learn the correct way to exercise their rights of election and recall as a means of supervising the state apparatus and the work of the cadres and to actively participate in the management of state affairs. They will then be able to make the people's congresses a success, perfect the system of these congresses and give full play to their role on stability and unity and the acceleration of the four modernizations. The election work will help produce fine results for the four modennizations.

9411
CSO: 4005

KANG SHENG'S RELATIONSHIP WITH MAO ZEDONG REVIEWED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 34, 1 Aug 80 pp 42-47

[Article by Du Feng [2629 3536]: "Kang Sheng and Mao Zedong"]

[Text] Looking back at the political life of Mao Zedong and Kang Sheng, we can discover an interesting law: whenever Mao Zedong insisted on a correct direction and made contribution to the Chinese revolution, Kang Sheng was usually not around; but when Mao Zedong made mistakes and caused losses to the Chinese revolution, Kang Sheng was always there participating, and also cooperating actively with him.

Background as Member of Mao Zedong's Opposition Faction

During the period of the second revolutionary civil war (1927-1937), Mao Zedong opposed the erroneous leftist line on three occasions. The most powerful and most damaging [of these lines] to the Chinese revolution was the third left opportunist line of the "Internationalist Faction" represented by Wang Ming. Their error made the Red Army lose its southern base and hence forced it to undertake the Long March in a shift to the north. When it reached northern Shaanxi, the Red Army had only 30,000 men left; the losses were excruciating. Relying on its close relations with the Soviet Union and the Communist International, the "Internationalist Faction" was very cocky in its conduct, and Mao Zedong was thus at a special disadvantage in the face of their exclusion and attack.

When Mao Zedong suffered through this period of exclusion and attack because he insisted on the correct line, Kang Sheng, however, was an active supporter of the "Internationalist Faction."

Very few of the Chinese communist leading cadres who prospered during the Cultural Revolution had a background as members of Mao Zedong's opposition faction. Only Kang Sheng was an exception.

In 1931, Kang Sheng was sent to Moscow to study organizational and intelligence work. Among the many leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, Wang Ming enjoyed the greatest support and respect of the Soviet Communist

Party and the Communist International; Moscow was thus Wang Ming's world. After Kang Sheng arrived in Moscow, he immediately became intimately involved with the "Internationalist Faction."

A great meritorious task that Kang Sheng performed in Moscow on behalf of Wang Ming was to help him launch sectarian attacks. As one specifically selected to go to the Soviet Union to study "organizational work and intelligence work," Kang Sheng was naturally endowed with the talent of dealing with people through intelligence agents. After he had been in Moscow for only 1 year, he had already helped overthrow Chen Yu [7115 6735] (who at one time served as chairman of Guangdong Province prior to the Cultural Revolution), who did not listen to Wang Ming. The latter was suspended from party membership and given the penalty of hard labor at a factory in Stalingrad. Subsequently, when Stalin resorted to an expansion of his suppression of counterrevolutionaries, Kang Sheng once more murdered many Chinese Communist Party members studying in the Soviet Union on the pretext of opposing Trotskyites.

On the matter of Kang Sheng's active support of Wang Ming while in the Soviet Union, there is some mention in a writing left behind by Wang Jiaxiang: "Before they returned to China, Wang Ming and Kang Sheng met with Comrade Stalin...and Comrade Dimitrov was also present. Comrade Stalin asked me about our party's situation and also asked how many men our Red Army still had left. I replied that when we reached northern Shaanxi, we had only about 30,000 left. Wang Ming immediately interjected: there were still 300,000 men. Kang Sheng supported Wang Ming.... At this time Wang Ming again harbored evil intentions. Taking advantage of this opportunity of meeting with Comrade Stalin, he resorted to personal vengeance by alleging that Zhou Dawen [0719 6671 2429] and Yu Xiusong [0205 4423 2646] were bad characters, and he also reproached the Marxist-Leninist Institute's Kazanova before Comrade Stalin for having attempted to protect the two. Earlier, Wang Ming had been troubled by having no opportunity to pull down Zhou and Yu. Soon after this, Zhou and Yu were arrested, and Kazanova was also dismissed from his post." This passage of seemingly insignificant writing not only illustrates the relationship between Kang Sheng and Wang Ming, but also describes their special characteristic of being good at taking opportunities to attack those with inclinations different from theirs.

Kang Sheng closely followed Wang Ming on the one hand and also did his best to fawn over Stalin. Hence, he not only gained Wang Ming's favor but also became important in the eyes of Stalin and others. As a result, Kang Sheng began to serve as the Chinese Communist Party's representative to the Communist International and was also elected candidate member of the latter's executive council.

The Wedding of Mao and Jiang, and a Turning Point

In 1937, the anti-Japanese war broke out in full force, and Kang Sheng and Wang Ming returned to China together from the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at this time had become already greatly different from what it had been 6 years earlier, when Kang Sheng first went to the Soviet Union.

After the Zunyi Conference of 1935, Mao Zedong had gained the leadership over the whole party, while the influence of Wang Ming's faction had already been greatly weakened. In the face of such a change of the power alinement inside the party, what choice should Kang Sheng make after following Wang Ming for 6 years?

At precisely this juncture, Kang Sheng met Jiang Qing again. In the spring of 1938, Jiang Qing came to Yanan from Xian. Both Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing are natives of Shandong. Kang Sheng's original name was Zhang Shaoqing [1728 4801 0615]; he was born in 1903 to a landlord family of long-standing wealth and influence in Jiaonan County, Shandong. At 17 he went to Shanghai to study, entering the Chinese Communist Party's Youth Corps while at the middle school attached to Shanghai University. When he later attended Shanghai University itself, he was formally transferred to membership in the Chinese Communist Party. He always engaged in underground work, participating in Shanghai workers' uprisings three times in 1927. Jiang Qing is a native of Zhucheng County, Shandong; her family situation was relatively humble. Her original name was Li Yunho [2621 7189 7729]. She joined the Shandong Provincial Experimental Theater to learn Beijing Opera when she was only 14; once she actually participated in performances in Beijing. In 1933, she went to Shanghai to seek her fortune; she changed her name to Lan Ping [5663 5689] and entered the movie circles. In the spring of 1938, she came to Yanan.

When Mao Zedong decided to marry Jiang Qing, he met opposition from many high-ranking Chinese communist cadres. This was because Jiang Qing's background was not very clear, and when she was in the movie circles of Shanghai her political relationships were also rather complicated. Also, in October 1934 she was arrested by an intelligence organ of the Kuomintang and got out of jail only through her confession and a reversal of her stand. Among Yanan's high-ranking cadres, Kang Sheng was the one who most actively tried to see this proposed marriage through. He volunteered to become Jiang Qing's go-between and provided a guarantee for Jiang Qing, so that Mao Zedong could marry without a hitch. For Kang Sheng's service in this regard, both Mao Zedong and Jiang Qing were very grateful.

From then on, Kang and Jiang Qing began to maintain a special kind of relationship. During the Cultural Revolution, all those who had opposed Mao Zedong suffered their fate, but Kang Sheng, whose early background was as a member of Mao Zedong's opposition faction, somehow became alone a red hot personality turning almost purple. This special kind of relationship played a role, indeed.

First Time Cooperation--Rectification in Yanan

Since Kang Sheng had rendered a service to the marriage of Mao Zedong and Jiang Qing, not long thereafter Mao Zedong began his political cooperation with Kang Sheng for the first time: this was the rectification movement in Yanan.

There are several relevant articles on this rectification movement in Volume 3 of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong." From these articles, it appears this movement was to rectify ideology and working style. But in reality, this was far from being the case. At that time, this rectification movement was turned into a cruel movement whose purpose was to try the cadres and persecute the people. From a certain sense, this was a mixed movement, between a cultural revolution and Stalin's suppression of counterrevolutionaries and party purges, while Kang Sheng was the specific person responsible.

Kang Sheng's duty in Yanan was still his old trade--organizational and intelligence work. He served in succession as minister of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Cadres Department, minister of the Social Affairs Department, minister of the Intelligence Department, president of the Party School, chairman of the Workers Movement Commission, deputy secretary of the Organizational Commission, chairman of the Enemy Area Work Committee, secretary of the Central Secretariat, etc.

Rectification of working style and trial of cadres were precisely a combination of organizational and intelligence work. Kang served as vice chairman of the Central Study Committee at the time, and hence he was in charge of many specific tasks during the rectification movement.

The Cruel "Rush-Save Movement"

In 1943, Kang Sheng developed the rectification movement into a "Rush-Save Movement." He wrote an article entitled "Rush-Save the 'Fallen.'" The so-called "fallen" people were none other than those who had joined the intelligence organizations. But he treated as "fallen" people all those who had come to the liberated areas from Japanese-occupied areas and Kuomintang-ruled areas, and he wanted to "rush-save"--i.e., rectify, all of them.

On 15 August 1943 the Chinese Communist Party, under Kang Sheng's active planning, passed a "Decision" on the trial of cadres. The very beginning sentence of this "Decision" was: "There being so many intelligence agents is not strange." And then there immediately followed: "Therefore, there being so many intelligence agents is a worldwide question of mass character." This approach of expanding the target area of attack was really very much the same as that of picking out rebels, intelligence agents, and capitalist-roaders at random during the Cultural Revolution, or of Stalin's expansion of his suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

The "Rush-Save Movement" at the time also adopted the form of a mass movement. Since there were too many intelligence agents picked out, it would not do to simply rely on trials and dispositions by the dictatorial organs alone. All units were therefore given the power to try and dispose of relevant cases. The aforesaid "Decision" prescribed: "Of those persons under question, the ones charged to ordinary organs for disposal--that is to say, to various party, government, army, civilian, and school organs--make up about 80 percent; the ones sent to deliberative organs, such as the Northwest Public School and the Public Administration Institute, for disposal make up about 10 percent; the ones sent to defense organs, such as the Social Affairs Department, the Security Department, and the Bureau of Military Law, for disposal constitute about 10 percent.... In the case of intelligence agents and suspects sent to ordinary organs and deliberative organs, most of them will remain as usual at their original stations of study and work. Only for the protection of secrets and prevention of suicide are certain persons transferred to other work or placed under observation. Various organs and schools will all tightly organize their own self-defense units to enforce curfews at fixed periods. With the exception of reliable personnel carrying authorized passes who are free to come and go, all persons under question are temporarily deprived of their individual freedom to come and go and are allowed to follow only the collective activity of the whole body." It seems that practices customarily adopted during various postliberation political movements (especially the Cultural Revolution), such as prescription of a percentage of persons to be picked out, the exercise of mass dictatorship, were all first invented by the "Rush-Save Movement," whereas those deliberative organs--the Northwest Public School, etc.--were actually the prototypes of the "cowshed study class" of the Cultural Revolution period.

Kang Sheng's senior disciple Wu De [0702 1795] was put in the charge of the Northwest Public School at the time. This school was really a concentration camp in disguise. All those locked up in this place were organized into classes and groups, and then everybody took turns taking care of his problems. During the process of trial, cruel corporal punishment and personal abuse were frequently administered in forms such as having people kneel down, having tall hats attached to them, having them lie prostrate like a turtle, etc., or even having them hung up and beaten viciously. In order to exhibit his own enthusiasm, Kang Sheng often personally administered the vicious beating of cadres under trial.

To follow an ultraleft line during the rectification of working style and trial of cadres was the first error committed by Mao Zedong after achieving the authority of leadership over the whole party. This error was inseparable from Kang Sheng.

The ultraleft practice adopted during the trial of cadres was resented by, and met the opposition of, many Chinese communist leaders. Under Zhou Enlai's later sponsorship, the Chinese Communist Party Central promulgated "nine principles" for the trial of cadres; only then was the calamity of such "cruel struggle and relentless attack" prevented.

Period of Dissatisfaction

The period from 1947 to 1956 was most dissatisfactory to Kang Sheng. But this happened to be precisely China's thriving "golden era" and also a period in which Mao Zedong led the Chinese Communist Party to the achievement of greatest successes.

Because of the ultraleft line promoted by Kang Sheng, and especially the adventurism he practiced in his white area work in 1947, Chinese communist intelligence work organizations in the white areas were subject to great destruction. Hence he was criticized within the party and left central office. He was later sent to work in Shandong.

During those days when he was exiled to Shandong, Kang Sheng mainly engaged himself in the activity of forming his clique and striking up a working relationship with other people's factions. Among the personalities who came to the fore in demonstrative roles during the Cultural Revolution, not a few were those drawn into the pale by Kang Sheng himself. Relevant examples were Guan Feng [7070 6912] of the department of philosophy and social sciences, Li Guangwen [2621 1684 2429] of the senior party school, Zhou Jingfang [2719 2529 5364] of Beijing's new municipal party committee, Wang Xiaoyu [3769 2400 4416] of Shandong, etc.

In 1955, the Chinese Communist Party came up with the "Gao-Rao Incident." Good at climbing the social ladder by crushing others, Kang Sheng immediately seized upon this opportunity. In March of that year, the Chinese Communist Party convened a National Congress in Beijing to discuss this question of the "Gao-Rao clique." Kang Sheng participated in this congress, and his statements were more dramatic than those of the others. Since he had learned not a few profound Marxist-Leninist theories in Moscow in the earlier years, he now utilized those theories to dress up and decorate his statements and make them look very "profound" indeed and different from those of the others.

Kang Sheng's performance earned Mao Zedong's appreciation and trust; he was transferred from Shandong to the central office to serve as secretary of the Central Secretariat.

But the good times turned out to be ephemeral, because at the Chinese Communist Party Central at the time, the influence of Mao Zedong to make decisions singlehandedly was far from predominant. Other people's opinions still had certain strength, and Kang Sheng's conduct and ultra-left rhetoric alienated other people. Hence, at the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, convened in September 1956, Kang Sheng was not only not promoted but even demoted from a member to a candidate member in the Political Bureau.

Cooperation Again, and Rise Again

At the end of the 1950's, contradictions between China and the Soviet Union deepened further and further and ultimately developed into "anti-revisionist polemics." During the course of these polemic exchanges, Mao Zedong and Kang Sheng cooperated with each other more.

Following the failure of the Great Leap Forward in 1958, Mao Zedong retreated to the second line to mainly attend to theoretical work. Mao Zedong had never had very good feelings toward the Soviet Union: before liberation he was subject to the exclusion of the "Internationalist Faction" supported by the Soviet Union, and after liberation he again became subject to browbeating by Soviet chauvinism. A series of slogans and measures like "opposition to personal superstition," etc., proposed by the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party ran even more counter to his ideology, which was colored by feudalism. Hence he was determined to oppose the Soviet Union and determined to unfold a great anti-revisionist debate.

Although Kang Sheng was on the side of the Internationalist Faction during the 1930's, times were now very different. Good at standing on his chances, Kang Sheng would naturally know how to observe the direction of the wind and make new decisions accordingly. A graduate of Shanghai University and a returnee from Moscow, Kang Sheng also had assets of his own in theory, and now was just the time for him to make use of them. Thus he became a principal character in the antirevisionist debate.

In 1960, Kang Sheng went to Romania to attend the Bucharest meeting, at which he made statements vehemently scolding Khrushchev; this performance earned him instant recognition, and he thus became known as an "antirevisionist warrior."

From then on, many of the antirevisionist articles published by the Chinese Communist Party were planned or drafted by Kang Sheng. Mao Zedong thought very well of him, and his status in the Chinese Communist Party's leading strata became higher and higher. The points made in these antirevisionist articles for the most part later became the theoretical basis of the ultraleft line during the Cultural Revolution, and they played great havoc in China.

Kang Sheng's Slogans Designed To Placate Mao Zedong

The 10th Plenum of the Eighth Party Central Committee, held in 1962, was a very important meeting in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. At that meeting Mao Zedong proposed the famous slogan "Never Forget Class Struggle," which laid the foundation for an expansion of class struggle.

In coordination with this slogan of Mao Zedong's, Kang Sheng suddenly presented the question of the "antiparty novel 'Liu Zhidan'" and started in to work on a sneak attack and struggle against Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 8113] and others. As Xi Zhongxun recalled: "In the summer of 1962, the Central Committee convened a meeting at Beidaihe, while I stayed in Beijing to preside over the National Medium Industrial Cities Forum; Enlai let me finish the session and then go to Beidaihe for a rest. I went there and rested for 2 days and then returned to the capital to participate in the 10th Plenum of the Eighth Party Central Committee. That certain person who looked upon himself as a 'theoretical authority' (meaning Kang Sheng) suddenly launched an attack against me. At the plenum he made use of circumstantial data supplied by still another certain person to frame me, alleging that I had 'connived' with Liu Zhidan's younger brother, Liu Jingfan [0491 2529 5400], and the latter's wife, Li Jiantong [2621 1619 1749], and had given them the hint to fabricate the 'antiparty novel' 'Liu Zhidan' in order to reverse the verdict on Gao Gang [7559 1511]. [Kang Sheng] accused me as 'a person in search of a command,' as some 'big antiparty plotter and great ambitionist.' That 'theoretical authority' also wrote a note to Chairman Mao at the plenum: 'Carrying out antiparty activity by way of a novel is a great invention.' Chairman Mao only read the note at the plenum, but that 'theoretical authority' later attributed his statement to Chairman Mao as being a quotation from Chairman Mao, and spread it far and wide." In this passage of his memoirs, Xi Zhongxun made a very conspicuous point to save Mao Zedong's face. Mao Zedong himself had never read "Liu Zhidan," and he reached his conclusion only on the basis of Kang Sheng's briefing. The fact that that note was collected as a formal quotation from him and spread far and wide was not necessarily unknown to Mao Zedong; we cannot say that it was forcibly attributed to him.

According to Xi Zhongxun, those who became implicated because of the "Liu Zhidan" incident, "those leading cadres of the party, government and army who were persecuted as a result, numbered more than 300, the number of ordinary cadres and masses who were hurt was even greater."

A Great Invention

After the "Liu Zhidan" incident, Kang Sheng was very pleased with his great invention--"making use of literary works to carry out activities aiming at attacking others." He began to engage in even more extensive activities of the kind.

At this time, the liaison dealings between Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing became even more frequent than before. From Jiang Qing, he learned for sure Mao Zedong's intention to develop a struggle in the cultural realm; hence, he immediately prepared for close coordination.

Kang Sheng looked up his old warrior friend Ke Qingshi [2688 1987 2457] (first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee) and proposed the slogan that, in literature, "We Must Write About the 13 Years" (i.e., the 13 years after liberation). This was undertaken in the vain hope of fabricating some criminal designation through the slogan so that it could be imposed upon those writers who failed to write about the 13 years, thereby delivering a blow against them and at the same time raising his own status.

Later, Kang Sheng struck up a partnership with Jiang Qing to work on "modern revolutionary operas." Ordinarily, Kang Sheng was very fond of the old operas. He saw "Li Huiniang" once and later wrote a letter to author Meng Chao [1322 6389] to praise him as "the number one person in the operatic world" of contemporary China. Kang Sheng also wrote a letter to the author of "The Peachflower Fan" to say: "I am a native of Shandong, and I have some special feelings toward Kong Shangren [1313 1424 0117]." In the old days, Kang Sheng often wanted to listen to the old operas, requesting specific titles from the repertoire. For instance, when Zhao Yanxia [6392 3601 0204] once came to wish him Happy New Year, he personally played the Chinese violin and asked Zhao Yanxia to sing the yellowed old opera "18 Random Associations" for him. But at the August 1964 closing ceremony of the joint performance of modern Beijing operas sponsored by Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng suddenly made a furious 180-degree turnabout. He gave a speech and trotted out several of "our own folk," and thereupon criticized by name Tian Han's [3944 3352] "Xie Yaohuan," Yang Hansheng's [7122 5060 3932] "The Death of Li Xiucheng," Meng Chao's "Li Huiniang," etc. This blatantly antagonistic speech made Kang Sheng a red-hot leftist promoting "literary revolution."

At the time, one criticism movement after another was aroused in the realms of the upper structures such as philosophy, history, literature, drama, movies, etc. These criticisms were actively planned by persons like Mao Zedong, Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing; they were also the harbingers and preparations for the Cultural Revolution.

Three Bases

At the same time, Kang Sheng also carried out certain activities in the areas of personnel and organization. On the one hand, he accompanied Jiang Qing to Shanghai many times and, through Ke Qingshi, made his connections with Shanghai's "leftists" Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and others. On the other hand, he also set up three bases in Beijing, namely: the Philosophical Institute of the Study Department, the Department of Philosophy of Beijing University, and the Central Party School.

At the Philosophical Institute of the Study Department, Kang Sheng gained control through Guan Feng over Lin Lushi [2651 5124 2514], Wu Fuqi [0702 0265 0796], Zhou Jingfang, and others. Later, Qi Benyu [2058 2609 4416] also joined this clique.

At the Department of Philosophy of Beijing University, Nie Yuanzi [5119 0337 2737] was his "groom."

At the Central Party School, he fostered the influence of Li Guangwen [2621 1684 2429], Zhao Jibin [6392 4767 1755], and others.

Thus in control of these three "theoretical battlefields," Kang Sheng's ability to manipulate theory and public opinion was greatly enhanced. During the Cultural Revolution, the troops at these three bases became the handy auxiliaries of Kang Sheng and the "Central Cultural Revolution Group."

The Trap of the "February Proposal"

After such careful, tightly arranged preparations of public opinion, by the time the Shanghai WEN HUI BAO published Yao Wenyuan's "A Critique of of the New Historical Drama 'The Dismissal of Hairui'" the fuse of the Cultural Revolution was already lit.

As to how Mao Zedong was going to work on the Cultural Revolution, Kang Sheng already had some specific ideas in mind. At the time the Cultural Revolution leading group was the "Five-Man Group" headed by Peng Zhen. Although Kang Sheng was also one of the five members, he knew that this group was not entirely in accord with Mao Zedong's plans. Hence, he accordingly sprang a trap, and this trap was none other than the "February Proposal."

At that time, Peng Zhen and others held a different view from that of Mao Zedong on the series of criticisms and struggles that were taking place in the cultural realm. They did not agree to registering academic struggles as political struggles without limitation, and they did not agree to infinitely expanding the struggles in the cultural realm. Hence, in the "February Proposal" Peng Zhen suggested: "Everybody is equal before the truth." He also demanded that criticisms be limited to the realm of "academic discussion."

When Peng Zhen first wrote his "February Proposal," Kang Sheng was not necessarily unaware of it. But he breathed not a word and purposely let Peng Zhen go ahead with the writing and let him make the mistake of falling into the trap. After Peng Zhen had finished writing the "February Proposal," Kang Sheng immediately reported it to Mao Zedong in secret, alleging that Peng Zhen had drafted it behind [Mao's] back, and vehemently claiming that by turning "political struggles" into "academic struggles" the "February Proposal" was meant to protect Wu Han and others. Consequently, the "Five-Man Group" was dissolved, and the "Central Cultural Revolution Group," headed by Chen Boda and Jiang Qing, came into being. The four other persons of the "Five-Man Group" all suffered their fate, and Kang Sheng alone became a consultant to the "Central Cultural Revolution Group."

Jointly Drafting the "16 May Circular"

While the "February Proposal" was being criticized, Mao Zedong and Kang Sheng formulated the "16 May Circular" at the Hangzhou meeting. At the very beginning this circular declared the party Central Committee's decision: Dismiss the "February Proposal"; dismiss the "Five-Man Cultural Revolution Group"; establish a new Cultural Revolution group; and criticize Peng Zhen by name. This circular also called on everybody to "hold high the banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary stand of those antiparty and antisocialist so-called 'academic authorities,'" and expose those "bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army and various cultural realms." "Some of these people have already been spotted by us, but some have not yet been spotted; some are being trusted by us and trained to become our successors; they are people like Khrushchev; they are sleeping beside us today; party committees at various levels must pay full attention to this point." This circular was issued to county party committees, party committees of cultural organs, and army party committees at the regimental level. These bodies were asked to discuss and study it in contrast to Peng Zhen's "February Proposal."

Gathering Data on Coup for Lin Biao

Two days after the issuing of the "16 May Circular," Lin Biao gave a famous speech at an expanded session of the Central Political Bureau in which he extensively discussed "the history of court coups" of the past and modern times, of China and foreign countries, pointing out that China today must guard against the outbreak of revolutionary coups. He also explained that liquidating Peng Zhen, Lu Dingyi, Lo Ruiqing, and Yang Shangkun meant preventing coups. This speech by Lin Biao was drafted with the help of Kang Sheng, and those stories on court coups were all gathered and supplied by Kang Sheng.

After the issuance of the "16 May Circular," Kang Sheng further proceeded to plan the appearance of "the country's very first big-character poster."

On 18 May, Kang Sheng sent his wife Cao Yiou [2580 6522 2962] to Beijing University to carry out liaison work with Nie Yuanzi and let her write a big-character poster opening fire on the Beijing University Party Committee and the Beijing Municipal Party Committee. On 25 May, Nie Yuanzi's famous "Marxist-Leninist big-character poster" was posted. In the beginning, nobody responded to her at Beijing University, and no small number of persons even indicated their opposition. On 1 June, following the arrangements of Mao Zedong and Kang Sheng and others, RENMIN RIBAO published this poster, added a commentator's article, and also issued an editorial. Thereafter, the decision on the reorganization of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee was promulgated. Only then was the red-hot Cultural Revolution finally aroused.

Intimate Cooperation: the Peak Period

The Cultural Revolution period was the peak period in Kang Sheng's political life. At the Eighth Congress, before the Cultural Revolution, Kang Sheng had been demoted to candidate membership in the Political Bureau. At the Ninth Congress, convened during the Cultural Revolution, he jumped two grades to become a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau (at the time there were only five members on the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau: Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, and Kang Sheng). By the 10th Congress, he jumped further to become a vice chairman of the party Central Committee. This was also the period when Kang Sheng was most intimately associated with Mao Zedong.

As soon as the Cultural Revolution got started, Kang Sheng, through the lieutenants he had earlier placed at the three bases, gained control over many Red Guard rebel groups. These rebel groups became powerful instruments for them to deliver blows against political enemies. At that time, members of the Central Cultural Revolution Group were active everywhere; they received the Red Guards, and they gave various seditious speeches. At Beijing University, Kang Sheng wrote a note in support of the "18 June" incident in which people were beaten; at Qinghua University he again supported Kuai Dafu [5566 1129 1381] to seize Bo Yibo and not let him go. After Mao Zedong wrote "Bombard the Headquarters--My First Big-Character Poster" and received the Red Guards on "18 August," the Red Guard rebel movement became even more cocky. The "five great student leaders" (Nie Yuanzi, Kuai Dafu, Tan Houlan [6223 0624 5695], Han Aijing [7281 1947 2533], and Wang Dabin [3769 1129 6333]) trained by Kang Sheng and others became the core leaders of the Red Guards. The Central Cultural Revolution Group regularly gave them various hints and directives and let them pick out this one or struggle against that one.

The "two newspapers and one journal" under the control of Kang Sheng and others now controlled public opinion and propaganda throughout the country. The magazine HONGQI issued editorials in rapid succession instigating the rebel movement throughout the country. Countless organs became paralyzed; countless cadres were picked out for struggle; and the whole country was in chaos.

By February 1967, a few old generals and vice premiers subject to the impact could bear it no longer; they carried out a small rebellion at Zhongnanhai, namely the so-called "February adverse current." At a discussion session they convened at Huairen Hall, the old generals took great exception to "messing up the whole country," "messing up the whole army" and "struggling against old cadres at random." They made many suggestions. Chen Yi also mentioned rectification in the Yanan area, saying: "When rectification was going on in Yanan, many old cadres were rectified; the Rush-Save Movement also mistakenly wronged many people. We were also subjected to attacks. Was not the premier himself subjected to attacks? We must remember this lesson." Chen Yi's words stabbed at Kang Sheng's sore spot, but he showed no emotion at the time.

After the conclusion of the rap session, Kang Sheng immediately instigated Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Li to go to Mao Zedong to make a complaint. The question of the rectification in Yanan touched his deep-seated hatred, so he wanted to arouse Mao Zedong's ire on the pretext of this question, too. Exactly as he had expected, Mao Zedong listened to the briefing quietly at first, but he abruptly became angry when he heard that Chen Yi had mentioned the rectification in Yanan, exclaiming with heated breath: "What? Was the rectification in Yanan wrong? Does he want to reverse the verdict? Does he want to invite Wang Ming back?" From Mao Zedong's anger, the Cultural Revolution faction gained support, whereas those old generals and vice premiers were condemned as lieutenants of the "February adverse current."

People Who Died at the Hands of Kang Sheng

During the Cultural Revolution, Kang Sheng, as consultant to the "Central Cultural Revolution Group," served as head of the Central Organization and Propaganda Group and singlehandedly wielded great authority over organizational work, cadres' work, the party Central Committee's external liaison work, propaganda work, and Central Party School work. This was truly the peak period of Kang Sheng's power.

Next, he wielded the power to try cadres; this again gave him an opportunity to attack others. He kept a little notebook in which he registered black notations of all sorts against others; with these materials he could at any time attack those whom he deemed unsatisfactory. During the Cultural Revolution, countless high-ranking cadres were persecuted by him. Liu Shaoqi's case was also handled by him.

In order to attach a renegade's hat to Liu Shaoqi, Kang Sheng had several times forced or induced An Ziwen, former minister of the Chinese Communist Party's Organization Department, to write out false testimony. In April 1967, when An Ziwen was overthrown and put under house arrest, he sent two persons to An Ziwen to talk to him, saying: "If you can write up something about Liu Shaoqi's being a great renegade, you can immediately go to Diaoyutai to talk with the central leader. The car is waiting for you at your door." An Ziwen asked: "Is this central leader Kang Sheng?" The two nodded their heads in agreement. An Ziwen took this rather resentfully, saying: "I have worked in the Central Organization Department for 21 years, but I have never heard that Liu

Shaoqi was a great renegade, nor have I seen any material indicating that Liu Shaoqi exhibited any reneging conduct. I have been to Diaoyutai; I have also ridden in a Red Flag car; but I do not wish to go at this time. Nor do I wish to see Kang Sheng." At the beginning of 1968, when An Ziwen was formally arrested and put in prison, Kang Sheng sent someone to look him up and say to him: "By proving Liu Shaoqi to be a great renegade, you can render a great service, and this will also be of great benefit to yourself. You know very well what kind of place this is. You can come, and you can also go. Can it be that you are unwilling to be reunited with your wife and children?" An Ziwen said: "Not only do I wish to be reunited with my dear ones, but I wish even more to work for the party. But what I do not know I cannot relate at random." The man then pointed out: "If you don't know, I can tell you." An Ziwen smiled with contempt, saying: "I know nothing; since you already know everything, you can go ahead and write it yourself. I cannot write." On the eve of the convening of the Ninth Congress, in 1969, Kang Sheng for the third time sent someone to the prison to look up An Ziwen. The man said: "Let me tell you some good news. The Ninth Congress is soon to open. If you can prove Liu Shaoqi to be a great renegade, you will never be ill-treated. Naturally, it is impossible for you to continue to serve as minister of the Central Organization Department, but it is still possible to remain a member of the Central Committee." An Ziwen said: "I really do not understand. If I did, I would have reported this to the party Central Committee and to Chairman Mao when I was working in the Central Organization Department. Please ask me no more about this matter from now on." The man again said: "Please consider it again; this is your last chance." An Ziwen replied: "Skip it. I don't know!"

Although Kang Sheng and his ilk were unable to obtain any proof from An Ziwen as to Liu Shaoqi's being a renegade, they did still make use of various false proofs to denounce Liu Shaoqi as a "renegade, traitor, and scab." When Liu Shaoqi's crime was being fabricated, Kang Sheng still denounced the 61 persons, such as An Ziwen, Bo Yibo, etc., as the "clique of 61 renegades." To betray Zhou Enlai, Kang Sheng and the others adopted a similar approach. They denounced as renegades a contingent of Chinese communist cadres whom warlord Sheng Shicai [4141 0013 2088] had detained in Xinjiang prisons. Among them, some, such as the third secretary of the Northeast Bureau, Ma Mingfang [7456 2494 2455], were persecuted to death.

The cases of injustice created by Kang Sheng during the Cultural Revolution were indeed even more sophisticated than those of the Rush-Save Movement.

Hard To Escape the Meshes of the Law

Kang Sheng died at just about the right time. It was just slightly more than a half year before Mao Zedong died that he met his timely death. Hence, his cremated ashes were still able to be squeezed into Babaoshan, and even to remain there for a rather long time. Compared to his old friends Chen Boda, Jiang Qing, etc., he was far luckier, indeed.

However, a beautiful scene usually does not last very long. Recently, the Chinese Communist Party has already started criticizing Kang Sheng. At first his name was not mentioned; he was only called "that theoretical authority." Later, however, his name was finally unceremoniously publicized. An exhibit on Kang Sheng's criminal activities was even held in Beijing. The people's resentment against this fellow who gained his fortune by harming others has been extremely great. Because too many have suffered at his hands, the people's hatred toward him has proven far greater than that toward some of the other overthrown persons.

Although Kang Sheng has died, before the impersonal judge of history he will hardly escape the meshes of heavenly law in the end.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

GAINS MADE IN REHABILITATING UNJUST, FRAMED-UP CASES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 80 p 3

[Article: "Strengthen Stability and Unity, Promote Prosperity in All Fields; Guangdong Province Scores Significant Achievements in the Rehabilitation of Unjust, Framed-up, and Misjudged Cases"]

> [Text] Editor's Note: The Guangdong Province Committee has spent over 2 years correcting and rehabilitating unjust, framed-up, and misjudged cases, and followup work has been done very well. Their experience proves that if leadership teams at all levels will firmly and thoroughly carry out the party's policy and dare to expose questions, and if leadership comrades will penetrate the grassroots level to investigate and supervise, personally grasp some class examples, analyze and study, and promptly discover and resolve questions, within a short period of time it will be possible to complete the rehabilitation of unjust, framed-up, and misjudged cases efficiently.
>
> Rehabilitating unjust, framed-up, and misjudged cases and implementing policy are important for the strengthening of stability and unity, the promotion of prosperity in all fields, and the achievement of long-term public order. Party committees at all levels should certainly see this work through well so as to mobilize the initiative of the people better to promote the four modernizations with all their strength.

Reporter Lei Lixing [7191 0500 5887] reports that the large-scale rehabilitation of unjust, framed-up, and misjudged cases, begun by Guangdong Province in 1978, has made significant achievements, and throughout the province a general situation of stability, unity and prosperity in all fields and a very good situation has appeared.

To heal the wounds left by 10 years of disruption and to resolve a series of urgent political and social questions, the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee began a rectification campaign in June 1978 and started working to rehabilitate unjust, framed-up, and misjudged cases and implement various policies on a provincial scale. For 2 years now, the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee has grasped this work firmly, carried out supervision and promotion promptly, and adopted effective measures to make the work proceed step by step. Now the overwhelming majority of unjust, framed-up, and misjudged cases in the province, no matter which first-level organization or which leadership group is involved, have been basically rehabilitated and corrected by seeking truth from facts. Over 600 framed-up cases involving collectives of over 50,000 people have all been corrected. Counterrevolutionary cases judged while Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running rampant have all been réinvestigated, and over 9,000 cases among them which were unjust, framed-up, or misjudged have all been rehabilitated. Of the more than 8,000 unjust, framed-up, or misjudged cases which came about because of "overseas relations," 93 percent have been rehabilitated. During the 10 years of disorder, a large group of cadres in the province were put on record and investigated, incorrect conclusions were drawn with regard to many cadres, and many were punished mistakenly; however, they have now been reinvestigated, the incorrect conclusions have been corrected, and over 7,100 of them who were dismissed from their positions, expelled from the party, or expelled from public office have had their punishment voided or reduced.

The so-called "strategic dispersal" of September 1966 and the "two withdrawals and one insertion" of 1970 (forcing cadres to withdraw from office, to withdraw from employment, and to go and settle in the countryside) forced over 29,000 cadres to withdraw from office and disperse. For the past few years this has been undergoing correction, so that now those who are able to work have been brought back and work has been found for them. Of the more than 4,000 cadres who were mistakenly punished and ordered to resign after the "four clean-ups movement," over 80 percent have already been recalled.

Investigations have been conducted everywhere of the cadres who met unusual deaths because of the fascist dictatorship, the "down with everything," and the "comprehensive civil war" incited by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," with the result that new conclusions have been drawn regarding 99.5 percent of the deceased. Work to rectify the cases of those who were mistakenly termed rightwing elements in the province has already been completed, and many useful, talented people once again have secured employment. Last year, throughout the province, the removal of labels from the four kinds of elements who have reformed was comprehensively completed.

To see to it that policy is implemented well, in May of this year the organization section of the provincial party committee held a conference on implementing cadre policy, in which responsible comrades from local, municipal and provincial organs participated to compare the supervision of policy implementation, to discuss 13 classic cases of failure to implement policy, to mobilize everyone to look for places untouched by the movement, to raise questions, to look for causes, and to demand that everywhere within a month or two--after reexamining cases which are still designated as contradictions between the enemy and us and involve expulsions from public jobs and the party--a very careful attitude be adopted and, one by one a comprehensive examination be carried out again in accord with the demands of the Central Committee.

Now throughout the province they are still stepping up the conclusion of policy implementation. The key point of the work is to reexamine the over 370 cases and over 2,200 persons who, after investigation, were still declared cases of contradictions between the enemy and us and were expelled from public jobs and the party. Each case will be "reconsidered" and reexamined. The Guangdong Provincial Party Committee emphasizes that we should certainly learn the correct handling of contradictions among the people and absolutely not allow confusion of the boundaries between the two kinds of contradictions, and that we should certainly treat correctly those cadres who have made mistakes.

8226
CSO: 4005

IMPORTANCE OF THE PARTY AFTER THE REVOLUTION EXPOUNDED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Dai Xueji [2071 1331 4402]: "On 'the Revolutionary Army Rises; the Revolutionary Party Vanishes'"]

[Text] "The revolutionary army rises; the revolutionary party vanishes" was a slogan which once produced a considerable influence. Reportedly it was originated by Zhang Taiyan [4545 1132 3508] after the Wuchang Uprising, but the truth was never clarified.[1] At a speech on 10 October 1933 in Suzhou, Zhang Taiyan openly declared: After the Wuchang Uprising, when Huang Xing [7806 5281] was in Hanyang, he "consulted me on expanding the Tongmeng Association. I answered him with: 'The revolutionary army rises; the revolutionary party vanishes.' Keqiang [0344 1730] did not accept it."[2] One may say that it was the strongest evidence to attribute the slogan to Zhang Taiyan.

Zhang Taiyan was in Japan during the Wuchang Uprising. A little more than a month later, in the latter part of the 9th month of the lunar calendar (mid-November, solar calendar), he returned to Shanghai. Huang Xing arrived in Hankou on the 7th day of the 9th month (28 October) to take charge of the war. On the 12th day of the 9th month (2 November, solar calendar), the Qing army fought its way into the urban area of Hankou, and the revolutionary army retreated to Hanyang. From then until the 7th day of the 10th month (27 November, solar calendar), during the 20 plus days when Hanyang was in enemy hands, Huang Xing remained in Hanyang in command of the revolutionary army. It should be at this time that Huang Xing consulted Zhang Taiyan on "expanding the Tongmeng Association." Zhang Taiyan, by replying that "the revolutionary army rises; the revolutionary party vanishes," advocated abolishing the Tongmeng Association which led the Revolution of 1911.

Not long thereafter (between 5 days and 1 month), on the 12th day of the 10th month, lunar calendar (2 December, solar calendar), in his telegraphic reply to Tan Renfeng [6223 0086 7685] and others in Wuchang, Zhang Taiyan reiterated the slogan and his views. The full text of the telegram is as follows: "Military governor of Wuchang and Messrs Tan Renfeng and others: Received your telegram. The revolutionary army rises; the revolutionary vanishes. The country belongs to the people. Only thus will the difficulties be overcome. According to your telegram, by rallying the revolutionary party members with the revolutionary party members, you wish to organize the government with one party. If you adhere to this view, popular support will disintegrate. If you can fight, fight. If not, do not disrupt the overall situation with party views. Zhang Binglin [4545 3521 7792]. Wen."[3]

It was not a personal communication, but a telegram in plain code, and published in the newspapers. Therefore, it produced a great influence. The feudal bureaucrats and politicians rose up and responded. Zhang Jian [1728 6190], a leadership figure of the Constitutionalist faction, wrote Huang Xing and declared arrogantly: "In short, it is urgent to unify military affairs, and the most important premise for doing so is to abolish the name of the party as proposed by Zhang Taiyan. This requires confidential planning between you and Mr Sun Yat-sen, to be formally announced by Mr Sun and you."[4] It was rare for a leading figure of the Constitutionalist faction to make such an open demand to a leader of the revolutionary faction to "abolish the name of the party," i. e., to dissolve the organization of the Tongmeng Association. One can imagine the rampancy and arrogance of this force in society at that time.

Not long thereafter, on 25 December 1911, Sun Yat-sen arrived at Shanghai from abroad. The moment he landed, he immediately sensed the gravity of the atmosphere. He said: "I arrived in Shanghai in December, and I sensed an odd atmosphere. What was it? It was the saying that 'the revolutionary army rises; the revolutionary party vanishes' spread by certain bureaucrats and revolutionary party members. At that time, the idea permeated the environment and raised an echo everywhere, and was unbreakable. I was indeed baffled."[5] At that time, the headquarters of the Tongmeng Association had moved from Tokyo, Japan, to Shanghai and emerged from underground. To boost the revolutionary morale and clarify the fighting goal, the association, under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, held discussions, formulated a provisional constitution and made a declaration. Pinpointing at the situation discussed above, the declaration stated: "Hanyang has now fallen again, and the enemy troops are still in evidence. The outcome is unpredictable.... Yet the cowardly in our party spread the saying that 'the revolutionary army rises; the revolutionary party vanishes' and openly published it in the newspapers.

It is most odd. Not only failing to understand the pros and cons, but they are ignorant of the principles upheld by this association .... Like a cornered tiger, the prime culprit has not been exterminated, and the success or failure cannot be foreseen. Even if successful, would the responsibilities of our party end here?.... Our party does not uphold just nationalism alone."[6]

Without naming names, but only mentioning "the cowardly in our party," it was actually referring to Zhang Taiyan's telegram which was "openly published in the newspapers." At this time, Zhang Taiyan had left the Tongmeng Association and joined the Constitutionalists and the old bureaucrats. His views actually reflected the demands of the conservative forces and suited the needs of the old bureaucrats and the Constitutionalists. Sun Yat-sen was a sincere democratic revolutionary. He adhered to the Three People's Principles, struggling for them until the final end. Meanwhile, he paid serious attention to the active role of the revolutionary political party, and felt that "party affairs are the originating cause of the revolution; before the success of the revolution, the party must serve as its life; after its success, the party must absolutely be used to maintain it .... Running the party is more important than anything else."[7] Therefore, he strongly opposed the slogan that "the revolutionary army rises; the revolutionary party vanishes" and the view represented by it. Until the end of his life, he gave serious attention to the building and reinforcement of the revolutionary political party organization. In the important speeches in his late years, time and again he stressed that the revolutionary party was the root of the state. "We must pay special attention and properly cultivate the root." Once more he opposed the slogan that "the revolutionary army rises; the revolutionary party vanishes," pointing out its grave dangers to the revolutionary cause. In his speech entitled "We Must Create a True People's Republic of China" of 16 May 1920, for instance, he said: "I feel that, no matter at what time, when the revolutionary army rises, the revolutionary party must not vanish."[8] In his inauguration speech at the first national congress of the Chinese Guomindang held in Guangzhou on 20 January 1924, he again said: "What kind of deception did we suffer from the Qing bureaucrats? The mind of the comrades in general was too simple. They saw that, after the Wuchang Uprising, all the provinces unanimously supported the revolution, and the bureaucrats who had opposed it also endorsed it. Therefore, the revolutionary party, a minority, was encircled by the large number of bureaucrats. Those bureaucrats said: 'The revolutionary army rises; the revolutionary party vanishes.' The revolutionary party at that time also endorsed this view. Thereupon, everyone agreed in unison. Today, we have only the world of the warlords, but not the achievements of the revolutionary party. Therefore, the revolutionary party remains unsuccessful even now. It is the main reason for our failure."[9] Here, though Sun Yat-sen mistook the Qing bureaucrats as the originators of the slogan, the lesson of failure of the 1911 Revolution summarized by him was significant. In other word, after the Wuchang Uprising, the revolutionary party members, under the influence of the slogan, rashly compromised with the bureaucrats, warlords and politicians, who were the representatives of the feudal force.

Zhang Taiyan was the originator of the slogan. That it won the support of a considerable number of the people in the revolutionary faction and became a tool of the bureaucrats, politicians and Constitutionalists was not incidental. By refusing to accept it, Huang Xing indicated that he did not endorse it. Realizing its error and danger, Sun Yat-sen immediately took charge of the meetings of the headquarters of the Tongmeng Association, made known of his attitude in his statements, and repeatedly warned against it. It indicated that, though Sun and Huang, as representatives of the bourgeois democratic revolutionary faction, were unable to emancipate themselves from the weaknesses and the tendency toward compromise inherent in the class represented by them and made various mistakes, on the momentous issue of the revolutionary political party leading the revolutionary cause, a fundamental split occurred between them, especially Sun Yat-sen, and Zhang Taiyan. It was also an important factor for their parting of the ways later on, the former progressing continuously and remaining revolutionary from beginning to end while the latter becoming ever more conservative and regressive and reverting to the old ways.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Memoirs of Wu Yuzhang [0702 3768 4545]," p 94; "Autobiography of Hu Hanmin [5170 3352 3046]," "Revolutionary Literature," p 55, Taiwan, 1958 edition

2. "Selections of Zhang Taiyan's Political Discussions," vol 2 p 843

3. "Zhang Binglin's View on Putting an End to the Party," Tianjin DAGONG BAO, 12 December 1911

4. Zhang Jian, "Political Views, Nine Memoirs of Zhang Jizi [1728 1323 1311]," vol 4

5. "Selections of Sun Yat-sen," vol 1 p 430

6. Zhou Lu [6760 7627], "Draft of the Party History of the Chinese Guomindang," vol 1 pp 79-81

7. "Selections of Sun Yat-sen," vol 1 p 431

8. Ibid., vol 1 p 430

9. Zou Lu, "Party History of the Chinese Guomindang," vol 1 pp 319-320

6080
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM, OWNERSHIP SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by Zhang Guangyou [1728 1639 0645]]

[Text] Not long ago, I accompanied a responsible comrade from the Chu County Party Committee to the countryside. Explaining conditions, he said that there is a knack in inspection work. Wherever you go, there is no need to ask around, because you would know how the responsibility system is working as soon as you look at the fields. Where do you look? First, you look at the quality of the farm work. For example, are the people there milling around in groups, doing half-hearted work, leaning on their hoes and watching the fun wherever it comes from? Then you know without question that they are "working in a sloppy manner." Conversely, if there are relatively few people working in a sullen mood, and when a car passes by, it is ignored by many who continue their work without raising their heads, then you know without question that the responsibility system is working well there. Bearing in mind the experience of this leading comrade, I visited a number of communes and brigades, and found that he was right.

The facts prove that today, under conditions where primarily manual labor is used, if a division of responsibility is implemented, the same farm task will generally be carried out with higher efficiency and better quality if it is done separately rather than collectively. The more specific and clear-cut the responsibility system, the better the results. Nevertheless, some people often fail to distinguish between the scope of the ownership of the means of production and the scope of labor organization in production, taking them as one and the same. For these people, it seems that the more people work together, the more advanced the farming system is, and a division of responsibility calling for fewer people working together is a "retrogression." That is an important reason why a number of localities have been unable to overcome "working in a sloppy manner" in production over a long period of time. Actually, the size of a labor organization in production, such as a team, a household, or a person, should be determined by the need to boost labor efficiency and by the farming requirements as well as the technical and equipment factors. For example, while weeding and thinning work in corn fields may be done individually, sowing should be done collectively. Furthermore, results of sowing by draft animals and by machines are different. The scope of production organization should therefore be different according to farming and production conditions and be determined by production requirements. Therefore, the size of a production labor organization and the number of people involved are by no means indicative of an advanced or backward way of farming. The higher the level of automation in industrial production, for instance, the fewer the workers. But one can't refer to automation as retrogression to individualism. It takes two people to operate an ox-drawn plow (one to lead the ox and one to hold the plow), quite a few people to operate a human-drawn plow, but only one person to drive a tractor. Which is the more advanced way of farming?

Division of labor and cooperation reflect the superiority of collective economy. The reason why the socialist system is superior is that the means of production are under public ownership and production can be organized based on the needs of production. If there is no clear-cut division of labor and a responsibility system, then work is done in a "sloppy manner," and in the manner of "a swarm of hornets," making it impossible to bring into full play the superiority of a collective economy. "Working in a sloppy manner" and in the manner of "a swarm of hornets" are the results of the ultra-left line in rural areas. They have produced serious and disastrous results in production. The masses have long been utterly disgusted with them, condemning such practices with the following verses: "Riding in a fancy boat, beating a big drum, when the drum is broken, it is at collective expense," and "In starting work, one waits for others, in the course of work, one watches others, and in quitting work, one beats others," and so forth.

The division of labor and individualism are two totally different concepts. However, a number of comrades often are accumstomed to looking at the surface of a problem, taking "doing work in a sloppy manner," and in the manner of "a swarm of hornets" as being "large in size and collective in nature," while referring to the division of labor as "working based on individualism." In the past, a few photographs and movies in reflecting the vigor of the masses in production usually showed a sea of people running with baskets on poles, and it seemed that if this wasn't the case then there was no reflection of the vigor of the masses. Actually, that was just a show to impress the audience. If any consideration is given to economic results, in no way should real production be done in that manner.

9685-R
CSO: 4005

LIVING CONDITIONS OF SANSHAN PRODUCTION BRIGADE FISHERMEN IMPROVED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by correspondent Liu Heng [0491 5899]: "The Sorrow and Joy of Fishermen at Sanshan Production Brigade"]

[Text] The fishermen of the Sanshan Production Brigade in Echeng County, Hubei Province, often used to recall the suffering of the old society and think over the source of their present happiness. Now they recall the sadness of "reclaiming lake bottom land for crop use," and think over the joy of adapting methods to local situations.

Arduous but without Building an Enterprise

There are more than 480 households consisting of more than 2,730 people in the Sanshan Production Brigade. During the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution, young girls would think of marrying and going away even before they were old enough to marry, and only slightly more than 10 males were able to find a wife. Girls from other places were unwilling to marry into the area. They said, "We don't dislike your men, and we don't dislike your homes, but we do dislike going to Sanshan and becoming mired in the mud!"

Sanshan had once been an island in a lake where one saw mountains immediately upon coming out of his door and where one had to take a boat to go anyplace. The people did not have a single fen of fields or a single mu of land; all they had was 100,000 mu of water surface. Generation after generation depended on the water for wealth and on fishing for a living. Before Liberation, the Sanshan Lake was forcibly occupied by "lake owners." "The waters of Sanshan are very, very deep. The Sanshan fishing island is a hell. With broken boats and rotten nets, it is difficult to pay one's debts. Nine out of 10 households are heartbreakingly hungry." Following Liberation, the fishermen made a new start in life and their livelihoods became better. For every mouthful of fish, they had a mouthful of rice. Without fish, they would not eat rice, and without cakes they would not drink tea. In 1962, they caught more than 1.16 million jin of fish for an average of about 500 jin per person.

But as everyone knows, good situations do not endure for long, and in 1965 a gust of wind came blowing. "Rivers and lakes are no good for growing grain. This is not learning from Dachai!" The fishermen were forced to tear down hills to build dikes, and the fishing boats were obliged to haul rocks and dirt. By 1969, 7 hills had been hauled away, 3 mountain tops cut off and 7 truckloads of piles driven. The south dike was 16 li long, 5 meters wide and 4 meters high, and then construction of the north dike began. But the fishing nets became nests for rats, and the fish hooks became like rusty nails. More than 270 of the more than 380 fishing boats were destroyed. The fishermen could only swallow their sadness and say: "The brigade is really finished by the blind blocking of the lake. A dike taking 3 years has been built; the boats have been smashed and capital lost!"

The old fishermen who sighed at the times--those who could tell how deep the water by looking at its color, or how numerous the fish by listening--never dreamed that the day would come when they would have to till the fields. Standing before these several thousand mu of newly made fields, heroes with no place to display their prowess, they did not know what to do with their hands and feet. The sesame was planted on 15 March, and both the early and late rice were planted at the same time. Stones rolled around and seedlings were pulled from a handful. The early rice ripened early, and the barnyard millet grew into something that looked like gaoliang. Later on several wives from the grain belt were brought in to take charge of brigade affairs, but this was still of no help.

The mud lay so deep in the lake fields that neither machines nor oxen could be used to plow them. Instead, people had to drag the plows and pull the harrows. Men sank into the mud above their knees, so all they could do was crawl on all fours. Saddest of all was in July 1975 when the great dike ruputured, drowning the early rice crop and filling the fields with madly jumping fish. A person representing the higher authority said, "Can fresh fish take the place of rice? It is better to grow grain!" "If grain is not raised to a higher plane, nothing else matters!" They pressed the fishermen in this way to drain the water away and plant a mid-season crop of rice. The fish fell dead everywhere and stank for several months. The fishermen cried within their hearts: "Firewood that has been fetched for a thousand days is burned in a single blaze; the travail of a thousand years is washed away by a single surge of water. Beating ducks to get them to roost is like having one's heart cut with a chopper." One dark night, Yuan Jinzhou [5913 6855 3166] and fishermen from 8 households slipped away in a boat when no one was aware, fleeing to the aquatic products breeding farm at Pengze County in Jiangsi Province. Later on another seven families also fled.

Who knew of the sadness of the fishermen from Sanshan? In 1969, the deeds of the fishermen from Sanshan appeared in the newspaper. The newspaper praised them as models for "building an enterprise through arduous effort." The fishermen didn't know whether to laugh or cry. "The newspaper told only half the truth! Arduous we were indeed! But it was arduous without building an enterprise. Instead, it was the destruction of an enterprise--the destruction of the fishing enterprise of our forefathers that has been followed for several generations!"

Restoration of the Forefathers' Enterprise and the Growth of the Forefathers' Enterprise

As of September 1978, the fishermen of Sanshan made another new beginning and had another liberation. The old secretary of the brigade, Li Xiangqian [2621 0686 0467] said, "Because of the climate, the productivity of the soil and the will of the people, the County CCP Committee has decided that we should be fishermen primarily. 'Anyone who has water but does not drink it, preferring to move a mountain instead, or anyone who has gold and does not dredge for it but smelts copper instead is a big fool.'"

The entire brigade became very spirited at once and people spoke out one after another. Everyone wanted not only the restoration of the ancestral enterprise but growth of it as well. Formerly they had only fished but did no breeding. Now they both fish and breed. Formerly they did nothing but fish and did not farm. Now they both fish and farm. The better fields have been brought to maturity and after more than 10 years of flailing around, quite a few people have learned to farm. "Having turned one big corner, they are unable to turn still another big corner."

Old fisherman, Yuan Zhisheng [5913 4249 4141] had stayed at home for several years. He said, "Learning to play a bugle at 80 years of age. Nothing doing!" Now he has returned once again to pulling the oars on a boat. More than 50 old men in the brigade who had not gone to work for many years have come out to pitch in, giving their strength and donating their knowledge to the fishing industry. They say, "Now that the road is straight and the winds smooth, the will will come." Fourteen of the 15 households that fled with Yuan Jinghou have returned.

The production brigade has prescribed scientific farming and the breeding of fish according to plan. On high ground there is farming; in shallow places lotus is grown, and in low places fish are bred. Fish breeding stock farms, pearl propagation farms and fields for the growing of fish food are being operated, and ponds for raising superior quality fish have been dug. The production brigade and 10 small teams have set up a fishing organization. Avenues for production are numerous. Those who can make beams make beams, and those who can make pillars make pillars, with everyone having some place to display his talents. Within a year's time, the old vitality has been restored. Within 10 years one will be unable to see a single poor fisherman. Last year average per capita income was 154 yuan. Additionally, they have cleared up 100,000 yuan in debts. More than 30 families have built new houses. In last year alone, more than 50 couples were married, and there will be more than that this year. On even-numbered days, people frequently marry and invite everybody to see a movie. Formerly the fishermen would not be able to see more than three or four movies a year. Now they see three of four movies a month when people invite them to marriages plus when the brigade has screenings.

"The reclamation of lake bottom land for the growth of crops was overdone." It was not just the Sanshan Brigade alone that suffered this sorrow. There are 1,000 lakes in Hubei Province, and as of 1977 only a lake-surface area of 4.3 million mu remained, a decrease of 8.1 million mu since the 1950's, accompanied by a major decrease in the amount of aquatic products. Authorities concerned in Hubei Province are in process of taking vigorous measures to correct these mistakes and some preliminary results are already apparent. The Sanshan Production Brigade is one example. It is believed that in the not too distant future, through the Wuchang Fish Production Site, Hubei Province will become in fact as well as in name a land of fish and rice.

9432
CSO: 4005

NEW MILITIA COMPANY COMMANDERS MUST REPLACE OLD ONES

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 80 p 3

[Letter to the editor from Xia Zhenhong [1115 6966 3163] of the People's Armed Forces Department of Dongtou County: "Militia Company Commanders Must Also Be Reelected"]

[Text] Comrade Editor:

When we went down to the basic level to help reorganize the militia companies, we discovered that the company commanders of some units had been in their posts for a long time, that there had been few reelections, and that some comrades had held their posts since the company was first formed, over 20 years ago. When questioned as to the reason for this, the reply was that the company commanders had not made any mistakes and that change was undesirable.

For the time being we will not discuss whether or not older men should be selected to be militia company cadres. What is said here is that there need be no reelection if the company commander has not made a mistake. This is incorrect. The great majority of the broad ranks of our militia cadres on the first line of battle are good and they make few mistakes. If we were to wait until a mistake is made before having a reelection, then wouldn't the leading group in our party's armed forces become an old folks' home? Again, from the viewpoint of armed forces work, the militia company commander who in a future war would directly lead the militiamen must accomplish his battle mission under all sorts of complex conditions, and if he is not a sturdy young man he will not be qualified to do so. For this reason, we hope that young men who love militia work will be selected to be company commanders as quickly as possible, in order to meet the requirements of the four modernizations and of opposing a future war of aggression.

9727
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

EDUCATION ON 'HOW TO BE A GOOD MILITIAMAN' LAUNCHED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Wang Huayou [3769 5478 0645]: "Militia Company of Guangming Production Brigade Launches Education on Being a Good Militiaman"]

[Text] The armed militia company of the Guangming production brigade, Shijiao commune, Dinghai County, has launched an educational campaign on "how to be a good militiaman." Its methods are:

Starting from reality and making rational dispositions. The company holds separate meetings for its cadres and key members in which the ideological state of the militiamen and the current situation in production is conscientiously analyzed. Starting from the actual conditions, viz, busy production, many sideline occupations in peasant households, and tight time schedules, the company, considering both the interests of the collective and of the individual, makes the following concrete dispositions: 2 evenings are set aside every 5 days, 1 for class and 1 for discussion. Neither of these two activities exceeds 1.5 hours, and this satisfies all parties and is supported by everybody.

Keeping in contact with reality and solving problems. During peacetime a small number of militiamen are not enthusiastic about taking part in militia activities, fearing that their household sideline production will be adversely affected. In this educational campaign, the company leads the militiamen to correctly deal with the relationship between the interests of the revolution and the interests of the individual, making everyone understand that to be part of the militia and defend the motherland is the sacred duty and necessary obligation of every revolutionary youth, and that it cannot have an economic price tag. Countless martyrs have heroically given their precious lives for the liberation of the Chinese people and for the reconstruction of their country. By learning from the revolutionary martyrs' unselfish and fearless spirit, the militiamen will have aspirations and ideals, will love and defend the motherland, and will strive hard to make many contributions to building it into a great and powerful motherland. Squad leader Fang Yangguo [2075 7402 9048] makes use of the time during morning and evening when he is at home to make unfired bricks, and this sideline gives him a profit of 1 yuan a day. But he correctly handles affairs and makes appropriate arrangements so that he can vigorously take part in all militia activities.

Taking forms of many kinds, being vivid and lively. 1) The education is linked on a regular basis to political and ideological work. In the classroom facts are laid out, reasons presented, and enlightenment and guidance given. After class, there are separate heart-to-heart talks with militiamen who have ideological problems, and visits are made to households, and enlightenment and guidance are given. 2) The education is linked to the outlook on life, thereby increasing everyone's sense of honor and sense of responsibility in being militiamen. 3) The education is linked to learning from heroes and commending the advanced. Combining the education with the semiannual inspection of militia work, the company assessed six persons as being advanced militiamen, giving everyone examples to learn from and targets to shoot at. 4) The education is coordinated with the use of radio broadcasts and the teaching of revolutionary songs, thereby heightening everyone's interest and increasing results.

9727
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

TRADITIONAL WARFARE TRAINING--Jiangshan County is located in a mountainous area of southern Zhejiang. It is along the railway line, has low mountains with gentle slopes, and has convenient communciations. In case war breaks out, it would be a strategic point where infantry and tanks could fight in coordination. Focusing on these features and on the militia's mission in opposing a future war of aggression, the People's Armed Forces Department in the county has paid much attention to training the militia in traditional combat methods. The department has organized a militia squad in the Xingfu production brigade of the Hecun commune to train at selected test points in laying mines and mounting ambushes. During the training the method of "studying theory, explaining the main points, demonstrating by actions, dividing the mission into parts, and summing up the actual practice" has been adopted. After a short period of study and training, the militiamen have become fairly proficient in theoretical knowledge and operational essentials. In an on-the-spot maneuver, they attained excellent results. After making an initial assessment and summation of the experience in launching this type of training, the department is preparing to combine it with production and gradually introduce it throughout the county. [Text] [Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 80 p 3] 9727

MILITIA CADRES MASTER WEAPONS--By strengthening self-training, the People's Armed Forces Department of Lishui County has mastered 12 weapons. The weaponry of this department is constantly being replaced and is of a great variety. The old cadres were unable to use the new weapons, and the new cadres were unfamiliar with the old weapons. Many cadres could not drill with their weapons or fix breakdowns in them, and this adversely affected militia work. The department's party committee, feeling that in order to give the militia good training, they themselves should first master the weapons, began to train with the weapons then available. The leaders of the department, along with everyone else, crawled, climbed, rolled, and attacked with these weapons, hand in hand teaching themselves. After a period of concentrated training in the first half of this year, they all understand the use and function of 12 types of weapons, were able to break them down and reassemble them, and in a live ammunition firing exercise achieved an overall appraisal of excellent with 8 types of weapons. [Text] [Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 80 p 3] 9727

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM MUST MEET NEEDS OF SCIENCE

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Yu Chengzhou [5713 2110 3166], Feng Zhijun [7458 0037 3182], and Zhang Nianchun [1728 1819 7279] of the Natural Dialectics Scientific Studies Research Office, Shanghai Railway Institute: "Development of Modern Science and Technology and the Reform of Higher Education"]

[Text] Since the 1940's in the 20th century, science and technology have made great strides in development. How, in this scientific and technological revolution of unprecedented scale, higher education as a scientific potential should carry out necessary reforms is a very important question facing the people. Here we would like to provide a rudimentary exploration as to the direction of such reform of our higher education in conjunction with the developing situation with respect to science and technology.

1. The occurrence of "knowledge explosion" requires that higher education, on the premise of transmitting basic knowledge, place its emphasis on the training of the student's intellect.

The rapid and vigorous development of modern science and technology leads to a precipitous increase in scientific knowledge in a short period; this phenomenon is symbolically called "knowledge explosion."

This phenomenon of a "knowledge explosion" poses a serious challenge to the "warehouse theory" in pedagogy. The "warehouse theory" holds that "the brain is the warehouse for storing facts," teaching means filling up this "warehouse" with knowledge, and to learn is to harvest knowledge; the more facts one learns, the more knowledge one harvests, the more one becomes learned. Hence, the "warehouse theory" pays a great deal of attention to memory.

Scientific research indicates that the cerebrum has four functional areas: one is the receptive area, which receives sensual perceptions from the outside world; the second is the storage area, which collects and systematizes such sensual perceptions; the third is the critical area, which appraises the new information received; and the fourth is the imaginative area, which combines existing knowledge with the new information in accordance with the new mode. From this, we can see that the storage function is but a part of the cerebral functions; if we merely regard the cerebrum as a "warehouse for storing facts," we are likely to cause an exaggeration of its storage function and suppress its three other functions. But plenty of facts in the history of science prove that it is impossible for those who lack the critical and the imaginative faculties to make outstanding contributions to scientfic enterprises.

Even more important is the fact that this "knowledge explosion," with new knowledge surging forth in mountainous waves, makes it impossible for this "warehouse," the cerebrum, to accommodate such huge amounts of knowledge. According to the statistics of West German scholar (Hagen Beinhauer] "a scientist today, even if he works day and night, can only read 5 percent of the world's publications in his special field." Foreign data in psychology indicate that the amount a college student remembers from listening to an academic report is reduced to 30 percent after 6 days, and to only 20 percent after a month. Therefore, even if a college student puts his life on the line in studying, he still cannot study, or remember, all the knowledge he will need in his future work. Consequently, the simple transmission of knowledge is no longer the only function of higher education. It is necessary, along with the transmission of knowledge, to pay attention to training the student's intellect, to train the person receiving education to come up with a complicated structure of knowledge, and thereby help the person receiving an education to master the interrelationship between various kinds of knowledge, effectively control his knowledge, and make it useful. Simply put, the purpose of education is not to proffer "gold" to the student but to teach the student the "golden touch." To train a student's intellect is mainly to train his ability to think, his ability to express himself, and his ability of organization and management.

The ability to study by oneself includes the ability to read academic works and scientific and technological journals, the ability to search for documentary data and scientific and technological journals, the ability to search for documentary data and scientific and technological information, and the ability to use many kinds of study tools with dexterity. To train college students to study by themselves today is equivalent to raising the efficiency of scientific research tomorrow. The ability to conduct research includes the ability to observe objective things and documentary data and analyze them, the ability to carry out basic experiments, and the ability to come up with pertinent designs. The ability to think includes the ability to appraise, the ability to create, the ability to imagine, and the ability to summarize and generalize. Ability of expression means ability of oral expression, ability of written expression, ability of expression by curves and charts, and ability of expression by mathematical calculations. And the ability to organize and manage includes the ability to draft plans, the ability to make decisions, and the ability to provide direction and control. Practice in scientific research has proven that if a researcher lacks the specific ability to draft plans, to make decisions, and to provide direction and control, he will be incapable of undertaking scientific research.

In a word, modern higher education should, along with "transmission of knowledge," put emphasis on training the student's intellect and, in the process of educational reform, carry out exploration in a deepening way in respect to such areas as how to strengthen basic training, select choice teaching materials, guide the students in methods of study, strengthen scientific experiments, etc.

2. The acceleration of the "knowledge-obsolescence cycle" requires that higher education strengthen basic theoretical education, continuously refurbish its programs, and stress "lifelong education."

Since the beginning of the present century there has been a rapid increase in new scientific and technological achievements. Some people in foreign countries think that the new discoveries and new inventions in science and technology since the 1960's have been more numerous than those of the past 2,000 years combined; in the field of space technology alone, more than 12,000 kinds of new products and new techniques which never existed before have appeared. Because of the rapid increase in the new achievements of science and technology, because of the reduction of the cycle from scientific invention or discovery to application, and because of the acceleration of the speed of obsolescence of new techniques and new products, the obsolescence cycle of scientific knowledge has also been correspondingly accelerated. According to available statistics, the knowledge-obsolescence cycle in the 18th century was 80 to 90 years; from the 19th to the 20th century it was reduced to 30 years; during the past 50 years it has been further reduced to 15 years; and today the knowledge-obsolescence cycle in some fields has been still further reduced to 5-10 years.

The acceleration of this knowledge-obsolescence cycle makes new demands on higher education. First of all, it is necessary to energetically strengthen basic theoretical teaching. Only by letting students master broad and profound basic theories and basic knowledge will it be possible for them to adapt more smoothly to the daily changing new situations after graduation. Secondly, it is necessary to continue to refurbish programs and renew the contents of teaching materials so as to enable students to master the newest scientific and technological knowledge.

Because of the accelerated development of science and technology and the concomitant acceleration of the obsolescence cycle, it is necessary to promote lifelong education. There are those in foreign countries who think that a college student can obtain only about 10 percent of the knowledge he needs while in school, and all the remaining 90 percent of knowledge can be obtained only if he continues to learn in his work. Therefore, to rely merely on what one can learn in school--that is to say, the concept of "one-time education"--is already out of date. We should advocate "repeated education," "lifelong education," and "learn as long as one lives"; otherwise, even if one excels with brilliance at one particular time, one cannot avoid eventually becoming "exhausted in one's talent" someday. Insofar as the educational departments are concerned, the duty of the teacher is to continue to bring the information on new technological achievements to the students; only thus can "a famous teacher foster highly talented students." Hence, the lifelong education of teachers in schools of higher learning is of important concern to us.

3. The high degree of differentiation and high degree of subject combination is one of the important characteristics of the development of modern science and technology. In the case of earlier natural science, the classification of subjects was relatively simple, but the classification of modern natural science has become more and more minute, and branches have become more and more numerous. In addition, subjects have come to penetrate and overlap with each other to produce many marginal subjects. At present, the classification of subjects numbers as many as 2,000. According to statistics of the U.S. National Research Commission and the U.N. Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, today's basic science already has more than 500 principal specialties, and today's technological science provides 412 fields of specialization.

But nature is a unified whole--a multilayered, multistructured, multiseries, complete network. Along with the continued deepening of perception, the tendencies of comprehensive combination and general convergence of science and technology are becoming more and more conspicuous. Such developing tendencies require that the structure of higher education develop in the direction of a comprehensive combination and that it pay attention to the establishment of a "cross-subject" structure of scientific research and teaching. It must take advantage of the beneficial conditions of multiple subjects, versatile manpower, and complete equipment at the universities to energetically develop a multidepartmental organizational form, break down the historical barriers between individual departments and subjects, carry out comprehensive research, and solve together advanced scientific research projects which we can hardly conquer by relying on a single subject. Today, our higher institutions have also started to establish multidepartmental scientific research and teaching organizations, such as biomedical engineering departments, environmental science institutes, etc. Practice proves that establishing various comprehensive "cross-subject", or multidepartmental, organizational forms is one of the important measures in the reform of higher education.

Another research issue brought to higher education by the developing trend of the comprehensive combination of science and technology is how to treat the relationship between the training of "generalists" and the training of "specialists," and, along with the training of "specialists," what emphasis to put on the grasping of "generalist education." The so-called "generalist" means a talented person who has one or two special fields of knowledge but whose general knowledge is broad and foundation likewise solid. "Specialty" is real talent and genuine knowledge; "generality" is also real talent and genuine knowledge. The United States has done a five-year survey of the dissertations, achievements, and promotions, etc, of 1,311 scientists and discovered that not very many of them were "specialists" who were good only at single specialties, and that most of them got where they were by general talent and knowledge. Today, among the Nobel Prize winners not a few are "generalists" who are engaged in comprehensive studies. At present, higher institutions in foreign countries pay a great deal of attention to generalist education. In order to train "generalists," many universities stress the importance of comprehensive subjects when formulating their teaching plans, and strengthen "interdisciplinary" research. In the provision of programs, they stress the mutual penetration and overlapping of the arts and sciences, so as to make the contents of subjects comprehensive. In order to promote the mutual overlapping of the arts and sciences, they seek to reduce the number of credit hours of required subjects and increase those of elective subjects.

The provision of programs in our higher institutions was deeply influenced by the practice of the Soviet Union in the 1950's, with the arts separated from the sciences, and schools of the sciences separated from the schools of engineering. Areas of specialization were usually narrow, subjects numerous, and classifications too trivial. In order to accelerate the pace of reform in our higher education, it is necessary to organize "multi-departmental" teaching and scientific research institutions, strengthen the effort to make the contents of subjects comprehensive, experiment with the adoption of a credit system, increase the number of elective courses, and make arts and science subjects penetrate each other so as to train fine talents who are well adapted to the developing situation of science and technology.

4. Along with the continued expansion of the scale of scientific research and enterprise management, a demand is also made of higher institutions that they strengthen their instruction of knowledge of management and stress the training of management talent.

First of all, from the scale of scientific research, it can be seen that early scientific research work all consisted mainly of individual research, or required at most the participation of a few necessary assistants, and then everything could be carried out. In the latter half of the 19th century, along with the increase in subject classifications and the development of electric power industries, it had already become impossible to solve major scientific and technological problems by relying on the research of individual scientists. There thus emerged certain collective modes of research, which got scientists together for given research objectives; there also emerged research on a national scale and even research on an international scale. Because the scale of scientific research became larger and larger, there was a need to plan, to coordinate, to manage, and foretell [the need for] such research by scientific methods. For instance, what to research? what to develop? how to research? how to expand?... A series of questions like these requires the very service of management science. If management is well done, indeed, the results achieved may be twice as great as the effort put in, and sizable economic effects may also be brought about.

Next, from the continued expansion of the scale of enterprise management, it can be seen that the scale of early enterprises was relatively small and their structure was likewise rather simple. After an evolution and development of several hundred years, the enterprise scale of modern large-scale production is huge and its structure is complex. Hence, management science becomes increasingly important. Some scholars in foreign countries think that if the 19th century was the peak time for talented economists, then the 20th century has become the time for talented management personnel. They generally think that management is a kind of economic resource, and they call science, technology, and management the three legs of the tripod of modern civilized society. The Japanese call advanced production techniques and advanced management methods the two wheels of economic development, neither of which can be omitted.

In order to train high-ranking talent to engage in management, developed countries abroad make great efforts to establish management departments or management schools in their higher institutions of learning. For a long time we have neglected to train modern management cadres. Because of the 10-year catastrophe, the original pathetic number of management specialties and institutes of finance and economics were eliminated. At present, our students majoring in management and economics make up only slightly more than 2 percent [of the total]. This is not only an indication of structural confusion in education but also a reflection of the disproportionate development of the whole intellectual structure. In order to adapt to the demands of the four modernizations, we need not only readjust the structure of our management cadres in time and energetically promote professional personnel, but also carry out greater readjustment in the provision of specialties and plans for student recruitment at our universities. Otherwise, we will lack successors in these areas.

For this reason, we must create conditions and select key points to steadily establish management institutes or management departments at comprehensive universities and universities of sciences and engineering. The goal of training in question should be to equip the students with the basic technical knowledge of product design and production techniques, to help them master the basic theories and methods of modern management and technical, economic analyses, and to complete their basic training as engineers. Insofar as the sources of students are concerned, they should be just be recruited from among middle school graduates, but selected, rather, from professional, technical personnel or management personnel with 3 to 5 years of working experience at enterprise units and scientific research units. At the present stage, the point of emphasis should be on conducting various forms of advanced management training classes at universities; members of such classes should be personnel from the on-the-spot units. The course of study may vary--a half-year, 1 year, 2 years, and other periods. This approach assures quicker results.

5. The formation and perfection of scientific research systems require that higher institutions pay full attention to scientific research work

so as to elevate the quality of teaching in higher institutions and at the same time make contributions toward the improvement of the scientific and technological level of the state.

A scientific research system is made up of three parts: basic research, applied research, and developmental research. After the liberation of the whole country, we gradually established our own scientific research system, which was made up of five elements: the Chinese Academy of Sciences, higher institutions, production departments, national defense departments, and local scientific research organs. Over the years, this scientific research system has played a definite, positive role in the development of our scientific and technological enterprises. But we cannot help but admit that, because we lacked sufficient perception of the functions of the various links in the scientific research system, and because the division of labor between various scientific research organs in the scientific research system was not clear, we have left the structure of the scientific research system in a state of confusion, and this has resulted in great losses. As we explore reform of the scientific research system at present, there is a need to further define the division of labor and coordination between the five elements on the one hand, and pay full attention to the position and role of higher institutions in the entire scientific research system on the other hand. We think that the Academy of Sciences and the scientific universities should carry out mainly basic research (including pure basic theoretical research and goal-oriented basic research), and, under ordinary conditions, should refrain from undertaking applied research--and especially should stay away from any work on the study and manufacture of specific products. Research organs of production departments and engineering universities should concentrate mainly on applied research. Local research organs should lay emphasis on research work with geographical characteristics in mind.

During the past 30 years, research work in our higher institutions has made not a few contributions and also exhibited great potential. Hence, we must pay full attention to scientific research work and consciously combine teaching with scientific research. This not only is intended to raise the quality of our education, but it also is of very great significance for the development of our science and technology.

5. To anticipate the uneven development of science requires that the reform of our higher education should strengthen prognosticative research and continue to support new subjects adapted to the trends of development in science and technology.

Scientific research indicates that the function of science has undergone a great change; science has changed from "a daughter born" gradually into "a mother giving birth." Science has advanced ahead of production and, as a scientific potential, higher education should advance even ahead of science. Only thus can the students who are trained better adapt to, and promote, the advancement of science and production.

Education is the foundation of science and technology, and it also is a strategic intellectual investment. The position of education in the entire national economy is extremely important; if we cannot make a go of our education, the four modernizations will be amiss. If we fail to grasp today, we shall regret later. Let us conduct an all-round study and exploration of higher education from various angles and various sides and, along with a firm grasp on readjustment, carry out penetrating and widespread discussions as to how higher education should be reformed in order to turn education into a true force promoting the rapid development of science and technology, and in order to make the necessary contributions to the four modernizations.

9255
CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 76536

2 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 122

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76536

2 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 122

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Newspaper Says PRC Won't Yield to Hegemony
(HSIN WAN PAO, 15 Sep 80).. 1

Situation in Western Sahara Reviewed
(XINHUA, 12 Sep 80).. 3

Reporter Views Ancient Chinese Ties With Kenya
(Wang Dajun; XINHUA, 13 Sep 80).. 5

Shanghai Handbill Protests British Warships Visit
(Ba Yi Radio, 16 Sep 80).. 7

Japanese Kyushu Youth Delegation Arrives in Qingdao
(Shandong Provincial Service, 15 Sep 80)................. 9

Paper Carries Commentary on Zimbabwe, South Africa
(RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Sep 80).. 10

Briefs
Cooperation With U.S. Universities 12
TV Documentary With Japan 12
Financial Delegation to Japan 12
Australian Books Exhibition 13
Cultural Delegation Leaves Shanghai 13
Ships for Hong Kong 13
Exhibit at London Exhibition 14
Farm Machinery to Thailand 14
Japanese Delegation in Shandong 14

PARTY AND STATE

Obstacles to Four Modernizations
(Editorial; WEN WEI PO, 10 Sep 80)........................ 15

Wang Bingnan Attacks Three Vice Premiers
(HSIN WAN PAO, 12 Sep 80).................................. 18

KMT Leaders on PRC State Council Reshuffle
(Beijing Radio, 17 Sep 80)................................. 19

Editorial Urges Punishment of Chen Yonggui
(Editorial; WEN WEI PO, 13 Sep 80)........................ 22

Biography of CPPCC Vice Chairman Burhan Shahidi
(XINHUA, 12 Sep 80).. 24

Briefs
Vice Premier's Son Called Playboy 25
New Guangdong Municipal Mayor 25

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA Deputies' Boycott of NPC Discussion Defended
(Ba Yi Radio, 13 Sep 80).................................. 26

Comments on Military Spending, National Defense
(Ba Yi Radio, 11 Sep 80).................................. 28

Briefs
Air Force Engineer Graduate 30

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Memorial Service Held for PRC Writer Persecuted by Lin Biao
(XINHUA, 15 Sep 80)....................................... 31

Background of Beijing People's Art Theater
(XINHUA, 18 Sep 80)....................................... 32

Exhibition in Beijing by Art Students
(XINHUA, 14 Sep 80)....................................... 34

Briefs
Folk Literature Study 36
Calligraphy Courses 36

NEWSPAPER SAYS PRC WON'T YIELD TO HEGEMONY

HK161106 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 15 Sep 80 p 1

[Unattributed "New Talk" column: "Though the Government Is Reformed, the Anti-Hegemony Stand Will Not Change"]

[Excerpts] When Zhao Ziyang was appointed China's new premier, the heads of state of various countries, including Soviet Premier Kosygin, cabled congratulations.

PRAVDA yesterday carried an article expressing the hope that the friendship between China and the "socialist big family" would be restored.

Western analysts believe that the Soviet Union took advantage of a change of premiers in China to send out trial balloons to seek reconciliation between the two countries.

In a speech delivered recently in the central Asian city of Alma Ata, which is 200 km from the Chinese border, Soviet Chairman Brezhnev said that momentous changes are taking place in China. While it is still too early to assess their significance, certain concepts relating to Mao Zedong Thought are being criticized. Speaking of the cultural revolution, he said it has been publicly denounced as a big disaster for the Chinese people.

The so-called trial balloons sent out by the Soviet Union which were aimed at deceiving its people, totally lack a sincere desire to improve relations with China. China has laid down four conditions for reopening Sino-Soviet talks. They require that the Soviet Union reduce its troops stationed along the Sino-Soviet border, withdraw its troops from Mongolia, stop giving support to the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea and pull out all its forces from Afghanistan. Moscow, however, has simply disregarded the Chinese conditions.

The logic followed by Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders is that as Premier Zhao Ziyang is charged with the task of promoting reforms. Although China is still influenced by Mao's ideas, the reforms will eventually bring about a China abandoning its role of ideologically opposing the Soviet Union and merging into the Soviet sphere of influence. This is utter nonsense, pure and simple.

China is determined to carry out reforms in its political and economic systems. This is based on and guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and is diametrically opposed to the Soviet revisionism of oppressing the people at home and seeking hegemony abroad. China has long upheld its antihegemony stand.

After acknowledging Kosygin's message of congratulations, Zhao Ziyang at yesterday's banquet welcoming the Kenyan president spoke unequivocally against Soviet hegemony which gravely threatens world peace. Premier Zhao declared: "Peace cannot be won imploringly nor can war be prevented by making concessions." First of all China will not yield to hegemonists for the sake of peace.

CSO: 4005

SITUATION IN WESTERN SAHARA REVIEWED

OW121048 Beijing XINHUA in English 0753 GMT 12 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, 12 September (XINHUA)--The war sparked off by the disputes over Western Sahara between Morocco and the Popular Front for the Liberation of West Sahara (Polisario Front) has recently flared up again after several months of tranquility.

Since the beginning of last month, a series of fightings between the two sides have taken place. Local observers point out that on the eve of the Freetown Conference of the ad hoc OAU Committee on the West Sahara, both sides are trying to get the upperhand on the battlefield to coordinate their diplomatic activities.

Guerrillas of the Polisario Front have since early last month intensified their attacks on the Moroccan troops. On 15 August, they penetrated into southern Morocco and once occupied the Sidi Amara village on the outskirts of Akka City. A communique of the front claimed that 127 Moroccan troops were killed. On 20 and 21 August, the guerrillas made attacks on [word indistinct] area near Tantan City in southern Morocco. 282 Moroccan troops were reported to have been killed and 300 others wounded. While the Moroccans said over 200 guerrillas were killed and 80 military vehicles destroyed in the encounter.

According to a communique issued by the Polisario Front, the guerrillas made 36 assaults last month, killing a total of 600 Moroccan troops and wounding 400 others.

On 3 September, the guerrillas in 400 military vehicles raided Tata City, 150 kilometres south of Agadir in southern Morocco, in the biggest and most penetrating attack in five months. The Moroccans declared that during the battle over 300 guerrillas were killed or wounded and 70 military vehicles destroyed. While the Polisario Front claimed that its guerrillas had once "besieged and occupied" Tata for several hours. They killed 212 Moroccan troops, captured 70 military vehicles and downed one F-1 mirage plane. Another communique of the front said that another F-1 mirage was brought down over Esmeyra in southern Morocco on 9 September.

The Polisario Front has for some time established bases in southern Morocco, and concentrated its troops to raid Zag and its surrounding areas. The two sides have been locked in fierce fighting. Zag, an important base of the Moroccan army, is 150 km from Algeria and 60 km from West Sahara. The area of several hundred square kilometres is formed of chains of rugged mountains and noted for its difficult terrain. If the Polisario Front could gain control of the area, it may cut the link between Morocco and West Sahara. Since November last year, Morocco has sent well-equipped mobile forces of 10,000 strong (the Polisario Front estimated the number at 20,000) in three mopping up operations in West Sahara and southern Morocco. In early March this year, in order to destroy the front's bases inside Morocco, the Moroccans used 7,000 mobile troops to mop up guerrillas in Zag, Tigsert River Valley and Ouarkziz Mountain, unleashing the most fierce fighting since the start of the West Sahara war. The Polisario Front declared in a war communique, it inflicted some 2,000 casualties over the Moroccan troops in the 10-day fighting. Since then, despite sporadic fighting, tranquility had prevailed in the region for 2 months. In early May a Moroccan mobile force of 10,000 again launched large-scale mopping up operations in the region. They opened a 30-km passage between Zag and Assa, and were joined by the isolated garrisson troops in Zag. The Moroccans claimed that they wiped out 450 guerrillas and destroyed 160 military vehicles in the campaign.

The recent situation on the battlefield showed that the Moroccan troops backed by air forces have strengthened mopping up operations while the guerrillas responded with surprise attacks by small teams. Obviously the guerrillas are powerless to win complete victory on the battlefield. But it is also difficult for the Moroccan troops to inflict heavy casualties on the Polisario Front. It seems the West Sahara war will be a long-drawn-out war of attrition, which will be a heavy burden to both Morocco and the Polisario Front and its supporters. Thus there is every reason to hope that all the parties concerned would be willing to seek a just solution to the conflict through peaceful consultations.

CSO: 4020

REPORTER VIEWS ANCIENT CHINESE TIES WITH KENYA

OW130754 Beijing XINHUA in English 0734 GMT 13 Sep 80

[Report by XINHUA correspondent Wang Dajun]

[Excerpts] Nairobi, 12 September--The port of Mombasa, the largest in east Africa, lies in southern Kenya on the coast of the Indian Ocean, 490 kilometers southeast of Nairobi.

Nationalization of the port of Mombasa took place not long ago. Not until January 1977 did Kenya establish its own authority over the port. The Kenyan people have since made fruitful efforts in running the port. Now all the 13,000 workers there are Kenyans.

Time-Honored Sino-Kenyan Friendship

While receiving this correspondent, mayor of Mombasa Mr Sumba said, "The people of Mombasa are familiar with China. Contacts between Kenya and China were started by our ancestors and the friendship between our two peoples goes back to ancient times."

What I saw during my visit to this port city with a history of over 1,000 years testified to the mayor's words.

In a visit to the museum in Fort Jesus in the old port of Mombasa, I saw among the exhibits dozens of Chinese porcelain, most of which are products of the Ming and Qing dynasties.

In the northern part of Mombasa, I saw the ruins of a "Chinese money shop." However, it is said to have been owned by Arabs instead of Chinese. It was so named because transactions were carried out with Chinese currency. On display in a museum there were some Chinese coins unearthed from the ruins of the bank.

Twenty kilometers north of Mombasa is Malindi, a port the well-known Chinese navigator Zheng He of the Ming dynasty had called at.

It is now a beautiful city receiving tens of thousands of western tourists a year. Half of the over 20,000 inhabitants of the city make their living in connection with tourism.

Although no sign of Chinese visitors to the place in ancient times remains, stories about such visits have been told from generation to generation.

CSO: 4020

SHANGHAI HANDBILL PROTESTS BRITISH WARSHIPS VISIT

OW171215 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 16 Sep 80

[Text] During the recent visit to Shanghai by three British warships, handbills protesting the visit were found at Huangpu Port and in downtown Shanghai. These handbills reflect the people's sentiments. We will now relay, through our broadcast, the text of the handbill which was signed by (Zhang Fanji), a worker in Shanghai.

Comrades, brothers and sisters of the working class: The presence of the British imperialist warships in Shanghai is a great insult to heroic Shanghai. Look at what events have taken place in our country and you will invariably ask: Where are our country's leaders leading to? Seeing the British warships berthed at Huangpu Port will certainly infuriate you. They are by no means warships from a friendly country. They fly the flag of the great British empire, a flag which symbolizes British imperialist aggression against China over a long time.

Many years ago, Britain, Japan, the United States and other big powers, waving the shopworn banners of imperialist piracy and relying on their gunboats, cruelly suppressed Chinese patriots and revolutionaries. My father was a veteran worker in Shanghai. He told me repeatedly that British warships joined the sworn enemy of the people of our country in bloodly suppressing the uprising of workers of Shanghai in March of 1927. Warships flying the national flag of the British commonwealth opened gunfire on the living quarters of Shanghai's workers. My uncle and many other relatives died in the naval gunfire in Zhabei District on 21 March of that year. The arrival of British warships in Shanghai today is a great affront and insult to our revolutionary martyrs.

Comrades, brothers and sisters of the working class, my father told me that the people of our country have shed blood in their struggle to drive the British, Japanese and U.S. imperialist pirates out of our country. The return of the British warships, which were driven out from this country in 1949, is beyond imagination. What then was our heroic struggle and our bloody sacrifice for?

The British warships allegedly arrived in Shanghai on a so-called "goodwill mission" at an invitation extended to them by Deng Xiaoping. I would like to say that it would be extremely absurd for the dwarf Deng Xiaoping to consider the imperialists his friends. Comrades, is not what is happening in China today the bad consequence of the Deng Xiaoping line?

It is the dwarf Deng who has directed our country onto the evil road of forging friendship and alliance with the imperialists. It is he who invited the British warships to come to Shanghai, a city rich in revolutionary traditions. By so doing, dwarf Deng has openly buried the fruits of our revolution. Will the revolutionary people of Shanghai remain indifferent and silent? Let us shout: Down with the line of Deng Xiaoping who works hand in glove with imperialism! Proletarian Shanghai and our great motherland must remain red through and through.

CSO: 4005

JAPANESE KYUSHU YOUTH DELEGATION ARRIVES IN QINGDAO

SK160526 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Sep 80

[Text] According to our reporters, the Japan-China Friendship Youth delegation from Kyushu arrived in Qingdao by ship on 15 September. The 420 visitors are headed by (Songtingyouyao), head of (Gongqi) county in Japan.

The steamer entered Qingdao harbor at 0800. The Japanese friends were warmly welcomed by responsible persons of the departments concerned including (Mu Zhou), deputy mayor of Qingdao municipality, and (Xu Tianrui), deputy director of the Shandong Provincial Foreign Affairs Office and chief of the Provincial Tourist Bureau, as well as by hundreds of other people.

In the morning, responsible persons and representatives of the delegation paid a visit to the Qingdao Municipal People's Government while other Japanese friends toured Qingdao City and scenic spots and planted trees symbolizing Sino-Japanese friendship in Zhongshan Park. At noon, the Qingdao Municipal People's Government held a party in honor of all members of the delegation. In the afternoon, they visited the Qingdao municipal workers' cultural palace and joined the workers at their entertainments. In the evening, after attending a soiree also sponsored by the municipal government, the Japanese [departed?] by special bus for a visit to Jinan municipality scheduled to begin on 16 September.

CSO: 4005

PAPER CARRIES COMMENTARY ON ZIMBABWE, SOUTH AFRICA

HK121344 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 80 p 6

[Short commentary: "A Powerful Counterblow"]

[Text] On 3 September, the government of Zimbabwe announced that it was breaking all ties with the South African authorities except trade relations. This is a just decision on the Zimbabwean people to defend their independence and security and prevent the racist South African regime from carrying out subversive activities in the country. When Zimbabwe gained its independence in April this year, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe declared that his government would maintain good neighborly relations with South Africa. But he also declared his government's opposition to South Africa's racist policy. While pledging noninterference in the internal affairs of South Africa he also demanded the same from the latter. This wise policy has won appreciation at home and abroad.

However, the South African authorities have adopted a hostile attitude towards Zimbabwe. Through their diplomatic missions they have recruited elements hostile to the Zimbabwean Government to carry out subversion and sabotage in Zimbabwe. In view of this, Prime Minister Mugabe issued a warning to the South African authorities in July. However, the South African authorities have not pulled in their horns and, on the contrary, Botha, leader of the South African authorities, said arrogantly and threateningly: "South Africa will deal with its neighboring countries as it did in Southern Angola." In face of the peremptory attitude of South Africa, the Zimbabwean Government resolutely announced the severance of its diplomatic relations with South Africa. This is a powerful counterblow to the South African authorities.

The reactionary nature of the South African racists shows that they cherish a deep hatred for the independent Zimbabwean Government. The independence of Zimbabwe which heralded the complete collapse of the Rhodesian racist regime, has greatly inspired the Namibian and Azanian peoples in their struggle against racist rule and for independence. World public opinion while denouncing the South African authorities for practicing racist policies, also urged them to carry out the UN resolutions, respect the national rights of the Namibian people and bring about the independence of Namibia according to the Zimbabwe formula. The South African authorities were panic-stricken in the face of this situation. They cried out in alarm that if this situation continued, "they would be unable to stand it" and must "remove" this "hidden peril." They therefore regard the Zimbabwean Government as a thorn in their side and have used every means to carry out subversion and create chaos in Zimbabwe in order to undermine its independence. By so doing, the racist regime in South Africa evidently hopes to prove the viability of racism. Stop the vigorous development of national liberation movements in Southern Africa and save its tottering rule. But its dream will never come true.

The sparks of the victory of the Zimbabwean people's independence will surely kindle the land of Southern Africa. The perverse acts of the South African authorities will only result in bringing about their destruction like a moth darting into a flame.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH U.S. UNIVERSITIES--Guangzhou, 17 September (XINHUA)--Two hundred and twenty-five college teachers and scientific and technical workers are taking English at the Guangzhou English Language Center. The center, jointly organized by Zhongshan University at Guangzhou and the University of California at Los Angeles, is training people who plan to go to English-speaking countries for advanced study. Four hundred students are to be trained every year. The teaching staff will consist of nine teachers from the University of California at Los Angeles and five from Zhongshan University. An opening ceremony was held yesterday at Zhongshan University. Both Huang Huanqiu, vice-president of Zhongshan University and Charles Young, president of the University of California at Los Angeles, wished the center success. [Text] [OW180353 Beijing XINHUA in English 0817 GMT 17 Sep 80]

TV DOCUMENTARY WITH JAPAN--Wuhan, 17 September (XINHUA)--The Central Television Station of China and the Sada Planning Inc. of Japan have begun shooting a television documentary about the Yangtze River, the longest river in China. It will record the scenery, pace of economic construction and the customs, culture, history and daily life of people along the river banks. The film, which will run for a total of 10 hours on completion, will be produced in two parts. The first part concentrates on Hubei, Hunan and Sichuan Provinces, on the middle and upper reaches of the Yangtze. Work on this part of the film will be finished by December this year. Scenes in Shanghai and Jiangsu and Jiangxi Provinces, on the lower Yangtze, will be shot next year. Three copies of the film will be made in Chinese, Japanese and English. Wang Huanan, head of the Chinese TV team, said the film would help the development of tourism and promote understanding between the Japanese and Chinese people. The Central Television Station of China is shooting another documentary, entitled "Silk Road," in cooperation with Japan's N.H.K. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0729 GMT 17 Sep 80]

FINANCIAL DELEGATION TO JAPAN--Beijing, 15 September (XINHUA)--A delegation of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation with Lei Renmin, vice-chairman of the board of directors of the corporation, as its deputy leader left here today for a two-week friendly visit to

Japan at the invitation of Aiichiro Fujiyama, chairman of the Japan Association for the Promotion of International Trade. Leader of the delegation is Rong Yiren, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and chairman of the board of directors of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation. He will leave for Japan a few days later. [Text] [OW160419 Beijing XINHUA in English 1609 GMT 15 Sep 80]

AUSTRALIAN BOOKS EXHIBITION--Beijing, 15 September (XINHUA)--An exhibition of Australian books opened at the China Art Gallery here this afternoon. On display are 1,300 titles from 54 Australian publishers, covering the entire spectrum of Australian non-fiction publishing, from the most erudite post-graduate research titles to simple, colourful books for children. They reflect the new aspects and advanced levels of science, culture, education and economics in Australia. Addressing the opening ceremony, Ding Bo, manager of the China National Publications Import Corporation, Hugh Alexander Dunn, Australian Ambassador to China, and Geoffrey King, president of the Australian Book Publishers Association, joined in hoping that China-Australia cooperation and exchanges in the publishing industry would continue to grow. Also attending the opening ceremony were Tong Dalin, vice-minister of the State Scientific and Technological Commission, and Chen Hanbo, acting director of the National Publishing Bureau of China, as well as over 150 Chinese visitors from the publishing, scientific, educational and other fields. [Text] [OW160419 Beijing XINHUA in English 1611 GMT 15 Sep 80]

CULTURAL DELEGATION LEAVES SHANGHAI--Shanghai, 14 September (XINHUA)--A Japanese delegation of cultural officials wound up its visit to China and left here for home today. The delegation, led by Tamio Amaha, director-general of the Public Information and Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, had toured China at the invitation of the Chinese Ministry of Culture. While the delegation was staying in Beijing, talks were held between cultural officials of the two countries. The two sides expressed satisfaction at the cultural exchanges between the two countries in recent years, and put forward proposals on further exchanges of culture, education, art and sports in 1980-1981. The two sides signed minutes of talks. [Text] [OW140832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0816 GMT 14 Sep 80]

SHIPS FOR HONG KONG--Beijing, 12 Sep (XINHUA)--Contracts under which two Chinese shipyards will build four bulk-carriers for a Hong Kong firm were signed in Beijing this afternoon. Two 27,000-ton carriers and two 36,000-tonners are to be built by the Jiangnan and Hudong shipyards of Shanghai, for World-Wide Shipping Group, Hong Kong. The four contracts were signed by Chai Shufan, chairman of the China Corporation of Shipbuilding Industry, and Yue-King Pao, chairman of World-Wide Shipping. [Text] [OW141209 Beijing XINHUA in English 1520 GMT 12 Sep 80]

EXHIBIT AT LONDON EXPOSITION--London, 12 Sep--The 6-day 24th International Small Hardware Exposition closed in London today. About 500 firms from more than 20 nations took part in the fair. Chinese small hardware products were exhibited at the fair for the first time and were welcomed by British businessmen and businessmen of other European countries. Several small hardware dealers from Taiwan visited the Chinese products exhibit and inquired about small hardware production in China. They said that they were very happy to see products from Mainland China, and hoped for the motherland's early unification. [Feature: "A Promising Market for Chinese Small Hardware Products in Europe"] [Excerpts] [OW142055 Beijing Xinhua Domestic Service in Chinese 1154 GMT 13 Sep 80]

FARM MACHINERY TO THAILAND--Zhejiang for the first time exported locally made farm machinery to Thailand. The exports include tractors, hand-operated tractors and spare parts for internal combustion engines. The number of export enterprises in the province has increased from 6 in 1979 to 26 now. [Hangzhou Zhejian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Sep 80]

JAPANESE DELEGATION IN SHANDONG--The Japan-China Friendship Youth delegation from Kyushu, Japan, arrived in Jinan 16 September. They received a warm welcome from Li Yuanrong, mayor of Jinan municipality, (Tong Xing), director of the Provincial Foreign Affairs Office and some 300 young people. They paid a visit to the Jinan Municipal People's Government and toured scenic spots, plants and schools in the municipality. That evening, they attended a party given by the provincial and municipal people's governments in their honor. Liu Zhongqian, deputy governor of the Provincial People's Government, and (Songtingyouyao), head of the delegation, addressed the party. [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 16 Sep 80] The Japan-China Friendship Youth delegation left Jinan 16 September for home via Qingdao. Li Yuanrong, mayor of Jinan municipality, and (Tong Xing), dorector of the Provincial Foreign Affairs Office, saw them off. [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Sep 80]

CSO: 4005

OBSTACLES TO FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

HK110815 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 10 Sep 80 p 2

[WEN WEI PO Editorial: "Remove All Obstacles to the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] The third session of the fifth NPC listened to the long speech of Hua Guofeng on 8 September. It was the climax of the session. In his speech, Hua pointed out that the future tasks are to reform the economic system, get rid of bureaucratism and perfect the democratic legal system. It is necessary to separate the party from the government and promote young, educated and professional people to positions of leadership. This is a blueprint of the motherland's four modernizations. It will encourage the people and aims at improving their standard of living.

Viewing the situation from abroad, the great reshuffle of the state council has aroused the most attention concerning the agenda of the session. Hua Guofeng will resign from his position as premier but will continue as party chairman; the five brilliant and senior revolutionaries Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Xu Xiangqian and Wang Zhenwu will no longer serve as vice premiers. Wang Rezhong will resign from his position as vice premier but continue to work as secretary of the CCP Central Committee and concurrently minister of the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee. Chen Yonggui has been dismissed from his post because of serious mistakes and Zhao Ziyang has been recommended for the post of premier. Zhao Ziyang will be responsible for putting forth other changes in the personnel of the state council at the NPC session. This reshuffle has the approval of patriotic Chinese in Hong Kong and Macao, overseas Chinese and friends of the Chinese people. As a matter of fact, the central authorities in China are vigorous and full of vitality.

This is a correct and important step in pushing forward the four modernizations. The administration of the central authorities is in the hands of relatively younger, better educated and professional people, while the older generation of revolutionaries are responsible for party affairs and making decisions on important matters and principles. Thus, a powerful motive force has been created in the new long march of the four modernizations in China.

However, this change alone will not insure the victorious achievement of the four modernizations. We have already pointed out that overcoming bureaucratism is the current pressing task. However, we must still examine in depth the actual conditions of the state today. There are many other problems that must be watched closely. This is because some of the central government decrees have not been implemented in certain departments and certain areas. A perfunctory attitude and feigning compliance with central orders and open opposition to central policies and guiding principles are neither rare nor limited to just a few individuals.

This is quite a serious problem which is caused on by both the existence of bureaucratism to a great extent and by the continuing remnant ideological poison created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Lu Dingyi pointed out at a group meeting of the CPPCC: "During the 'Great Cultural Revolution', Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' promoted a gang of 'rebels.' Half of the CCP members joined the party at that time." This gang of people are now scattered over various posts in the middle and lower levels and have some authority. We do not have adequate reasons to believe that all of them are good or bad. However, reality has proven that the nature of orders from the central authorities changes when they come into the hands of these people. Lu Dingyi said: "Wang Hongwen said that 'people will see the situation in 10 years' we must not forget this statement." Although the wolves--the "gang of four"--are gone now, we still must pay attention to the foxes.

This is very difficult and it takes a relatively long time to solve such a serious problem. Fundamentally speaking, it is a problem of the entire party and it is impossible to solve all kinds of problems in a day. We can only sort out the most urgent and serious ones and deal with them first.

What is the most important thing? It is that leaders of the higher and middle level must be sincere, honest and wholehearted in implementing the policy of the central authorities. What we mean by sincerity and honesty is full ideological support, and what we mean by wholeheartedness means actual practice. If leaders of the higher and middle level are not performing satisfactorily due to rigid or semirigid ways of thinking, we can put them aside for the time being. However, if they are not performing satisfactorily because they are the escaped followers of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing or they are deeply poisoned by them and refuse to repent, we should dismiss them and deal with them in accordance with the actual situation. In the past, we were too soft-hearted in dealing with such people. We only stressed patience and education. As a result, the progress of the four modernizations has been slow.

Only if higher and middle level leaders implement the policy of the central authorities, pursue the path toward modernization and strive to improve the people's living standard can we achieve all the things mentioned by Hua Guofeng in his long speech. However, we do not have a guarantee for this because the basic level leaders must also be revolutionaries. However, we must make great efforts and spend a very long time to achieve this.

"People will see the situation in 10 years" is not an empty threat. We must solve problems of bureaucraticism and personnel problems such as "a good troublemaker can become an official." While pointing out that Hua Guofeng's speech to the NPC session won warm applause, we must also point out that we must soberly face reality.

CSO: 4005

WANG BINGNAN ATTACKS THREE VICE PREMIERS

HK151132 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 12 Sep 80 p 1

[HSIN WAN PAO correspondent 12 September report from Beijing: "Wang Bingnan Criticizes Three Vice Premiers"]

[Text] During a CPPCC group discussion, Wang Bingnan, president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and former ambassador to Poland, noted: It is imperative to adopt a measure to dismiss all incompetent leading cadres from their posts. All departments must have some inspection systems to frequently check up on the work of leaders to expose incompetent leaders. Over a long period of time, we have continued to say that everything is fine. Once things go wrong, the situation will be serious. There are many problems within the petroleum, coal and metallurgical systems. We should encourage the masses to expose them.

He added: At present, being an official means having power to give arbitrary and impracticable directions. We have many vice premiers and ministers. However, some of our vice premiers and ministers are incompetent. For example, it has been pointed out by many groups that Comrades Chen Muhua, Kang Shien and Yu Qiuli do not have prestige within the party and government circles. However, they are still there. Since some prime ministers and ministers of capitalist countries are ready to accept higher or lower posts and are ready to be an official or one of the common people, is it conceivable that our socialist country cannot accomplish this? Our top-level leaders should take the lead in setting good examples.

CSO: 4005

KMT LEADERS ON PRC STATE COUNCIL RESHUFFLE

OW180105 Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Taiwan 0130 GMT 17 Sep 80

[Station reporter's report: "Achieve Long-Term Peace and Order Through Circumspection and Farsightedness--An Interview with Five Leading Comrades of the KMT Revolutionary Committee Central Committee on the Readjustment of the Leading Personnel of the State Council"]

[Text] During the period when the third session of the fifth NPC was being held, this reporter interviewed five leaders of the KMT Revolutionary Committee on the question of the readjustment of the leading personnel of the state council. They were Pei Changhui, vice chairman of the KMT Revolutionary Committee Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the fifth NPC; Zheng Dongguo, vice chairman of the KMT Revolutionary Committee Central Committee and member of the fifth CPPCC National Committee's Standing Committee; Tao Shuzeng, chairman of the Hubei Provincial Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee and member of the fifth CPPCC National Committee; Fu Xuewen, member of the Standing Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee Central Committee and member of the fifth CPPCC National Committee; and Zhang Zhen, vice chairman of the Henan Provincial Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee and member of the fifth CPPCC National Committee.

Zheng Dongguo said: The recent readjustment of the leading personnel of the state council fully evidenced the abolition of the de facto system of lifetime tenure for leading cadres. This is a way to achieve long-term peace and order through circumspection and farsightedness. Before that, the system of lifetime tenure was practiced in all socialist countries: China has set the precedent by abolishing the system. The CCP Central Committee has made the wise and correct decision of introducing young, knowledgeable and professional people into the leading posts of government at all levels. The decision has a direct bearing on the success and failure of the modernization program, hence its tremendous significance. The elderly Zheng also said: The CCP has been good at drawing on historical lessons and has avoided overconcentration of power and the practice of holding too many concurrent posts. It has realistically and clearly distinguished between the party's and the government's work and has regarded national interests as the major consideration while continuing with the reform of the structure of economic management with the ultimate aim of improving the people's livelihood. The recent readjustment of the state council's leading personnel signified a good start in reforming the leadership system of the Chinese Government. It will produce inestimable influence on China's modernization program and the great cause of motherland reunification and on the efforts to maintain and promote world peace and oppose hegemonism.

Zhang Zhen said: I was deeply moved by the fact that Chairman Hua Guofeng gave up of his own accord his concurrent post as premier of the state council, and that the five veteran comrades--Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Xu Xiangqian and Wang Zhen--gave up their concurrent posts as vice premiers. He who devotes himself to state affairs of vital importance always places the state above everything else and gives no thought to personal fame and position. The way Chairman Hua and five other prominent figures gave priority to vital state affairs reminds me of the beautiful Chinese legend of Emperor Yao passing on his position to Emperor Shun.

Pei Changhui said: I know the situation in Sichuan better, because I just came from the province to Beijing to attend the third session of the fifth NPC. Since ancient times, Sichuan has been the land of abundance. However, the 10-year turmoil during the cultural revolution brought Sichuan's economy to the brink of collapse. Under Comrade Zhao Ziyang's leadership and with the common efforts of more than 100 million people of the province, marked results have been achieved within a period of only 2 or 3 years. In agriculture, flexible policies have been adopted. The province reaped bumper harvests for 3 consecutive years, from 1977 to 1979, and increased grain output by more than 14 billion jin. In industry, communications, finance and trade, a number of measures have been adopted, namely, expanding autonomy of the enterprises, sharing profits and rewarding those who overfulfill production quotas. This has spurred a steady increase in the production of the enterprises and a constant improvement in product quality. The state plans have been overfulfilled, more profits have been made, the workers' collective welfare has improved and their personal income has increased. All this has greatly enhanced the workers' enthusiasm.

Take for instance the comprehensive appraisal of product quality at the Chongqing Printing and Dyeing Plant. The plant ranked 26th in the nation early last year, but climbed to the 3d position by the end of the year. This single example is illustrative of things in other fields. The elderly Pei said in real earnest: Comrade Zhao Ziyang is an appropriate and trustworthy man for premier of the state council. He has our resolute support and is certainly trusted by Sichuan Province's more than 100 million people. When he was first secretary of the Sichuan Provincial CCP Committee, Comrade Zhao Ziyang upheld the central authorities' principles and policies and dared to undertake reformation. In no time, Sichuan's economy was enlivened. I believe that having become premier of the state council, he will popularize throughout the country the measures that have proved effective in Sichuan Province and will enliven the national economy and bring prosperity to the whole people. This is the aspiration of the 1 billion people of China.

Tao Zhuzeng said: Since the switch of the work emphasis of the whole country, for the sake of fulfilling the central task of modernization, it has been necessary to asking young, knowledgeable and professional people to the leading posts of the government at all levels accordingly. Holding too many concurrent posts prevents one from acquiring professional skill in his work. This is not in line with current developments. The progress of the modernization drive will be seriously affected if no measure is taken to improve the situation of leading members holding too many concurrent posts. I have come across situations like this: The people at the grassroots who are familiar with the actual situation but who have no power to decide cannot but refer the situation to the higher authorities for instruction. But the people higher up always make decisions before they have the time to grasp the essence of the situation, because they hold too many posts concurrently. Some leaders merely draw circles on official documents and pass them on to the next office. Therefore, problems that would have been readily solved are handled poorly or drag on endlessly. I sincerely admire Chairman Hua Guofeng for his circumspection and farsightedness, for avoiding overconcentration of power and holding of too many concurrent posts in order to achieve long-term peace and order, and for setting the example by giving up his post as premier of the state council.

Fu Xuewen said: State leaders like Comrade Zhao Ziyang and others who are in the prime of life are full of vitality, enterprising spirit and talent. They have performed meritorious service for the party, the government and the military and have accumulated rich experience. By promoting them to the leading posts and by enlisting the support of Chairman Hua and other veteran party leaders for them, the government will be able to quickly raise the quality and efficiency of its work and will guarantee the continuity and stability of its correct leadership. The elderly Fu also said: All things acquire vitality through metabolism. The recent readjustment of the leading personnel of the state council showed that the CCP and the great motherland have great vitality. This is only a beginning. This example should be used as a force to improve government at all levels below the state council. The lower bodies will follow the examples of the higher authorities, and comrades who firmly implement the party line, who can find their bearings independently in work and who are in the prime of life will be assigned to the leading posts at all levels. This is of immediate significance to strengthening collective leadership and abolishing the system of life-time tenure. It will certainly accelerate the pace of China's modernization drive.

CSO: 4005

EDITORIAL URGES PUNISHMENT OF CHEN YONGGUI

HK151208 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 13 Sep 80 p 2

[Editorial: "Demanding the Punishment of Chen Yonggui"]

[Text] The third session of the fifth NPC has ended with favorable comments from people both inside and outside the country. The future task is how to implement the spirit of the NPC session.

During this session, the serious crime of Chen Yonggui, former vice premier of the state council, was exposed. Although he has been dismissed from his post, people are waiting to see how this case will be further handled.

In view of his crimes exposed at an initial stage, the salient ones are:

He made use of Dazhai and used the approach of deceiving those above and bullying those below to create a sham model and obtain great prestige and good salary.

He did not pay attention to the experts' opinion and presumptuously promoted the construction work of "drawing water from west to east" in Xiyang. This wasted tens of million yuan which was double the economic losses of the capsized "Bohai No 2."

He suppressed people who had given him friendly advice and criticized the construction of "drawing water from west to east" in Xiyang, creating a number of murder cases.

He indulged his son Chen Yanai to take advantage of his privileges to insult women and do harm to people of Xiyang; and so forth.

It is said that Chen Yonggui and another responsible person from Dazhai Guo Fenglian made a self-criticism at a group meeting of the Shanxi People's Congress. However, the truth has not been made known. It is necessary to let people throughout the country know about this important case. In our opinion, it is necessary to investigate the Chen Yonggui case to consolidate and rectify the state laws and party discipline. Where the Chen Yonggui case is concerned, we should not just talk about it at the plenary session of the NPC and at the session of the CPPCC but we should inflict strict punishment on him. We suggest that:

Departments concerned carry out a serious investigation of Chen Yonggui;

The standing committee of the NPC be responsible for looking into the Chen Yonggui case and send personnel to get in touch with all departments concerned. They must get all the facts of the case and still exercise supervision in the course of handling the case. At the same time, the standing committee of the NPC should send representatives to Shanxi to carry out an investigation and then make a report to the people;

The highest people's procuratorate take the lead in playing its procuratorial and prosecuting role. It must exercise its independent authority given to it under the constitution;

Public opinion be responsible for speaking the truth, and waging an unremitting struggle against bureaucratism. Cadres who were derelict in their duty must strive to promote democracy and the legal system.

In our opinion, the Chen Yonggui case is not an isolated phenomenon of bureaucratism, but a disaster caused by indulging in feudal dictatorship. It has both historical and social roots. Chen Yonggui was first a peasant. After that he speculated in politics and rose to a high position. He has done many evil things but has not been punished for a long time. This reflects many problems existing in the state leadership system, cadre system and the democratic legal system. We must act in accordance with the democratic spirit of the third session of the fifth NPC and the experiences and lessons obtained from the Chen Yonggui case to punish the past criminals and caution others and stop privilege seeking and bureaucratism from growing in the future.

The handling of the Chen Yonggui case and other cases of dereliction of duty on the part of important cadres will serve as a test of the utilization of the people's democratic rights and symbolize the state's path toward rule by law.

Therefore, we demand that the state punish Chen Yonggui to show gratitude to everyone in the country.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

BIOGRAPHY OF CPPCC VICE CHAIRMAN BURHAN SHAHIDI

OW121523 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 12 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, 12 September (XINHUA)--Following is a biography of Burhan Shahidi, newly-elected vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference:

Burhan Shahidi, a member of the Uygur nationality from Wensu county, Xinjiang, was born in 1894, and joined the Communist Party of China in 1949. Burhan studied at Berlin University in 1929, began working for the revolution in Moscow in 1933 and later returned to Xinjiang for underground work. He was vice-chairman of the revolutionary coalition government of three regions in Xinjiang in 1946, and worked for the peaceful liberation of Xinjiang in 1949.

After the liberation of Xinjiang, he served as chairman of the provincial government, a Standing Committee member of the Xinjiang sub-bureau of the CPC Central Committee and member of the Military and Political Commission of Northwest China. Beginning from 1953, he served as vice-chairman of the CPPCC National Committee and chairman of the Chinese Islamic Association. After 1956, he became director of the Nationalities Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, vice-president of the Political Science and Law Association of China, and vice-chairman of the China Peace Committee. He was elected a Standing Committee member of the CPPCC National Committee in 1978.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

VICE PREMIER'S SON CALLED PLAYBOY--During the CPPCC group discussions, some people noted: Chen Yonggui's son is called "Chen Yanei." This is because he is a playboy and has humiliated many women. He has owned several cars, sold any car he disliked and pocketed the money from the selling of the car. Some other people also noted: We hear that two vice premiers have become relatives by the marriage of their son and daughter and that a special plane was used for the marriage. Some senior cadres' children have smuggled television sets and recorders from Hong Kong into China. Some other senior cadres' children in Guangzhou have smuggled medicinal materials and gold out of China. No ordinary senior cadres' children are capable of doing these things. It is imperative to investigate these affairs seriously. [HSIN WAN PAO correspondent 12 September report from Beijing: "CPPCC Discloses that Chen Yonggui's Son Has Humiliated Women and Amused Himself With Cars"] [Text] [HK151124 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 12 Sep 80 p 1]

NEW GUANGDONG MUNICIPAL MAYOR--According to a report by the ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE, Wu Nansheng, the current secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and chairman of the Guangdong Management Committee for Special Economic Zones, has been officially appointed as first secretary of the Shenzhen Municipal CCP Committee and mayor of Shenzhen municipality. [TA KUNG PAO report: "Wu Nansheng Is Concurrently Mayor of Shenzhen Municipality"] [Text] [HK180705 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 18 Sep 80 p 2]

CSO: 4005

PLA DEPUTIES' BOYCOTT OF NPC DISCUSSION DEFENDED

OW160637 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 13 Sep 80

[Text] During the third session of the fifth NPC, four deputies from the PLA abruptly withdrew from a panel discussion in great anger, and two other PLA deputies indignantly walked out at an ongoing plenary meeting of the NPC session. These incidents happened for the first time in the NPC's history. We cannot deny the fact that they were serious incidents and have had very bad consequences.

However, it is necessary to see both aspects of these comrades' boycott actions; we cannot seize upon one point and ignore the overall picture. As a matter of fact, they were compelled to do so.

The question that prompted their walking out is why the 3-point joint proposal put forward at the NPC session by our PLA deputies was deliberately slandered and flagrantly rejected with the remark that their proposal could in no way represent the PLA. Their proposal calls for a reinvestigation of the Lin Biao incident; an investigation of the "571 Engineering Project" forged by Kang Sheng, Wang Dongxing and Zhang Chunqiao; and a reexamination of the cases of more than 370 PLA cadres involved in the Lin Biao incident, as well as their rehabilitation. These cadres included the former PLA chief of general staff Huang Hongsheng and the former PLA branch directors and unit commanders Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo, Ma Ning, Ding Sheng and Long Shujin.

We cannot make use of the trial of the gang of four to strike at PLA cadres. It is necessary to proceed from the fact that the above cadres were assigned by Chairman Mao to leading posts at the central level and in the PLA and to handle the problem (?of their rehabilitation). The joint proposal put forward by PLA deputies has nothing wrong [words indistinct] and is basically correct. It represents the demand of numerous PLA cadres. We should know that our army cadres have never received such heavy blows and been so cruelly persecuted as they were during the heyday of the gang of four, especially (?since Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping came to power at the Party Central Committee).

After the downfall of the gang of four, the Party Central Committee and its military commission decided to eliminate chaos, restore order and redress and correct the frameup and false cases in an effort to handle the problems left by history by seeking truth from facts. However, there are still more than 10,000 army cadre cases left unsettled because of their involvement in the Lin Biao and the gang of four incidents, and these cases still bear unjust, false or wrong charges and sentences. Moreover, after the screening of the Lin Biao incident and the trial of the gang of four, a large number of PLA cadres will be dismissed or ordered to retire. Can we say all this is a normal phenomenon?

At a meeting of the Central Military Commission and a meeting of the Party Central Committee's political bureau held prior to the opening of the third session of the fifth NPC, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping and two other leaders at the central level stressed that many PLA cadres have profound feelings for Lin Biao, who shielded them during the cultural revolution, and that they did all kinds of evil things when PLA units were engaged in the "three supports and two militaries" tasks. They made this charge without objectivity but with a view of taking revenge. What the PLA did during the cultural revolution was done under orders of Mao Zedong, chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. The instructions given by Lin Biao to the PLA were either instructions from Chairman Mao or instructions approved by him. How can we repeatedly strike at PLA cadres who were merely carrying out orders?

As for the person of Lin Biao, we also cannot negate everything about him and his whole personal history by merely judging him during a given period or by judging one of his deeds. He was one of the principal leaders of our army who performed indelible services in various periods of the Chinese revolution. Although he committed mistakes by closely following Mao Zedong during the cultural revolution, later he came to a sudden realization of his mistakes. Thus, he fell in the trap set for him by the gang of four and Kang Sheng.

We are not assessing the performance of Mao Zedong, the principal party and army leader, during the 10-year catastrophe in a true way of seeking truth from facts. Why else should we assess Lin Biao in a way of mixing our personal grudges against him with a number of external causes? Any erroneous conclusion in the assessment of Lin Biao should be resolutely corrected regardless of who made the conclusion or whoever came to the conclusion by whoever's instructions. As for PLA cadres who call for a correct handling of the Lin Biao incident, we must not censure, persecute and frame them.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

COMMENTS ON MILITARY SPENDING, NATIONAL DEFENSE

OW160601 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 11 Sep 80

[Text] Shortly before the third session of the fifth NPC, the minister of finance and the minister in charge of the State Planning Commission were hastily replaced, ending temporarily the dispute that had been going on for nearly 7 months on the military budget. However, in discussing the two reports [by Yao Yilin and Wang Bingqian at the NPC session], the various PLA services and arms and PLA units have raised many practical questions. Even quite a number of middle-level and high-level cadres are doubtful and worried whether the army's modernization will be adversely affected by the control of financial economic powers by Wang Bingqian and Yao Yilin.

Many comrades feel that cutting back military expenditure and speeding up modernization of national defense are contradictory to each other. This is to expect the horse to run fast while cutting its feed.

This strong reaction of military cadres to the military budget and to the new choices of personnel for the Ministry of Finance and the State Commission of Planning is quite normal. This is because: First, military expenditure indeed has a direct bearing on army-building; and second, no exact figure of military expenditure has ever been reported in the country and in the army since the Eighth Party Congress. Therefore, when PLA cadres hear about the cutting down of the military budget, they cannot help feeling all kinds of doubts and misgivings. Their doubts and misgivings are groundless.

It is well known that our country's military expenditure is much higher now than in the early period following the founding of the People's Republic. Even in the past few years, since the Party Central Committee decided to place the emphasis on agriculture, light industry, scientific research and culture and education, the direct and open military budget still has been 15 percent higher than agricultural investment and 30 percent higher than the budget for culture, education, scientific research and public health.

Furthermore, funds for national defense are far from limited to a single source, the military budget. For example, a very large part of the funds for research on nuclear missiles, electronic equipment and other sophisticated weapons and military installations which require huge amounts of money, is paid under scientific research projects. Under the state council, four machine building ministries directly or indirectly serve national defense. Local national defense installations too are built with local help. Even more important, the progress of the modernization of the army does not entirely depend on the size of the military budget, but on correct and reasonable use of funds.

For example, this year's regular military budget is 2.94 billion yuan less than last year's. Judging by the figures, it seems to be a sizable reduction. However, a month-long limited war was fought against Vietnam last year, and military expenditure rose sharply by more than 2 billion yuan. In future, if someone again becomes hotheaded and forces the army to embark on an adventure like that, in which we lost more than we gained, then even the addition of another several billion yuan to the military budget will not help the modernization of our army at an early date.

It goes without saying that armed forces, ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign, always hope that more should be spent for the military to strengthen equipment, raise fighting capacity, give pay increases to military personnel and strive to gain overwhelming military superiority over other countries.

However, the armed forces are a component part of the state and cannot grow independently. If hundreds of things remain to be done in a country, especially if heavy industry is backward, modernization of the army is unthinkable. Yet due to mistakes in guiding ideology, political line and economic policies in the past few years, our country's steel production will remain at the 1979 level in 1981, petroleum production will hover at the same level for 3 years, production of motor vehicles including military vehicles will drop by 20,000 units, and tractor production will drop by 25 percent. [Figures for motor vehicle and tractor production not given] This is to say, if steel, petroleum and power output and scientific research cannot be pushed forward, a huge military budget not only will fail to hasten the modernization of national defense, but on the contrary will adversely affect the national economic development as a whole.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

AIR FORCE ENGINEER GRADUATE--Wuhan, 6 Sep--Zeng Guoliang, a 36-year-old air force engineer attached to a certain Chinese air force unit, recently passed an Education Ministry examination for pursuing study abroad and will soon leave for the United States to study at the graduate school of the University of California. Before he passed the examination, he was a graduate school student of the Huazhong Engineering College. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0140 GMT 6 Sep 80]

CSO: 4005

MEMORIAL SERVICE HELD FOR PRC WRITER PERSECUTED BY LIN BIAO

OW151257 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 15 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, 15 September (XINHUA)--A memorial meeting was held here today for the writer Yang Shuo.

Yang Shuo was vice-chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and chairman of the Foreign Literature Committee under the Chinese Writers' Association. He died on 3 August 1968, at the age of 55 under persecution of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing.

The memorial speech described Yang Shuo as "a prose writer of influence and loved by the masses" "who left behind a large amount of writings portraying the natural beauty and people of Asian and African countries and supporting the struggles of the third world countries for independence, democracy, freedom and liberation." The speech was delivered by Lin Lin, vice-president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

"Yang Shuo made active contributions to increasing mutual understanding and friendship among peoples of the world," said Lin Lin.

Yang Shuo joined the Chinese revolution in 1937 when he did cultural and propaganda work in the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army in Shanxi Province. In 1946 he took part in the war of liberation as a war correspondent. When the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea began he went to the battlefields and wrote the novel "Three Thousand Li of Mountains and Rivers" on Korean patriotism.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BACKGROUND OF BEIJING PEOPLE'S ART THEATER

OW181214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 18 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, 18 September (XINHUA)--The Beijing People's Art Theater will be China's first professional modern drama company to visit the West when it makes its European debut later this month.

Set up in June 1952, the theater has an experienced staff of 300 and a repertory of 160 plays. Built on the pattern of a national theater, it has developed its own style of performing art and established its own standards for training stage artists.

Cao Yu, playwright for half a century and now president of the Chinese Dramatists Association, is president of the theater. The late Jiao Juyin, whose stage career is of national renown, was its general stage director.

The theater works on a system of the president being in full charge of production. An art committee of experts works under him to give advice on selecting new plays and choosing the cast.

Decades of hard work and close cooperation has built up a great understanding between the theater and three prominent contemporary writers, the late Guo Moro, Lao She and Cao Yu himself. Guo Moro, majestic and pursuasive, Lao She, sharp and humorous, and Cao Yu, intelligent and dramatic, have joined forces to build a repertory for the theater famed for its style and grace and a natural simplicity acquired from strict training.

A center of attraction for young ambitious writers throughout the years, the theater received more than 100 new plays in 1979. For those of promise, it organized discussions and offered expoert help, a practice much appreciated by the public.

As with all state theaters, it is supported by government subsidies, in its case amounting to 200 to 400 thousand yuan a year. High is the cost of costume and decor of classical plays and new productions, but the tickets of this leading drama theater of the country are sold at ordinary low prices. Directors and performers receive wages from the government, and there are extra pays for performance activities and evening rehearsals.

The theater has over 100 veteran dramatists who began their career as early as the 1930's. Recruits are drawn each year from graduates of drama institutes as well as from amateur talents. Three times in the past two decades, the theater has enlisted new people from among students and factory and rural youth, totalling 100. After three years of training, 20 of these met the requirements for joining the theater, while the rest were given work in other drama companies. All the dozen new plays the theater staged in the past 2 years offered three casts, to give the new comers an early chance of the limelight.

Many of the theater's directors and actors lecture at drama and cinema institutes. More than 150 amateur drama troupes have received coaching from the theater.

Prior to the opening night of every new production, the theater gives dress rehearsals to people of different professions and circles to listen to their suggestions.

CSO: 4020

EXHIBITION IN BEIJING BY ART STUDENTS

OW140318 Beijing XINHUA in English 0217 GMT 14 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, 14 September (XINHUA)--An exhibition at the Central Academy of Fine Arts of works by students of institutes of arts and crafts from all parts of China will close on 15 September.

Among the 500 pieces on display are Chinese traditional paintings, wood cuts, oil paintings, sculptures, sketches and handicrafts. These exhibits were selected from works contributed by 2,400 students studying in China's eight academies of fine arts and institutes of arts and crafts.

A wood cut, named "A New Chapter," done by Han Likun, first year graduate student at the Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts expresses the importance of intellectuals in the new period of construction. It is a powerful representation using mathematical formulae to outline the head of a teacher.

Gao Xiaohua, a second year student at the Sichuan Academy of Fine Arts, has two prize-winning paintings included among the exhibits. One called "I Love the Oil Field" shows the different attitudes of a young man and a young woman toward working at a remote oil field. The other painting called "Why" shows several bandaged young Red Guards after a fight. The painting shows the misery of these young people.

Since the opening of the exhibition on 1 September, it has been visited by many artists and art lovers. Jiang Feng, president of the Chinese Artists' Association, remarked that this exhibition reflected the swift development of art education in the past 3 years. Many visitors have been impressed by the creativeness of the students in their presentation of subject matter and painting techniques. Ye Qianyu, a well-known painter and vice-president of the Chinese Artists' Association, particularly praised the oil painting "At the Foot of Daba Mountain" done by Luo Zhongli, a third year student at the Sichuan Academy of Fine Arts, saying it embodies the feeling of today and the expectations of tomorrow.

During the "cultural revolution" all eight academies of fine arts and institutes of arts and crafts in China were closed. Many teachers were sent to work on farms. After the downfall of the "gang of four" these institutes were reopened. Now this joint exhibition demonstrates their achievements of the past 3 years and also gives them a chance to exchange experience.

After closing in Beijing, this exhibition will be taken to Chengdu, Xian, Shenyang, Hangzhou and Guangzhou.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

FOLK LITERATURE STUDY--Beijing, 11 Sep (XINHUA)--The China Society for the Study of Folk Literature and Art has set up branches or preparatory committees in 25 provinces and the city of Shanghai, according to the latest issue of the monthly journal "FOLK LITERATURE," These local groups are collecting folk tales and songs. More than 50 new books of folk literature have been published in the past 2 years, including "Chinese Folk Tales," "Essays on Chinese Folk Literature," and fairy tales, animal stories and folk tales of the Mongolian, and Dauer and She nationalities, legends of peasant uprisings and stories about folk heroes. Almost all of the major books in this field banned during the "cultural revolution" have been reissued. Periodicals and books on folk literature are being put out in Hebei, Henan, Jaingsu, Sichuan, Hunan, Yunnan and Guizhou Provinces. Before the "cultural revolution" there was only one such magazine in the whole country. "MANASS" in the Kirgiz language and "GESAR," a Tibetan epic being put out volume by volume in the Tibetan language, have been well received. [Text] [OW111243 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 11 Sep 80]

CALLIGRAPHY COURSES--Beijing, 11 Sep (XINHUA)--The Chinese Calligraphy School set up in central Beijing last month reported today that it is getting between 100 and 200 applications a day for lessons in this traditional art form. Wang Mingyun, an official of the China National Calligraphy Association which was also formed last month and which established the school, said: "Letters are pouring in from other parts of the country applying for correspondence courses." The school's Saturday night course in basic calligraphy and regular script runs for 3 months. Public interest in calligraphy has been increasing for several years. Calligraphy lessons have been reintroduced at primary and middle schools, exhibitions have been held in a number of cities, and noted calligraphers have toured schools, factories, army units and country districts to teach. Some 20,000 people attended the First National Calligraphy and Seal-Cutting Exhibition at Beijing's Palace Museum in July. Wang Mingyun said it was gratifying that many of them were young people who were deprived of cultural studies during the "cultural revolution." [Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 11 Sep 80]

CSO: 4020

END

JPRS 76547

3 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 123

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76547

3 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 123

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Singapore Booklet on ASEAN Stand on Kampuchea UN Seat
(XINHUA, 18 Sep 80).. 1

Sino-Japanese Telecommunications Cable Break Investigated
(Ma Chiu-ming; TUNG HSIANG, 16 Jul 80)........................ 3

Mugabe Urges Peace for Zimbabwe
(XINHUA, 22 Sep 80).. 8

Western Media on Deteriorating Iraqi-Iranian Relations
(XINHUA, 19 Sep 80).. 9

Iran-Iraq Hostilities Escalate
(XINHUA, 20 Sep 80).. 11

Heroics of FRG Ambassador, Wife Cited
(XINHUA, 21 Sep 80).. 12

Views Upcoming General Election in Portugal
(Wang Zhigen; XINHUA Domestic Service, 20 Sep 80)...... 13

New Turkish Government Formed
(XINHUA, 22 Sep 80).. 15

New Turkish Premier Addresses First Cabinet Meeting
(XINHUA, 23 Sep 80).. 16

Xinjiang Ancient Burial Excavations Exhibition Featured
(XINHUA, 19 Sep 80).. 17

Beijing Sets Up Home Counseling Research Center
(XINHUA, 20 Sep 80)................................. 19

Beijing Dress Design Students Hold Fashion Show
(XINHUA, 23 Sep 80)................................. 21

Briefs
Hangzhou Delegation to Boston 23
Yugoslav Journalists in Nanjing 23
U.S. Botanists Activities 23
Study Group to U.S. 23
Japanese Agricultural Group 24
SRV Typhoon 24
Envoy Banquet in Switzerland 24
Yugoslav Official in Greece 24
Kampucheans Attack SRV Aggressors 25
Asian Basketball Championships 25
PRC Team Beats Japan 25
Netherlands Agricultural Delegation 26
U.S. Fashion Show 26
OPEC Oil Production Cut 26
Cuba Returns Hijackers 26
West Berlin Railroad Strike 27
Journalist Delegation Departs 27
Beijing Industrial Art Show 28
Shanghai Educational Counseling 28
Polish Official Embezzlement Charges 28
Soviet Minister Visits Cuba 29

PARTY AND STATE

Explanation of County-Level Direct Elections
(Zhang Huanguang; RENMIN RIBAO, 20 Aug 80)............... 30

High Election Turnout in Minority County of Sichuan
(RENMIN RIBAO, 20 Aug 80)................................. 32

New Book Attempts To Answer Queries on Electoral System
(RENMIN RIBAO, 20 Aug 80)................................. 33

New State Council Arrangements Reported
(HSIN WAN PAO, 19 Sep 80)................................. 34

Ye Xuanping's Guangzhou Appointment Reported
(Chien Chen; TUNG HSIANG, 16 Sep 80)...................... 36

Comments on Trial of 'Gang of Four'
(HSIN WAN PAO, 17 Sep 80)................................. 38

Management of Leading Cadres Criticized
(RENMIN RIBAO, 19 Aug 80)............................ 40

Redressing Unjust, Frame-up, Misjudged Cases Speeded Up
(RENMIN RIBAO, 8 Aug 80)............................. 42

Errant Zhejiang Cadres' Attempted Reprisals Scored
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 22 Aug 80).......................... 46

Shanghai Meeting Stresses Importance of Discipline
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 22 Jun 80)........................... 50

Model Cadre Continues Work Despite Terminal Illness
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 1 Jul 80)............................ 53

'RENMIN RIBAO' Chief Editor's 'Victory' Reported
(Tzu Lin;TUNG HSIANG, 16 Sep 80)..................... 55

Economic, Cultural Policies for Tibet To Be Changed
(Zhang Yeping; JIEFANG RIBAO, 20 Jun 80)............. 57

Background of Bohai No 2 Incident Given
(Chu Chung-yi; TUNG HSIANG, 16 Sep 80)............... 62

Briefs

National Minority Visiting Group 68
Nei Monggol NPC Deputies 68
Hubei Domestic Forum 68
Hunan Rural Propaganda Conference 69
Jiangxi Development 69
Heilongjiang Legal Offices 69
Hunan CPPCC Soiree 69
CCP Committees 70
Jilin Autumn Festival Party 70
Minority Visitors in Heilongjiang 71
Heilongjiang People's Congress Circular 71
Heilongjiang Rally 71
Liaoning CPPCC Session 71
Shanghai Taiwan Compatriots Gathering 72
Zhejiang City Report Meeting 72

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Hong Kong Newspaper on General Xu's Plan To Write Memoirs
(Chung Hsin; TA KUNG PAO, 17 Sep 80)..................... 73

Briefs

Xinjiang's Disabled Servicemen 75
Urumqi PLA Units Decision 75

Fujian Remittance Embezzlers 75
Tianjin Memorial Service 76
Xinjiang PLA Model 76

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Editorials Offer Basic Solutions for Employment Problems
(ZHONGGUO XINWEN, 14 Aug 80)............................ 77

Advantages of New Employment Policy Explained
(ZHONGGUO XINWEN, 14 Aug 80)............................ 79

PRC Offers Employment to Young Intellectuals
(ZHONGGUO XINWEN, 12 Aug 80)............................ 81

Hong Kong Paper on Jinan University's Difficulties
(Editorial; WEN WEI PO, 17 Sep 80)...................... 83

'BEIJING RIBAO' Comments on Domestic Tourism
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 21 Sep 80).................... 85

Teaching of Minority Dialects Stepped Up in Sichuan
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 3 Aug 80)............................. 86

Middle School Educational Policy Reforms Proposed
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 5 Aug 80)............................. 88

One Child per Couple Urged
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 11 Aug 80)............................ 90

Briefs

Jiangxi Library Association 93
Anhui Cultural Relics Conference 93
Shandong Student Enrollment 93
Beijing People's University 94
Heilongjiang Academic Symposium 94
Harbin Middle School 94
Heilongjiang Literary, Art Troupe 94
Nei Monggol Cadre Training 94
Beijing Family Education Society 94
Heilongjiang Educational Bureau Conference 95
Shanghai Book Exchange Meeting 95
Zhejiang Nonresident Students 95
Shanghai Workers Education 96
Gansu Artists Congress 96
Secondary School Reforms 96
Nei Monggol Radio-TV University 97

SINGAPORE BOOKLET ON ASEAN STAND ON KAMPUCHEA UN SEAT

OW181612 Beijing XINHUA in English 1557 GMT 18 Sep 80

[Text] Bangkok, September 18 (XINHUA)--ASEAN states (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) reject the so-called solution of a "vacant seat" for Kampuchea in the United Nations and advocate the seating of Democratic Kampuchea, declares Singapore's Foreign Ministry in a booklet being distributed here.

The booklet entitled "From Phnom Penh to Kabul" was published by the ministry and was distributed by the embassy of Singapore here yesterday and today.

The 52-page booklet adds that the vacant seat formula peddled by Soviet and Vietnamese sympathizers is only a round-about way of eventually getting endorsement of a puppet regime in Phnom Penh, thus rewarding the aggressor by punishing the victim.

Emphasizing the importance of taking a stand, the booklet argues as follows: "In short, we will be voting for something more fundamental than the integrity of Kampuchea and Afghanistan." We will be voting against the establishment of a new imperial order.

"If we, as the Vietnamese and their friends demand, seat the Heng Samrin regime, then we would be betraying those who are resisting Vietnamese aggression." "If we approve of the Soviet action in Afghanistan by voting for it in this organisation (U.N.--Edit.), that would be a betrayal," the booklet stresses.

"In ASEAN's view, the main cause of the present strife and tension in Southeast Asia, which has produced a sustained threat to the security of Thailand, is the continued Vietnamese military occupation of Kampuchea. ASEAN opposes all manoeuvres to divert world attention from this fundamental issues.... It condemns all attempts to create a military fait accompli which is in flagrant violation of the U.N. Charter and international law," the booklet emphasises.

The booklet links Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, its threats against Thailand and the Soviet takeover in Afghanistan, saying that the wars in Afghanistan and Kampuchea are the forerunners of a new world empire. The arguments so far offered by the Soviet Union to justify its armed intervention in Afghanistan and those by the Vietnamese for their way in Kampuchea serve only to strengthen our conviction that other new Afghanistans and new Kampucheas are in the making, it notes.

Dealing with the so-called Chinese threat used by Vietnam to justify its actions the booklet writes: "The 'Chinese threat' the Vietnamese then propounded was a cover for imperialist designs just as four decades ago Hitler used the 'Bolshevik menace' as a cover for occupying almost all of Europe." The "Chinese threat" now is no more than a cover for the permanent occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnam, it says.

ASEAN hopes that the Vietnamese troops really return to Vietnam to rebuild their war shattered country instead of ravaging the lands of others, the booklet concludes.

CSO: 4020

SINO-JAPANESE TELECOMMUNICATIONS CABLE BREAK INVESTIGATED

Hong Kong TUNG HSIANG in Chinese No 22, 16 Jul 80 pp 49-50

[Article by Ma Chiu-ming [7456 8003 2494]: "Espionage at the Bottom of the East China Sea; The Mysterious Breaking of the Sino-Japanese Telecommunications Cables"]

[Text] The wide East China Sea is a rich fishery zone. Each day, fishing boats from China, Taiwan and Japan ply the sea. On the surface nothing seems abnormal. But in the deep waters below the green waves are hidden many "conspiracies." Mysterious happenings that defy understanding have occurred one after the other.

A 'Pip' Sound and All Was Quiet

Lying calmly at the bottom of the East China Sea is a trans-oceanic communications cable connecting China and Japan. It is busily working every day. On 16 May, following a "pip" sound, communications between the two places suddenly broke and were silent. Something happened to the telecommunications cable. Japan's Kokusai Denshin Denwa Company (abbreviated KDD) immediately reconnected the line of transmission between the two places by switching to the international commercial satellite communications system's communications satellite over the Pacific Ocean.

Manfunctioning of telecommunications cables is a very routine and ordinary occurrence. The KDD immediately dispatched a ship "the KDD" to the site of the malfunction to investigate and carry out repairs. However, strangely, the broken off portion of the trans-oceanic cable was very unusual, unlike ordinary damage.

Even though cables break frequently, this is the third time since China and Japan reestablished bilateral relations in October of 1976, that this trans-oceanic cable connecting communications between the two nations has had problems.

The Time of the Three Breaks Are 'Coincidental'

Even more suspicious is the question of the three occurrences of the breaks in the cables. They all occurred during the period just prior to the pending visits of high ranking Chinese officials to Japan. The first malfunction occurred when Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping was about to visit Japan. The second when Foreign Trade Minister Li Qiang was visiting Japan. The third occurred a few days before Premier Hua Guofeng was to visit Japan. Such a coincidence makes people think naturally that the breaking of the cable might be due to human factors? Although at present the Chinese and Japanese have not yet been able to find out the actual cause of the malfunctions, analysis from all sources coincidentally indicate that an international conspiracy was behind them. The deep sea hides espionage!

Let us analyze the background of the incidents of malfunctions of the trans-oceanic cables from the detailed accounts of the three incidents.

The Sino-Japanese telecommunications cable lies at the bottom of the East China Sea connectiong Reihoku Town, Tenkusa Prefecture, Kumamoto County, Kyushu, Japan, and China's Nanhui of Shanghai City. There are 480 lines in the cable but at present only 20 of the telephone lines, 19 teletype lines and 4 telegraphic lines are normally used.

At 1618 hours on the afternoon of 16 May before Hua Guofeng visited Japan, the cable suddenly malfunctioned. Communications between the two nations suddenly ceased. Japan's KDD Company immediately took emergency measures and borrowed the Pacific communications satellite to maintain and continue communications between the two places. In addition, it made contact with the Shanghai Post and Telecommunications Bureau and both sides used test waves to check the lines. Finally, the location where the cable malfunctioned was found to be near 30°12' N latitude and 124°30' east longitude, about 250 kilometers from Nanfeng County, Shanghai City and about 600 kilometers from Japan's Reihoku Town on the continental shelf, at a depth of 50 meters.

The Cable Can Bear a Pull of Seven Tons

The Sino-Japanese trans-oceanic cable was connected on 25 October 1976. It is about 850 kilometers long. The central part of the cable is a thick steel wire braided together with 40 special steel wires and wrapped in thin copper. In addition, the outer layer is wrapped with insulating materials about 1 inch thick. Then, the core is wrapped layer by layer with insulating material and copper conducting wires, forming an electrical cable of about 2.5 inches thick. Tests proved that this type of cable can bear a pull of 7 tons.

Two-thirds of the length of this cable lie near China on the continental shelf at a depth of from 50 to 100 meters. The one-third near Japan lies at the deep parts of the so-called "Ryukyu Basin." The deepest part is 800 meters. The continental shelf where the cable lies is a well known netting ground for eels and hairtails. Everyday, fishing boats from China, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan conduct massive operations here. Taking this into consideration, China and Japan paid attention to the possible damage the fishing nets and the lead anchors of the fishing nets might bring to the trans-oceanic cable when the cable was laid. Therefore, in laying the cable in this region, a trench of 60 to 70 inches deep was dug at the bottom of the sea, and then the cable was placed inside the trench and buried. Theoretically, the cable can bear a pull of 7 tons. Being hidden inside the deep trench, it is very difficult to break. Yet, surprisingly, the broken portion of the cable is exactly at this place considered to be most perfectly protected.

Thus, after the cable broke, the general manager of Japan's KDD company, Ishikawa Kyokubo was puzzled and said: "This is the third time that something has happened! Even the cable that is laid near an unloading and loading dock and in the rivers where waves are strong like the Japan-U.S. trans-oceanic cable has broken only once up till now." But the Sino-Japanese cable has continued to break. How can this not cause suspicion?

In retrospect, the first occurrence when the Sino-Japanese trans-oceanic cable break occurred at 0505 hours on the morning of 11 October 1978. The location was 31°14' north latitude and 125°01' east longitude. The second time was at 1544 hours on the afternoon of 22 January 1980, at 31°22' north latitude and 127°18' east longitude.

Two Giant Strips of Broken Traces

After the two occurrences of mysterious breaking of the trans-oceanic cable, the Chinese and Japanese met to discuss the matter and reached an agreement. The Japanese dispatched a repair vessel "KDD" (the vessel weighs 4,300 tons with Captain Yoshida Mi at the helm and 76 crewmen). The vessel inspected the site. China dispatched a repair vessel "Youdian No 1" to help. The two nations repaired the broken cable and investigated the cause of breaking. It was a pity that the first time both sides spent a total of 300 million Japanese yen (shared equally by both sides) and the second time they spent 80 million Japanese yen but the real reason of the occurrence has not yet been clarified.

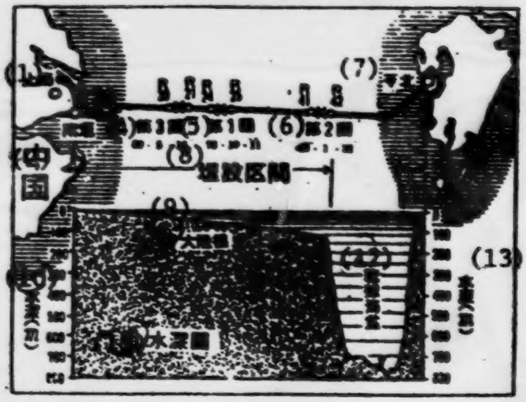
Results of the investigation reveal that the cross section of the broken cable shows that the hard insulation material that was about 1 inch thick was stretched lengthwise like molasses while the special steel wire wrapped within seemed to have been torn apart by a strong and violent force. Also, the supersonic "sonar" placed at the site of the broken cable to detect the topography of the sea floor indicated that two very deep "cuts" were present at the place where the cable was buried deep in the trench. The cuts were apart at a 30 degree angle. The "cuts" were like the traces left after a giant truck had run over a cable. The two cuts were about 90 meters apart and continued for about 1 kilometer. In other words, about 1 kilometer of the transoceanic cable had been torn apart.

Based on the "cuts" left on the bottom of the sea, people first wondered whether this could have been caused by the dragging of an anchor of fishing boats netting fish. However, according to President of the Deep Sea Net Fishery Association of Nagasaki City, Japan, Tokushima Kitaro, it is impossible. The anchors of fishing boats can only drag along some rocks at the bottom of the sea at most, and they cannot create such "huge cuts."

Soviet Destroyers Are Monitoring the Area

Various pieces of information indicate that the Chinese and Japanese both popularly believe that such continued occurrences of broken cables at the bottom of the sea may be the result of human efforts. Japan's public opinion is also gradually accepting the theory that "this is a conspiracy by a certain nation." Of course, there are some facts that support this theory. According to reports, when the "KDD" repair vessel was conducting on site operations, a Soviet destroyer was monitoring the work not far away.

I 中日海底電纜中斷示意圖

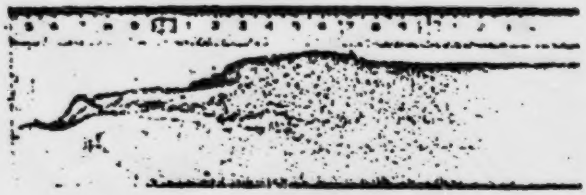


Key:

- I. Illustrative graph of the breaking of the Sino-Japanese Trans-oceanic cable

1.	Shanghai	8.	Region where cable is buried
2.	China	9.	Continental shelf
3.	Nanhui	10.	Depth of water
4.	The third time	11.	Illustration of water depth
5.	The first time	12.	Ryukyu Basin
6.	The second time	13.	Depth of water
7.	Reihoku		

[Best reproduction available]



A broken end of the Sino-Japanese cable that was torn apart mysteriously by a strong force in January of this year.

9296
CSO: 4005

MUGABE URGES PEACE FOR ZIMBABWE

OW221616 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 22 Sep 80

[Text] Salisbury, September 22 (XINHUA)--Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe gave a tough warning yesterday at Chitungwiza, the scene of inter-party clashes and political unrest last week, that the government would take stern action against political hooligans, according to the HERALD here today.

Mugabe said, "The conflict was undoubtedly between ZANU (PF) and ZAPU (Patriotic Front) followers, but let everybody be warned that the government is going to act, and act harshly and resolutely if the situation in urban townships and other affected areas does not improve."

He added that it was a great shame that there should continue to be any quarrel between ZANU and ZAPU after the elections.

Mugabe ordered all party political leaders at branch and district levels to organise meetings to redirect actions of their members. Central Committee members of those parties must equally take stock of themselves and work vigorously to correct the unfortunate direction things were taking.

He concluded, "Our people want peace more than anything else. Let us give them that peace. People are right in asking whether this is freedom and happiness that we fought to bring to Zimbabwe."

It was reported earlier that sanguinary conflicts broke out at Chitungwize and Sinoia near the capital between the forces of ZANU headed by Prime Minister Mugabe and ZAPU led by Minister of Home Affairs Joshua Nkomo, and resulted in casualties. Mubage and Nkomo met twice last week to seek a solution to the conflicts.

CSO: 4020

WESTERN MEDIA ON DETERIORATING IRAQI-IRANIAN RELATIONS

OW191852 Beijing XINHUA in English 1835 GMT 19 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 19 (XINHUA)--Relations between Iraq and Iran have further deteriorated since Iraq abrogated the Iraqi-Iranian agreement on boundary demarcation on September 17, according to Western news agency reports.

When news of the abrogation reached Tehran yesterday, the Iranian majlis was in session discussing the issue of American hostages. The discussion immediately ended and the majlif went into a closed-door session to hear reports from Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i and Defence Minister Javad Fakuri on "the situation in western Iran."

Also attending the session were high-ranking officers of the three services of the armed forces.

Meanwhile, president and commander-in-chief of the armed forces Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, accompanied by Prime Minister Raja'i, met with the chiefs and senior officers of the forces at a meeting of the National Security Council to discuss the grave situation resulting from Iraq's unilateral abrogation of the boundary agreement.

The chiefs of staff of the three forces also met with Iranian leader Khomeyni for instructions.

In a speech yesterday President Bani-Sadr said that Iraq was concentrating troops for a "massive attack" on oil-rich Khuzestan Province in southwestern Iran.

A statement issued by the Iranian Foreign Ministry following the Iraqi abrogation says that the Iranian people would staunchly defend their country's independence and territorial integrity.

Meanwhile, Iraq continued its offensive against Iran.

It announced yesterday that all ships sailing in the Shatt al-'Arab, a strip of water where the Tigris and Euphrates rivers meet, must now hoist the Iraqi flag only and follow orders issued by the Iraqi authorities.

It has also been stipulated that these ships must now pay dues to Iraq in return for navigational services.

Shatt al-'Arab is the most important waterway for transporting oil and other cargoes to and from Iraq and Iran.

The military communiques issued by the two sides yesterday show that hostilities between the two countries along their 1,200 kilometre-border are escalating.

The latest fighting is centered on the Shatt al-'Arab estuary in the south and the oil fields on both sides of the Naft River.

CSO: 4020

IRAN-IRAQ HOSTILITIES ESCALATE

OW201951 Beijing XINHUA in English 1920 GMT 20 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 20 (XINHUA)--Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr today assumed command of Iranian military operations in the escalating border conflicts with Iraq, according to reports from Tehran quoting Radio Tehran today.

The escalation followed the announcement by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn on September 17 to abrogate the 1975 border treaty between the two countries which gives Iran the right to use the Shatt al-'Arab waterway as a Persian Gulf outlet.

Radio Tehran warned that the escalated fighting might push the two countries to the brink of an all-out war.

In an interview with Radio Tehran yesterday, Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i accused Iraq of anti-revolutionary and un-Islamic behavior.

Iran, he said, would be prepared to accept mediation to sort out problems between the two countries if Iraq stopped its "inhuman and un-Islamic action" against Iran.

Meanwhile, a spokesman of the Iraqi Defence Ministry said that Iraqi air defence units shot down two Iranian F-5 fighters in Diyala and Maysan provinces on September 17 and 18. At the same time, he said, two Iranian tanks were destroyed and another captured. Iraqi Air Force also bombed Iranian artillery positions, he added.

Radio Baghdad said that the border fighting yesterday involved ground troops, tanks, jets and the naval units that engaged Iranian planes.

A statement issued by the Iranian military command on the state radio said that there was intense fighting on September 18 along the whole length of the frontier from Kermansh Province in the north to the Gulf in the south. The state radio also reported on September 18, Iranian troops destroyed an Iraqi post and four tanks.

CSO: 4020

HEROICS OF FRG AMBASSADOR, WIFE CITED

OW210750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0737 GMT 21 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 21 (XINHUA)--Mr. Guenther Schoedel, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to China, and Mrs. Schoedel made headlines in the PEOPLE'S DAILY today for their assistance in saving a Chinese boy who had suffered a serious injury.

Entitled "New Chapter of Friendship Between Chinese and German Peoples," the article was contributed by Liu Zhenfen, a staff member of the English language magazine WOMEN OF CHINA, who is mother of the wounded child.

On the afternoon of August 26, Liu Zhenfen wrote, her child went swimming at the Beidaihe Seaside Resort when he fell on the rocks and fainted on the beach. Bleeding in the head while threatened by onrushing waves, the boy was in great danger.

Ambassador and Mrs. Schoedel, who, happened to be around rushed over to the boy's rescue. The ambassador borrowed a bicycle and went straight to the guest house 2.5 kilometers away to order a car and, with the help of Mrs. Schoedel, sent the child to a hospital.

With the care of the doctors and nurses there, Liu Zhenfen said, her child has now been out of danger. During the boy's hospitalization, Mrs. Schoedel time and again inquired about his condition and sent him fruit.

Liu Zhenfen said that she admired especially the spirit of Mr. and Mrs. Schoedel in extending help to those in need. "They have written a new chapter with their own action in the annals of friendship between the Chinese and German peoples," she concluded.

CSO: 4020

VIEWS UPCOMING GENERAL ELECTION IN PORTUGAL

OW220300 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1522 GMT 20 Sep 80

[Roundup report by XINHUA reporter Wang Zhigen: "Portugal on the Eve of the General Election"]

[Excerpts] Lisbon, 19 Sep--Portugal will hold its second parliamentary election on 5 October. The new parliament will elect a new prime minister, form a new cabinet and revise the constitution. After the revision of the constitution, the Military Revolutionary Council will no longer exist as one of the state leading organs, thereby ending the transitional period of nearly 5 years. Therefore, it is generally agreed that the upcoming election is a major event since the collapse of the fascist regime in Portugal.

Since the first parliamentary election in 1976, the Socialists, the Social Democrats, the Social Democratic Center and the Communists have emerged as the four major political parties, dominating the political scene in Portugal. The upcoming election is in fact a battle among the four major parties.

After the first parliamentary election, the Socialist Party held 40.3 percent of the seats in the parliament and, as the largest political party, formed the cabinet. However, because the Socialists did not command a controlling majority in the parliament, the Portuguese Government has since July 1978 faced political crises and instability, as seen from frequent reshuffling of the cabinet. In July 1979 the president dissolved the parliament, and a midterm election was held in December. The democratic alliance formed by the Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Center as the main political parties won the election and formed the first majority government since 1976.

All the parties are now forming alliances in the election campaign. The Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Center are campaigning together under the name of the "Democratic Alliance." The Socialist Party, which had consistently called itself the first major political party and refused to form an alliance with other parties, took the initiative in forming the "Republic Socialist Front" with the Social Democratic Independent Action Party and the Socialist Leftist Union in July this year. On the other hand, the Communist Party has continued its election campaign under the "People's United Alliance" with the Portuguese Democratic Movement. The three major alliances are assuming their election postures and getting ready for battle.

Judging from the present situation, the Democratic Alliance is in a favorable position. For years, the Portuguese economy has faced serious crises. After it formed the cabinet in January this year, the Democratic Alliance took vigorous measures to mend the national economy under the slogan "Change Portugal." The national economy has seen noticeable improvement in the past 9 months. In foreign policy, the Democratic Alliance has taken an unequivocal stand on joining the EEC and fulfilling NATO obligations. In the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Democratic Alliance strongly condemned Soviet hegemonism, recalled the ambassador from Moscow and declared temporary suspension of official contacts with the Soviet Union. Because the masses of electors still vividly remember how the Soviet Union in 1975 supported its proxy in subverting the Portuguese Government, the situation seems favorable to the Democratic Alliance.

However, since its formation, the Republican Socialist has concentrated its efforts on two issues: It has attacked the Democratic Alliance for desiring restoration and for frustrating the "25 April" results and at the same time refused to reach an understanding with the People's United Alliance headed by the Communist Party. The People's United Alliance has also concentrated its attack on the Democratic Alliance while resorting to the tactic of both wooing and attacking at the Republican Socialist Front. However, the development of the situation has been unfavorable to the People's United Alliance since the midterm parliamentary election, because the Portuguese Communist Party has defended the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The Democratic Alliance is holding a weak controlling majority of 51.1 percent of the seats in the parliament. People are now paying close attention to whether the Democratic Alliance will be able to retain the slim majority and what will happen to the political situation in Portugal if the Democratic Alliance fails to do so.

The election campaign has now entered a climatic stage. The three alliances are waging hand-to-hand combat. It is still hard to predict the final outcome of the election.

CSO: 4005

NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT FORMED

OW220126 Beijing XINHUA in English 0107 GMT 22 Sep 80

[Text] Ankara, September 21 (XINHUA)--A new Turkish government was formed here this evening ten days after the military takeover, according to a state radio announcement this evening.

The prime minister is the retired Admiral Bulent Ulusu.

Two deputy premiers: Zeyyat Baykara (the former contingency senator and deputy premier in 1974-1975 government), Turgut Ozal (the chief of state planning organisation in last government).

Among other twenty-four ministers, the foreign minister is Ilter Turkmen, national defense minister Haluk Bayulken, interior minister Selahattin Cetiner, and finance minister Kaya Erdem.

The twenty-seven-men cabinet is a mixed one which includes seven retired high ranking officers and twenty civilian experts. Almost all of them are independent.

The new cabinet will be supervised by the supreme authorities "the National Security Council."

The last civilian government of Demirel was toppled by the armed forces on September 12.

CSO: 4020

NEW TURKISH PREMIER ADDRESSES FIRST CABINET MEETING

OW230124 Beijing XINHUA in English 0108 GMT 23 Sep 80

[Text] Ankara, September 22 (XINHUA)--Turkish new Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu announced here today that one of the foremost duties of his government would be to root out anarchy and prevent acts of terrorism.

Ulusu made his opening remarks here this morning at the first meeting of the new cabinet which assumed office today.

He said, "All the shortcomings of our political and social order, which the public complain about, will be corrected and all legal and administrative measures will be taken to ensure a more efficient performance of the state service."

Measures for economic stability, he said, will be implemented "with utmost care."

He declared that Turkey's foreign policy will be guided by the motto, "Peace at home, peace in the world." He stressed that Turkey "will adhere to all international agreements including the NATO alliance" and will maintain and develop its social, cultural and economic relations with all other countries, especially with its neighbours, on the basis of mutual respect for independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The prime minister concluded by saying that his government would proceed with the drafting of a government programme.

CSO: 4020

XINJIANG ANCIENT BURIAL EXCAVATIONS EXHIBITION FEATURED

OW191416 Beijing XINHUA in English 1232 GMT 19 Sep 80

[Text] Urumqi, September 19 (XINHUA)--Something like one thousand people a day are visiting an exhibition here of six bodies buried 3,000 to 1,000 years ago.

They were selected from one hundred found in tombs by archeologists over the past two decades in Xinjiang.

Arid Xinjiang in the heart of Asia has a desert climate, probably accounting for the good state of preservation of the bodies. They were found one to two meters, or even four to five meters, under the present ground surface.

China's earliest and best-preserved corpse is on display. It is a woman lying on her side, who is thought to have died in her twenties some 3,200 years ago.

This estimate comes from carbon 14 dating of the wood covering the body. Xinjiang was then in the later period of primitive clan society.

The woman's brownish yellow hair is curled and plaited. Her skin has become brownish black, but the nails and muscles are fairly well-preserved.

The corpse was unearthed in Hami Prefecture in 1978. Another female body of the same date from the same area was displayed in Shanghai last year.

The tomb of a senior general, who died 1,347 years ago, yielded a record of his life and family history.

A tomb tablet with an epitaph was set up in memory of Zhang Xiong and his wife by their younger son, an official. Of yellowish grey sandstone coated in black, the tablet is 74.5 centimeters square and 14 centimeters thick. It was discovered in 1973 in Turpan.

General Zhang Xiong, who died at age 50, was the highest military commander of a border state that was conquered by the Tang Dynasty and turned into an administrative region in 640.

The body, estimated in life to have been 1.80 meters tall, was positioned as if he were astride a horse, emphasizing his military career. The face is square and has a calm expression. The greying hair, eyebrows and beard can still be discerned. The body is muscular.

A husband and wife buried together in a poplar coffin in the Taklimakan Desert in southern Xinjiang about 1,800 years ago offer information on the aspirations and costume of the time.

The man is dressed in a silk robe decorated with designs that symbolize "your heart's desire for generations to come, longevity and descendants." A bow and a quiver of arrows are by his side.

The woman's head rests on a pillow in the traditional shape of a cock, signifying that a woman should rise before dawn. Besides the pillow is a rattan woven dressing case with a comb, a powder bag and a bronze mirror.

She has a necklace of translucent glass beads and wears a copper ring with plum blossom designs on her right index finger.

Nearby are two women dating back 1,300 years, whose clothes show that they were ordinary people. Their hair is done in a bun. Silk covers their faces, as was the burial custom of Xinjiang at that time. The silk is now glued to the skin.

Also in display are coffins and funerary urns made of wood and pottery. There is a reconstructed full-size model of a typical tomb of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) with its sloping passage (shortened for the exhibition), small courtyard, antichamber, main room and side chambers. There is also a photo of the only paper coffin yet found in China.

The Xinjiang corpses dried out naturally, and the weight of a body ranges from one-fifth to one-fourth of that in life. They differ from Egyptian mummies which were embalmed or treated with preservatives.

Xinjiang Medical College formed a research group which has studied a middle-aged female corpse dating back more than 1,000 years. The blood type has been identified as "A." Only some muscles on the inside of the left thigh have some degree of elasticity. A muscle studied from this location still retained eight per cent moisture. X-ray revealed a large amount of gas of unknown properties within the brain pan. Analysis of a sample showed a fairly high content of oxygen that was purer than the present city air of Urumqi.

A silver Persian coin that had been placed at the back of the woman's mouth on burial is of the Sassanid Dynasty. The design shows an altar with rising flames flanked by priests.

CSO: 4020

BEIJING SETS UP HOME COUNSELING RESEARCH CENTER

OW200911 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 20 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 20 (XINHUA)--Beijing has set up a counselling research center in an effort to reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquency resulting from wrong home environments.

The center, known as a home counselling center and the first of its kind in China, is led by Han Zuoli, director of the City Education Bureau, and has a dozen educationalists as members and advisers.

It will undertake research in counselling especially in single-child families, and advise on educating problem children.

According to the city education bureau, the problem of home counselling has aroused great concern in Beijing. As more and more families have one child, it says, people tend to pamper and spoil the child or pay too much attention to the child's academic education at the expense of moral education. There are people who still "spare the rod and spoil the child," said a bureau spokesman, while others, who themselves are not well-educated or well-behaved, have a bad influence on their children.

A survey in the Xuanwu District by the education bureau shows that among the 157 minor offenders at the district reform school, about 56 per cent had improper home education. Twenty per cent had bad parents who ignored their children's offences and another 20 percent were ill-treated by stepfathers or stepmothers, but the rest were either spoiled or pampered or not given warmth and support when problems occurred.

Another survey of 53 juvenile delinquents in a neighbourhood community center shows that 80 per cent had bad or improper home training or none at all.

The research center says home education concerns not only the upbringing of young people but also has a tremendous influence on the whole society.

Lu Chang, deputy secretary-general of the research center, said the center will carry out an extensive survey on home education in single-child families, organize lectures and write articles for the local press elaborating on the need for home education.

Earlier this year, Beijing launched a child-education campaign and stressed the education of children in many emulation drives in which outstanding members of society were publicized as examples to be followed.

The city women's federation also published the magazine A MUST FOR PARENTS and the book "Guide for Family Hygiene" which provide guidelines for home education and upbringing of children.

CSO: 4020

BEIJING DRESS DESIGN STUDENTS HOLD FASHION SHOW

OW230925 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 23 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 23 (XINHUA)--A group of 15 young Beijing clothes designers today presented their fashion ideas to a large audience at the art gallery here.

It was a distinctly eclectic collection, incorporating the traditional elegance of Chinese dress and some of the best points of Western clothing.

As always at fashion shows, the reaction was mixed. There were some conservative frowns at necklines that looked a little lower than the usual and warm reception for clothes that emphasized smartness and practicability.

However, unlike most other fashion designers who get to put their ideas before the public eye, these youngsters have had less than one month's training. They enrolled this month at the dress design school at the Institute of Industrial Art which staged today's exhibition.

One of them, 23-year-old Chen Tianming, said he took up fashion designing "because I want to make people better looking. Clothes reflect a country's culture and the aesthetic level of the people," he said.

Apparently he also wants to bring a touch of fun to the clothing industry. Asked if yearly changes would become a feature of China's fashion scene, he said: "Wouldn't it be boring to wear the same kind of clothes year in and year out?"

A developing trend among Chinese designers is a mixture of Chinese fashions, some features of Western tailoring and the flaire of China's national minority costumes and the mix is being encouraged at the institute's design school.

And there will still be the ups and downs and fashionable nuances that characterise clothes for the discriminating buyer. Chen Tianming says, for example, that the hemline (strictly on the knee this year) will be lower next season. He's already preparing for it in his designs.

He gets his information from spot checks at shop counters throughout the city where he listens to customers' views.

"Living standards in China are on the rise," he said today. "This will manifest itself more and more in the clothes people buy. What we are trying for is clothes that are inexpensive and good looking."

Pai Chongli, the 45-year-old head of the design school, said his class is the first in the country. The clothes his students have designed may not be spectacular, he said, but the youngsters are promising.

The institute ran design classes in the dyeing and printing specialty in the early 1970's to give students a sense of proportion and an eye for color but it was only this year that fashion has been made a separate department.

There are two basic influences on Chinese clothes designing, said Pai Chongli--the rising aspirations of an increasingly better-paid public and the export trade.

Textiles are a big earner of foreign exchange and more attention will be paid to the requirements of overseas buyers, but manufacturers have shown themselves much more responsive to the needs of the home market in recent years.

In traditionally conservative Beijing, for example, where the rise in fashion consciousness has put a tremendous load on the city's tailoring shops, municipal authorities have invited five top Shanghai tailors to come and teach their skills to other people.

Experts from other cities are also being invited and retired tailors are being encouraged to open their own businesses and take on apprentices. This year a total of 21 new tailoring shops have been set up in Beijing.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

HANGZHOU DELEGATION TO BOSTON--A five-member delegation of Hangzhou Municipality, led by (Zhou Hui), acting chairman of Hangzhou Municipal Revolutionary Committee, left Hangzhou by train for Beijing on 12 September. From Beijing, the delegation will fly to Boston to attend the World Metropolitan Conference to be held there 21-27 September. During its stay in Boston, the Hangzhou delegation will meet with the Boston mayor to discuss the formalization of friendly ties between Hangzhou and Boston. It will also hold an exhibition of Hangzhou products in Boston. Chen Zuolin and several other leaders of Zhejiang Province and Hangzhou Municipality saw the delegation off at the Hangzhou Railroad Station. [OW181455 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Sep 80]

YUGOSLAV JOURNALISTS IN NANJING--Accompanied by (Hu Sha), deputy chief editor of GUANGMING RIBAO, the delegation of the Yugoslav Journalists Association arrived in Nanjing from Beijing on 12 September. On the evening of 12 September, Jiangsu Vice Governor Wang Bingshi met and feted the delegation. While in Nanjing, the Yugoslav comrades visited a unit of the Nanjing PLA Units, an elementary school and the people's market and held discussions. The Yugoslav guests left Nanjing for Shanghai on 14 September. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 Sep 80]

U.S. BOTANISTS ACTIVITIES--Beijing, 15 Sep--A West Hubei botanical survey team jointly organized by Chinese and U.S. botanists recently visited a forest area in West Hubei to survey and collect plants. The team consisted of 5 U.S. and 11 Chinese botanists. Their main task included studying plant varieties and collecting specimens in the Shennongjia forest area. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0750 GMT 15 Sep 80]

STUDY GROUP TO U.S.--Recently a five-member Anhui Provincial Confectionary and Syrup [Gaoguo Tangjiang 4741 2654 4743 3364] Technical Study Group left for the United States on a survey tour at the invitation of the (Niles) Corporation. The group was led by (Huang Cheng), vice chairman of the Provincial Scientific and Technological Commission, with (Wang Lixian), professor of the Huadong Academy of Sciences, as deputy leader. Before the group's departure, (Huang Cheng) briefed Gu Zhuoxin, secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee and chairman of the Provincial People's Congress

Standing Committee, on the survey plan. Gu Zhuoxin spoke on the purpose and tasks of the survey and on how to make the survey a success. [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Sep 80]

JAPANESE AGRICULTURAL GROUP--A 22-member agricultural delegation from Japan arrived in Hefei for a visit. Members of the delegation were mainly experts and professors of agricultural economy. On 9 September, the Anhui Provincial Agricultural Society held a discussion meeting at the delegation's request. Twenty-two Chinese specialists, professors and scientists exchanged information on agricultural economy and agricultural production with members of the delegation at the meeting. The delegation left Hefei for Nanjing on 10 September. [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Sep 80]

SRV TYPHOON--Beijing, September 21 (XINHUA)--Typhoon Ruth, the most devastating one to hit central Vietnam in 30 years, killed more than 100 persons and demolished hundreds of thousands of homes, according to press reports received here. Ruth, the sixth tropical storm to strike northern Vietnam in the past two months, slammed into Thanh Hoa Province on September 16. According to first reports, up to 80 percent of the homes in the province were leveled or badly damaged by the tropical storm as it raged over the area for eight hours. Seventy-six school buildings and all the kindergartens in the province were demolished leaving 120,000 students without classrooms. Hospitals were ripped down. The storm pulled down nearly 100 high-voltage electric pylons and disrupted the communication system in the province. Sixteen thousand acres of rice fields were seriously damaged. Typhoon Joe, which struck the northern sector of the country in July, wiped out about 3 million tons of rice. Typhoon Ruth probably caused another 2 million ton loss. All this added much to the existing serious food shortages in Vietnam. [Text] [OW210722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 21 Sep 80]

ENVOY BANQUET IN SWITZERLAND--Geneva, 25 Aug (XINHUA)--Chinese Ambassador to Switzerland Li Yunchuan gave a dinner in Berne this evening in honor of the Fribourg Defence Ensemble which is going to visit China. President of the Swiss Confederation Georges-Andre Chevallaza attended the dinner. He described the establishment of diplomatic relations between Switzerland and China as a great event in the history of the two countries' relations. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, he said, the ensemble's visit to China will be of profound significance. He also wished continued development of the two countries' relations. [Text] [OW301215 Beijing XINHUA in English 1507 GMT 26 Aug 80]

YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL IN GREECE--Athens, September 20 (XINHUA)--Admiral Branco Mamoula, chief of general staff of the Yugoslav armed forces left here for Belgrade this morning at the end of his four-day official visit to Greece. During his stay here he had talks with General Agamemnon Gratsios, chief of general staff of the Greek armed forces, on matters of mutual interest. Mamoula also met with Greek Defence Minister Evangelos Averoff-Tositsas and the latter presented to him the insignia of the grand commander of the Order of Merit, awarded to him by President of the Republic of Greece Konstandinos Karamanlis. Admiral Mamoula also visited some units of the Greek armed forces and watched military exercises. [Text] [OW201602 Beijing XINHUA in English 1536 GMT 20 Sep 80]

KAMPUCHEANS ATTACK SRV AGGRESSORS--Beijing, September 19 (XINHUA)--Kampuchean guerrillas in northern Koh Kong Province on September 13 killed 21 Vietnamese troops during an attack on a transport platoon, Radio Democratic Kampuchea, reported. On September 11, the guerrillas stormed into a Vietnamese stronghold south of Mt. Kum Russei, putting 26 enemies out of action. On September 4, guerrillas in souther Koh Kong Province destroyed a stronghold defended by three platoons of Vietnamese troops located in the area from the Tong village to the Trapeang Rung road. On September 10-12, they repelled attacks mounted by Vietnamese reinforcements, annihilating another 47 enemies. On September 12, the guerrillas attacks Vietnamese troops from the Trapeang Rung road to the Andong Tuek road in the town of Thma Sar, putting 24 enemies out of action. According to another report by the radio, Kampuchean guerrillas in the Leach District, Pursat Province, recently made repeated attacks on a Vietnamese stronghold in the district, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. [Text] [OW191218 Beijing XINHUA in English 1207 GMT 19 Sep 80]

ASIAN BASKETBALL CHAMPIONSHIPS--Hong Kong, September 21 (XINHUA)--South Korea retained title honour after beating China 101 : 68 here this evening in the final of the Eighth Asian Basketball Championship for women. China opened a 2 : 0 lead this evening, but was soon overtaken by South Korea, who dominated the field throughout the rest of the match by tight defence and accurate shooting. The score at half time was 51 : 34, South Korea leading. In the second half, the Chinese upgraded their defence and played a fast-attack game in a bid to narrow the gap in scores, but they met with half-court pressing defence put up by the South Koreans. China clinched the 1976 title in Hong Kong by beating the South Koreans in the final. The South Koreans, however, recaptured title honour in Kuala Lumpur two years later. In the other match earlier today, Japan scored a 98 : 57 win over Malaysia to take third place. Malaysia came fourth. The placings from the fifth to tenth are: Thailand, Hong Kong, India, Singapore, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. [Text] [OW211638 Beijing XINHUA in English 1618 GMT 21 Sep 80]

PRC TEAM BEATS JAPAN--Hong Kong, September 19 (XINHUA)--China outplayed Japan 91 : 65 at the Eighth Asian Basketball Championship for women here this evening. Half-time score was 46 : 34, China leading. The Sino-Japanese encounter was a hotly-contested match at which the Japanese players put up a gallant fight by seizing most of the rebounds. The Chinese players dominated the court but showed less accuracy in their middle-distance shooting than they were in the earlier matches at the championship. With this victory, China had an immaculate record of four straight wins and will meet South Korea in its final match on September 21. [Text] [OW191524 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 19 Sep 80]

NETHERLANDS AGRICULTURAL DELEGATION--A seven-member agriculture delegation from the Kingdom of the Netherlands led by Gerrit Braks, minister of agriculture and fisheries, visited our province on 19 September and left Changchun for Beijing today. It was accompanied by Johannes Kneppelhout, the ambassador of the Netherlands to China. The delegation was welcomed and seen off at the airport by provincial deputy governor Mu Lin and by responsible persons of the provincial agricultural office. On the evening of 19 September, provincial deputy governor Mu Lin met with the delegation and hosted a banquet in their honor. During their stay in Changchun, members of the delegation expressed their opinions on scientific and technical cooperation in the fields of agriculture and animal husbandry, visited the provincial agricultural scientific institute, and embroidery and wood carving plants. They also toured the city. [Text] [SK211336 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Sep 80]

U.S. FASHION SHOW--Shanghai, 20 Sep (XINHUA)--The first fashion show given by a U.S. firm was held on Friday in Shanghai in the 1-hour show sponsored by Halston Enterprises Inc, 16 models showed autumn and winter clothing made of silk, wool and synthetic fibres, skirts and sportswear. After the show, held in the Shanghai Exhibition Hall Chinese dress designers had talks with Halston designers and asked technical questions about designing. Halston Enterprises put on the show at the invitation of the China National Textiles Import and Export Corporation. [OW220221 Beijing XINHUA in English 0817 GMT 20 Sep 80]

OPEC OIL PRODUCTION CUT--Beijing, September 20 (XINHUA)--Eleven of the 13 members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries agreed at a special meeting in Vienna on September 17 to cut their oil production by 10 per cent, according to Western news agency reports. The reduction aimed at ending the current world oil glut and checking the stockpiling by industrialized countries. Among the 11 members which agreed to cut production are Saudi Arabia and Iraq, two major oil producers of the organization. The agreement was a gentleman agreement which was not written into the final Vienna communique and no specific date was set for the cut. However, Iran and Iraq have decided to cut their oil production as of Octbber 1. The OPEC oil ministers estimated the current over-supply of oil at between 2.5 and three million barrels per day. Total OPEC production before the cut was put at around 27 million BPD. According to acting Iranian Oil Minister 'Ali Akbar Mo'infar, within two to three months the supply of oil could be on a par with consumption. [Text] [OW211246 Beijing XINHUA in English 1236 GMT 21 Sep 80]

CUBA RETURNS HIJACKERS--Havana, September 18 (XINHUA)--The Cuban Government announced here today that the two Cubans who had hijacked an American jetliner to Havana on Wednesday will be returned to the United States immediately. The airliner was the 10th hijacked to Cuba in less than 5 weeks. A communique reported in the newspaper GRANMA today said that the Cuban Government took the decision because the hijackers had disregarded the authorities' warnings. On September 16, the Cuban Government announced that in the future, it would take penal action against hijackers or return them to where they come from. [Text] [OW181922 Beijing XINHUA in English 1901 GMT 18 Sep 80] Beijing, September 19 (XINHUA)--The U.S. State Department yesterday welcomed the Cuban Government's decision to return two Cuban hijackers to the United States for trial, according to reports from Washington. The Cuban Government announced yesterday that it would turn over the two Cubans who hijacked a U.S. passenger plane on September 17. There have [been] 13 hijackings of U.S. civil planes this year, of which ten have taken place over the past five weeks. State Department spokesman John Trattner described the decision as a "positive step." A UPI dispatch said that although American hijackers have previously been returned to the United States by the Cubans, "this is the first time that Cuban citizens have ever been turned over to American authorities." AFP quoted a diplomatic analyst as saying that this was a clear expression of Fidel Castro's goodwill toward U.S. President Jimmy Carter before the U.S. general elections in November. [Text] [OW191620 Beijing XINHUA in English 1610 GMT 19 Sep 80]

WEST BERLIN RAILROAD STRIKE--Bonn, September 20 (XINHUA)--The speed train system in West Berlin and the railway freight transportation between West Berlin and the German Democratic Republic remained completely paralyzed as the strike of 1,500 West Berlin railroad workers continued today, according to local press reports. The strike started when small groups of workers, of the system under the management of East German Reichsbahn State Railroad, left their jobs on September 15. The strikers pressed for higher wages, better fringe benefits and the reinstatement of the 80 workers fired for taking part in the strike. They also demanded a definite answer from the East Berlin railroad management. It was reported that the railroad authorities kept refusing to negotiate the strikers' claims. Instead, it urged the strikers to return to work immediately. The demand was rejected by the strikers. [Text] [OW211220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 21 Sep 80]

JOURNALIST DELEGATION DEPARTS--Geneva, September 21 (XINHUA)--The Chinese journalist delegation led by Wang Yi, first secretary of the All-China Journalists' Association, left Zurich for Brussels this evening upon concluding a ten-day tour of Switzerland. The Chinese journalists arrived in Switzerland on September 10. They were received by President of the Swiss Federal Council Georges-Andre Chevallaz and head of the foreign department Pierre Aubert. The Chinese delegation toured Geneva, Berne, Basel, Zurich, Lugano and other cities and acquainted itself with Swiss industry, agriculture, education, civil defense and tourism. [Text] [OW220218 Beijing XINHUA in English 0209 GMT 22 Sep 80]

BEIJING INDUSTRIAL ART SHOW--Beijing, September 23 (XINHUA)--Beijing Institute of Industrial Art opened a large exhibition of goods and art work today at the China Art Gallery. The show will close on October 19. The institute, which designed the interior decor of a number of landmark buildings in Beijing, including the great hall of the people and the new Beijing International Airport, also has departments teaching the design of furniture, utensils and pottery. For the next month, the exhibition, which occupies all three floors of the gallery in nine pavilions, will be a focal point for discussions between Chinese design specialists from all over the country. Among the chief attractions at today's opening were a fashion show by novice designers who have just begun training at the institute and displays of uniquely-Chinese pottery, porcelain ware and furniture. Yuan Yunpu, an associate professor of the institute, said the quality of China's porcelain and pottery ware has been assessed as among the highest in the world, but the amount of foreign exchange earned by its export is among the lowest. The purpose of the exhibition, he said, is to bring the quality of Chinese design and the aesthetic quality of many Chinese-made goods to the attention of the buying public and government trade departments. [Text] [OW231243 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 23 Sep 80]

SHANGHAI EDUCATIONAL COUNSELING--Beijing, 18 Sep (XINHUA)--Shanghai YOUTH NEWS, the Youth Palace and the Shanghai Association for the Promotion of Popular Science and Technology Among Youth, has set up a consulting center, according to today's CHINA YOUTH NEWS. The idea was first proposed by a graduate student of the China University of Science and Technology after he had a meeting with young people who were studying by themselves in Shanghai. This center serves middle school graduates who are waiting for assignment of work but wish to study a subject in natural or social sciences. Anyone who has completed basic college courses by himself and wishes to continue his studies is also welcome to contact the center for an appointment for consultation. Experienced teachers from middle schools and universities and specialists meet them and give advice on what to study, what books to choose and how to organize a study program. [Text] [OW181424 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 18 Sep 80 OW]

POLISH OFFICIAL EMBEZZLEMENT CHARGES--Warsaw, September 22 (XINHUA)--Poland's prosecutor-general Lucjan Czubinski has asked for suspension of the parliamentary immunity of Maciej Szczepanski, the ousted head of Polish radio and television, according to a PAP report. Szczepanski was relieved of his post a month ago, at the height of the Baltic coast strikes. A committee has been formed early this month to investigate into charges of embezzlement and personal enrichment. It was said he had acquired by abusing his official position a fortune worth two million U.S. dollars including seven cars, luxury villas at home and abroad and a yacht. [Text] [OW230927 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 23 Sep 80]

SOVIET MINISTER VISITS CUBA--Havana, September 18 (XINHUA)--Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko left here for the United Nations upon concluding his official visit to Cuba. It was reported that he and President of the Council of State Fidel Castro had "secret talks" on the international situation and bilateral relations. TASS reported yesterday that "the Soviet Union and Cuba have identified views on all major international problems." Gromyko arrived in Cuba on September 15 at the invitation of the Cuban Government. The visit was his second to that country. [Text] [OW190858 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 19 Sep 80]

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

EXPLANATION OF COUNTY-LEVEL DIRECT ELECTIONS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 80 p 3

[Answer to Reader's Query, by Zhang Huanguang [1728 3562 0342]: "What Is Meant by Direct Elections at the County Level?"]

[Text] Direct elections at the county level are part of the new election system now being practiced in our country. Under this system, deputies to the county-level people's congresses are elected directly by the voters living in various constituencies of the counties. In the past, elections were confined to administrative divisions lower than county level, including people's communes, townships, municipalities without administrative districts under them, and municipal districts. Deputies to the people's congresses at the county and higher levels are elected by the people's congresses at the next lower level. Article 24, the new electoral law adopted by the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, stipulates: "Deputies to the National People's Congress and to the people's congresses in provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the central government, cities divided into districts, and autonomous prefectures are elected by people's congresses at the next lower level. Deputies to the people's congresses of municipalities without administrative districts under them, municipal districts, counties, autonomous counties, and people's communes and townships are elected directly by the voters." The extension of direct elections to the county level, as provided for in the new electoral law, is a significant step in gradually perfecting our country's election system, an important measure in further expanding the scope of people's democracy, and an essential reform of the election system. This direct election system has more advantages than the indirect election system. Under the direct election system, voters can directly elect deputies whom they trust to form the state organs which will serve their interests through the exercise of state power. During their tenure, deputies elected to the people's congresses are required to keep in close touch with their constituents and bring them up to date on the principles, policies, decrees, and instructions of the party and state, and to place themselves under the supervision of the masses. The deputies must also keep the line of communications to their constituents constantly open, so that they can report their work to the latter and receive their suggestions and opinions useful to the operation of the people's congresses. Through direct elections, the people are bound to increase their awareness of being the masters of their own country and strengthen their sense of responsibility. Under their supervision, the deputies will have no alternative but to try their best to serve the people by improving the efficiency of the state organs.

In conclusion, it must be noted that at present, it is still impossible to have direct elections at all levels in a vast and populous country like ours, where political, economical and cultural developments are still not well balanced, communications are not well developed, and experience is still lacking in holding nationwide direct elections.

9574
CSO: 4005

HIGH ELECTION TURNOUT IN MINORITY COUNTY OF SICHUAN

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 80 p 3

[XINHUA report from Chendgu: "County-Level Elections Take Place in Sichuan"]

[Text] Xide County in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, has concentrated on uncovering and solving, in a manner appropriate to local conditions, special problems that have surfaced during the recent elections, and has scored some successes in this field.

Xide County is a multinational county, with the people of Yi nationality accounting for a large percentage of its population. Aware that the people of the Yi nationality there do not understand Mandarin, the county public relations department has taken initiative to publish and interpret the new electoral law in the Yi language.

In addition, two booklets entitled "Information on the Election Campaign" and "Answers to Questions about Elections" have been compiled and published for distribution to the people of Yi nationality as a guide to their understanding the new electoral law and related policies.

Another problem that surfaced during the elections was the county government's difficulty in determining the age of voters, since the people of Yi nationality count their age as 1 year old at the time of birth. To straighten out their age, officials in charge of elections had to interview the parents, neighbors, relatives and friends of voters.

Xide County is located in a mountainous area where the population is widely scattered and isolated from the rest of the prefecture. Despite this, more than 97 percent of the eligible voters turned out to cast their ballots on election day, and 98.8 percent of ballots counted proved valid. This success has prompted the local people to comment: "This election has produced results to our satisfaction!"

9574
CSO: 4005

NEW BOOK ATTEMPTS TO ANSWER QUERIES ON ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 80 p 3

[News report: "The Book 'Questions and Answers on the Election System' Is Off the Press"]

[Text] A book entitled "Questions and Answers on the Election System," written by comrades Xu Chongde [6079 1504 1795] and Pi Chunxie [4122 4783 0588] and published by the Qunzhong Publishing House, has come off the press.

Included in the book are 120 questions and answers. It offers, in laymen's language, detailed explanations on the basic theory and application of China's election system. It also covers subjects of interest to the voters, ranging from the significance of the election system to the distinction and relationship between the electoral law and other laws; from the definition of citizens and voters to their right to elect and to run for election; from universal suffrage to the method of calculating the voting age; from the question of the voting rights of persons serving prison terms to the problems facing the PLA fighters, overseas Chinese, minority people and women during the elections; from direct and indirect elections to the secret ballot; and from the principle guiding the geographical apportionment of deputies to the National People's Congress to the election of deputies to local people's congresses in autonomous regions and the division of constituencies.

The book applies the Marxist viewpoint to answer some basic questions about China's election system and to contrast it with the systems in the capitalist countries. In discussing the division of constitutencies and the nomination of candidates, it analyzes the geographical apportionment of representation and the election campaigns in capitalist countries. The book can be used as a valuable reference material by counties and communes throughout the country.

9574
CSO: 4005

NEW STATE COUNCIL ARRANGEMENTS REPORTED

HK191158 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 19 Sep 80 p 4

[HSIN WAN PAO 19 September special dispatch from Beijing: "Wan Li Ranks First Among the 13 Vice Premiers; Yang Jinren, Zhang Aiping and Huang Hua Retain Their Original Ministerial Posts, and It Is Said That the Would-be Defense Minister Is Not Zhang Aiping But Someone Else"]

[Text] After a personnel reshuffle in the State Council--China's cabinet--there are now 13 vice premiers, with Vice Premier Wan Li ranking first among them.

I visited the parties concerned today and asked them to give me a namelist of the vice premiers of the State Council. Wan Li was in first position on the namelist.

The new Premier Zhao Ziyang and Vice Premier Wan Li were both in charge of the work of provinces when they emerged again after the smashing of the "gang of four." Zhao Ziyang took charge of the work of Sichuan and Wan Li took charge of the work of Anhui. Their administration of provincial affairs was very much based on the will of the people in the two provinces. Around the first half of 1979, a folk rhyme spread in mainland China saying "if you want to eat grain, you should go find (Zhao) Ziyang; and if you want to eat rice, you should go find Wan Li." Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li have indeed scored achievements in improving the living standards of the people in Sichuan and Anhui. Wan Li is now vice premier in charge of day-to-day affairs.

The other 12 vice premiers listed are: Yu Qiuli, Geng Biao, Fang Yi, Gu Mu, Yao Yilin, Kang Shien, Chen Muhua, Bo Yibo, Ji Pengfei, Yang Jingren, Zhang Aiping and Huang Hua. These vice premiers each have their own special responsibilities through a division of labor. For instance, Yu Qiuli is in charge of energy resources; Fang Yi is in charge of education, science and culture; Gu Mu is in charge of capital construction; Yao Yilin is in charge of planning work (he is concurrently chairman of the State Planning Commission); Chen Muhua also takes charge of planned parenthood work apart from her concurrent post as minister of the Ministry of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries; and so forth.

It was learned that the three newly appointed vice premiers Yang Jingren, Zhang Aiping and Huang Hua have retained their original ministerial posts. Hence, their specific responsibilities are also clear. As for the vacant post of national defense minister, there were rumors in Hong Kong that Zhang Aiping would be appointed to fill the post. However, it was said here that someone else would be appointed as the new national defense minister. Facts will later prove who is right.

CSO: 4005

YE XUANPING'S GUANGZHOU APPOINTMENT REPORTED

HK220131 Hong Kong TUNG HSIANG in Chinese No 24, 16 Sep 80 p 34

[Article by Chien Chen: "Ye Jianying's Son in Guangzhou"]

[Text] I went to Guangzhou last June and it so happened that the Guangzhou international soccer invitational tournament was held at that time. Since I am a soccer fan, I certainly did not want to miss it.

The day the soccer tournament opened, I was not able to get myself a ticket. I learned from the newspaper the next day that the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee almost turned out in full strength to attend the opening ceremony. Among the long namelist of leaders, I found a name strange to me: Vice Provincial Governor Ye Xuanping. Who is he?

On the evening of the final soccer event, I was finally able to get a ticket for a very good seat. I was right next to the rostrum and could, therefore, see quite clearly the distinguished guests sitting on the rostrum.

The provincial and municipal leaders present on that evening included Guangdong provincial governor Xi Zhongxun and also Wu Kehua, Yang Shangkun, Liu Tianfu and Wu Lengxi. Ye Xuanping was also present, and he also presented the championship award after the game. When I saw Ye Xuanping, I was struck dumb for a while: why does this man look so familiar to me? Where have I seen him before?

The fact that among the large number of vice provincial governors Ye Xuanping was the one to present the award demonstrates that he has probably replaced Yang Kanghua and taken charge of running the day-to-day affairs of Guangdong's culture, education and physical culture. Vice provincial governor Yang Kanghua was previously responsible for these tasks. During the first Guangdong-Hong Kong Cup Soccer Tournament, Yang Kanghua personally headed a team to Hong Kong; during the second Guangdong-Hong Kong Cup Soccer Tournament, which was held in Guangzhou, Yang Kanghua also presented the award. Ever since the movement to comb out the elements of the "gang of four," Yang Kanghua has been responsible for the work of Guangdong's culture, education and physical culture. However, recently he suddenly disappeared from the scene and Ye Xuanping replaced him in these tasks. In addition, judging from news reports, it seems that Ye Xuanping has also shared responsibility for some overseas economic work.

Who exactly is Ye Xuanping? I later learned that he is the eldest son of NPC Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying. No wonder he looks so familiar to me. His appearance greatly resembles the middle-aged Ye Jianying.

Nevertheless, Ye Xuanping's rise was a bit abrupt. According to a friend in Guangzhou press circles, his name was not found in the namelists of the chairman, vice chairmen and members of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial governor and vice provincial governors, or the responsible people of various departments elected at the second session of the Fifth Guangdong Provincial People's Congress held on 26 December last year.

It was not until last April and at the suggestion of provincial governor Xi Zhongxun that the third session of the Standing Committee of the Guangdong Provincial People's Congress adopted the decision to appoint Ye Xuanping as vice governor of Guangdong. However, people know very little about Ye Xuanping's past experience. It was said that he was a technician and was a prefectural level cadre before becoming vice provincial governor.

As soon as Ye Xuanping appeared, Yang Kanghua vanished from the ranks of the vice provincial governors. At the closing ceremony of the final event of the Guangzhou international soccer tournament, the names of the provincial and municipal leaders were listed in the following order: Xi Zhongxun, Wu Kehua, Yang Shangkun, Liu Tianfu, Wu Lengxi, Wang Ning, Dong Jingbo, Liang Weilin and Ye Xuanping.

Recently, there were rumors in Guangzhou that Ye Xuanping would probably have a new appointment. It was said that Yang Shangkun would be transferred to the central authorities shortly and the vacant post of mayor of Guangzhou would probably be filled by Ye Xuanping.

CSO: 4005

COMMENTS ON TRIAL OF 'GANG OF FOUR'

HK181447 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 1

[Unattributed "New Talk" column: "On the Trial of the 'Gang of four'"]

[Text] Since the conclusion of the NPC session, people's attention has been partially diverted to the trial of the "gang of four." It was previously reported that the trial would take place in September. Then it was reported that the trial would take place after the NPC session. Now it has been reported that the trial will be postponed and will not be held this year.

The flagrant crimes of the "gang of four" are apparent even without a trial, but since we are stressing rule by law, a trial must be conducted. A trial can be conducted secretly or in public. It seems that it would be preferable not to have a public trial. The "gang of four" are not ordinary criminals. One was a vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee. Another was a Standing Committee member of the Politburo and the other two were Politburo members. Each one knows many state secrets. No country allows its state secrets to be divulged. The "gang of four" must be tried and the state secrets must be guarded, and the way to satisfy both requirements is to avoid a public trial or to conduct it in a semiclosed way.

Of these four persons, Jiang Qing was in a more special and subtle position. When the names of the "gang of four" first appeared, their order was Wang, Zhang, Jiang and Yao according to the importance of their official posts. Although Jiang Qing's post was not the highest, her position was actually the highest. Relying on her husband, the wife became highly placed. When Hua Guofeng delivered an important speech at the NPC session, he mentioned the "Jiang Qing clique." It is practical and realistic to equate the "gang of four" with the "Jiang Qing clique" and to put Jiang Qing first among the four persons.

Of these four persons, Jiang Qing was the most arrogant and Zhang Chunqiao was the most insidious. This was true in the past and it is still true today. According to a recent report, when a preparatory trial was conducted not long ago Zhang Chunqiao remained silent while Jiang Qing roared and imputed everything to "God." This was not strange; it would have been strange if she had not done so. From this, we can see that this film actress of the 1930's still wanted to act in a "play" but had no desire to repent.

Of course, Chairman Mao cannot escape responsibility for the 10-year catastrophe. Although he was used by the "gang of four," he "personally initiated and directed the Great Cultural Revolution" in that year and could not stay aloof from the "matter of responsibility." Even so, the "gang of four," particularly Jiang Qing, could not evade their towering crimes. In the last days of his life, Chairman Mao Zedong had already put forward the problem of handling the "gang of four." When Deng Xiaoping was in charge of the work of the central authorities for Premier Zhou Enlai he struggled against the Jiang Qing clique. He got into trouble because of this.

The trial of the "gang of four," summing up the Great Cultural Revolution and appraising the merits and demerits of Chairman Mao Zedong (the last two items will be carried out at the 12th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party at the beginning of next year) must be done well so that we can lay down our burdens and wholeheartedly advance on the road of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005

MANAGEMENT OF LEADING CADRES CRITICIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 80 p 8

[Article: "Do Not Spank the Wrong Person"]

[Text] In "Long Wen Bian Ying" ["Long Wen Whips the Shadow"] there is a story called "Ku Di Zhang Li" ["Ku Di Beats the Servant"]: During the Northern and Southern Dynasties there was a man with a double surname called Ku Di. He was ignorant and stupid and when at home he was always troubled with flies, so he told his servant to beat them: "It is your job, so you must prevent them from entering." The servant was originally only responsible for minding and protecting the house, so how was it that he was to manage the flies? But the stupid Ku Di regarded him as being disloyal and his letting the flies in as a crime, and so he beat the servant. This is spanking the wrong person.

Seriously analyzing this, there are many reasons for errors and mishaps in work. Some are due to neglect of duty by the party concerned, and when criticizing and teaching, if the person concerned is "spanked a few times" as a means of teaching, that is all right, and the one suffering the thrashing can say nothing. Yet, in actual work, there are many problems created by leading cadres and after the mishap occurs the leaders often only mention casually a few sentences of self criticism and the stick still hits the lower cadres and the masses.

Because certain flaws still exist in the cadre system, among the leading cadres there are not many who are both red and expert. Especially in the departments and units, there are even fewer who are politically strong and proficient in professional work. Yet a minority of people from the units are often able to decide the fate of the large number of cadres. Under these conditions, cases where the right person is not chosen for the job occur often. When those without learning are used, results are bad and errors occur, and then who should be blamed? This makes me think of the bitter experience of the great Russian poet Pushkin. Because Pushkin called for opposition to the tsar's government, he was sent into exile. During one period there was an official overseeing him who was as stupid as Ku Di. He actually sent Pushkin to Odessa to investigate locusts and organize their extermination. Pushkin expended great effort and after running around all day he still had no success. In the end he could not even write a report and only composed a few lines of poetry: "Locust, flying." It is hard to say that we can blame Pushkin for his inability.

Some leaders who unconscientiously study the party's lines and policies only enjoy turning them back and forth on upper level leaders and listening here and there only consider what "spirit" there was. Some leaders who are "officials" are habitual and always enjoy "having hundreds at their disposal," act arbitrarily, do not investigate or study, rely on old experience, do things according to old ways and "cut with one blow." Some leaders are ignorant and incompetent, only talk nonsense and give arbitrary and impracticable directions. In a certain place there was a leading cadre in charge of cultural work who flew into a rage after hearing a symphony orchestra. He asked accusingly of the orchestra conductor why he was so impolite in always having his rear face the audience? If the conductor complied with this leaders "view" and made a 180 degree turnabout, the whole orchestra would be in confusion, and then who is it that should be spanked?

As I see it, these important problems are due to not choosing the right person for the job or to mistakes in command. In either case, the leader's responsibility should first be looked into and then the stick will not be able to randomly fall on lower cadres and the masses. At present, what is difficult is that the stick is still being held by these leaders. To give the stick over to someone else so that you get a spanking is hard, and raising the stick oneself to give oneself a spanking is even more difficult. Therefore, from a long-range view, there still remains the problem of how best to handle the "stick."

9480
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

REDRESSING UNJUST, FRAME-UP, MISJUDGED CASES SPEEDED UP

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 80 p 4

[News report: "The Attitude Toward Redressing Unjust, Frame-up, and Misjudged Cases Has Changed From 'Antagonism' to Positive Support"]

> [Text] Editor's note: In the work of redressing unjust, frame-up and misjudged cases, there have been occurrences in some areas of failure to carry out the tasks through delay and of failure to carry out the tasks through resistance. There were many reasons for this, in some cases because of the seizure of power by bad men or factional interference, and the refusal to implement party policy; in some cases they have been unable, even today, to break with the old conventions because of the influence of the ultraleft line. Comrade Cao Kaiye [2580 7030 2814], deputy chief of the Huangshi Municipal Public Security Bureau is one who "locked horns" because his thinking was not liberated. Under supervision of and education by the superior party committee and concerned departments, he has been transformed comparatively well. This shows that resistance to the redressing of unjust, frame-up and misjudged cases comes from all sides, and that leading organs and leading comrades must go among the masses, aim at specific circumstances, adopt strong measures, eliminate all kinds of resistance and interference, and thus secure a good beginning and a good conclusion for this work.

Special to this paper: Reporter Xiao Du and news researcher Zhang Shuzheng report: Under the help of and education by his superiors and concerned departments, one of the leading members of the personnel of the Huangshi Municipal Public Security Bureau in Hubei Province has corrected his perception of the party's political line and ideological line, has been liberated from the fetters of ossified and semi-ossified thinking, and has conscientiously implemented the party's policy for accelerating the progress of redressing, frame-up and misjudged cases.

As soon as the work of redressing unjust, frame-up and misjudged cases was begun, the Huangshi Public Security Bureau reviewed and reversed a group of misjudged cases, and processed a great many letters and personal visits, achieving a certain accomplishment. Later, as the whole city got deeper and deeper into the work of implementing the policy, many units, through a reexamination of cases that had been determined by the Public Security Bureau to be so-called "vicious attacks," "counterrevolutionary cliques," and complex cases in other areas, proposed demands for redress and conveyed them to the Public Security Bureau. However, the Public Security Bureau did not put them off with delays, but replied that they "maintained their original conclusion." In mid-September of last year, 116 "replies" like this had piled up in the case files of that bureau, and particularly more than 30 complex cases that had only been clarified through a great deal of effort on the part of several units, but which they were still "holding out" against.

Through an investigation, the Huangshi Municipal Communist Party Committee and the concerned departments of the province came to understand the reasons why the Public Security Bureau had "locked horns," the principal one being that a few of the comrades had not liberated their thoughts from the fetters of "rather 'left' than right." Deputy Bureau Chief Cao Kaiye, who was personally responsible for handling the cases, had been chairman of a peasant's union at the time of the land reform and later was a long time in public security work, having been acclaimed a model of outstanding service on the public security front a number of times. For many years, a tenet of his work was that "class struggle is the key link," and the "deification of leaders" had a deep effect on his thinking. He believed that the past handling of the cases had been correct, especially those involving non-criminal speech and actions by persons of bad background or dubious history, and he could not cast off the frame of reference in "raise to the highest plane of principle, determine character severely, and deal with harshly." When he encountered a case of so-called "vicious attack," he dared not touch it; even though some obtained redress, they had to retain a slight "tail."

The municipal party committee and the concerned departments of the province resolutely helped the Huangshi Municipal Public Security Bureau leadership and case-handling personnel eliminate "the inhibition of the golden hoop." In mid-September, division chief Wei Hengrong [7279 1854 2837] was sent by the Provincial Public Security Bureau to lead a work team to the Huangshi Municipal Public Security Bureau. From among the cases that the Municipal Public Security Bureau had classed as "maintaining the original conclusion," they selected 30-odd for examination, and after conscientious review and research, arrived at a disagreement on 24 of them. For example, there was an old worker at the Huangshi Boiler Factory who, during the decade of confusion, said that overturning the old cadres was "killing heroes," that taking part in armed struggle was "taking instructions from Jiang Qing," and for this he was branded a "counterrevolutionary." How can we maintain the original conclusions on this kind of so-called "vicious attack?"

Wei Hengrong and the others did a convincing analysis of the case file, shook up the thinking of the leaders and case handlers of the Municipal Public Security Bureau, and secured some progress in the case handling work. Later, provincial and municipal personnel responsible for implementing policy and comrades of the Municipal Bureau did a concrete analysis of how the "replies" tallied with the facts, and how they were inappropriate to the implementation of policy, thus advancing the unity of their thinking and perception.

To deepen the perception of the importance of redressing unjust, frame-up, and misjudged cases, Bureau Chief and Secretary of the Bureau Party Committee Liang Chengwen [2733 2052 2429] on one hand organized the bureau's case handling personnel for an in-depth study of the Central Committee documents and a comprehension of the spirit of the policies; on the other hand he participated in the case handling conferences and personally reviewed the cases. He analyzed the cases one by one and encouraged Comrade Cao Kaiye to consider many questions: during the four clean-ups, Huangshi was a test point and the area of attack was relatively broad, and in that instance he was acclaimed a "shock worker"; when the decade of confusion started, "sweeping away monsters and demons," he was again acclaimed a "shock worker." At that time he was chief of a dispatch station and had not thought clearly about whether some things were correct or not, but only carried them out hard-headedly. Practice is the only criterion for examining truth. Today, in retrospect, there really are a great many unjust, frame-up and misjudged cases; particularly with regard to those who voiced grievances about the decade of confusion and who expressed opinions about the errors and deficiencies of the party's work and leadership, for an erroneous method of "raising to a high plane of principle, determining character severely, and dealing with harshly" was adopted, necessarily confusing contradictions of two different kinds. When others do not obey and file appeals, we naturally have the duty to examine and revise in accordance with party policy and in line with the spirit of seeking truth from facts, so that "if all is in error, correct all, if party is in error, correct part, and if there is no error, correct nothing," but we definitely must not substitute sentiment for policy.

After several rounds like this, the leadership and case handling personnel of the Municipal Public Security Bureau had a deeper understanding of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and had raised their consciousness of the implementation of party policy. With regard to cases reported from the various units, they put everything in order, clarified the key points, and concentrated their strength on fighting a war of annihilation. With regard to a few cases that had involved appeals to city, provincial or national authorities without having been resolved for a long time, and other complicated cases, the bureau leadership personally participated in the review, and some were decided collectively by the party committee of the bureau. When reinvestigating a verdict, those cases that involve treating ideological problems as political problems, treating problems of method as problems of standpoint, treating problems of background as problems of behavior, and the substitution of criminal procedures for administrative measures are corrected and redressed by seeking truth from facts. Of the 116 cases on which the reply had been to "maintain the original conclusion" before the middle of last September, 101 have been corrected through a review like this. They have also taken their cases on tour and spontaneously exchanged ideas on case handling with other units. Since October of last year, the Municipal Public Security Bureau has dispatched men on a total of 33 trips to 10 units to promote the work of correcting 43 cases in which the original unit had proposed maintaining the original conclusion. Up to the present, the Huangshi Public Security Bureau has reinvestigated more than 90 percent of the political cases, criminal cases, and cases of background status on which appeals had been filed; 33 complex cases have been disposed of, of which 28 were redressed and corrected. They are continuing to deal with the remaining cases and review a few that have left tails, determined to carry out the work of redressing unjust, frame-up, and misjudged cases thoroughly.

9284
CSO: 4005

ERRANT ZHEJIANG CADRES' ATTEMPTED REPRISALS SCORED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Enforce Party Discipline; Uphold 'Guiding Principles'"]

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Provincial CCP Committee recently reopened discussions on the case involving Ye Ruiya [0673 3843 3768] and others who sought to strike back after having been found guilty of infractions of party discipline. A decision was made to strip Ye Ruiyu and Chen Wencong [7115 2429 5115] of all their positions in and outside the party and to give a severe reprimand to the cadres of the Wenzhou Municipal Party Committee who were implicated in the incident. This action on the part of the Provincial CCP Committee is an entirely proper action in its effort to enforce party discipline, uphold the party's "guiding principles," and safeguard the democratic rights of party members and the people.

According to "Certain Guiding Principles Regarding Political Life Within the Party," party members are entitled to make criticisms and recommendations to party organizations and workers in leadership positions at various levels. They are also entitled to make appeals and accusations at party meetings or to address themselves to higher organizations and even to the Central Committee itself. It is strictly forbidden to strike back at those who offer criticisms or to take retaliatory action against the plaintiffs and appellants. Nevertheless, Ye Ruiyu, deputy secretary of the Wenzhou Municipal Party Committee, and his associates, in defiance of party discipline and the laws of the land, took it upon themselves to conduct an illegal search of hotels, to open and detain mail, and to infringe upon the personal freedom and the democratic rights of the plaintiffs and the appellants by illegally arresting and detaining them. Such action cannot be tolerated.

How Communist Party members should conduct themselves toward the masses, and especially how they should react to criticism, is a most serious problem. Communist Party members are members of the proletariat. Communist cadres, no matter how high their position, have the responsibility to render faithful service to the people. Under no circumstances are they permitted to abuse their authority. They must accept in the proper spirit the well-founded critical opinions of the masses. Even if such critical opinions are not well-founded or if they are not entirely well-founded, they are required to give an explanation on the basis of facts. On no account are they to attempt to ferret out the motives behind the criticisms, far less to strike back in order to get even. The great majority of our cadres conduct themselves admirably. After the promulgation of the "guiding principles," a significant imporvement in party style has been noted in the conduct of many cadres. Unfortunately, there are still a small number of cadres who, like Ye Ruiyu and his associates, abuse the authority vested in them by the people and who lord it over party members and the masses. They make a travesty of the laws of the nation and the regulations of the party. They have no understanding of the meaning of democracy. Looking upon themselves as "officials," they expect the people to obey their orders without question. Considering themselves above the restrictions imposed by laws and party discipline, they even treat their comrades and those people who hold different views as their enemies. The behavior on the part of Ye Ruiyu and his associates attests to the extent to which feudalistic ideas of special privilege and tyranny have taken root in the minds of some people. The case in which Ye Ruiyu and his cohorts took it upon themselves to resort to retaliatory action in violation of laws and party discipline has had serious repercussions. They have seriously damaged the prestige of the party in the eyes of the people and dealt a palpable blow to the positive attitude of large numbers of cadres and the masses in implementing the "guiding principles" and in making their best efforts to contribute to the four modernizations. The masses ask, with justifiable resentment, "Why can't we address ourselves to the secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee? If they are to take such an attitude, who will dare to make their grievances known to the authorities?" In order to safeguard the rights of party members and the masses, we must wage a relentless struggle against tyrannical, feudalistic ideas and infractions agains the law and party discipline. All party members, and especially leadership cadres, should learn to strictly obey party regulations and the laws of the nation. On no account are they to place themselves above party regulations and the laws of the nation, or to lord it over the masses. They must learn to accept criticisms and the dissenting views of the masses in the proper spirit, and to submit themselves to the supervision of the masses. Under no circumstances are they permitted to abuse their authority to achieve personal gains or to resort to acts of reprisal.

We can see from the Ye Ruiyu case that the implementation of the "guiding principles' represents an intense struggle in the minds of the people. Why was it that this case had not been promptly dealt with? The main reason is that the responsible people in the Wenzhou Municipal Party Committee took a cavalier attitude toward the implementation of the party's "guiding principles" and the enforcement of the party's disciplinary measures. After it became known that Ye Ruiyu had resorted to acts of reprisal, the person responsible in the Wenzhou Municipal Party Committee instead of promptly looking into the incident and taking appropriate action, took Ye Ruiyu and his associate at their word in answering the charges. Even after the Provincial CCO Committee had given Ye Ruiyu a reprimand, the attitude on the part of the responsible person in the Wenzhou Municipal Party Committee left a lot to be desired. Instead of promptly transmitting the reprimand to those concerned, he and other comrades made the claim that "the situation in Wenzhou is special, that certain people are taking advantage of the opportunity to create friction among different factions by trying to reverse a previous verdict, that Ye Ruiyu had only recently become a cadre and that, besides, the incident had taken place prior to the promulgation of the "guiding principles." All these are onesided arguments. Is it true that the situation in Wenzhou is special? Taking the province as a whole, it is true that there are certain "special" localities which suffered grievously from the 10-year havoc wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and that the detrimental effects caused by the ultraleftist line espoused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have yet to be completely eradicated. And in handling the Ye Ruiyu case, the Provincial CCP Committee did not fail to take this into consideration. Nevertheless, the Wenzhou Municipal Party Committee had no justification for exonerating Ye Ruiyu and his associates. Unless discipline is strictly observed and the "guiding principles" are upheld, is it possible to achieve stability and unity? Unless a serious effort is made to upgrade the party style, is it possible to motivate the people to show a positive attitude and dedicate themselves to the four modernizations? When culprits are accommodated, can cadres be made to see the light and mend their ways? The answer to all these questions is "no." As for the argument that Ye Ruiyu had resorted to the acts of reprisal prior to the promulgation of the "guiding principles," that also cannot be used [as an excuse] for not taking proper action. It is true that cases predating the promulgation of the "guiding principles" should be dealt with somewhat differently from cases which occurred after its promulgation. However, acts of reprisal and violations of the law and party discipline cannot be condoned at any time. Basically, the only way to promote stability and unity in the Wenzhou situation and to provide impetus to the four modernizations is to implement without qualification the line, principles, and policies of the party and to upgrade the party's style by resolutely adhering to the "guiding principles." It is incumbent upon the party committees to heighten their understanding of the "guiding principles," to make a serious study of the "guiding principles," to implement the "guiding principles" unwaveringly, to courageously uphold the "guiding principles," and to wage an uncompromising struggle against those who act in violation of the "guiding principles."

Implementing the party's "guiding principles" and upholding party discipline have a vital impact on upholding and upgrading the quality of party leadership, strengthening the inseparable bonds between the party and the people, and raising the party's capability in promoting the four modernizations. It behooves party organizations at various levels throughout the province, and the large contingent of party cadres, especially those in leadership positions, to take the lead in observing party discipline and the laws of the nation, to make a conscious effort to accept in good grace the criticism and supervision of the masses, and to bring about equality for all under the law. It is imperative that those responsible for supervising the observance of party discipline, all law-enforcement organizations and all law-enforcement personnel at various levels, at all times and under all circumstances, should strictly, fairly, stringently, and seriously handle matters according to the party's disciplinary measures and the laws of the nation, so as to uphold the dignity and authority of party discipline and the laws of the nation, to safeguard the various democratic rights of party members and the masses, and to ensure the expeditious implementation of the four modernizations.

9621
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI MEETING STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF DISCIPLINE

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jun 80 p 1

[Article: "Municipal Discipline Inspection Meeting Decides Focal Point of Work"]

[Text] Recently, the municipal discipline inspection meeting convened by the preparatory group of the Discipline Inspection Committee of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided that the mission and focal point of work in discipline inspection are: following the shift in the focus of party work, the focal point of work in discipline inspection should be placed on guaranteeing the carrying out of the lines, principles, and policies of the party, on inspecting and correcting problems with respect to violations of political discipline, and on ensuring implementation of the four modernizations.

The meeting has adopted a way to combine centralization with decentralization. On 16 April, during a half-day plenary session, it communicated the spirit of the Second Plenary Session of the central Discipline Inspection Commission to cadres responsible for discipline inspection of the whole municipality, reviewed the discipline inspection work in Shanghai over the past half year, and put forward the main points of work to be carried out in 1980. After that, discussions were carried out by different groups organized in accordance with their respective organization channels. Suggestions made by these groups, after discussion, were compiled and a summary was made at a half-day plenary session convened on 16 June. More than 2,500 people were present at this meeting, including the leading comrades from the Municipal Party Committee, from different departments, committees, and staff offices of the municipal government, and from the party committees (leading party groups) in different districts, counties, and bureaus who are in charge of discipline inspection work. Also present were the secretary and deputy secretary (division chiefs) of the Discipline Inspection Committee (Discipline Inspection Group), as well as cadres who are full-time discipline inspection workers. Secretary Wang Yiping [3769 0001 1627] of the Municipal Party Committee spoke at the meeting.

After analyzing the situation of discipline inspection work in the whole municipality, the meeting asked party committees at all levels and discipline inspection departments to further deepen their understanding of the importance of discipline inspection work. The meeting noted that Shanghai was the counterrevolutionary base of the "gang of four" for usurping the supreme party leadership and state power, and it is where party organizations and party conduct and discipline have been most severely devastated. In the more than 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," although we have made great successes in the struggle to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four," to redress unjust, wrong and false charges, and to readjust leading groups at all levels, yet we have to notice that the pernicious influence of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" not only still exists in certain aspects; this should not be underestimated. Besides, the phenomenon of departures from the four fundamental principles in certain areas should not be neglected. In all these respects, we have an urgent need to strengthen party discipline inspection work.

The meeting affirmed that since the establishment of the preparatory group of the Discipline Inspection Committee of the Municipal Party Committee nearly a year ago, aside from building an organizational structure, carrying out education in party conduct and party discipline for vast numbers of party members, and handling correspondence as well as receiving visitors, the main jobs it has done include reexamination and rehabilitation, implementation of policies, and investigation and handling of cases involving violations of law and discipline. Great successes have been achieved in all of these jobs, and a good job must continue to be done in the future. The meeting asked party organizations at all levels, in the spirit of the directives issued by the central authorities, to study collectively the documents of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and especially to learn collectively "Certain Guiding Principles Regarding Inner-Party Political Life," to discuss the draft amendment of the party constitution and to carry out ideological education for the whole party, with the goal of upholding the party's political and ideological lines so as to strengthen party solidarity and unity, and of strengthening the democratic centralism of the party in organizational and disciplinary aspects. In March of this year, after the promulgation of the "guiding principles," vast numbers of party members and cadres enthusiastically endorsed it. Party organizations at all levels actively launched activities to study and implement the "guiding principles" by adopting various ways and means such as rotational training classes for party members and cadres, learning at party schools, and participating in collective party activities. Preliminary successes have been achieved through taking the "guiding principles" as a mirror, or as a ruler, to integrate the realities of the leading groups with the realities of individuals in order to measure themselves. However, learning to implement the "guiding principles" is the sort of work which should last for a long time. Unremitting efforts should be made and actions should be taken while learning. Better results can be achieved only step by step. All party members in Shanghai must have the determination and confidence to do a good job in learning and implementing the "guiding principles." Party member leading cadres, especially leading cadres at the district, county, and bureau levels and above, must play a vanguard model role in learning the "guiding principles" and the draft amendment of the party constitution. They must launch criticism and self-criticism in the spirit of rectification in order to conscientiously measure themselves. Cadres engaged in discipline inspection work should first learn well and earnestly practice what they advocate. From now on, they have to start with themselves in everything so as to make themselves qualified Communist Party members.

After having studied and discussed the principles of "putting prevention first, putting education first, legislate first, educate first, laws should be observed, violations of the law should be punished, and laws should be strictly enforced"--which were put forward by the central Discipline Inspection Commission for carrying out discipline inspection work that is "both resolute and reliable"--the meeting regarded that these are overall, positive, and correct principles. The principles ask that discipline inspection work not be based mainly on punishment--that is, punishment without education--but that instead an advanced model be set and then spread through positive education, so that the masses of party members and cadres will be able to heighten their consciousness to do a good job in correcting party conduct and enforcing party discipline. It is necessary to seize tendentious young successors to give them timely criticism and education so that problems can be resolved in the initial stage. At the same time, necessary disciplinary action should be taken in cases where party regulations, party laws, and party discipline are violently violated. When individuals are punished, the majority are educated, and the punished themselves are also educated. Future mistakes can be avoided only by learning from past mistakes, and positive results can be obtained only by doing so. "Both resolute and reliable," as stipulated in the principle means that there is no compromise of principle. Cases of discipline violations should be handled without sparing anyone's sensibilities. One should take an analytical attitude in dealing with people and in handling things, and such an attitude should be pertinent and appropriate, not to be swayed by personal feelings. At present, there are people in the party who, in dealing with mistakes, are prone to taking the attitude of "self-criticism with an open mind, but absolutely unrepentant," and "conducting self-criticism for a period of time while seeking satisfaction for the whole life." The meeting pointed out that it is absolutely necessary to ask such people to correct their mistakes. There are cases in which people purposely present a fait accompli and then make an empty promise of "not to be repeated," attempting to seek "real benefit" from mistakes. This is also definitely not allowable.

The meeting also pointed out that discipline inspection work is not a mission that is confined to the discipline inspection sector. Party committees at all levels should conscientiously strengthen their leading role in discipline inspection work. They should regularly hear reports on discipline inspection work. And discipline inspection work should be the order of the day for party committees. Discipline inspection organizations at all levels should be further strengthened, and close attention should be paid to building up a contingent of cadres for carrying out discipline inspection work.

9560
CSO: 4005

MODEL CADRE CONTINUES WORK DESPITE TERMINAL ILLNESS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "A Retired Cadre Yu Jieqiong Proves to be Good Party Member"]

[Text] On the eve of "1 July," comrades of the party branch of the retired cadres of Jingan district unanimously recommended Yu Jieqiong [0151 2212 8825], who had worked with the Institue of Financial Science of the Ministry of Finance, as a good party member. The district party committee fully affirmed the revolutionary spirit of Comrade Yu Jieqiong because, though suffering severely from a lingering cancer, he stands in no fear of it and [continues] indomitably to write books expounding theories and suggesting ways and means for implementing the four modernizations. Thus it decided to commend him on 1 July at the meeting commemorating the party's birthday.

Comrade Yu Jieqiong is 68 years old this year. He returned to China from the United States during the initial postliberation period. He has been with the Institute of Financial Science of the Ministry of Finance for a long time, in charge of research work on both foreign finance and enterprise finance. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1956. Comrade Yu Jieqiong is an expert on the financial front. "Statistics on Production Enterprises" and "Financial and Monetary Inspection of Production Enterprises" are among the books he has written. During the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild, however, he was sent off to graze cattle and later on was expelled from the party and forced to retire, thereby losing his political and working rights. In 1973, Comrade Yu Jieqiong, who was once healthy and strong, was on the verge of death after suffering a lot. Accompanied by his son, he returned to Shanghai. As he witnessed the steady deterioration of the nation's financial situation, old Yu was filled with grief and anxiety, yet he had no way out. In 1978 after the crushing of the "gang of four," the leading party group in the Ministry of Finance reexamined his case and rehabilitated him. His party membership was reinstated. However, at that time he was already suffering from thyroid cancer and has since undergone two major operations. He was too weak to carry on his work as usual. The Ministery of Finance decided to change his status from retirement to temporary leave and showed him the utmost solicitude with the best of care.

The party's great plans for implementing the four modernizations strongly aroused the sense of revolutionary responsibility of this old comrade and spurred him to make the best use of his time, regardless of serious illness, to continue to work for the party at home. Since December 1978 he has managed to get up early every day, no matter whether it is in cold winter or hot summer. He has conscientiously engaged in writing. In a period of a little more than 1 year, he has, with his trembling and weak hand, completed 13 articles, including "Serving Finance by Utilizing the Law of Value," "Assessing Local Collective Enterprise Investments Base on the Law of the Economy," and "Financial Supervision of Capital Construction Should Pay Attention to Taking Objective Laws as Guidelines in Capital Construction." He also compiled more than 10 pieces of data introducing the practice of business administration in the capitalist nations. These articles and data were written with original ideas. When they were presented to the Ministry of Finance, they won widespread attention and praise.

Yu Jieqiong has also been concerned about the well-being of the masses throughout the course of his illness. During the second half of last year he worried very much about the ever-worsening condition of the contaminated drinking water in Shanghai. He decided to investigate the situation, regardless of his severe reaction to chemotherapy at that time. He spent 2 days inspecting, on foot, the dark and bad-smelling Suzhou River and the turbid Huangpu River and found that the situation is serious. After he returned home, he wrote a report from the angle of a financial worker and separately submitted it to the Ministry of Finance and the Central Environment Protection Bureau asking the central authorities to appropriate special funds to help Shanghai adminster the contamination problem. In reply, comrades including Finance Minister Wu Bo said in their respective letters that the problem is under overall consideration in an effort to work out a solution.

In March of this year, Comrade Yu Jieqiong acknowledged that the cancer he suffers has spread and his life is drawing to an end. For that reason, he valued his time still more and stepped up his writing. He said: "I am a member of the Communist Party. I have to work for the party as long as I am still alive!"

9560
CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO' CHIEF EDITOR'S 'VICTORY' REPORTED

HK250903 Hong Kong TUNGHSIANG in Chinese No 24, 16 Sep 80 pp 17-18

[Article by Tzu Lin: "Hu Jiwei's Victory"]

[Excerpts] The masses have the right to supervise cadres and newspapers should strengthen criticism. This is a slogan which has been reiterated recently by the CCP.

The reiteration of this slogan can be described as a victory for RENMIN RIBAO chief editor Hu Jiwei.

Shortly after the smashing of the "gang of four," Chinese newspapers repeatedly declared that the common people could criticize the government and cadres and that "the speaker is blameless, the listener should be warned." As a result, newspapers did play a role in supervising cadres and their criticisms played an important role in opposing privileges and bureaucratism, thus regaining their prestige among the people.

Critical Contributions and Satirical Caricatures Are Withheld From Publication

However, due to the emergence of big-character posters and the Wei Jingsheng incident, criticisms made by newspapers were censured by some people and even criticism of "the will of senior officials" was described as wrong. Hu Jiwei once disclosed: "The criticisms made by our newspaper can only be described as fervent exhortations. They are not fervent attacks, not to mention fierce attacks. Even so, many comrades are already very annoyed with them." During this period, many local newspaper reporters who had written critical reports were attacked and prevented from writing such reports and many contributions, letters and caricatures were withheld from publication.

In the face of this situation, Hu Jiwei publicly voiced his dissent. He brought the matter out into the open with "How Are We To Carry out Criticism and Self-criticism in Newspapers" published in XINWEN ZHANXIAN [NEWS FRONT] at the end of 1979. This article refuted all kinds of censures. In this issue of XINWEN ZHANXIAN, a commentator's article called for discussing issues concerning criticism made by newspapers.

Following the publication of Hu Jiwei's article and the XINWEN ZHANXIAN commentator's article, there were no apparent local press reaction to them, and the number of critical press items of an incisive nature continued to fall. This way of doing things incurred the censure of the masses and also dampened the newly restored confidence the common people had placed in the CCP.

A Key Editorial

When Beijing theoretical circles began to reverse their verdict on the criticism of "the will of senior officials" in May this year, Chinese newspapers once again realized that mass supervision and criticism are indispensable. A short commentary published in GONGREN RIBAO on 31 July reiterated the slogan that "the masses have the right to supervise cadres at all levels." After July, RENMIN RIBAO published an editorial which was entitled "The Promotion of Party Style Cannot Be Divorced From Mass Supervision." The publication of this editorial shows that Hu Jiwei's proposal for "strengthening newspaper criticism" has begun to prevail within the party.

People are pleased at the victory Hu Jiwei scored in this debate and also hope that the CCP will make protracted and persistent efforts to uphold this policy of public criticism and self-criticism.

CSO: 4005

ECONOMIC, CULTURAL POLICIES FOR TIBET TO BE CHANGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 80 p 3

[Article by JIEFANG RIBAO correspondent Zhang Yeping [1728 0048 1627] in Lhasa: "Spring Comes Late to the Plateau; Strive To Make Up for Lost Time"]

[Text] Recently the Party Central Committee issued important instructions concerning the work in Xizang. Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721], Wan Li [5502 6849], and other leading comrades of the central authorities even made an inspection tour of Xizang to discuss with the comrades there the major programs for turning Xizang's poverty into wealth. The Xizang problem has focused the attention of many people on this southwestern frontier of the fatherland.

The Importance and Uniqueness of the Xizang Problem

Xizang is located on the southwestern frontier of our country, bordering the six countries of Pakistan, India, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Burma. It has a boundary of 4,000 kilometers and occupies a very important strategic location. The area is immense but sparsely populated. Its inhabitants are relatively uniform in nationality, with an absolute majority of the Zang nationality. Historically, religion has always thrived in Xizang, and the religious leader of Lamaism was also the supreme ruler of Xizang. With a system of agricultural serfdom, characterized by the "integration of government and religion," Xizang for the longest time was unique in its production patterns, political, cultural, religious and legal systems, as well as its upper stratum. Since Xizang's peaceful liberation in 1951, millions of agricultural serfs have smashed their feudal shackles through peaceful rebellion and democratic reform and, together with peoples of other nationalities in the country, walked onto the road of socialism. Xizang today is an autonomous region of our nation. Because of its history and geography, Xizang's character is strikingly unique in its natural conditions, national traits, economic structure, cultural tradition, religious beliefs, and even its spoken and written language, its customs and mores. As has been pointed out in the distributed circular summarizing the symposium on the work in Xizang: "Xizang is an inseperable part of the sacred territory of the fatherland and is a national autonomous region in which the political, economic, cultural and natural conditions are all of special importance."

What Is the Root of Poverty?

Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out during his inspection tour: "At the present time, the most prominent reality in Xizang is that the living standard of its inhabitants lags far behind that of the other provinces and autonomous regions of the nation." In other words, its people live in poverty and its culture is underdeveloped. Based on what this correspondent saw and heard during his 1-year stay in Xizang, one impression that stands out is that the Xizang plateau's wealth and poverty (that is, its wealth in natural resources and the poverty in which its people live) constitute a very inharmonious picture.

Then, what is the root of Xizang's poverty? First, it is rooted in historical factors. Xizang's socialism is founded on the ruins of feudal agricultural serfdom. Xizang is low in the development of productive forces, and its economy and culture lag behind. Second, the damage caused by the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" caused a drop in production and made the people destitute. These are the two apparent factors. But the question is: Since the smashing of the "gang of four" more than 3 years ago, most parts of the country have been enjoying increasingly greater prosperity and there has been considerable change in production and in the people's livelihood. Then why is Xizang still lagging behind?

To analyze this situation, the following questions must be briefly reviewed: What are the manifestations of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and what are their ill effects?

(1) The ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" distorted the instructions of Comrade Mao Zedong, treated the problem of nationalities as a problem of classes, and damaged the party's policies toward the nationalities, religion, and the united front. This resulted in the widening of the class struggle and seriously damaged the solidarity between the Zang and Han nationalities.

(2) They violated the objective reality of Xizang society, and erroneously classified "rich peasants" and "rich herdsman." Before the democratic reform, Xizang was a feudal society of agricultural serfdom in which there existed two opposing classes; namely, the feudal lords and the masses of agricultural serfs. However, the question is: How could there have been rich peasants during that time, when owner-peasants did not even exist? Nevertheless, under the ultraleft lines of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," those agricultural serfs whose livelihood had become relatively good were arbitrarily classified as "rich peasants" or "rich herdsmen." In some areas, even those peasants and herdsmen who had become better off through sheer hard work, and only after the democratic reform, were

also classified as rich peasants and rich herdsmen. This gave rise to the confusion of class alignment and the dampening of enthusiasm on the part of peasants and herdsmen for the development of production and the betterment of their livelihood.

(3) In areas of agricultural production and animal husbandry, they violated the objective reality of Xizang and the wishes of its people. It was the custom of the Zang nationality to have roasted barley, butter, beef and mutton as staples. The herdsmen live in tents made of oxhair. Yet under the directions of the ultraleft line, "take grain as the key link" was unilaterally stressed. This policy forced out animal husbandry and its occupational lines and made it difficult for the Zang people to obtain butter to eat or oxhair for their tents. It also decreased sideline income--a situation which created further difficulties for the people.

(4) With regard to the economic policy of the agricultural and animal husbandry regions, they confused the differentiation between socialism and capitalism. For example, in the area of distribution, the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took the policy of "distribution according to work" and "more work more pay" as capitalistic, while treating "mass together" and "equalitarianism" as socialism. Another example: the [ultraleft line] kept the production brigade from developing various enterprises, labeling these enterprises as following the "capitalist road." It chopped the team members' privately owned plots of land, livestock, and family sidelines as if they were the "tails of capitalism." It also shut down the country fair trading in the villages as if it gave the "green light to capitalism." Policies like these were already very "left" when they were applied in the interior of the country; applied to the area of Xizang, which, to begin with, had a very underdeveloped commodity economy and little capitalism, these policies proved to be even more "left." Therefor these policies caused ever greater damage to production and to the people's livelihood.

(5) In industry, the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," merely for the sake of "filling in the blanks", disregarded Xizang's conditions in raw and semiprocessed materials, fuel, transportation and shipping; blindly pushed various developments; engaged in "cooking a meal without rice"; and thus squandered large sums of money, manpower, and material resources. On the other hand, handicraft production for various kinds of goods especially needed by the Zang nationality (such as mats, aprons, wooden bowls, and oil barrels, etc.) did not develop rapidly. This also affected the livelihood of the Xizang people.

These evil consequences caused by the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" seriously damaged the solidarity of the nationalities, destroyed Xizang's economic and cultural development, and brought hardship and suffering to the people of Xizang.

The Key to the "Solution of Poverty"

To open the gate to Xizang's wealth and prosperity, the secretariat of the Party Central Committee held many meetings in April of this year to discuss the work in Xizang. In the distributed circular "Summary of the Symposium of the Work in Xizang," the central authorities formulated clear and definite provisions concerning the task and direction of Xizang's construction. In the latter part of May, the chief secretary of the Party Central Committee, Hu Yaobang, Wan Li, and other leading comrades made a special trip to Xizang. They studied and investigated to see if the suggestions of the Central Committee had been thoroughly implemented, and they discussed with the Xizang comrades the major plans of "turning poverty into wealth."

Generally speaking, the policies of the Party Central Committee for work in Xizang include the following points: Politically, further implement the policies of the nationalities, religion, and united front and of strengthening the solidarity of the nationalities. Under the united leadership of the central authorities, allow all the nationalities of Xizang to enjoy national autonomy to the fullest. Economically, firmly adopt the policies that allow Xizang's economy to recover and grow. These include: Exempt the people of Xizang for a number of years from the state purchase quotas, and eliminate apportioned quotas of any form. In all other areas of the economy, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, finance, commerce, handicraft, transportation and shipping, adopt flexible policies especially suited to the situation in Xizang, so as to expedite Xizang's economic growth. At the same time, divert the large sums of national outlays, which had been used to prop up Xizang, to meet the urgent needs in the daily lives of the Xizang people. With regard to matters of culture and education, vigorously restore and develop, under the firm premise of socialism, Xizang's national culture as well as programs in education and science. In matters of party organization, a policy of national cadres must be correctly implemented and the solidarity between the comrades of the Han and the Zang nationalities must be strengthened. Within 2 to 3 years, more than two-thirds of the national cadres of Xizang not engaged in production must be of the Xizang nationality; other cadres must be transferred back to the interior systematically.

The Xizang Autonomous Region Party Committee, during a recent discussion on the instructions laid down by the Party Central Committee for carrying out the work in Xizang, expressed the belief that the key to successfully implementing the Party Central Committee's policies lies in straightening out the comrades' thinking. Judging from the fact that Xizang's cadres are mostly leading cadres, it may be deduced that the thinking of some comrades has not yet been liberated from the confining shackles of the ultraleft line. For example, when a set of previously used methods prove no longer applicable today, some people become confused. When some people find that certain slogans they used to shout and hear in the past need to be changed now, they find it difficult to understand. Some people begin to have doubts when they witness the restoration of some policies which were criticized by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," even though they had been proven correct by reality. In view of this situation, the regional party committee, in the process of implementing the policies of the Party Central Committee, has seriously and earnestly opened remedial classes to discuss the standard questions concerning truth, to straighten out thinking, and to clean out the residual poison of the ultraleft line, so that the thinking of the masses may be truly liberated and construction work in Xizang may be pushed forward daringly and expeditiously.

Now, the interior of the fatherland is in the height of summer, and on the Xizang plateau spring is very much in the air. Xizang's belated spring, as though realizing the passage of time, is bracing up and quickening its steps to catch up with the season.

9523
CSO: 4005

BACKGROUND OF BOHAI NO 2 INCIDENT GIVEN

HK221455 Hong Kong TUNG HSIANG in Chinese No 24, 16 Sep 80 pp 9-11

[Article by Chu Chung-yi: "'New Economic Group' Versus 'Petroleum Group'"]

[Text] The "Bohai No 2" incident which resulted in the deaths of 72 people and directly brought about a loss of some 37 million yuan has finally come to an end. Before the opening of the NPC, the highest authorities in Beijing adopted a resolute and ironclad policy to dismiss the petroleum minister, Song Zhenming, from his post and give the vice premier in charge of the petroleum industry Kang Shien, a heavy demerit. The response to these measures was encouraging both inside and outside the country as soon as the news was released.

"China is still prosperous!" The decision of the leadership in Beijing enables the people who think that China is hopeless to regain their confidence. In view of the handling of the "Bohai No 2" incident, people mainly see the determination of the Beijing authorities in rectifying the unfair system of rewards and punishments and slack discipline and enforcing party discipline and state laws.

An Important Background

In fact, this is only one side of the case. Recently, I met some friends within the economics circle in Beijing and learned that the "Bohai No 2" incident had been handled under a background which is of great importance and cannot be ignored.

What is this background? On the surface the "Bohai No 2" incident was an investigation into the causes of a serious accident. However, it was in fact, an important confrontation between two different economic ideas and two different lines for economic development, and was a critical trial of strength between the "new economic group" and the "petroleum group" in the Beijing leadership. The trial of strength ended with in victory for the "new economic group."

We must not underestimate this victory of the "new economic group." The significance that it bears in the history of Chinese economic construction is at least as great as that of the debate on the criterion of truth carried out in May 1978. It will have incalculable and deep influences on China's march toward the four modernizations.

The "new economic group" is a new term recently introduced in Beijing, the Chinese people are gifted in creating political terms. This term is a new name for the "practical group" in economic construction.

Member of the 'New Economic Group'

Who are the heads of the "new economic group?" Its representatives in the administration of the State Council are Zhao Ziyang, Yao Yilin and Wan Li; in the theoretical circle are Hu Qiaomu, Sun Zhifeng and Xu Dixin; and inside the party is Hu Yaobang. Of course, they are backed up by old revolutionaries such as Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun.

In short, the "new economic group" advocates seeking truth from facts and working in accordance with the economic laws. Specifically speaking, where an enterprise is concerned, it advocates expanding the self-management right, bringing the superior position into play, protecting competition and pushing forward joint ventures. Regarding circulation, it advocates appropriately making use of readjustment by market supply and demand. Regarding economic planning, it demands scheduled, proportionate and balanced development, stresses acting according to one's capability and attaches importance to improving the people's material life. Regarding the labor system, it proposes adopting a more flexible policy and reviving and developing individual industrial and commercial households as a supplement to the state planned economy. Where employment is concerned, it demands that the state abolish its monopoly and unified distribution, and advocates appropriate circulation of capable persons, open recruitment and freedom in choosing jobs. Regarding personnel management, the "new economic group" opposes remaining laymen and encourages experts to dominate factories. All these measures, so to speak, meet the demands of the present economic stage of China in a better way. These are bold measures which are practical and break out of ideological confinement.

The implementation of these measures was already and surely will further speed up the recovery of the Chinese backward economy and push forward the progress of the four modernizations. However, it is not easy for these measures to be implemented. There are certainly many kinds of obstacles in the middle and lower levels. Moreover, some people in the higher level in Beijing object to it and the "petroleum group" is representative of this opposition.

We Cannot Underestimate the Capacity of the 'Petroleum Group'

Besides the criticized petroleum minister Song Zhenming and Vice Premier Kang Shien, the "petroleum group" consists of one or two people who hold a higher post and are more authoritative. Of course, they cannot triumph over the "new economic group" in a trial of political strength. However, they have always been recognized as the economic authority for a long time and have taken up leadership posts in economic, financial and state planning. We must not underestimate their capacity since they are still enjoying traditional power.

What the "petroleum group" advocates is a traditional method of economic development which China has implemented over the past [words indistinct]. In other words, the "petroleum group" pushes forward economic construction by giving prominence to politics and by means of mass movements, and directs the economy with methods used during the war years. Where economic development is concerned, it gives prominence to heavy industry and neglects light industry and agriculture. It does not care about the balance and one-sidedly goes after high quotas. Regarding finance, it advocates huge accumulation and pays no attention to improving the living standard of the people.

This economic ideology has continued to dominate Chinese economic circles even 2 years since the downfall of Jiang Qing and her accomplices. Later, when the workstyle of seeking truth from facts was encouraged and discussions on the criterion of truth were launched, people began to see its flaws. People recognized that the extremely strict management and the idea of the "iron rice bowl" were in fact a chronic malady. They also realized that the "new petroleum group" was too fond of greatness and success but in fact did not know how things stood. They eventually saw the drawbacks of taking risks and letting laymen be masters of the house. We can see the absurdity when we refer to the 10-year planning on economic development put forward by Hua Guofeng at the first session of the Fifth NPC in February 1978. Over the past few years, it has been revealed in newspapers that a large number of abandoned and suspended construction works had been disclosed. The reason for this was that the capital construction front was over-extended and the construction works were hurriedly carried out without adequate consideration and without adequate raw materials and preparations. All this was in fact the result of the direct or indirect influence of the economic ideology of the "petroleum group." The salient facts were extravagance of the "1.7 meter" rolling work in the Wuhan Steel Mill, the selection of an improper location for the Baoshan Steel Mill, suspended construction of Shandong Heavy Iron and Steel Plant and failure to make good the promise of supplying Japan with oil and so forth.

Hu Qiaomu Sounded the Bugle

The confrontation between the two economic ideology of the "new economic group" and the "petroleum group" began to develop immediately after the great debate on the criterion of truth in May 1978. In May this year at a State Council meeting, Hu Qiaomu gave a report on "to act in accordance with the economic laws and speed up the achieving of the four modernizations." In his report, he systematically summed up experiences and lessons in economic construction over the past 20 years and acutely criticized the bad habits of paying no attention to objective laws in economic construction and blind leadership according to the officers' wills. He further stressed a series of guiding economic principles such as planned, proportionate and balanced development and attaching importance to laws governing the market. This could be called the first relatively complete these on the new economic policy, proposed by the "new economic group" on an important occasion, which sounded the bugle to carry out economic development in accordance with the economic laws. However, diverging points of view exist in the higher level of the PRC with regard to Hu Qiaomu's these. This important speech was published 3 months later in RENMIN RIBAO, that is, on 6 October.

Although the new economic plan has been formulated, there are many obstacles to it. There are conflicts between the higher, middle and lower levels inside the CCP. The reason for this is that on the one hand, it is difficult to turn the tide since people had gotten used to the situation which had been in effect for some time, and on the other hand, some officials have been contented to be laymen and labeled themselves as the "big rough and ready chaps," and this new economic policy was in direct conflict with their personal interests.

During this period, if people paid attention to the economic reports of the CCP provincial and municipal newspapers and journals, they would have discovered many contradictory phenomena. Some provinces and municipalities were still faithful to the campaign of learning from Daqing and conduct grand and spectacular-scaled meetings to select and award Daqing-modeled enterprises, while some other provinces and municipalities did not mention a single word about Daqing-modeled enterprises. This reflected the various responses of different provinces and municipalities to the new economic policy.

Zhao Ziyang, Wan Li Shoulder Great Responsibilities

Since the force of habit was very great and in order to be more precise, the "new economic group" headed by Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun entrusted the high-ranking officers of the "practical group," Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li, who were famous for their emancipated minds and acute and decisive workstyle, to carry out experiments on the new economic policy in some units in Sichuan and Anhui provinces. Zhao and Wan did their jobs well to the satisfaction of the "new economic group." Experiments proved that this new economic policy could liven up the dull and rigid Chinese economic system, and enhanced the activism of officers and workers of the enterprises; the increase rate of the production value became generally higher than that of the nonexperimental enterprises. The market was livened up in a very short time and the people's living standard was improved. The progress of Sichuan and Anhui aroused the people's attention. The reputation of "Ziyang (the red sun) shines high and Wan Li (an area of 10,000 li) is bright" spread like wildfire.

Practice is the grounds for a great debate. The success in Sichuan and Anhui can be regarded as the first victory of the "new economic group."

However, the confrontation between the economic ideology of the "new economic group" and the "petroleum group" was not very apparent at that time because it was still not the principal conflict. At that time, the principal conflict inside the political circle of the PRC was a vigorous debate waged by the "practical group" and the "whatever faction" centering on adopting a correct attitude towards Mao Zedong Thought. The third plenary session of the CCP Central Committee at the end of 1978 was the climax of this debate. On the other hand, the Chinese economy was at the brink of collapse at that time because of a poor economic situation and its being trampled upon by the gang of Jiang Qing. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the danger of economic collapse appeared due to construction of new projects without a prior and adequate understanding of the actual economic situation. The situation can be compared with one in which a person, who had just recovered from a fatal disease, participating in racing. Therefore, it became a pressing task for the economic sphere to solve the serious imbalance of economic development. Thus, the ideological confrontation between the "new economic group" and the "petroleum group" was neglected when people urged "readjusting, restructuring, rectifying and improving" the national economy. As a matter of fact, the proposal and the implementation of the principles of readjustment was itself a measure and a victory of the ideology of the "new economic group."

The Decision on Abolishing the Old 10-Year Plan

The eight-character principle on readjusting the economy was officially put forward at the second session of the Fifth NPC convened in June 1979 and a period of 3 years was fixed for its achievement. In the wake of the implementation of the policy of readjustment, the flaws of the "petroleum group" in its planning for economic development in China were exposed to a large extent. People realized that they had been working not according to the objective laws and their capability. Simultaneously, the conflict between the "new economic group" and the "petroleum group" become more acute daily. This April, the decisive level of the PRC finally came to a resolute decision. They decided to abolish the original 10-year economic plan, and formulate a new one. At the same time, they decided to reassign Yu Qiuli from the position as chairman of the State Planning Committee to be in charge of the energy committee, and appointed Yao Yilin concurrently chairman of the State Planning Committee. After Yao Yilin had taken up his post, he gave an important speech, stressing that the state must work in accordance with its own capability and make gradual progress in economic planning. He criticized the old method of planning solely by subjective opinions and paying no attention to the objective laws. He also criticized blindly going after high quotas at a tremendous speed.

This was a critical fight that the "new economic group" won. And it so happened that the oil rig "Bohai No 2" capsized during this period, how to squarely analyze and handle this serious incident thus became another trial of strength between the "new economic group" and the "petroleum group."

Points of View

In accordance with the viewpoint of the "petroleum group," there were bound to be sacrifices in striving for progress. Thousands of people sacrifice their lives in the battlefield in order to win a great victory. And taking this into comparison, the lives of 72 would mean nothing in order to develop an oilfield of strategic significance. We must enhance the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," and it is reasonable to pay a price when you are inexperienced in certain aspects. In light of this, the Oil Ministry and its subordinate marine exploitation bureaus should not shoulder great responsibility with regard to the capsizing of the "Bohai No 2" platform.

However, in the opinion of the "new economic group," this was an extreme case of dereliction of duty. It violates the objective laws and showed no respect for science and it was an example of blind leadership by subjective opinions. Song Zhenming and [words indistinct]. They thought that they could apply past experience throughout their lives, they were arrogant and did not take others' advice. Thus, the originally advanced petroleum ministry became corrupt and enforcement of rules and regulations became slack as laymen took over leadership and workers lacked adequate training. The "Bohai No 2" platform was imported 7 years ago. However, important materials such as the book on stability calculation has not yet been translated and they even paid no attention to a report submitted by the first front team of the drilling platform. All this finally led to a shocking catastrophe. If we do not strictly handle this severe incident, we will not be able to enforce party discipline and state laws and to vigorously and speedily implement and push forward respect for science and the new economic policy which works in accordance with the objective laws.

Removing a Big Stumbling Block

The "new economic group" was resolute to get rid of all obstacles and made a thorough investigation into the "Bohai No 2" incident. They finally won a complete victory after seesaw battle for more than 8 months.

By examining the background, we can see that the handling of the "Bohai No 2" incident is of great significance. It has removed a big stumbling block in the implementation of the new economic policy. It appears that it will continue to exert influence on the PRC's economic construction in the future.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

NATIONAL MINORITY VISITING GROUP--Sponsored by the State Minority Nationalities Affairs Commission, a team composed of three groups of national minorities was formed to visit various places in the country to mark the 1980 national day. The first group arrived in Qiqihar Municipality, Heilongjiang, 13 September. This group is composed of people of 25 nationalities from Xinjiang, Ningxia, Gansu, Qinghai, Shandong, Anhui, Jiangsu, Shanghai, Tianjin, Shanxi and Hubei provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. The Qiqihar Municipal CCP Committee, the Standing Committee of the municipal people's congress, and the municipal government and CPPCC committee held a rally to welcome the group. Secretary (Chen Junsheng) of the municipal CCP committee spoke at the rally. The group plans to spend 4 days in Qiqihar. [SK170956 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Sep 80]

NEI MONGGOL NPC DEPUTIES--With Ting Mao as their leader and Kui Bi and Ba-tu-ba-gen as their deputy leaders, the Nei Monggol regional deputies to the third session of the Fifth NPC returned to Hohhot on 15 September. Members to the third session of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee also returned by the same train. They were welcomed at the station by Kong Fei, Yun Shiying, Peng Mengyu, Gao Zengpei, Hao Xiushan, Chen Bingyu, Wu Daping and Zhao Zhanshan, responsible persons of the regional CCP committee, the Standing Committee of the regional people's congress, the regional people's government and the regional CPPCC committee. [SK170314 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Sep 80]

HUBEI DOMESTIC FORUM--The united front work department of the Hubei Provincial CCP Committee recently invited some scientists, professors, famous artists, experts in engineering and personages of democratic parties who were in Wuhan to attend a forum. At the forum, they discussed issues related to the domestic situation and the four modernizations. In connection with reality, they put forward very good opinions on the four modernizations. [HK151240 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Sep 80]

HUNAN RURAL PROPAGANDA CONFERENCE--In late August, the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee held a conference in Nan County on propaganda work in the countryside throughout the province. The participants exchanged experiences on publicizing the two documents of the central authorities on development agriculture and emphatically discussed and studied the ideological theory and policy of enriching the countryside as soon as possible. The participants were urged to boldly build the rich communes and brigades and enable some of the communes, brigades and peasants to become rich first. They pointed out that it is necessary to rectify the commune and brigade enterprises, respect the rights of the production teams in self-determination and establish and put on a sound basis the system of production responsibility in accordance with local conditions. It is also necessary to actively encourage the commune members to take part in sideline production at home so long as this does not interfere with collective production. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Sep 80 HK]

JIANGXI DEVELOPMENT--Over the past 8 months since the second session of the Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress, the provincial people's congress, provincial people's government, provincial higher people's court, provincial people's procuratorate and other prefectural and municipal people's governments have respected the democratic rights of people's representatives and handled 501 proposals. The Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee has issued a circular which demanded that people seriously handle the proposals put forward at the people's congress. Many people's representatives proposed strengthening construction of old revolutionary bases and this has aroused the attention of the central authorities and the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee. Thus, it has been decided that funds would be allocated for such development and an old revolutionary bases development committee has been established. The Jiangxi people's government also instructed the railway department to repair damaged tracks and the provincial revolutionary committee has paid attention to air pollution in response to the proposals of the people's representatives. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Sep 80 HK]

HEILONGJIANG LEGAL OFFICES--Beginning in 1979, various localities of Heilongjiang Province have resumed or established legal advisory offices staffed with full-time lawyers. From January to June 1980, these offices had served as defenders in 1,038 criminal cases and as procurators in 58 civil cases. [Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Sep 80 SK]

HUNAN CPPCC SOIREE--On the evening of 22 September, the Hunan Provincial CPPCC Committee held a mid-autumn festival soiree to receive people of various circles in Changsha. Those attending were the chairman and vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC committee, responsible persons of democratic parties and industrial and commercial federations, personages of various circles in Changsha, Taiwan compatriots, returned overseas

Chinese and relatives of people who have gone to Taiwan, some 70 people altogether. Zhou Li, secretary of the provincial CCP committee and chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee; Tao Zhiyue, NPC Standing Committee member and vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee; and Cheng Xingling, vice provincial governor and vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, attended and spoke. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Sep 80 HK]

CCP COMMITTEES--According to information obtained by the reporter from informed sources, while considering the question of how the Standing Committee of the NPC can exercise supervision over the State Council and other state organs, the CCP Central Committee is also considering how to institutionalize self-supervision. It is possible that the forthcoming 12th National Party Congress will elect a supervisory committee and an advisory committee in addition to the Central Committee. The idea that the supervisory committee to be elected by the party congress will be an organ parallel to the Central Committee, and not one under the Central Committee, is under consideration. This proposal will greatly enhance the power and efficiency of supervisory work. The supervisory committee will not only supervise party committees in the localities and various departments, but will also directly supervise the Central Committee. The advisory committee is intended to make full use of the abilities of veteran revolutionaries who have withdrawn to the second or third line. Those to be elected to the advisory committee should be revolutionaries of the older generation who have had rich experiences. They will not only give suggestions to the Central Committee but will also exercise a certain degree of supervision over the Central Committee. Preventing the overconcentration of power and safeguarding democracy institutionally are set policies of the CCP. This principle will be manifested in various aspects in the forthcoming period. [Text] [HK190837 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 18 Sep 80 p 2]

JILIN AUTUMN FESTIVAL PARTY--A tea party was held 22 September at the auditorium of the Jilin Provincial CPPCC Committee to celebrate the mid-autumn festival. Among the more than 100 participants were vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC committee, including Yu Yifu, Zhong Mingbiao, Che Minqiao, Guan Mengjue, Cui Cai and Xiao Danfeng, and responsible persons of various democratic parties, including Xu Shouxuan, Cheng Shengsan and Yu Ruihuang. The party was jointly sponsored by the group for propaganda work directed toward Taiwan under the provincial CPPCC committee, the provincial Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and the provincial preparatory group for establishing the Taiwan Democratic Autonomous League. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Sep 80 SK]

MINORITY VISITORS IN HEILONGJIANG--The "national day" minority visiting group formed by the people of 26 minority nationalities from 11 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions concluded their visits in Harbin and Qiqihar and left for Changchun 22 September. Li Lian and Li Jianbai, secretaries of the provincial party committee, received them 19 September. Chen Lei, secretary of the provincial party committee and governor of the province, and Zhao Dezun, secretary of the provincial party committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, feted them 21 September [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Sep 80 SK] Minority visitors in Jilin--the "national day" minority visiting group arrived in Changchun by train 22 September. The 188 visitors include leading cadres at and above county levels, rural grassroots cadres, scientific and technical personnel, model workers and people from democratic parties and religious circles. Yang Zhantao, deputy governor of the province, received them at the station. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Sep 80 SK]

HEILONGJIANG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CIRCULAR--The Standing Committee of the Heilongjiang Provincial People's Congress recently issued a circular on relaying, studying and implementing the guidelines and documents of the third session of the Fifth National People's Congress. The circular urges all departments and enterprises to check their work in accordance with the guidelines of the NPC and to publicize them throughout the province. [SK230425 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Sep 80]

HEILONGJIANG RALLY--The Standing Committees of the Heilongjiang provincial and the Harbin municipal people's congresses held a rally 18 September at Harbin workers' gymnasium to relay the guidelines and documents of the third session of the Fifth National People's Congress. It was attended by 5,000 people. Also attending the rally were leading comrades from the provincial party committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial government, the provincial CPPCC committee, the Harbin municipal party committee, the Standing Committee of the municipal people's congress, the municipal government, the municipal CPPCC committee, the provincial military district, cadres from major units and schools and deputies to people's congresses at various levels. Chen Lei, NPC deputy and governor of Heilongjiang Province, presided over the rally. Zhao Dezun, NPC deputy and chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, relayed the documents and resolutions passed at the NPC. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Sep 80 SK]

LIAONING CPPCC SESSION--The 12th enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the Liaoning Provincial CPPCC was held 18-21 September in Shenyang Municipality to relay the guidelines and documents of the 2d session of the 5th National People's Congress and the 3d session of the 5th National CPPCC. Li Huang, chairman of the provincial

CPPCC committee, presided. The participants expressed support for NPC documents and discussed the situation in Liaoning Province. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 21 Sep 80 SK]

SHANGHAI TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS GATHERING--The Shanghai branch of the Taiwan Democratic Self-government League on the evening of 21 September held a mid-autumn festival get-together of Taiwan compatriots in Shanghai. The gathering was attended by some 200 members of the league, NPC deputies, national CPPCC committee members and well-known personages from various circles. NPC deputy and Taiwan compatriot Lin Minmin spoke about the just concluded NPC session in which Chairman Hua Guofeng called for vigorous efforts to bring about Taiwan's early return to the motherland. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 22 Sep 80 OW]

ZHEJIANG CITY REPORT MEETING--The Hangzhou Municipal Revolutionary Committee held a report meeting on 18 September to convey the guidelines of the third session of the Fifth NPC. Chen Xia, secretary of the Hangzhou Municipal CCP Committee and vice chairman of the municipal revolutionary committee, presided over the meeting. Hangzhou deputies to the third session of the Fifth NPC (Wang Fusheng), (Sun Meiying), (Li Baoqing), (Zhou Dayuan), (Hu Shunquan), (Yu Deyou and (Yu Daxiang) attended the meeting. (Wang Fuseng) made a report at the meeting. He said that a spirit of democracy and reform prevailed at the NPC session and that the session marked a giant step forward in our country's democratization. Chen Xia also spoke at the meeting, calling for efforts to implement the guidelines of the NPC session. [OW230115 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 19 Sep 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

HONG KONG NEWSPAPER ON GENERAL XU'S PLAN TO WRITE MEMOIRS

HK181315 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 3

["Newsletter" by Chung Hsin: "Xu Shiyou Talks About Writing Memoirs"]

[Text] Attending the third session of the Fifth NPC was a veteran general with greying hair wearing cotton-padded shoes and long cotton socks. Chatting animatedly, he said: "This meeting of the NPC is fine. The Party Central Committee has decided to reform the leadership system, reduce the number of concurrent posts and strengthen collective leadership. This is very good."

This deputy is General Xu Shiyou, a battle-tested veteran of many victorious campaigns who is familiar to people in China and elsewhere. There are many moving anecdotes about him. In people's eyes, he is a Zhang Fei-type of legendary figure. Except for his outspoken character shaped by long years in the army, he is quite literate and a sensible person.

When Xu Shiyou was young, his family was in straitened circumstances. He became a monk at the age of 8 in Shaolin Temple, where he learned the Chinese martial arts and mastered them. At 16, he joined Wu Peifu's Big Sword Company as a private. When the northern expedition began, he plunged himself into the storm of the major revolution. In 1926, he joined the Red Guard Regiment which became part of the Red Army. During this period, he took part 5 times in a doomed battalion and was wounded 8 times. Having seen action through the greater part of his life, he rose from the ranks to be a commander. He is 74 this year.

When he was asked how he felt when he was transferred from the Guangzhou PLA Units to the military commission of the Central Committee, he replied unhesitantly: "Obey orders and heed directives. From being a fighter, squad leader and company leader to becoming battalion commander, regimental commander, division commander, army commander, army group commander and commander of military regions, I have gone where the party assigned me, never bargaining over each transfer or reassignment." "The cause of the revolution cannot be disrupted," he went on. "The army also has to be commanded by new persons. There are many outstanding people in the army.

It is imperative that we take the road of bringing forward younger cadres." On the problem of training, selecting and promoting successors, he said: Recruit qualified people and promote them after they have matured.

This veteran general is very concerned about building up the Chinese armed forces. To perpetuate the PLA's fine traditions and hand them to the next generation, he is writing his memoirs and summing up historical experiences. He told reporters that he was writing about the 16 years during which the struggle in Shandong was upheld. The next chapter of his memoirs will be about the Red Army's major campaigns.

He said: "When the fourth front army entered Sichuan, it consisted of only 11,000 men. It rapidly increased to 300,000 men after Chiang Kai-Shek mounted the 'encirclement and suppression campaign' with the help of forces commanded by warlords. As a result, the convergence from six directions was smashed. Moreover, women's battalions were also formed. That is why there were many comrades from Sichuan and women comrades in the Red Army." He added: "I have a clear head so I remember all the major battles waged in the past. Since I have no organic disorders, I will visit Sichuan in the future to take a look at places where battles were fought in former years." An avid reader, Xu Shiyou said he had read "A Dream of Red Mansions" 6 times. He has also read "The Art of War of Sun Zi" and other military writings. He often told his close colleagues: Be loyal to one's country when one is alive. Although I am getting old, I will be ready to take army units to the front if my country needs me.

The veteran general is still going strong and does not appear less vigorous than he was in former years. When the deputies were discussing the four modernizations in the Great Hall of the People, vigorous Xu Shiyou appeared more youthful than before.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

XINJIANG'S DISABLED SERVICEMEN--Xinjiang Autonomous Region has completed the survey on giving allowances to qualified retired or disabled servicemen and families of revolutionary martyrs. At present 3,921 people of all nationalities in Xinjiang regularly receive state living allowances. Some are also given preferential treatment in work points by communes or brigades to which they belong. [OW180649 Urumqi Xinjiang Reigonal Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 10 Sep 80]

URUMQI PLA UNITS DECISION--The CCP Committee of the Urumqi PLA Units 9 September made a decision to launch activities to learn from He Changfu--a model in cherishing the people. A circular on the decision called on commanders and fighters to make efforts to strengthen unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people and to contribute to building a united, prosperous and civilized Xinjiang. [OW141409 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1620 GMT 11 Sep 80]

ANHUI PLA CADRE COURSE--The political department of the Anhui Provincial Military District recently sponsored a lecture course for cadres to study the book "Study the Problems of China's Socialist Economy." District Commander Yu Guangmao and 13 other military leaders attended the first lecture. [OW181425 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Sep 80]

FUJIAN REMITTANCE EMBEZZLERS--Fuzhou, 14 Sep--Public security organs, procuratorates and courts in Fujian have arrested and convicted a number of criminals who embezzled inward remittances from overseas Chinese. A remittance delivery boy in Dongshan County was sentenced to 3 years, imprisonment for having embezzled 1,400 yuan of inward remittances. An overseas Chinese affairs office director in Xianyou County was arrested for further handling for embezzling 140,000 yuan of overseas Chinese remittances and deposits. In order to protect the legitimate interests of overseas Chinese, returned overseas Chinese and their dependents, the public security organs, procuratorates and courts in Fujian have also taken action to deal with smugglers and other criminals trying to sabotage overseas Chinese remittances. [Beijing Xinhua Domestic Service in Chinese 0234 GMT 14 Sep 80]

TIANJIN MEMORIAL SERVICE--A memorial service for Martyr (Lu Xiufeng) was held at the auditorium of the Tianjin Martyr Cemetery on 16 September. (Lu Xiufeng) was a policeman of the Tianjin Railway Police Station who died in a fight with a criminal in August 1980. Wreaths were sent by the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee and the municipal People's Government, the Tianjin Municipal CCP Committee and the municipal People's Government, the political departments of the Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Public Security. Attending the memorial service were Liu Jianfu, standing committee member of the Bejing Municipal CCP Committee and deputy mayor; Zhao Jun, deputy mayor of the Tianjin Municipal People's Government; and members of the party organizations of the Ministry of Railways. The meeting was presided over by (Wang Yingren), secretary of the Tianjin Railway Sub-Bureau CCP Committee. (Jiang Guihua), deputy secretary of the public security department of the Beijing Railway Bureau, gave a memorial speech. [SR171121 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 16 Sep 80]

XINJIANG PLA MODEL--The Xinjiang Regional Party Committee's Propaganda Department recently issued a circular calling on all cadres and people of all nationalities in Xinjiang to learn from He Changfu, a model deputy squad leader attached to a certain unit of the Urumqi PLA Units who had been commended by the Central Military Commission for cherishing people. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 21 Sep 80]

CSO: 4005

EDITORIALS OFFER BASIC SOLUTIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN in Chinese 14 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] Both RENMIN RIBAO and GONGREN RIBAO today published editorials offering basic methods to solve the employment problem confronting the labor sector.

Both papers pointed out that the employment problem facing the labor force is one of major national concern. Since the establishment of the new republic 30 years ago, great strides have been made to provide the labor force with employment. However, there remain certain problems for which solutions must be found. To remedy the situation, it is imperative that a great effort be made to mobilize the resources of all businesses and all organizations in society to tackle the problem There are many causes which give rise to the labor employment problem, such as the economic setup, the distribution of population, and the educational system. So far as the system of labor employment is concerned, there are too many controls and rigid restrictions which are making it more and more difficult for members of the labor force to find employment. This was especially true during the 10-year period of havoc which devastated the production sector and brought the national economy to the brink of collapse. The result was that, while there were more and more people seeking employment, the capacity to absorb jobseekers became inversely smaller and smaller. The drastic increase in the population of cities and towns further added to the employment problem.

Both papers expressed the opinion that a solution of the problem of labor employment hinges on an increase in production. The basic solution to this problem lies in adjusting our ways of thinking, liberalizing our policies, developing productive enterprises, opening further opportunities for employment, adopting the practice of having labor organizations offer employment opportunities under overall governmental planning and guidance, setting up the dual policy of getting laborers to organize on a voluntary basis to provide employment or letting them seek their own employment, rapidly developing, under the guidelines of this policy, an economic system based on collective ownership responsible for its own profits and losses, and developing an economic system of individual ownership that is not exploitative in nature.

Both editorials emphasized that the low esteem in which collective enterprises are held is unjustified. In the future, collective enterprises should be accorded a position of equality politically. Economically, they should not be made to surrender their profits. Every assistance should by given to collective enterprises for the solution of their problems. They should be permitted to pay wages and benefits approximating those of public enterprises. The more efficiently run collective enterprises should be permitted to pay higher wages and better benefits than publiclyowned enterprises, so long as production is not adversely affected. As for an economic system based on individual ownership, this is actually a subsidiary part of and supplementary to the socialist economic system based on public ownership. For a long time to come, the economic system based on individual ownership will continue to exert a positive and beneficial influence, and it should therefore be adequately developed. It is entirely wrong to condemn individual labor as "taking the capitalistic road" or being "a tool of capitalism." Its good name should now be restored.

9621
CSO: 4005

ADVANTAGES OF NEW EMPLOYMENT POLICY EXPLAINED

Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN in Chinese 14 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] Under the overall planning and guidance of the government, the labor sector of the People's Republic of China is implementing step by step the dual policy of taking upon itself the responsibility of making jobs available for the labor force and of letting the labor force organize itself on a voluntary basis to make jobs available to its members or to let members of the labor force find employment on their own. This is a departure from past practices when the government had sole responsibility for assigning jobs to the labor contingent.

This policy was announced at the National Conference on Labor Employment convened by the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee in Beijing on 2-7 August. Among the items discussed at the conference were the future policy on labor employment, the course of action to be taken, and the overall measures to be adopted for the implementation of the policy.

Since the establishment of the PRC, great strides have been made in employment of the labor contingent Over 100 million members of the labor force are presently employed. This figure is over five times that in 1952, shortly after the establishment of the republic. Of this number, 20 million have found employment in the past 3 years. This has alleviated to a considerable extent the problem of unemployment brought on by the Great Cultural Revolution. However, the past practice of having the government taking upon itself the responsibility of allocating jobs to the labor force in the cities and towns created among the jobseekers a reliance on the government for providing them with jobs and a lack of incentive to organize themselves to create job opportunities and find employment on their own.

Actually, as a result of the government's overemphasis in the past on changing the economic system of collective ownership to the system of ownership by the entire people, individual ownership was suppressed and eventually done away with, making it more and more difficult to find opportunities for employment. The result was, on the one hand, the emergence every year of large numbers of jobseekers waiting for government assignments and, on the other, the inability of large numbers of production and service organizations to find workers. The thorough implementation of the new policy will not only help to remove such snags but will also open wide the gate to employment and enable members of the labor force to select suitable jobs on the basis of the needs of the nation and their own preference.

The conference asked the various levels of government to relax their policy, to greatly intensify their efforts to develop collectively owned enterprises which alone are responsible for their profits and losses, to help promote to an adequate degree an economic system based on individual ownership, and to use their manpower resources and the skills and traditionally superior cultural and manual level of the people to develop labor-intensive enterprises. The general idea is for the government to help those who seek employment to set up cooperatives (teams) on their own initiative, to offer them low-interest loans, to encourage and assist individually owned enterprises in their economic development, and to help establish joint agricultural, industrial, and commercial enterprises to be run primarily by young intellectuals in the suburban areas in the cities, counties, and towns. If circumstances permit, certain enterprises and services should be allowed to change their working hours and to increase the number of workshifts and rest periods in order to accommodate a larger number of workers, to offer employment consultation services, and to set up labor organizations that offer technical training and training in the fields of production and services.

9621
CSO: 4005

PRC OFFERS EMPLOYMENT TO YOUNG INTELLECTUALS

Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN in Chinese 12 Aug 80 pp 3-4

[Text] At present, of the 1.5 million young intellectuals assigned to work in the mountainous regions and the countryside, 500,000 who had been assigned to various widely scattered work units have been reassigned to the 8,000-odd collective agricultural (forestry) stations and joint agricultural, industrial, and commercial enterprises for young intellectuals in the cities and towns rather than to assign them to jobs over widely scattered areas.

Over the years, thousands upon thousands of young intellectuals have been assigned to work in the mountainous regions and the countryside. They have made positive contributions to the development of the border areas and to the improvement of conditions in the villages. Aside from the benefits derived from practical experience, we have seen the emergence of a contingent of outstanding young intellectuals whose interests range over farflung areas and who have done creditable work in bringing a measure of stability to the countryside. The governments at various levels are most concerned over the problem of finding employment for these young people. Since 1966, the majority of the 15 million young intellectuals who had been assigned to the mountainous regions and the countryside have been offered employment, During the past year alone, employment was found for 3.5 million young intellectuals in the cities and villages who had previously been assigned to the countryside. There are still 1.5 million who remain in the countryside.

In order to find more suitable employment for young intellectuals who remain in the countryside and young intellectuals slated to be assigned to the countryside, changes are being made in the practice of assigning young intellectuals to join work units in widely scattered areas. Job opportunities are now being offered young intellectuals in agricultural (forestry) stations and joint agricultural, industrial, and commercial enterprises in certain cities and towns. This has resulted in increasing the supply of subsidiary agricultural products to the cities and in enriching the learning experience and improving the living conditions of the young intellectuals and the development of cities and towns. Some of these agricultural stations and enterprises were established by the young intellectuals themselves, some with the assistance of the government, some through the financial support of the concerned enterprises themselves, and some through the joint efforts of urban enterprises and agricultural communes. Those agricultural stations and enterprises which are comparatively large in scale are now capable of handling production, processing, and sales. The more recently established are being set up step by step as joint agricultural, industrial, and commercial enterprises. They are all financially independent collective economic units. In the first few years, they are accorded certain privileges provided by the government's "Three Exemptions Policy"--namely, exemption from paying taxes, exemption from paying part of the profit to the government, and exemption from having to sell all or part of the agricultural products to the government.

This system of offering job opportunities to young intellectuals is a vast improvement over the system of assigning them to various work units over widely scattered areas. The better operated agricultural projects and enterprises are being developed into bases for the resettlement and education of young urban intellectuals who had previously been assigned to the countryside, bases for the supply of subsidiary agricultural products to the cities and towns, and bases for turning the villages into satellite cities. The suburb of Xiangtan in Hunan has already been developed into a base operated by young intellectuals for the production of such subsidiary agricultural products as fish, chickens, rabbits, and citrus fruits. The largest modern chicken farm produces 100,000 chickens annually. The pay received by the young intellectuals at the Red Flag general agricultural station in that city is higher than that received by similar workers in that city area. The agricultural station offers the young intellectuals cultural and technical classes on a regular basis. Some of the young intellectuals are selected to undergo technical training. The young intellectuals are also provided free housing, free utilities, free medical care, free nurseries, and free schools for their children. Not only have some of the young intellectuals volunteered to continue to work in the more successful agricultural stations, but these agricultural stations have proved to be very attractive to other young intellectuals. Some of them have joined these agricultural stations with their spouses. Some brothers and sisters have applied to join the joint agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises. Even the young people in the villages in the vicinity have evinced their desire to join these enterprises.

These agricultural (forestry) stations and joint enterprises go a long way toward the development of satellite cities. They have been made part of the overall plan for urban development in a number of places. The city of Benqi, in Liaoning Province, has set aside four areas within a perimeter of 2 to 20 kilometers for the development of satellite cities and for setting up joint agricultural, industrial, and commercial enterprises to be run by young intellectuals. According to this plan, certain factories and enterprises are to be established in the satellite cities. The city of Mudanjiang in Heilongjiang has already taken advantage of its abundant forests, mountains, and water and land resources to establish 51 agricultural stations for young intellectuals. These stations are closely coordinated with the development of four satellite cities in the Mudanjiang area. They are being developed with a view to the establishment of joint agricultural, industrial, and commercial enterprises.

9621
CSO: 4005

HONG KONG PAPER ON JINAN UNIVERSITY'S DIFFICULTIES

HK181306 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 2

[Editorial: "An Appeal on Behalf of Jinan University"]

[Excerpts] According to sources from Beijing, since Jinan University, which has a long history, was reopened, it has been beset with difficulties waiting to be solved. The main difficulty is that a certain military medical university is still occupying the campus. Moreover, although preparations have been made for a new medical school, there are still no funds. In addition, good students cannot be selected on a preference basis, thus teaching quality is affected and so on. At the NCP and CPPCC sessions, delegates and committee members vehemently presented their views. They held that Jinan University was facing a crisis. If the difficulties are not surmounted immediately, the university is bound to close down.

Since the collapse of Lin Biao and "the gang of four," the central authorities have attached importance to the history and prestige of Jinan University. They decided to reopen the school to restore education for overseas Chinese. Since the school reopened 2 years ago, even though it is not new, it is actually being operated like a new school. The past merits have all been sabotaged. Hence there are a great many difficulties, the most prominent one being the military medical university on the campus, whose presence affects the classrooms, laboratories, libraries, hostels for the teaching staff and the students. In the past two sessions of the NPC and the CPPCC, representatives and committee members raised the issue of Jinan University and demanded a prompt solution. The Central Military Commission gave an order demanding the military medical university to move out on schedule and return the school building to its rightful owner. However, no action has yet been taken. As we sympathize with the misfortune of Jinan University, we cannot help but question:

1. It is hard to see why Jinan University was closed down 10 years ago and why a military medical university was allowed to move south to occupy the place. Further, what are the reasons for not implementing the Central Military Commission's eviction order?

2. All places throughout the country are implementing the policy that troops should move out of public and residential premises they occupy and return them to their owners. However, the issue of Jinan University was delayed and has not yet been solved, why?

3. The country is now strictly carrying out democracy and promoting the legal system and no one should have any privilege in any matter. However, the military medical university ignores public opinion. Objectively speaking, does this not amount to obstructing education by exercising privileges?

In our opinion, Jinan University has its own unique history and influence inside and outside the country. It is a place where talented people for socialist reconstruction can be trained. We cannot bear to see a university which was savagely devastated during the cultural revolution remain in a hopeless position. We cannot let it close down helplessly; otherwise, this is an insult to overseas Chinese education. Therefore, we appeal to the central authorities on behalf of Jinan University to properly handle the eviction of the military medical university and prohibit the prolonged occupation of the school for any reason. Jinan University has its historical traditions and responsibility. The state should support it in every way, reopen it as a key university, and furnish it with funds, facilities and teachers.

We hope that the overseas Chinese and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots who are concerned about Jinan University and overseas Chinese education will pay attention to its present situation and give support from all aspects.

CSO: 4005

'BEIJING RIBAO' COMMENTS ON DOMESTIC TOURISM

OW230123 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1312 GMT 21 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, 21 Sep--About 1 million people in Beijing took part in domestic travel this spring and summer. Among the tourists are retired workers and staff members, teachers, students, workers and cadres, and medical, scientific and technical personnel. The tour was conducted in many forms and ways. Some young students joined summer camps that included study of biology, aviation, astronomy and geography, and military and physical training. Other young students formed their own groups freely and traveled at their own expense. Some tours were for exploration and research. Eight students of the automation course 713 of Qinghua University made a tour on bicycles, covering 1,500 li in 13 days. They said: travel toughens us, increases our knowledge and broadens our horizon.

Departments concerned have created conditions for domestic tourism. The Beijing Taxicab Company, the Capital Bus Company and the Long-Distance Bus Company have opened over a dozen special tour routes covering Badaling, the Ming Tombs, the Yunshui Cave at Shangfang Mountain, the Miyun Reservoir, Chengde and Beidaihe. The Beijing Municipal Taxicab Company has also developed tourism in coordination with taxicab companies in Qingdao, Jinan and Shenyang. The trade unions, women's associations, schools, government offices and mass organizations also organized all kinds of tourist activities. Eight institutes and colleges, including Beijing University, organized over 80 tour groups, comprising more than 20,000 teaching staff and faculty members, to tour Beidaihe, Luda and Qingdao; the tourists comprised about one-third of the teaching staff and faculty members of these institutes and colleges.

In connection with the above, BEIJING RIBAO today publishes a commentary saying that domestic tourism is a very promising undertaking. It is hoped that departments concerned will see this tendency of development clearly, strengthen leadership, plan well and, while improving international tourism, make domestic tourism a success.

CSO: 4005

TEACHING OF MINORITY DIALECTS STEPPED UP IN SICHUAN

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 80 p 2

[Article: "Sichuan Prefectures Strengthen Education in Minority Dialects, Extend Years of Schooling for Primary Schools"]

[Text] The Garze, Aba and Liangshan minority nationalities autonomous prefectures in Sichuan Province, in accordance with the spirit of the Central Committee's directive concerning Tibetan work, adjusted and reformed the educational structure of the minority areas so that the minority dialects will become one of the principal subjects in school; the term of study will be extended and the battle line will be shortened: some minority boarding schools that were operated effectively in the fifties will be restored; some middle and elementary schools will hold minority classes.

Very great accomplishments have been achieved in educational matters of Garze, Aba and Liangshan minority autonomous prefectures in the 30 years since liberation. However, because of "leftist" interference since a certain time, the objective circumstances of the minority areas have not been considered and we have blindly demanded "accelerated establishment of universal elementary education, positive development of middle school education," working at the so-called "moving the school to the home doorstep," etc. On the basis of numbers, the schools have been universalized, but in fact, the school matriculation rate is low, the quality of education has fallen, and the development of abilities has not appeared.

Since June of this year, the party committees of these three prefectures have worked at reforming the educational structure in accordance with the social and economic conditions and characteristics of the people in their respective prefectures. Included in this is an extension of the elementary school term to 6 years, with the first year devoted primarily to the study of the minority language. On the basis of experience of almost 2 years of experiments in wiping out illiteracy in the Yi language, the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture determined: in the future, production teams in areas where minority nationalities live in compact communities need not hold elementary school classes for the first grade, but can devote it primarily to wiping out illiteracy in the Yi language. Some normal schools in the three prefectures will establish courses to train teachers in the minority languages. The Tibetan dialect of Aba Prefecture is very complex, and they intend to select a number of Tibetan dialect teachers out of the general population (including lamas). At the same time, they intend to operate a number of boarding schools that had been operated in the past and use the method of increased stipends to solve the livelihood problems of the minority students. The Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture has prepared to operate one or two elementary schools of this type in each of 17 counties in the pastoral area and border area during the coming school year. The Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture is preparing to operate a few experimental minority classes in the middle and elementary schools in the seats of 11 counties where minorities live in compact communities. The Aba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture is planning to operate minority elementary schools in Aba, Ruoergai, Hongyuan and Rangtang, all within the limits of the plain where the Red Army passed through.

9284
CSO: 4005

MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL POLICY REFORMS PROPOSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Vice Minister of Education Advances Five Measures To Change the Proportion of Students Concentrating on Entering Schools of Higher Learning"]

[Text] At the closing session of the National Key Point Middle School Work Conference on 4 August, Vice Minister of Education Zhang Chengxian pointed out that to carry out the educational policy for overall moral, intellectual and physical development conscientiously, we must adopt effective measures to transform the present practice in middle schools of simply seeking for a proportion of students to advance to a higher grade. He proposed five specific measures for this:

1. Throughout the whole country there must be no establishment of college examination quotas for the various provinces, cities and prefectures; the province, cities, autonomous prefectures, as well as prefectures and counties must uniformly set no college examination quotas for their schools. There must be no passing down of college examination norms to the schools, and the proportion of students who advance to college will not be used as the sole criterion in determining whether a school's work has been good or bad, even less should this be used as the basis of rewards or penalties to the schools or teachers.

2. The schools and the students must be resolutely liberated from frequent examinations. The schools need hold only mid-term and final examinations, and the province, prefecture, city and ward must not hold united examinations or surveys, giving the schools a ranking. This practice influences the schools' work in starting from actual conditions.

3. Instruction should be conducted strictly in accordance with the educational plan and the educational outline, and there must be no concentrated effort to finish early or early conclusion of classes, nor should there be a great deal of review so as to affect regular instruction.

4. We must be responsible to the whole student body, and not concentrate on the graduating class and abandon the classes that are not graduating; in the graduating class, we must not concentrate on a few top students, ignoring and abandoning the majority of the students.

5. We must guarantee that students get 9 hours of sleeping time per day, and guarantee physical activity and vacation periods for the students.

9284
CSO: 4005

ONE CHILD PER COUPLE URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Why One Child per Couple Is Encouraged"]

[Text] The seventh and current issue of the journal BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY DISCUSSIONS] published the answers of a leading cadre of the State Council's birth control office to questions posed by the journal's reporter on the problem of only bearing one child. The contents are as follows:

Reporter's question: "Why do you want to encourage one child per couple?"

Leading cadre's answer: "China's realization of the four modernizations is the gradual raising of the level of the people's material and cultural life. If by the end of the century, each person in China is to reach an annual mean income of about 1,000 American dollars, then it is necessary on the one hand to actively devleop production and on the other to control population increase. Based on the studies of related departments and calculations on population increase, by the year 2000, the population should be controlled to within 1.2 billion. To realize this goal, we must do a great deal of work from now on so that the birth rate and natural increase rate will decline year by year according to plan. One of the special features of China's population composition is children, and the ratio occupied by young people is high. In 10-odd years, the children of today will enter child bearing age. Therefore, we need to decrease the birth rate and from now on must encourage one child per couple (in special cases two children can be planned). If on the average, couples give birth to two children, by the end of the century China's population will break through the 1.2 billion mark. This will then increase the burden on national economic construction, we will be unable to reach the requirements of the people's income and the improvement of the material and cultural life of the people, and education and employment of later generations will all be influenced."

Question: "If a couple only bears one child can there occur an increase in the population or even the situation of two workers fostering four older people and one child?"

Answer: "It cannot. In encouraging one child per couple, although the number of fostered older people will slowly increase, at the same time the population of fostered children will decrease. The two will offset each other and the number of fostered people will continually decline in the next 25 years. In 1979, the index of fostered older people and children on each worker was 0.93, the average burden not reaching one person. According to the "one birth" plan, by the year 2000, the fostering index will be 0.39, which will be near the lowest point. Although the population of older people will rise from 67 million in 1979 to 114 million, the population of children will decline from 410 million to 180 million. The two will offset each other and the fostered population will still have a decrease of 169 million. The working population will increase from 503 million to 761 million, and the fostering index will decrease even more. In the same way, by the year 2017 the fostering index will only be 0.46. By the year 2034, it can return up to the present level of about 0.91 fostering per worker. On the other hand, due to the raising of the level of material and cultural life, social welfare projects need also be improved and many problems must be appropriately resolved."

Question: "If one child per couple is encouraged, can this cause an aging effect in our population and an inadequate work force?"

Answer: "No, it can't. The reason is that the present compositional age of China's population is young. Based on statistics, those under 29 years of age make up 63 percent of the population. If by 1985 each couple bears only one child, the working age population will continually increase over the next 25 years and in the next 50 years the working population will not be smaller than that of the present. By the year 2010, China's population of those over 65 years of age will be 11.8 percent of the entire population, which corresponds to the average level in modern Europe."

Question: "Is one child per couple a permanent plan?"

Answer: "No. This is based on the special features of China's population composition and is a policy which will be from now until the 21st century. Because this type of policy is employed, we can then guarantee that in the year 2000, China's population will not exceed 1.2 billion. Because China has a vast territory and is a multinational nation, in encouraging one child per couple we must deal with different specific conditions in different ways. Each province, city and autonomous region can, under the guidance of the general policy, deal with the special characteristics of their region and formulate plans suitable to the conditions of their region."

Question: "What considerations and special treatment does our nation give to one child households?"

Answer: "In his government work report at the Second Meeting of the Fifth National Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: 'We must formulate realistic means to encourage one child per couple and progressively implement social insurance for childless older people.' Now, each province, city and autonomous region, based on its population composition and economic conditions, has formulated trial (temporary) rules or methods for family planning. Among them was the method of encouraging one child per couple. At present, we are in the process of discussing the revision of the nation's 'Method of Family Planning' and composing appropriate rules."

9480
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

JIANGXI LIBRARY ASSOCIATION--The opening ceremony of the Jiangxi Provincial Library Association and the First Scientific Seminar were recently held in Nanchang. The seminar lasted for 6 days and some 105 representatives from libraries throughout the province attended. This was the first large meeting of the library circle since the founding of the state. Lai Shaoyao, vice chairman of the Provincial CPPCC, Yu Lin, deputy director of the Provincial CCP Committee Propaganda Department, Li Dingkun, director of the Provincial Culture Bureau, and others attended the opening ceremony. Yu Lin spoke at the seminar. He said that libraries had to shoulder great tasks in the new period to promote the four modernizations. Their work directly affects the progress of the state's level of technology. Li Dingkun made a report on strengthening research in library science and speeding up the development of libraries. The seminar printed 35 theses and chose a few to be read. On the last day of the seminar, responsible comrades from the Provincial Culture Bureau, Provincial Teachers' Training School, Provincial Library and other departments were elected to the first council. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Sep 80]

ANHUI CULTURAL RELICS CONFERENCE--The first Anhui Provincial Cultural Relic Work Conference was recently held in Hefei to map out measures for preserving cultural relics in Anhui on the basis of the guidelines of the recently held National Cultural Relic Work Conference. The conference was attended by the directors of culture bureaus at the prefectural, municipal and county levels who are in charge of cultural relics and curators of all museums in Anhui. [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Sep 80]

SHANDONG STUDENT ENROLLMENT--Shandong Province has completed its 1980 student enrollment work, admitting 16,691 college students and 28,900 secondary vocational school students. Of the new college students, 12,411 applied to study science; 2,742, liberal arts; 704, foreign languages; 249, the arts; and 585, physical culture and sports. The minimum score for admission to liberal arts is 330 and to science 350. In 1979 the minimum score for admission to liberal arts was 300 and to science, 270. In addition, 73 postgraduates were enrolled this year. [SK171124 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Sep 80]

BEIJING PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY--The 2d artillery command recently turned over the last school building to the Chinese People's University that it had occupied since 1970. The 2d artillery command occupied the buildings of the university in 1970 when it was suspended. In July 1978, the state council decided to reopen the university. Since then the artillery command has turned over several buildings to the People's University. [OW211645 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 14 Sep 80]

HEILONGJIANG ACADEMIC SYMPOSIUM--An academic symposium on the Rational Development and Utilization of the Heilong, Songhua and the Wusuli Rivers and Ecological Equilibrium concluded 14 September. Attending the symposium were 80 experts, professors and scientists from 24 societies. Some 80 theses were received at the symposium. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 14 Sep 80]

HARBIN MIDDLE SCHOOL--A television middle school was established in Harbin Municipality 15 September. This is a comprehensive secondary school with television education as the main teaching tool. The program includes high school math, physics and chemistry. Jobless youths and in-service workers and staff may apply to study at this school. The course of study is 2 years. Lessons are given on every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday from 1730 to 2030 on channel one at Heilongjiang Television Station. Noted high school teachers in Harbin Municipality are invited to give lessons. Enrollment is now under way, and the first course will begin by the end of September. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 15 Sep 80]

HEILONGJIANG LITERARY, ART TROUPE--The National Minority Theatrical Festival sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and the State Nationalities Affairs Commission will be held in Beijing 20 September. The Heilongjiang Provincial Performing Delegation that will attend this festival is composed of 62 amateur performers of various minority nationalities throughout the province. Before departing for Beijing, the Provincial Performing Delegation gave a performance at the Theater of the Harbin Municipal Workers' Cultural Palace on the evening of 14 September. Chen Lei, provincial governor, and Li Jianbai, secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee, viewed the performance and received all performers. The delegation will leave Harbin for Beijing 16 September. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 15 Sep 80]

NEI MONGGOL CADRE TRAINING--Hohhot, 16 Sep (XINHUA)--Upon request of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Nei Monggol Institute of Agricultural Sciences and Animal Husbandry began the first cadre training class on 10 September. Forty-two leading Mongolian and Han cadres from the region's leagues, municipalities, banners and counties attended the class. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0343 GMT 16 Sep 80]

BEIJING FAMILY EDUCATION SOCIETY--Beijing, 16 Sep (XINHUA)--The Society for the Study of Family Education was inaugurated in Beijing Municipality on 15 September. Formed on the initiative of the Municipal Women's Federation, its members include noted Beijing educationists, psychologists and journalists. The society was founded mainly to study problems of family education and popularize knowledge in this field. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1237 GMT 16 Sep 80]

HEILONGJIANG EDUCATIONAL BUREAU CONFERENCE--The Heilongjiang Provincial Educational Bureau held a provincial conference on secondary vocational education in Hulan County 4-10 September. The conference noted that the main work of bureaus in charge of secondary vocational schools is to map out development plans for schools, assign teachers and leading cadres and allocate necessary educational funds to schools. The main work of educational departments is to supervise these schools, check how they implement the party's educational policies and principles and assist responsible bureaus in solving problems. The conference also studied the application requirements, deciding that those who apply for study at these schools must be high school graduates, with the exception of vocational nursing schools, where junior high school graduates are also admissible. The length of schooling is 2 to 3 years. Responsible comrades of the Heilongjiang Planning Commission, the Provincial Labor Bureau, the Provincial Financial and Personnel Bureaus and the Provincial CYL Committee attended the conference. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 16 Sep 80]

SHANGHAI BOOK EXCHANGE MEETING--Shanghai, 17 Sep (XINHUA)--A book exchange meeting, the largest since the founding of New China, has been held in Huangpu District, Shanghai, since 15 September. More than 200 representatives from Xinhua bookstores in East China, the central south and the southwest, as well as the distribution centers in Beijing, Shanghai, and Chongqing, have brought with them some 20,000 varieties of books published by more than 140 publishing houses throughout China. During this period, the Shanghai distribution center will hold a discussion meeting to solicit opinions from bookstore representatives from more than 100 cities and 30 counties regarding distribution of Shanghai-published books at their establishments. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0113 GMT 17 Sep 80]

ZHEJIANG NONRESIDENT STUDENTS--It has been decided by the Zhejiang Provincial People's Government that this year, Hangzhou and Ningbo Municipalities will enroll 720 nonresident college students from aomng candidates who have failed in this year's college entrance examination. This project, which will be first tested at Hangzhou University, Hangzhou College of Electronic Industry, Ningbo Teachers' Institute, Ningbo Branch of the TV University and others, will be partly financed by the local authorities, while nominal fees will be collected from nonresident students for tuition, meals, transportation, medical service and textbooks. Graduation certificates will be issued to students who pass the examination at the end of the 3-year study period. Provincial and municipal departments will assign jobs to the best students according to national construction needs. Registration date will be 19-21 September. [OW211625 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Sep 80]

SHANGHAI WORKERS EDUCATION--Shanghai, 19 Sep (XINHUA)--Shanghai's industrial, communications, finance and trade departments have developed workers' education with emphasis on workers secondary schools, which have enrolled more than 650,000 young workers as of now. In the past few years, Shanghai has resumed and set up more than 1,600 workers schools and roughly formed a workers' educational system providing primary through higher-level education. [OW230115 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0236 GMT 19 Sep 80]

GANSU ARTISTS CONGRESS--Gansu Province opened its Second Provincial Congress of Literary and Art Workers 18 September. This is the first congress since 1954. It is aimed at studying the party's principles and policies on literary and art work, relaying the spirit of the Fourth National Literary and Art Congress, summing up the provincial lessons and experience gained in this regard in the post-liberation period, discussing the provincial literary and art tasks and plans for the new period, establishing or improving regulations for various societies, setting up new societies and electing leading bodies for various literary and art organizations. More than 600 people attended the opening ceremony, including leading comrades from the Gansu Provincial CCP Committee, the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, the Provincial People's Government, the Provincial CPPCC Committee and from the Provincial Military District. Among those attending were Feng Jixin, Yang Zhilin, Wang Shitai, Liu Haisheng, Gao Jinchun, Qiang Zixiu, (Qian Renhua), Huang Zhengqing, Li Qiyang, Zheng Zhongyuan and Li Bin; and literary and art workers of various nationalities from various localities and PLA units throughout the province. Comrade (Li Yuan) gave the opening speech and Yang Zhilin, secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee, addressed the congress. [Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 18 Sep 80]

SECONDARY SCHOOL REFORMS--Shenyeng Municipality recently disbursed 1 million yuan of local emergency funds to be used in developing education and to solve key problems of insufficient funds for the reform of the secondary educational structure. Last year, Shenyang experimentally operated six technical senior middle schools and seven agricultural middle schools, and this year every county and prefecture is planning to develop a group of schools like these, but because of a lack of funds, the plan for operating the schools has been delayed repeatedly and could not be realized. Because of this, the municipal party committee, the municipal government and the finance department tightened up on other disbursements and issued 1 million yuan from local finances to supplement educational expenses. This fall, there will be supplements for the expenses of development at various kinds of vocational schools and agricultural middle schools, including television instruction, teacher instruction, spare-time instruction and other items. [Text] [Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 80 p 1] 9284

NEI MONGGOL RADIO-TV UNIVERSITY--The Nei Monggol Regional Radio-TV University has made great progress during recent years. Over the past 2 years, more than 10,000 students have been enrolled. In 1979 this university enrolled 8,200 students, of which 1,000 are students not engaged in production. In 1980, there are 2,421 students enrolled in the university, 1,200 of whom are full-time students. Approved by the Regional People's Government, this university has also enrolled 900 students from jobless youths and high school graduates this year. [SK231342 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Sep 80]

CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 76567

7 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 124

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76567

7 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 124

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE

Symposium on Acting According to 'Guiding Principles'
(TIANJIN RIBAO, 1 Aug 80) 1

Old Cadres Urged To Yield Positions to Talented Professionals
(Bao Ding; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 27 Aug 80) 4

Ideological, Political Education of Party Members Vital
(Zhu Zhichu; TIANJIN RIBAO, 11 Aug 80) 7

Violations of Party Discipline Uncovered in Zhejiang
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 27 Aug 80) 11

Nature of 1898 Reform Movement Discussed
(Jin Dequn; WEN HUI BAO, 18 Jul 80) 14

Psychological Needs in Ideological-Political Work Stressed
(Peng Haorong, et al.; GUANGMING RIBAO, 22 Aug 80) . 19

Letters to Editor Complain of Poor Airline Service
(RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Aug 80) 24

Unreliable Scheduling, by Xi Wang
Discourteous Attendants, by Wang Xintang

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Photo Shows Guided Missile Tracking Equipment
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 9 Sep 80) 28

Military Biographic Information, Unit Code Designators 29

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Efforts To Promote One-Child Families Must Be Realistic
(Wang Xingquan; RENMIN RIBAO, 11 Aug 80) 33

Integration of Science, Engineering, Arts Urged
(Cai Keyong; GUANGMING RIBAO, 15 Jul 80) 36

Shanghai Promotes Spare-Time Education
(Yang Deguang, Hu Ruiwen; GUANGMING RIBAO,
2 Jul 80) 41

Steps Taken To Improve Nationality Work
(MINZU TUANJIE, 15 May 80) 44

PARTY AND STATE

SYMPOSIUM ON ACTING ACCORDING TO 'GUIDING PRINCIPLES'

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Resolutely Act According to the 'Guiding Principles' and Rectify the Party's Workstyle"]

[Text] From 29 to 31 July, the Preparatory Group of the Municipal Discipline Inspection Committee convened a symposium on pursuing thoroughly the ' "guiding principles." It was attended by leading cadres responsible for disciplinary examination work from various wards, counties, bureaus, and organizations under the direct jurisdiction of the city. Experiences in learning to pursue thoroughly the "guiding principles" were exchanged, and the topic of how to further grasp well the work of pursuing thoroughly the "guiding principles" was discussed.

The symposium was vigorous and lively. Comrades attending the symposium expressed their opinions with zest and gusto. Everybody said that he thought and gave many valuable opinions and suggestions.

Many comrades suggested that within a certain period of time, in addition to completely grasping well the thorough execution of the "guiding principles," it will be necessary to emphatically grasp well the following three aspects:

1) Firecely grasp existing problems connected with upholding the party's political and ideological lines. It is necessary to earnestly examine those who are in the leading posts of various fronts but who would take over but do nothing, drag on but take no action, with regard to the party's and nation's lines, policies, and laws and regulations; with regard to the various directives and regulations of the central Discipline Inspection Commission; and with regard to the decisions and instructions of the municipal party committee. Disciplinary action should be resolutely meted out to those who will not change after repeated advice, or whose case is very serious.

2) Fiercely grasp problems connected with accepting the supervision of the party and the masses and not going in for special privileges. Those who would break the law and disturb the order by using their professional position to gain special privileges, by trying to earn private profit, by going in for specialization, by corrupting and stealing, by converting public property to personal use and by humiliating dealing blows to, and planning to kill others should be severely punished, and their bad style should be relentlessly checked.

3) Fiercely grasp problems connected with struggling against wrong trends, bad persons, and bad things. Good party members who have engaged in struggle against bad persons and bad things should be strenuously promoted and encouraged. Those who do not give a helping hand to a man in danger should be criticized and severely punished. A new style should be created within the party and in society that considers it glorious to engage in struggle against wrong trends, bad persons, and bad things, and shameful to look on with folded arms. The bad style should become like "rats running across the street; people shout, 'beat them.'"

Many comrades also suggested that, beginning this year, a fixed month in each year be designated as the month for examining how the "guiding principles" are being carried out. By firmly grasping this once a year, the results can be seen after 3 to 5 years.

Comrade Chen Weida [7115 0251 6671], first secretary of the municipal party committee, gave a speech at the symposium. He said that because of the interference and damage of Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and their surrogates in Tianjin, the wounds inflicted on the construction of Tianjin's party organizations are very serious. Since the "gang of four" was smashed, we have achieved good results in party construction, but there are still very great discrepancies. In order to further strengthen the construction of the ideology, organization, and workstyle of our Tianjin party organizations, we need time and much arduous struggle. Therefore, in rectifying the party's workstyle, we should not act overzealously. And in party construction, we have to insist on the party's principles and also to proceed steadily. We must earnestly study, pursue thoroughly, and carry out the "guiding principles," and restore and develop our party's fine tradition and workstyle. In rectifying party style and strengthening party construction, we have to make important decisions and exert great efforts. He said that from now on, comrades who engage in either political work or economic work must insist on democratic centralism and resolutely act according to the "guiding principles." In discipline inspection work, attention must be paid not only to an insistence on principles but also to education. To comrades who have made mistakes, we should insist on the principle of taking a lesson from the past and avoiding future mistakes, and curing the illness to saving the patient from danger. Punishment is important, but education is more important. We should highly regard the practice of leading and educating the masses within and outside the party by using the correct models, and grasp well the propaganda work for correct models in carrying out the "guiding principles." Our party is very hopeful. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, and through our joint efforts, it is definitely possible for us to do a good job of rectifying and constructing the party.

Li Yanwu [2621 4282 0710], standing member of the municipal party committee, also made a speech at the symposium.

9503
CSO: 4005

OLD CADRES URGED TO YIELD POSITIONS TO TALENTED PROFESSIONALS

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Bao Ding [0545 0002]: "Recommend, Yield One's Position to, and Employ the More Talented"]

[Text] In his diary, "Rongzhai Manuscript," Song Hongmai recorded this episode: "When Sun Quan came to power as the new ruler of the Kingdom of Wu, Lu Su wanted to return to north China. But Zhou Yu pleaded him to stay in the Kingdom of Wu. After Zhou Yu succeeded in doing so, he introduced Lu Su to Sun Quan, saying: "Your Majesty must widely look for competent aides like Lu Su who will help you achieve success." When Zhou Yu was gravely ill, he told Sun Quan: "Lu Su is a man whom you can trust--a man who is undaunted in the face of perils and is capable of handling any situation. I would be glad to see him take my place before I die." Immediately upon hearing this, Sun Quan named Lu Su minister of war and asked him to command the troops once led by Zhou Yu. When Lu Su encamped his troops in Lukou, he visited Lu Meng, governor of Xunyang Prefecture, and conferred with him on military affairs as soon as he learned that [Lu Meng] was a talented strategist. As soon as the visitor learned of Lu Meng's strategy for the deployment of the troops of the Kingdom of Wu, Lu Su jumped up from the chair and patted Lu Meng on the back, saying: "My friend, you are really great and outstanding!" Before bidding farewell to his host, Lu Su also paid a tribute to Lu Meng's mother. Shortly after Lu Su's death, Lu Meng took over the command of the troops stationed in Lukou. Later, when Lu Meng resigned from his post for reasons of health, Sun Quan asked him: "Could you recommend anyone as your successor?" Lu Meng replied: "Lu Xun is a thoughtful, farsighted, and capable leader." Without asking any more questions, Sun Quan soon summoned Lu Xun to his office and appointed him the commanding general to succeed Lu Meng.

Zhou Yu, Lu Su and Lu Meng were well-known generals of the Kingdom of Wu and Sun Quan's righthand men and high-ranking aides. When they successively yielded their positions to one another, they made no mistakes. Their main reason for yielding their positions to the more talented was poor health and old age. In other words, they felt too old and too weak to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of state. It was this idea that prompted them to voluntarily recommend and yield their frontline commanding positions to the younger, more talented, and competent generals. What a lofty virtue that was!

Today, this practice of yielding positions to the more talented has become increasingly popular with the people in our socialist country. There are old and ailing cadres in our country today who are no longer qualified to carry out the four modernizations program. Mindful of our long-range national interests, they have voluntarily given up their positions to more robust and outstanding professionals who adhere to the socialist road and are capable of meeting the challenges posed by the four modernizations, and they have willingly assumed the less important positions of advisors and assistants. This action reflects the broadmindedness of Communist Party members, a virtue of the highest order ever displayed by them. There are many other comrades, however, who have been unwilling to yield their positions to more talented professionals. Whenever they hear people talk about yielding positions to the more talented, these shortsighted comrades with declining revolutionary will--comrades who rest on the laurels of their revoluntionary past--feel unhappy, grumbling: "During the Great Cultural Revolution, we were asked to stand on the sidelines. Now we are being asked to give up our positions." This idea is wrong. We must make a clear distinction between the plot of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to overthrow all old cadres as an inevitable step in usurping the party and state power, and our recent policy of encouraging old cadres to yield their positions to more talented professionals so as to accelerate the tempo of the four modernizations. The willingness displayed by some of our old comrades to yield their positions reflects a high degree of their loyalty to the party's revolutionary cause. In other words, we should not confuse what Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did with regard to the old cadres during the Great Cultural Revolution with our current policy of encouraging our old cadres to "yield their positions to the more talented." Our policy of encouraging old cadres to yield their positions does not indicate that we want all of our old cadres to quit their posts. As everyone knows, old cadres who have accumulated rich experiences in all fields of work during the protacted revolutionary struggle are valuable assets to our party and state. Among them are resourceful and competent comrades proficient in professional knowledge who undoubtedly still form an important force for carrying out the four modernizations. But as time goes on, the old are bound to be replaced by the new. Even those comrades who hold very important positions still have to consider yielding their positions to the robust cadres of integrity sometime in the future, in order to accelerate the tempo of the four modernizations. They must regard this as a duty none of them can evade.

The ancients said: "A big bird relies on its wings and the air to fly high in the sky. Recruiting and employing able talents to serve the government is an important function to which a ruler must attend. A ruler without the truly competent to be his aides resembles a doctor without good medicine to treat his patients." This means that the ancient rulers attached great importance to the recruiting of good talent. They often considered recruiting and appointing the competent to fill important vacancies as the first order of business. They were willing to do everything possible to overcome all difficulties in introducing healthy and fresh blood to the government. It is certain that appointing talented professionals to important posts will give rise to jealousy among the people. This will occur from time to time. For this reason, whether or not a person is competent should be tested before he is recruited to fill any position vacated by an old cadre. If he is competent, he should be employed and appointed to a suitable position yielded by an old comrade, disregarding any slander or insinuation against him. In this respect, Sun Quan set a good example for us to follow. When Zhou Yu yielded his position to Lu Su, a man named Zhang Zhao at that time viciously called Lu Su a "precocious and unsophisticated youth who is unpopular with the people working under him." Su Quan was not disturbed by this charge, because he was well aware of, and had confidence in, Lu Su's ability to help him govern the country. Sun Quan also felt that "a ruler should disregard minor mistakes committed by great heroes, and should not mind tiny defects in a jade of great beauty." He held that once anyone saw a white jade with tiny defects, he certainly would not throw it away as rubbish. When Lu Meng yielded his position to Lu Xun, Chun Yushi, governor of Kuaiji Prefecture, sent a letter to Sun Quan, saying: "Your decision to select and appoint an inexperienced and untested youth to an important position worries me." As soon as Lu Xun arrived in the capital of the Kingdom of Wu, he praised his critic Chun Yushi in the presence of Sun Quan as being a "good official." Upon hearing this, Sun Quan was surprised, asking Lu Xun: "Why do you want to praise your critic Chun Yushi?" Lu Xun replied: "Chun Yushi criticized me for a reason that is unknown to me. If I answer his charges with countercharges, it is not in the people's interests. For this reason, such meaningless bickering should be stopped forthwith." Sun Quan said: "You have really set a good precedent worthy of emulation by others." False charges, such as those framed by Zhang Zhao and Chun Yushi, against persons to be appointed to important positions are not dreadful. What worries us is the fact that some employers fail to distinguish genuine talent from fakes, and sycophants from dedicated competent workers. Sun Quan deserves to be called a wise ruler capable of distinguishing right from wrong and promoting good officials and eliminating bad elements. But some of our leaders often become hesitant and even back away from their original decisions to employ talented persons as soon as they heard some criticism and insinuation against them. I know that some old cadres vowed 18 months ago to yield their positions to the more talented. But so far, they still have not delivered on their promise. According to the proverb, there is neither pure gold nor perfect persons and talents in the world. As long as they are generally good and as long as they are persons of integrity, they must be boldly employed, regardless of their minor shortcomings. Only in this way can we take a step forward in training and bringing up a younger generation of talented professionals and help them grow in strength.

Millions and millions of outstanding skilled workers should be trained to meet the needs of the four modernizations. Our broadminded and farsighted old cadres should actively create conditions for those resourceful and outstanding youths to move up step by step to key positions so that they can play an active role in the march toward the four modernizations and in building China into an economically prosperous country.

95,4
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL EDUCATION OF PARTY MEMBERS VITAL

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zhu Zhichu [2612 0037 0443]: "Earnestly Grasp the Ideological and Political Education of Party Members"]

[Text] To grasp well the ideological and political education of party members is very significant for correcting all kinds of bad styles created within the party by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over a long period, for restoring and developing our party's fine workstyle formed during the long revolutionary struggle, for strengthening and improving the party's leadership, for increasing the party's fighting capacity, and for ensuring the satisfactory progress of the construction of the four modernizations.

The party's fighting capability and prestige emanate from two factors. One is the party's correct line, reflecting objective reality and the people's privileges. The second is the fine workstyle of the party and the exemplary vanguard role of party members. Now that the party's political line, ideological line, and organizational line are all correct, there is no question about this. Therefore, whether the party's lines can be pursued thoroughly within the whole party depends on how well developed the stronghold role of the party organizations and the exemplary vanguard role of the party members are. If our party's organizations at all levels and all party members can truly reach the standards specified in "Certain Guiding Principles for Political Life Within the Party" and the "Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party" (revised edition), then the party's lines will be fully put into effect and converted to a huge material base, with the result that the party's fighting capabilities will be greatly strengthened. As can be seen from the situation with our city's party members at present, however, there are still discrepancies of various degrees from the standards of the "guiding principles" and the revised edition of the party constitution. Especially, some party members who joined the party during the Great Cultural Revolution are basically unqualified to be party members. Some older party members who have been in the party for many years have also become not as well qualified because of the evil effects of the 10 tumultuous years of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." As a result, the party's prestige among the masses of people has been damaged and the party's fighting capability seriously reduced, thus rendering it very unsuitable to bear the heavy responsibility of leading the construction of the four modernizations. Because of this, the Party Central Committee has requested that before the convention of the 12th National People's Congress, through widespread learning of the spirit of the Fifth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the revised edition of the party construction be discussed, the execution of the "guiding principles" be pursued thoroughly, and the writings on party construction by party leaders be studied,.thus conducting all-around and deep ideological and political education for all party members and cadres.

During the previous stage, the ideological and political education of party members in our city has been satisfactory and has had definite results. As far as the whole city is concerned, however, the development of this work is not yet balanced; party organizations of certain units have not paid enough attention to it, have not grasped it firmly, and have not taken enough measures; even some leading cadres themselves have not learned in earnest. Some of them are learning for learning's sake, and doing for doing's sake. Theory and practice have thus become disjointed and actual results cannot be gained. Therefore, in order to go in better for the ideological and political education work of our city's party members, it is necessary for party organizations at all levels to put forth their best efforts.

Recently, related departments of the Municipal Party Committee, together with the party committees of some wards, counties, and bureaus, conducted a preliminary investigation and analysis of the status of the party members of some basic-level units. From the [study] of party members of these units, it really can be seen that some party members are unqualified or basically unqualified. Major problems exist among them, including. Some party members have been afflicted more deeply with the evil effects of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," are rigid in thinking, and up to now even do not understand, doubt, and are in conflict with the party's present lines, guiding principles, and policies. Some party members have a serious factional attitude, pull and drag this way and that, go in for personal influence, and yet even now are still being received as equals within the party organization. Some party members are very poor in organizational discipline, do not carry out the party's decisions, do not observe the party's appointments, do whatever they wish, and even break the law and disturb order, corrupt morals, and commit foolish acts. Some comrades have developed a serious individualistic attitude, ask for official positions and authority by reaching out their hands to the party, seek private profit through their posts, and go in for bad styles such as specialization, etc. Some party members have a poor revolutionary consciousness, are passive and backward, and do not play the [proper] role as party member's for long. All these problems are incompatible with being a Communist Party member. Therefore, each unit should earnestly go in for an analysis of the status of party members, strictly following the stipulations for the privileges and responsibilities of party members in the "guiding principles" and the revised edition of the party constitution, truly and accurately grasping the outstanding problems existing among the party members in their own units, and solving them by seeking truth from facts.

The important point in the ideological and political education of party members is to increase the ideological and political level of consciousness of the majority of party members so that they will understand the party's character programs, guiding ideology, organizational principles, party regulations, and laws, the three great workstyles, responsibilities, and privileges of party members, and how to be qualified Communist Party members. Each party member should examine himself in earnest, straighten out his ideological consciousness, increase his self-consciousness in carrying out the party's ideological line and political line, have truly the same heart and mind as the party, maintain consistency with the party politically, and in his actual work liberate thinking, seek truth from facts, insist on the four basic principles, and work for the four modernizations with one heart and one mind.

Attention should be paid to solving the problem of factional spirit. At present, there are many persons in the party who hold firmly to the factional spirit, believe that factional spirit is higher than party spirit, and feel that the party is not as close as the faction. Therefore we have to be determined to solve the problem of the capitalistic factionalist spirit, insist on criticizing the factionalist spirit until it stinks, educate party members to recognize the danger of the factionalist spirit, and actively set limits for those who stubbornly have a factionalist spirit. At the same time, those who have a factionalist spirit should be pressed to comprehend, renounce their mistakes, and reform.

It is necessary to uphold the party's concentration and unity and strengthen organizational discipline. In the education of party members, it is necessary to fiercely grasp the rectification of organizational discipline. Each party member should examine his own position toward executing unified discipline: "The individual is subordinate to the organization; the minority is subordinate to the majority; lower organizations are subordinate to higher organizations; the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee." He should self-consciously correct all words and deeds that violate organizational discipline, have the capability to know things in general and act in the interests of the general situation, correctly deal with the relationship between the individual and the organization, and self-consciously observe party discipline.

The party's fine traditional workstyle should be restored and developed. Through this education, we should further restore and develop such fine traditions and workstyles as the mass line, seeking truth from facts, theory linked with practice, criticism and self-criticism, and arduous struggle. Party members, especially those undertaking leading work, should overcome such bad styles as bureaucratism and specialization, and they should absolutely not be allowed to seek personal profit by making use of their professional positions. Each party member should have the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, guide his conduct by strict rules, do things in the open, not avoid confrontation and not cover up defects and mistakes, examine himself self-consciously, be ever ready for correction, and have the courage to boycott and struggle with wrong trends, bad style, and evil atmosphere.

In conducting the ideological and political education of party members, party organizations at all levels should try their best to carry out political and ideological work deeply and carefully from beginning to end, educate party members "to start from now, start from themselves, and start from everything," and strictly act according to the "guiding principles" and the stipulations of the revised edition of the party constitution. To those comrades who made this and that mistake under the evil influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we should patiently carry out ideological rectification work well. With regard to those comrades who made serious mistakes, it is still necessary to insist on the principle of "curing the illness and saving the patient from danger," and "unity--criticism--unity." With regard to those party members who do not want to change after repeated advice, who disregard the repeatedly issued orders of the Party Central Committee, who grind their teeth in hatred of the party's lines, guiding principles, and policies, who take over work but do nothing, who still engage overtly and covertly in factional splitist activities even up to the present who want to be received as equals within the party organization, who openly commit foolish acts, and who seriously break the law and disturb order, we should decidedly punish them according to party discipline and the laws of the nation. We should never allow them to continue to go free.

In sum, before the convention of the 12th National People's Congress, party organizations at all levels should earnestly grasp well the ideological and political education of party members, and, through studying and discussing the revised edition of the party constitution and pursuing thoroughly the execution of the "guiding principles," completely get rid of the evil effects of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," support the leading ranks of the party at all levels, go in for correct party style and for strict party discipline, and elevate the majority of party members to the level of qualified party members, so as to fully develop the stronghold role and the exemplary vanguard role of party organizations at all levels in the construction of the four modernizations.

9503
CSO: 4005

VIOLATIONS OF PARTY DISCIPLINE UNCOVERED IN ZHEJIANG

Hangshou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by the Discipline Inspection Commission of Wenzhou Prefectural Party Committee: "Uphold the Solemnity of Party Discipline"]

[Text] Our discipline inspection commission has considered it a sacred duty to uphold the party's "guiding principles" and to preserve the sanctity of party discipline.

Last year, we investigated and prosecuted several major and complicated cases involving violations of law and discipline. For a long time, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" trampled our party regulations and rules underfoot, thus creating a situation in which party discipline was not strictly observed by party members. From our handling of the aforementioned cases we feel that today it is very difficult to track down and prosecute any cases of violations of discipline. Last year, when we accepted the assignment to investigate a number of major and complicated cases of violation of discipline, some friendly comrades were worried about whether we could carry out our assignment, saying: "In feudal society, law enforcement officials like Bao Gong were authorized to execute criminals without the prior approval of higher authorities. Today, in our socialist society, law enforcement officials must carry out their duties without the delegation of that kind of power, thus making it more difficult for them to investigate and prosecute a case." To be blunt, the so-called difficulties have resulted from resistance by alleged violators of discipline, their associates and leaders. When the alleged violators of discipline were being questioned, they often refused to tell the truth and complicated the investigations with lies and false depositions. They even spread rumors to mislead the people, in the hope of compelling us to stop the investigations. When we check their depositions with their associates, they either lied to us for fear of reprisals from the suspected violators of discipline, who still wielded power and exercised influence over the people, or helped them cover up the seamy side of the cases in an attempt to prevent us from continuing the investigations. Some of them even tried to frighten discipline inspection cadres with threats of violence. When we went to confer with their leaders on the cases, they even tried to exonerate and protect the suspects, in gross disregard of the sanctity of law and discipline and principles for which our party stands.

In the face of such a difficult and complicated situation, should we continue or retreat from our investigations? As discipline inspection cadres, we have always considered it our duty to defend party rules and regulations, to do everyone justice, to resolutely struggle against saboteurs of the party's fine workstyles and violators of party discipline, and to uphold the solemnity of party discipline. In order to carry out the tasks assigned by the party, we must daringly stand up to, and nibble at, any "hard bones." The masses have demanded that when an inspection of party discipline is conducted, everyone be treated as equal before the law. In this connection, they said: "We must display courage to deal blows not only to 'flies' but also to 'roaches' and tigers and wolves as well." We must daringly "nibble at hard bones" in response to the masses' demand. Only in this way can we preserve the sanctity of party rules and regulations. We also feel that the party should take action against anyone proven guilty of violating its discipline, no matter how long his service, how high his position, or how great his contributions. In this connection, some leading members of our prefectural discipline inspection commission often say: "Since the party and people have entrusted us with the task of inspecting party discipline, we must politically commit ourselves to serve the interests of the party, to make justice prevail, and to preserve the sanctity of party regulations and rules." To this end, we should not fear offending the people or fear their reprisals or any other unfavorable consequences. We must carefully and thoroughly conduct investigations and handle every case with a high sense of responsibility for the revolution and in a spirit of seeking truth from facts. We must gather information which will lead us to track down a case and get a clear understanding of it. In short, we must exercise great care in handling each case.

An example was the case of Ye Ruiyu [5509 3843 3768] and company, who avenged their opponents with retaliatory actions. In June and July 1979, as a result of two investigations into this case, we obtained indisputable circumstantial and material evidence. On 4 August 1979, we completed an investigatory report identifying the Ye Ruiyu case as one of suppressing democracy, of infringing on the democratic rights and personal freedoms of party members and citizens, and of avenging opponents with retaliatory actions, in violation of party discipline and state laws. At the same time, on the basis of the facts and our longstanding policy, using party discipline as the criterion, we suggested that the party take disciplinary action against Ye Ruiyu and company. But the principal responsible person of the municipal party committee rejected this suggestion, trying to shelve the case. In order to uphold the party regulations and rules and justice and preserve the sanctity of party discipline, we repeatedly called on him to speed up the handling of the case. We did so without fear of offending anyone. Another leading comrade on our prefectural discipline inspection commission also discussed this matter by telephone with a responsible comrade of the municipal discipline inspection commission several times, asking him to relay a request to the municipal party committee to give opinions of its own in order to conclude the case expeditiously. Fearing neither reprisals nor other unfavorable consequences, some comrades on our prefectural discipline inspection commission wrote two letters to the central Commission for Inspection of Discipline scolding the principal responsible person of the Wenzhou Municipal Party Committee for presenting biased opinions in defense of the violators of discipline. In the letters, they also presented opinions of their own, saying: "If the violations of law and discipline by Ye Ruiyu and company are not dealt with according to the provisions of party discipline, it will risk the wrath and condemnation of other party members and the people." We feel that in handling cases, we must seek truth from facts, uphold principles, and carry the struggle through to the end; we should neither circumvent contradictions nor knuckle under to pressures. Experience proves that as long as we seek truth from facts, the party committees and discipline inspection commissions at the higher levels will certainly do everything possible to back us up.

In handling the violations of law and discipline, we must persist in the principle of everyone being equal before the discipline, do justice to all parties concerned, and indulge in neither favortism nor nepotism. We must never abuse our authority by giving favorable treatment to certain violators of law and discipline, and we must take the law as the criterion for testing party character. During the 10 years of turmoil caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they and their followers concentrated on building up their own mountain strongholds, practiced factionalism, traded flattery for favors, and did everything in gross disregard of principles and discipline. If a member of their mountain stronghold was found guilty of crimes, they could first reduce the major issues to minor ones and then the minor ones to naught. This pernicious influence is still playing havoc with some comrades within our party even now. Last year, when we investigated a violation of law and discipline, the suspected violators lobbied for "special favors" from us through his relatives and old colleagues. But we countered this "lobbying campaign" with a determination to uphold the principle to deal his case according to the provisions of party discipline. In the course of our investigation, we pledged to indulge neither in favoritism nor in nepotism. We did so without fear of offending people. Consequently, all forms of interference in our work were overcome and the discipline and principles of the party were upheld, thus paving the way for more effective and successful implementation of the tasks assigned by the party.

9574
CSO: 4005

NATURE OF 1898 REFORM MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 Jul 80 p 4

[Article by Jin Dequn [6855 1795 5028]: "The 1898 Reform Was Not a Reformist Movement"]

[Text] On the question of the nature of the 1898 Reform, there was a fairly consistent view before the Cultural Revolution, which took it as "a kind of soft reformist movement" and as "exemplifying a patriotic character and progressive significance."[1] During the Cultural Revolution, Qi Benyu [2058 2609 4416] was the first to initiate a revolt by arbitrarily declaring that the 1898 Reform was "reactionary," "traitorous," and "a false, reactionary path which cannot be followed through." In recent years, not a few comrades have published articles to return to order from disorder and affirm anew the positive, progressive role of the 1898 Reform; this was commendable and also very necessary. But, some comrades still said that "the 1898 Reform was a reformist political movement."[2] We are of the opinion that the 1898 Reform was a patriotic, salvational reform movement started at the end of the 19th century by the bourgeoisie. It is all right to say that the 1898 Reform was a bourgeois political reform movement, but it would be inappropriate to say that it was a reformist movement.

Reform and reformism are not the same; they are two different concepts and cannot be confused with each other, just like revision and revisionism; a strict distinction in usage is involved.

Reform and renovation are of the same political connotation, namely, the change of old laws and the execution of new policies. Reformism is a term of external origin which emerged in Europe at the end of the 19th century; it is designated a political current in the workers' movement which was hostile to Marxism and the fundamental interest of the proletariat, and it substituted anti-capitalist class struggle with a little reform which did not at all touch the foundation of the exploitative system of the bourgeoisie. Lenin set forth a clear political demarcation in his views on reform and reformism when he said: "An action of reform is usually slow, prudent and gradual, but not retrogressive."[3] He also said: "A

Marxist is different from an anarchist; he acknowledges the struggle to achieve reform, i.e., he acknowledges the struggle to effect an improvement of the condition of the laborer in a situation in which the ruling class still retains the control of political power. But at the same time, a Marxist is also firmly opposed to a reformist who directly or indirectly limits the orientation and activity of the working class within the realm of reform. Reformism is a deception perpetrated by the bourgeoisie against the workers, because, so long as the rule of capital continues to exist, the workers remain hired slaves no matter how individual reforms are carried out."[4] This indicates that, under ordinary historical conditions, reform is a regular, progressive measure; but if one limits oneself within the realm of reform even when the opportunity for revolution becomes ripe, one is bound to be trapped in reformism and thereby play the reactionary role of eroding and anesthetizing [the will of] the masses. This is to say that, when we analyze a problem we must base ourselves on definite time and conditions and thereby pass a fair judgment.

The 1898 Reform occurred at the end of the 19th century; although the rising Chinese national bourgeoisie was then still rather immature, it did, after all, represent a new mode of production; it consisted of revolutionaries and pioneers; it reflected the demand for new productive forces; and it was a principal motive force propelling society forward. They urgently demanded a change in the existing situation, and they were working hard to cumulate their strength for ridding China of the danger of partition by the Powers and of the oppression of feudalism and autocracy; they were full of vigor and eager to try their strength. The heavy tasks of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism conferred by the new era were now, at this juncture, falling on the shoulders of the national bourgeoisie. At that time, there were two factions in the politics of the Chinese national bourgeoisie: one was the reformers represented by Kang Yuwei, Liang Qichao, Yen Fu, Tan Shitong, etc., who advocated the following of the path of reform, the changing of existing laws and the adoption of new policies; the other was the revolutionaries represented by Sun Zhongshan, who advocated the following of the path of revolution and armed opposition to the Qing Government. Between these two factions "there were very intimate and cordial interchanges, and no differentiation was really stressed." Both of them were seeking truth, exploring the paths for the salvation of the state and the nation; for the purpose of reaching a basically similar ultimate destination, a movement for social change in two different forms was carried out: there was no contradiction between the parallels. This was not the way Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their hackneyed literateurs had described it, that the emergence of a reform movement was always against revolution and essentially reactionary.

This was tested by social practice. In 1894, Xun Zhongshan organized the earliest bourgeois revolutionary group--the China Revival Association--and proposed the revolutionary program of "driving out the barbarians, reviving China, and establishing a federal government." After he failed for the first time when he led the Guangzhou uprising, the ordinary people took Sun Zhongshan, who wanted to overthrow the Emperor, as a "madman" and dared not get near to him. This fact indicates that the subjective and objective conditions for a bourgeois revolution were still not present at that time. Sun Zhongshan's revolutionary policy and activity were still not understood by people. On the other hand, the "presentation of a memorial by way of the official carriage" sponsored by Kang Yuwei and Liang Qichao in those days served to organize more than 1,000 imperial licentiates from all over the country to present their common memorial and appeal together and provide a new mode of conduct, resulting in their great popularity for a time. They repeatedly submitted memorials to the Qing emperor, organized study societies, established schools, published newspapers, pointed out time and again the danger of state annexation and national annihilation, sharply reprimanded the conduct of betrayal and fawning on foreign powers on the part of the landlord class in power, called for the change of existing laws and strengthening of the nation in order to avert the danger of annexation and annihilation, and for the first time clearly posed the two questions of national independence and the development of capitalism: all this was evidently in accord with the demands of China's historical development and beneficial to the inciting of patriotic zeal on the part of the masses. Precisely because they thrust themselves forward and dared to say: "By that time, we were afraid that it would be impossible for Your Majesty and the ministers even to beg for long-term peace by becoming plebeians," and they also warned suggestively about a possible repetition of "an unbearable past incident [like a former emperor committing suicide] at Meishan [in the Imperial Garden]," that the youthful Emperor Guangxu, who "rather wished to do something about the situation," was ultimately shaken. He was "unwilling to be the ruler to lose his country," made up his mind to support the reform measures recommended, and thereby forged a political reform movement from above. From the several dozen edicts on such reform measures promulgated during the "Hundred-day Reform," we can see that this was the blazing of a path for the development of the political, economic and cultural ideology of the bourgeoisie, and this was a vehement impact hurled against the feudal autocracy from its upper structure to its economic foundation. And precisely because of this, the 1898 Reform could not be tolerated by the feudal autocracy; it obviously did not belong to the realm of reformism which sought to maintain the old institutions. This point may also be verified in reverse by the fact that the feudal diehard forces headed by the empress dowager "would rather lose the country than agree to a change of the existing regime" and hence eventually put the reformers to death.

Although because of the suppleness on the part of the bourgeois reformers, they harbored vain hopes toward imperialism and the feudal forces in thinking that the adoption of the means of violent revolution was not necessary and they also remained distant from the vast ranks of the masses, so that the 1898 Reform ended in failure upon the shedding of blood by "The Six Gentlemen," yet, "the ancients never judged heroes on account of their successes or failures," hence we must not underestimate the character and role of the 1898 Reform merely on account of its eventual failure, just as we cannot, merely on account of the eventual failure of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace, the Boxer Movement, and the 1911 Revolution underestimate their own brilliance. As regards this series of movements and revolutions in modern China, "even though their respective conditions differed from one another, they all aimed at resisting the external enemies or at a transformation of the existing situation,"[5] "not a single one of them was without the characteristic of a bourgeois democratic revolution,"[6] "and all of them demonstrated the stubborn spirit of resistance on the part of the Chinese people in never resigning to submission under imperialism and its running dogs."[7] Among the four persons cited by Comrade Mao Zedong as "advanced Chinese who sought truth from the Western countries through great and countless toils" in China's modern history, Hong Xiuquan, Kang Yuwei, Yen Fu and Sun Zhongshan, reform devotees made up two of them. Nor was it by accident that Kang and Yen were mentioned in the same breath with peasant revolutionary leader Hong Xiuquan and bourgeois revolutionary leader Sun Zhongshan; here Kang and Yen were taken as the representatives of the new-born forces in China at the end of the 19th century and leaders of the reform movement. They and the reform movement initiated by them were both honors conferred on China by that era, and their significance and roles can certainly not be overlooked.

The 1898 Reform took place at a middle point between the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace Revolution and the 1911 Revolution and was in the process precisely when the old type of revolution led by the peasantry was giving way to the new type of revolution led by the bourgeoisie; hence it played the role of an intermediate link connecting the past to the future. As a first practice undertaken by the Chinese bourgeoisie to change the country's social system, the 1898 Reform was a daring experiment on the part of the new, advanced class; since reform had failed, so revolution followed up: many reform devotees thus automatically adapted to this tide of the time and quickly woke up to embark upon the road of revolution. It can be said that, without the 1898 Reform at the time, there could not have been the 1911 Revolution which followed in its wake so quickly. Therefore, if we look at the whole history of China's revolutionary struggles in its semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the 1898 Reform also belonged to the realm of the bourgeois old-democratic revolutionary movement; it was "a step of the ladder" in the advance of history.

Hence, we cannot, just because Kang, Liang, Yen and others still persisted in their royalist stand in a diehard manner, opposed revolution, and degenerated from reformers into royalists at the beginning of the 20th century when the democratic revolutionary ideological trend of the bourgeoisie surged and the great storm of revolution was already on the verge of breaking out, thereby take their attempt at social change in conformity to the tendency of historical development at the end of the 19th century--the 1898 Reform--also as a reformist movement without distinction. This would result in confusion of the right with the wrong, and would hardly accord with the historical-materialistic point of view.

FOOTNOTES

1. Introduction to "The 1898 Reform," in Jian Bozan, et al, eds., "A Compendium of Data on China's Modern History."

2. RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Nov 79.

3. "Selected Works of Lenin," Vo 4, p 576.

4. "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 372.

5. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 528.

6. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 523.

7. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 595.

9255
CSO: 4005

PSYCHOLOGICAL NEEDS IN IDEOLGOICAL-POLITICAL WORK STRESSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Peng Haorong [1756 1170 2837], Shen Hongda [3088 1347 6671], and Li Shixian [2621 0013 7359] of the Economics Department of Liaoning University: "The Application of Social Psychology in Ideological-Political Work"]

[Text] Psychology is a subject in science. Man's psychology is a function of the brain, a reflection of the external world. Any man goes through a perceiving process, a feeling process, and a willing process; these are different aspects of the same sensual activity and also processes of the same high nervous activity. These psychological processes are intrinsic with every man but, at the same time, because of the difference in every man's biological characteristics, the difference in every man's working conditions and living conditions, and the difference in every man's status and the influence of his education, every man thus also has his own given psychological characteristics. Such psychological characteristics, like interest, ability, disposition and temperament, etc, also make up people's various characters. And people's psychological processes and characters in turn make up people's psychological conditions.

To achieve an overall understanding of the different aspects of the psychological characteristics of staff and workers and gradually master the laws of the psychological activities of staff and workers is an important content of our effort to make our ideological-political work scientific. Especially along with the development of modern science and technology and the vast reinforcement of mental labor, the perception and analysis of information and data related to the process of labor as well as mental activity in general on the part of staff and workers are made far more complex, particular demands are also thus made upon their creative ability and their ability to adopt swift adaptive measures under situations when conditions undergo urgent and drastic changes; this makes it necessary for us to study how to put man's social psychology and other conditions in harmony with the characteristics of modern scientific and technological systems. As a result, the study and application of social psychology are objective requirements for the correct treatment of production relations in enterprises on the one hand, and objective needs in the development of modern large-scale production on the other hand.

In our ideological-political work, we should carry out our ideological-political tasks more and more meticulously and more and more scientifically through investigation and study and analyses of the laws of movement of the psychological characteristics of staff and workers. In order to study the laws of movement of psychological characteristics, we must proceed from the general and the individual aspects by studying both man's psychological characteristics in a social group and the psychological characteristics of individual behavior. These two aspects are mutually related to, and yet different from, each other.

Examined on the basis of social group behavior, man's phychological characteristics are influenced by productive and non-productive factors. From the point of view of the productive factor, the technical level, management level and labor organization of an enterprise all have a fairly great influence upon man's psychological characteristics. Technical advancement and automation of the productive process not only help people rid themselves of heavy physical labor but also cause people to find pleasure in labor. Under many conditions, people's interest in work, preference for a profession, awareness of labor as a respected undertaking, confidence in a career, and satisfaction in the environment are often more important than material benefits. But the more advanced and complicated technology becomes, the heavier in proportion will mental labor also become; this is likely to make laborers' psychological burdens also increasingly heavy and the efficiency of labor likewise dependent on people's psychological conditions. Those staff and workers who work in environments of greater noises are always liable to have agitated emotions at work or at home. The tradition and atmosphere of a given enterprise have a great psychological influence on its staff and workers, especially new staff and workers. The political quality, capability and working style of leaders also have a great psychological influence on staff and workers. A person's psychological conditions are not only controlled by the whole society but are also controlled by a partial environment. Whether or not the form of labor organization, the membership composition of a labor group, and psychological characteristics of each member such as interests, needs, etc, are harmonious with one another always has a great influence on people's psychology. In the process of psychological communication, one person's emotions are often transmitted to another, thus leading to a positive or negative impact upon the collective. Hence, when we organize a collective or a labor group, we must consider a quota of manageability and select an optimum scale. For example, interests and benefits between members are best harmonized when productive workers are maintained at about 15 each group, and technical personnel, at about 10 each group.

From the point of view of the non-productive factor, living conditions, family environment, residential environment, conditions of commercial service and transportation service, etc, always have an impact on the psychological conditions of staff and workers that cannot be overlooked.

From the examination of individual behavior, people of different sexes, different ages, different degrees of education, and different social status are also different in their interests, needs, and preferences of benefits; their likings, habits, memories, imaginations, capabilities and qualities, too, are different; and hence their psychological characteristics likewise differ. These individual psychological characteristics are often also controlled by social factors. For instance, when a person is not given any attention, his self-respect suffers, he loses confidence in his own ability as a result, then he will lack initiative, rich imagination and sensitive judgment at work; but if a person is over-confident about himself, he will not be recognized by society and the collective, and contradictions and conflicts will also result; he is also liable to feel pressure in spirit.

Whether examined on the basis of social group behavior or on the basis of individual behavior, there is a common law about man's psychological conditions, and that is that man's behavior is always governed by motives, and motives are in turn determined by needs and interests.

In our country, psychological needs of staff and workers at the present stage may be classified as follows:

(1) Labor needs

They include:

Employment needs. Their general demand is employment; their higher demands have to do with choice of professions and kinds of work.

Safety needs. Their general demands are absence of injuries in the labor environment and short distance; their higher demand is relatively lower labor intensity.

Technical needs. Their general demand is a labor that is more complex and interesting; their higher demands are mental labor or one specialty plus versatility.

(2) Material needs.

They include:

Basic livelihood needs. Their minimum demand is a guarantee of clothing, food, residence and transport; their higher demands have to do with unit housing, furniture, clothing of superior quality, etc.

The need for durable products in material life. It's general demand aims at wrist watch, sewing machine, bicycle, etc; its higher demand has to do with sets of furniture, refrigerator, etc.

(3) Cultural needs.

They include:

The need to study. Its general demand aims, for example, at obtaining a middle cultural and technical education; its higher demand has to do with, for example, going to college, becoming a graduate student.

The need in cultural life. Its general demand aims, for example, at literary, artistic and athletic enjoyment and performances; its higher demand has to do, for example, with outlets for specialties in literature, athletics, and art, and creative products thereof.

Apart from the foregoing, there is also the need for travel and sightseeing.

(4) Social Needs.

They include:

The need in collective relationship and political advancement. Its general demand aims at harmony in comradely relations and relations between superior and subordinate levels; its higher demand has to do with entry into the Communist Youth Corps, entry into the Communist Party, status as core cadre in business and politics, etc.

The need in the development of talents. Its general demand aims at satisfactory performance at work and outstanding work; its higher demand has to do with inventions and creations.

The need for respect and honor. Its general demand aims at attention given by leaders and respect paid by comrades; its higher demand has to ldo with status as advanced worker, labor model, or scholar, expert.

People's psychological needs usually develop from a lower level gradually toward higher levels. After needs at the lower level are satisfied, needs at a higher level are likely to emerge. The task of ideological-political work is to master the structure and laws of change of the psychological needs of staff and workers, unite the satisfaction of the legitimate needs of staff and workers with the goals of existing enterprises, and guide staff and workers on the correct treatment of contradictions and gaps between needs and realities.

Of course, man's psychological state is not entirely determined by material benefits. Spiritual factors such as socialist consciousness, career ambitions, sense of responsibility as master of the house, patriotism and revolutionary heroism are all important causes determining man's psychological state. To study the structure and laws of change of the psychological needs of staff and workers is meant precisely to unite labor, livelihood, cultural and social needs organically with spiritual factors, and to give better scope to the inner momentum of laborers in order to serve the accelerated realization of the four modernizations.

[This article is a passage from a chapter of teaching material on "Management of Industrial Enterprises" written by Comrades Peng Haorong, Shan Hongda, and Li Shixian. The chapter title is: "Ideological-Political Work in Industrial Enterprises," as transcribed from JINGJI GUANLI [ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT], Supplement (4).]

9255
CSO: 4005

LETTERS TO EDITOR COMPLAIN OF POOR AIRLINE SERVICE

Unreliable Scheduling

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 80 p 3

[Letter to the Editor from Xi Wang [1598 2598]: "Some Opinions of Chinese and Foreign Tourists on Our Country's Civil Aviation"]

[Text] In the past few years, in connection with my work, I have had a great deal of contact with our country's civil aviation and with its airports in various areas. At present the whole country is very much involved with the four modernizations, and there have been striking advances in all fields, but with regard to the Chinese civil aviation system, not only have I been unable to discover any progress, but I really feel that it is completely backward.

One problem is lies. At Kunming airport last November, the flight for Guangzhou was supposed to take off at 9:30, but there was still no sign of it taking off at 11. Upon inquiry it was said that the plane had a malfunction that had just been eliminated. Instead, through observation and the revelations of concerned personnel, it was determined the real reason was that some pressed duck that was to be loaded aboard the plane arrived late, and because of this the takeoff was delayed. On planes traveling civil aviation's domestic routes, food and drink was generally not provided (there are individual routes that are exceptions to this, but very few), and civil aviation personnel do not take into account that passengers flying at noon do not get any lunch, nor do they take into account that if foreign guests arrive late in Guangzhou, they not only miss their lunch but they also have to compensate the restaurant in Guangzhou for its loss in preparing lunch for them.

In June of this year, I flew from Chengdu to Kunming. Before I went to the airport, airport personnel called on the telephone to urge all passengers to arrive at the airport early, saying that the airplane would take off ahead of schedule. After arriving at the airport I was again informed that the airplane had not yet left Chongqing because it had developed a malfunction that was now being repaired, and that no one knew when it might arrive in

Chengdu. After an hour I asked again, and the story was changed, saying that the airplane would not be able to land because of bad weather in Chengdu. After another hour, it was said that there was rain and lightning in Kunming. With all these changes in reasons, the airplane still did not fly. May we ask which of the answers was the true one? Only they know.

A second problem is poor service. Poor service on Chinese civil airlines has long been well known throughout the world. For example, flights on many lines are en route at lunchtime or dinnertime, but no food is provided on the airplane (with some individual exceptions). This [practice] is seldom seen internationally. The civil airlines of many countries include food for the passengers, and some even include lodging if a flight is overdue or can't depart on time. Chinese civil air is different; whoever wants to ride on a Chinese civil airline plane must risk starvation and having to sleep on the street. Once, while waiting in Chengdu for a flight to Kunming, I waited from noon until evening, and then it was suddenly announced that the flight was canceled. Throughout the whole afternoon, a number of Chinese and foreign passengers stayed in the hot waiting room without anyone inquiring about them; they wanted something to drink but were not able to find anything. One foreign visitor said: "The Chinese civil airline has the worst service of any airline in the world. I've never seen anything like it." He cited a number of examples of how air passengers were treated in a number of countries more backward than China. He said: "When an airplane is unable to take off because of weather or some other unavoidable reason, some civil airlines first explain politely to the passengers, then make arrangements for their food and lodging; in order not to make the passengers agitated and bored, time permitting, they also organize tours of the city so that the passengers can see places of historical interest or scenic beauty. However, what we have encountered in China is an unfeeling, cold reception that has completely destroyed the good impressions of our travel in China for a few days...."

A third problem is arbitrary changes. If they want to fly, they fly; if they want to stop, they stop. On 24 June of this year, the flight from Chengdu to Kunming was suddenly canceled, forcing a foreign tour group to change to rail accommodations. When that group arrived in Kunming, they had only half a day for sightseeing before they received a sudden call from the airport; their flight would be leaving ahead of schedule. The result was that the tour group had to abandon its prearranged schedule and leave hurriedly for Guangzhou.

Last year a French tour group was to travel from Kunming to Guangzhou. It was suddenly decided that their plane would leave ahead of schedule, but the Civil Airline Bureau did not notify the passengers, so the tour group missed the plane. That flight unexpectedly flapped its wings and took off without over 20 foreign passengers.

In addition, we frequently encounter cases of arbitrarily not flying. The reasons are manifold: If it is not because the flight crew wants to rest, it is because the attendants want to eat. To fly or not to fly because of "weather" has become a "conventional weapon" of our civil airline. It is truly a case of "even though the sky is clear, it is also 'angry'" and we can take pen in hand and appeal against what we know of heaven.

Our country's civil airline is "only this one, and no other" civil air department in the country. Under the circumstances, they should make every effort to raise the quality of service and flying technology to make the passengers feel that having "no other" can be convenient, safe, pleasant to travel. Instead, the impression given to passengers by the Chinese civil airline is entirely opposite. Today, in this decade of the 1980's of the 20th century, if the Chinese civil airline's method of operation is not changed, not only will it damage our international prestige but it will obstruct our implementation of the four modernizations.

Please, all levels of leading comrades in the civil aviation bureau, conscientiously take charge of your work!

Discourteous Attendants

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 80 p 3

[Leter to the Editor by Wang Xintang [3769 2450 1016] of Shenyang: "The Quality of Service of Our Country's Civil Aviation, as Reflected From Our Experience on a Trip"]

[Text] On 8 May, I went from Beijing to Japan with the Liaoning Province economic and trade delegation. On 28 [May] I returned from Japan aboard Chinese Civil Airlines flight 926. I was very happy to have the opportunity to fly on a big 747 airplane. However, the quality of service was not such that I would dare recommend it.

1. The proper courtesy was lacking. Almost 400 travelers boarded this flight, most of them foreign friends. In a trip of almost 4 hours, whether the service personnel were bringing water, serving food, or selling liquor and cigarettes, we never heard courteous phrases such as "please," "thank you," "excuse me," etc. The service personnel treated foreign travelers with humor, but they were solemn toward their Chinese compatriots. On the trip home, an unhappy event occurred: One of the female service personnel was pushing a cart of drinks when she knocked over a bottle of mineral water and it spilled onto the food tray of Comrade Wang Enhui [3769 1869 1920], vice chairman of the provincial economic committee and a member of the delegation. When the mineral water and the contents of the glass on his tray spilled on the jacket and trousers of this old comrade, the stewardess just looked at him coldly, as though she didn't care in the least. Having witnessed this, I stared at her firmly, and only then did she take a small towel and throw it (not hand it) to Comrade Wang Enhui, then turned her cart

around and left without a word. Foreign travelers nearby were shocked and could make no sense of what had happened. Again and again I suppressed my "Shangdong shillelagh" temper, and said not a word. Comrade Wang Enhui only sighed lightly. Later, I wanted to give her a piece of my mind, but she was not wearing a name badge or service number, and there was no book on the plane for writing comments.

2. The quality of the food served is too poor. There were different kinds of food, but they didn't make any distinction between Chinese and foreigners, but simply brought the food and dropped it on the table plip-plop without asking anyone's preferences. The knife marks on the sausage and tomato slices had already changed color (perhaps because they had been allowed to sit too long after having been sliced); fried foods could be neither cut with a knife nor pierced with a fork; the iced orange juice was weak because the ice had been in it too long. Some foreign travelers took a few mouthfuls of food, and after saying, "Tsk, tsk," put down their knives and forks. Some Chinese compatriots whispered: Chinese food is renowned throughout the world, and food served to passengers on airplanes is paid for in foreign currency, so why can't it be a little better?!

3. It took too long to deliver the baggage. When the flight arrived at Beijing airport, it was already past 10 at night. Several hundred Chinese and foreign passengers were pressed together into the customs waiting room. By this time, people meeting friends had their faces pressed up against the big glass window of the customs room, waving to show how eager they were to see their friends who were waiting to pick up baggage and have it inspected. But the time passed minute by minute, the baggage handlers gathered around their carts, and the first piece of luggage was not seen until an hour and 15 minutes later. After we had been greeted by a Japanese friend who had come to the airfield to meet us, he said with a sigh, "At last! I've been waiting 75 minutes!"

4. They were not properly careful with the passengers' luggage. One of the comrades in the delegation brought a television set home on the plane. He added a great deal of packing inside the carton. When he shipped it at the Tokyo airport, the Japanese baggage handlers took special care to paste a "fragile" sticker on it and very carefully put it on the conveyor for fragile goods. One of the Japanese baggage handlers said with concern: "Can you be sure that your television set will be all right when it arrives at Beijing airport? We have seen for ourselves that Chinese Civil Airlines breaks things." Just as expected, when this television set was picked up at Beijing airport, there was a big hole in the carton, most of the straps binding it had been broken, and the cabinet of the television set was broken. This sort of thing happens at Shenyang airport as well. Last fall I returned from Beijing to Shenyang, and when I picked up my luggage at the airport, I discovered one of the service personnel dragging a passenger's new leather suitcase along the ground, and the leather surface and zipper of the suitcase had been scraped to bits. My own artificial leather bag had also had its zipper damaged because it had been dragged.

9284
CSO: 4005

PHOTO SHOWS GUIDED MISSILE TRACKING EQUIPMENT

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 Sep 80 p 1

[Photo caption]

Li Rixin [2621 2480 2450] (left), staff officer of a certain unit of the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission and an advanced pacesetter in scientific and technological work, by diligently studying technology, has improved a radar control station's digital display automatic monitoring [or checking--zijian (5261 2914)] devices. This equipment reduces manpower and also improves the precision of tracking and monitoring guided missile trajectories.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION, UNIT CODE DESIGNATORS

[The following biographic information on selected military personnel and PLA military code designators were extracted from Chinese-language newspapers as indicated]

Bian Suobao [0593 6956 1405]

Commander of a certain regiment of the Zhejiang Military District. (Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO 30 Jul 80 p 1)

Fang Ziji [2455 1311 1323]

Deputy director of the pharmacy of Hospital 401 belonging to the North China Sea Fleet. (Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO 12 Aug 80 p 3)

Guo Huaruo [6751 0553 5387]

Deputy Commandant, PLA Academy of Military Science; from 16 to 24 June 1980, he attended the organizational meeting of a new Society for Studying World War II held in Kunming and was elected as one of the honorary presidents of this new society. (Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO 31 Jul 80 p 3)

Guo Xingfu [6753 5281 4395]

Appointed deputy director of the teaching and research section for tactics of the Nanjing Units' Infantry School. (Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO 31 Aug 80 p 3)

Huang Helin [7806 7729 2651]

Party committee secretary and political commissar of a certain corps of engineer regiment of the Jinan Units. (Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO 1 Sep 80 p 3)

Huang Quanwu [7806 3123 2976]

Party committee member and deputy commander of a certain regiment of the Shanghai Garrison District. (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 16 Jul 80 p 1)

Jiang Guangmin [5592 0342 2494]

Party committee deputy secretary and commander of a certain division of the Shanghai Garrison Command. (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 16 Jul 80 p 1)

Li Xiufang [7812 4423 5364]

Deputy director of the training department of the military medical school of the Lanzhou Units. (Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO 29 Jul 80 p 2)

Li Zhiqing [2621 1807 3237]

Political officer of the 2d Company of a certain unit stationed in Tianjin. (Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO 1 Aug 80 p 2)

Liu Chongfu [0491 1504 1381]

Commander of a certain air force regiment stationed in Shanghai. (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 16 Jul 80 p 1)

Lu Xiuge [7120 4423 7041]

Party committee secretary and political commissar of a certain unit of the Beijing Garrison Command. (Beijing BEIJING RIBAO 17 Aug 80 p 1)

Luo Fengsheng [5012 7685 3932]

Political commissar of a certain air force regiment stationed in Shanghai. (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 16 Jul 80 p 1)

Xu Xuewu [1776 1331 2976]

Chief of staff of a certain corps of engineer regiment of the Jinan Units. (Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO 1 Sep 80 p 3)

Yang Guoxiang [2799 0948 4382]

Deputy divisional commander of a certain air force unit. (Beijing MINZU TUANJIE No 8, 1980 p 37)

Zhang Shuwei [1728 2885 6182]

Party committee member and deputy political commissar of a certain corps of engineer regiment of the Jinan Units. (Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO 1 Sep 80 p 3)

Zhou Xun [6650 6598]

Political commissar of the Fuzhou Garrison Units. (Beijing GONGREN RIBAO 1 Aug 80 p 1)

Unit 34143

The 6th Squad of this unit was mentioned. (Beijing GONGREN RIBAO 25 Jul 80 p 3)

Unit 37091

A photograph shows this unit's vessels in training. (Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO 31 Jul 80 p 1)

Unit 38600

This unit was identified. (Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO 28 Jul 80 p 1)

Unit 39394

This unit was identified. (Beijing GONGREN RIBAO 17 Jul 80 p 4)

Unit 51191

This unit was identified. (Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO 28 Jul 80 p 1)

Unit 52837

The political department of this unit was identified. (Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO 7 Sep 80 p 2)

Unit 52853

This unit was identified. (Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO 28 Jul 80 p 1)

Unit 52940

This unit was identified. (Beijing GONGREN RIBAO 15 Aug 80 p 2)

Unit 80411

A maintenance company of this unit was identified. (Hefei ANHUI HUA BAO No 3, 1980 p 29)

Unit 83303

This unit is stationed in Xuhui Ward, Shanghai. (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 31 Jul 80 p 1)

Unit 86621

This unit was identified. (Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO 28 Jul 80 p 1)

Unit 89304

The 1st Company of this unit was identified. (Beijing GONGREN RIBAO 15 Jul 80 p 3)

Hospital 157

This hospital belongs to the Guangzhou Units. (Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO 20 Aug 80 p 2)

Hospital 211

This hospital belongs to the Shenyang Units. (Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO 1 Aug 80 p 1)

Hospital 303

This hospital belongs to the Guangzhou Units. (Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO 25 Aug 80 p 2)

Field Hospital 505

This hospital belongs to the Guangzhou Units. (Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO 25 Aug 80 p 2)

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EFFORTS TO PROMOTE ONE-CHILD FAMILIES MUST BE REALISTIC

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 80 p 5

[Article by Wang Xingquan [3769 5206 3172]: "Adopt Positive Measures To Promote One Child Per Couple"]

[Text] The promotion of a one-child family is currently the most effective measure to control population growth. The question now is how to perfect this task. This involves the adoption of a series of practical and effective measures.

Basically, the promotion of a one-child family is in accordance with the interests of all the people and reflection of popular desire. Hence, once the goal was declared, it has been supported by the overwhelming majority of the masses. The task has been executed with significant results in quite a few areas, especially in the city. However, we should also say that we have just begun the task. Development is uneven. In the remote countryside, it meets with many barriers and difficulties and has less result. Although some of the causes are related to old values, there are various technical problems as well. Many people do not realize the necessity of a one-child family, and various technical problems make them feel even more suspicious. If we do not apply measures systematically and gradually iron out the technical problems in promoting a one-child family, our administrative measures per se are unlikely to produce results.

For example, the value of "reproduction for security in old age" is a feudalistic value which has persisted for thousands of years. In the past, criticisms were leveled at such a feudalistic value in quite a few areas, but little attention was paid to the practical problems arising from old age or to measures for dealing with them. We must know that there are profound economic reasons behind the value of "reproduction for security in old age," a value prevalent in the feudal period and ingrained and perpetuated in the minds of the people. In the course of 70 years after the collapse of the monarchy and 30 years after liberation, it has exerted an important influence on the people. The feudal economy was a subsistence economy in which each household was a production unit as well as a social unit. Under such economic conditions, owing to the low level of productivity, the labor force was generated and maintained only within the family. When the labor force diminished owing to senility, there was nothing to rely upon except one's offsprings. The value of "reproduction for security in old age" is the product of a subsistence economy. Accordingly, it is not sufficient to change such a value merely by educational campaigns. We can eradicate the value only by striking at its roots. Since the founding of the republic, our national economy has witnessed a great deal of development, and the overwhelming majority of peasants have been organized. However, our present level of productivity is still very low. Manual labor is still the norm in the countryside, and individual households are still discrete social units. Part of the productive functions are still carried out within the family, and old folks still have to rely on the young for security. The question of caring for the elderly becomes acute when a young couple gets married and produces only one child. Therefore, in addition to promoting a one-child family, efforts must be made to resolve the problems of old age. To resolve these problems, the fundamental step is to increase production and wealth. If the economy is not developed, we will not be able to eradicate such feudalistic ideas as "reproduction for security in old age" and "male chauvinism," let alone have the material preconditions for providing for the welfare of old people. Among some of the collective enterprises in the city and the countryside, steps should be taken to institute a retirement plan based on the pace of economic growth, so that old people can gradually rely on their pensions for a living. In addition, measures should be taken to introduce various social welfare plans in accordance with individual conditions and cases. Some of the elderly institutions and centers for handicapped old people managed by specialists in the countryside have produced relatively good results. In the city, retirement homes have gradually been planned in places with better conditions, and this has been quite welcomed. On the basis of thorough investigation and discussions, we should devise an insurance policy which is suitable to our national conditions and carry the plan out on a nationwide basis.

The promotion of a one-child family raises the standards of childcare, health, and education. Every parent hopes to see his son grow up in good health. Parents can pay more attention to their children in a one-child family system. The belief that the only child in a family is necessarily spoiled is not an objective viewpoint. However, we should recognize the possible problem of the child in a one-child family being spoiled because of his special position. We should adopt various measures to perfect our work in pregnancy, birth, childcare, hygiene, and education. At present, these problems have caught the attention of related units, and much work has been done. Many hospitals have strengthened their work in examining pregnant women and educating them. All county- and city-level grassroots units in Sichuan Province have organized cadres and medical workers to make regular visits to one-child families and resolve related problems. In Chongwen District in Beijing Municipality, one-child families are required to take regular health examinations, and various units have offered their help in various ways. Xicheng District of Beijing Municipality encouraged more than 70 institutions and enterprises to organize kindergartens and childcare centers and, under permissible conditions, to accept children from workers who do not belong to their units. In general, however, similar work has not been widespread and systematic. At present, our schools do not have lessons on health education, and not enough work has been done to educate adolescents in physical health and family planning. During the 10 years of turmoil, training of teachers in childcare was greatly curtailed. Not enough attention has been paid to child disease, child psychology, child education, and related areas. Various things like these, when viewed in isolation, do not seem to be related to the work of promoting one-child f families. But the fact is that the consummation of these tasks will greatly aid the promotion of a one-child family.

The promotion will come across many other problems, such as issues related to self-retained land, the distribution of economic crops among commune members, and the assignment of housing to urban workers. Past methods encouraged not small families but large families. Also, since manual work is the norm in the countryside, and a grown person means an addition to the labor force, large families tend to become richer, and this will affect the promotion of a one-child family. The present policy of rewarding one-child families, aside from public enterprises, raises the problem of the source of funds among urban collectives and rural communes. In addition, there are many problems regarding the manufacture and distribution of contraceptives and sterilization methods. Many of these problems require a great deal of effort to identify and resolve.

We emphasize the fact that the adoption of a one-child family requires effective measures, but we do not mean that ideological work should not be strengthened. Perfecting educational work is also an effective measure. However, our propaganda should be not simplified but rather diversified. We must employ various forms and tools of propaganda to make known our work to all families and people, and to make our propaganda work lively enough to produce results.

Obviously, all the problems mentioned above cannot be handled only by the family planning departments or specialists. Our family planning work has produced many good results over the past few years, thanks to the hard work of our family planning departments and their contributions--though these results would not have been produced without the help of related departments. In order to perfect our work of realizing a one-child family, our family planning workers should seriously carry out their work, while related departments should also play their part in ensuring success.

9471
CSO: 4005

INTEGRATION OF SCIENCE, ENGINEERING, ARTS URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by Cai Keyong [5591 0344 0516] of the Higher Education Research Section of Central China College of Engineering: "A Tentative Discourse on the Integration of Science, Engineering and Arts Subjects in Colleges and Universities"]

[Text] At present, higher education in our country faces this extraordinary problem: engineering, science, and arts go their separate ways. This problem contradicts the nature and demands of the development of science and technology in modern times and creates obstacles for the training of highly competent scientists and technicians and for the development or research that requires integration and cuts across all scientific disciplines.

The Trend of Higher Education in the World Is Toward Integration of Science, Engineering and Arts

If we read the history of the development of higher education in the world, we will find that all the well-known universities in the developed countries are integrated universities, and that they have developed from diversification to integration. The history of human civilization shows that England was the first country to have universities. Oxford University was founded in the 12th century. Cambridge University was founded in the 13th century. At that time, the natural sciences had not been established as separate branches of learning and were inseparable from philosophy. Reflecting the scientific development of those days, the universities were not divided into different colleges or departments. With the development of production, the natural sciences broke away from philosophy as separate subjects of study after the 15th century. Thus science began to move into various fields of specialization, with each branch taking on one subject in the study of nature. By the early 19th century, the natural sciences had reached a high level of diversification. Dynamics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology and geology began to be established as different fields of pursuit. To reflect the development of science and technology of this period, many new universities in various countries set up different departments for different studies. Many of these newly established universities leaned heavily on the technological side (such as industrial technology, agricultural technology, and medical science).

All-Round Development of Science and Technology Demands Integration of Science, Engineering and Arts

Since the 1930's, and especially since the Second World War, the trend in the development of science and technology has been unmistakably toward integration. Science has stopped branching off into ever-multiplying areas of special study and, instead, has begun to settle into a coherent system. All branches of science have become part and parcel of this coherent system. This is what we call the trend toward integration. The integration of modern science has taken place not only among marginal areas of study but also among the various branches of natural and social sciences, as well as among natural sciences, technological sciences, engineering technology, social science, and philosophy. In other words, the development of marginal sciences has already gone through two stages. In the first stage, marginal sciences developed as a result of the integration of all branches of natural science, all branches of techological sciences, and all branches of engineering science, as well as the integration of natural science with technological and engineering sciences. In the second stage, they have developed as a result of the integration of natural, technological and engineering sciences with social sciences. For instance, management sciences and systems engineering are marginal sciences that developed during the second stage.

The trend of the development of science and technology toward integration has made the study of one specialized field, though pursued with excellent results for a long time in the past, unsuitable for our modern times. Many of the major scienctific, technological, and social issues of today have such wide implications that the study of solutions to these issues requires the coordination of all branches of science and technology.

In the 19th century, scientific research was basically the effort of individual scientists. In the early part of the 20th century, research was conducted in small laboratories under the supervision of professors. For example, Pierre and Marie Curie were a husband-and-wife research team. Even Ernest Rutherford had fewer than 100 researchers working under him. After the Second World War, research efforts took on a new dimension. Cooperation among the different branches of science was expanding for more ambitious projects. Cybernetics became a new field of study in the late 1940's--a study that was to have far-reaching impact. It was started by Norbert Wiener, a mathematiciam and philosopher, and Rosenthal, a biologist. The basic concept of cybernetics emerged from the monthly dinner meetings of mathematicians, physicists, electronic experts, engineers, medical scholars, psychologists, and philosophers at Harvard University during the war. The birth of cybernetics marked the first spectacular success of the coordination among science, engineering, and liberal arts in the history of scientific and technological development. It ushered in a new epoch of scientific and technological development. James Chadwick discovered the neutron in 1932. In 1934, Enrico Fermi began his experiments with neutrons and uranium nuclei, and faced problems which he as a physicist could not understand. This was because he was unfamiliar with analytical chemistry and failed to grasp the basics. He continued on the wrong track for 5 more years. Finally, in 1939, chemists Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman resolved the riddle for him with the discovery of the fission of uranium-235 when it is bombarded by neutrons. A scientist told Fermi of this discovery. This led to his success in 1942 in creating the first self-sustaining chain reaction in uranium. The moral of this story is that the lack of coordination among the branches of science in their research efforts slowed the development of science and technology.

The trend of the development of science and technology toward integration places two demands on higher education: First, the better equipped the departments of a university are and the more able they are to conduct coordinated research, the greater the achievements will be expected of a university. Second, a university must try to develop in its students the ability to reach beyond their area of specialization and to engage in coordinated research. In other words, it must train its students thoroughly in basic scientific theory, and at the same time give them the widest possible exposure to all branches of science. To meet these demands, many noted universities in developed countries have, since the 1930's and especially since World War II, expanded into all-round institutions integrating science and engineering with liberal arts, even though they may have different emphases in their instruction.

Reforming the Structure of Higher Education, and Training a Large Number of Scientists and Technicians

If we are to realize, more or less, the four modernizations by the end of this century, we must plan to gradually transform a number of our major universities into integrated institutions with different emphases where science, engineering and humanities are inseparable and where instruction and research go hand in hand. This concept is not "one of those capitalist fantasies" or a "pipedream." It is perfectly in keeping with objective law.

Marx saw both the possibility and the necessity of all-round human development, based on his analysis of the nature of the forces of production in an industrial mass production situation. Engels reconfirmed Marx' observation from the viewpoint that nature is an indivisible entity, and that nature is dialectically interlocked with human society.

One school of opinion once held that Marx' and Engels' definition of all-round development is that man must be capable of both manual and mental labor. That opinion is only partially correct. While Marx and Engels did mean that, what they really wanted to say was that man must develop his intellect toward all-roundness.

In ancient Greece, a shoemaker once made a critical remark on the work of the then celebrated painter Appelles. Since the shoemaker knew nothing about art, his criticism was totally irrelevant. So Appelles said to him: "Shoemaker, you'd better mind your own business." Marx hailed Appelles' reply as embodying the "gem" of wisdom in a handicraft society. As industrial mass production has taken over since the 19th century, we would be "terribly foolish" ("Das Kapital," Vol 1, P 535) to continue to think that a man in one profession would know nothing about another profession.

Analyzing the indivisibility of matter in our world, Engels commented: "The nature which we face is an indivisible whole. It is the sum of all things in it." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vo 20, P 409) As nature is an indivisible whole, me must look at it as a whole as our knowledge of nature improves and as all branches of our science, which are devoted to the study of only one part or one side of nature, retouch one another at the other end. The trend of scientific and technological development toward integration makes the development of human intellect toward all-roundedness possible and necessary. Socialist and communist societies need well-rounded people. Engels put it well when he said: "If industry is to be run by the entire society in a publiclyowned and well-planned manner, there will be need for versatile people, people who are familiar with the entire production system." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 370) In this context, socialist higher education must make it its business to train "people who are familiar with the entire production system" and "versatile people." Obviously, the development of one's intellect toward well-roundedness is not meant merely to help one find employment. It is meant to meet the objective needs of the development of science, technology, and large-scale industrial production.

Our noted scientist Qian Xuesen [6929 1331 2773] believes that if one is to recognize and resolve many of the major problems of the technological and engineering sciences, one must be familiar with the theory and methodology of natural sciences, mathematics, and social sciences. For example, the newly emerged branch of science called ecology deals with both natural and social factors. With bioecology and geochemistry as its basic components, it incorporates chemistry, biology, physics, geology, medicine, engineering, mathematics, and economics both in its scope and in its methology. Similar multicomponent sciences include space science, oceanography, energy science and material science.

One should point out that modern science and technology have developed by leaps and bounds since the 1950's. While all the developed countries were reforming their higher education to suite the new shape of things, we copied the Russian model of the 1940's in separating humanities from sciences and in setting industry, agriculture, and medicine apart. We set up a mammoth Academy of Sciences system to separate the functions of education and scientific research. It is true that in those days we had no choice but to follow in the Russian footsteps. Later on, the Russians themselves found it necessary to make certain adjustments in their unreasonable structure of higher education. Due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we did very little to reform the colleges and departments of our universities for two decades. If there were changes in the structure of our higher education in those two decades, the changes were insignificant. The urgent task facing us today is to make the best use of our limited manpower, material resources, and funds to turn a small number of well-endowed universities into institutions of different emphases integrating science and engineering with liberal arts in order to train an elite corps of scientists as far as university conditions permit. Our government should provide funds for these universities so that they can do the best they can as quickly as they can to combine instruction with scientific research, set up research institutions of their own, and open graduate schools in order to enroll graduate students and turn out scholars with doctors' and masters' degrees who are up to international academic standards. This does not mean that all universities should devote themselves to as many areas of study as possible, but rather,that they should set up a number of new departments insofar as their resources permit, and that they should reorganize their existing departments in order to become integrated universities with different emphases. Naturally, we cannot have too many of this type of university at present. We can gradually increase their number along with the development of science and technology.

The program to achieve the four modernizations not only demands a large number of outstanding people who are well trained in basic theory, widely exposed to all branches of science, and capable of integrated research and research that reaches beyond the boundary of any single branch of science--people who will head our scientific and technological departments--but also demands a larger number of designers, craftsmen, management personnel, and technicians with various specializations. In fact, we need far more of the latter than the former. Unless we have a gigantic scientific and technological army, complete with all branches of service and all necessary equipment, we will be talking nonsense when we say we can achieve the four modernizations and surpass the world's advanced standards of scientific and technological competence. Therefore, it is necessary for us to set up, in addition to major integrated universities, a large number of various types of 4-year and 2-year technical colleges, teachers' colleges, and professional colleges that are devoted either to one or to several areas of study, as well as part-time schools and correspondence schools, so that we can mass-produce designers, craftsmen, teachers, management personnel, and technicians of different specializations. Furthermore, we must make plans to develop colleges and institutions devoted to the study of liberal arts so that we can have a large number of liberal arts scholars as well. With such added expertise in our population, we can expect a change in the makeup of our cadre corps.

9055
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANGHAI PROMOTES SPARE-TIME EDUCATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by Yang Deguang [2799 1795 1684] and Hu Ruiwen [5170 3843 2429] of the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Higher Education: "The Broad Prospects of Broadening the Avenues of Education as Seen From the Opening of Four Evening Schools"]

[Text] To meet the educational needs of the broad masses, many units in Shanghai Municipality have offered spare-time educational programs as a means of creating better educational opportunities for the public, with good results. In this article we would like to tell the story of four locally run evening schools, representing three different types of operation that bear testimony to the promise and vitality of sparetime education.

One type is the evening schools run by universities. For example, Shanghai College of Finance and Economics started an evening program last fall, offering 3-year courses in industrial accounting, commercial accounting, statistics, finance, and banking. The first year the program admitted 470 credit students and 100 noncredit students out of 2,000 initial applicants. The second year it enrolled 450 students out of 3,000 applicants. It uses the classrooms of the Luxun Middle School and Sichuan North Road Primary School. The faculty consists of six full-time administrators and part-time teachers. Students pay a tuition of 20 yuan for each semester. Similarly, the Shanghai College of Foreign Languages uses the classrooms of the Huaizhong Middle School for its parttime evening program in English. It enrolls 360 students, divided into nine classes. The students range in age from over 20 to over 50. They come from the ranks of industry and communications, finance and trade, scientific research, culture and education, and public health. The program relies on original English-language publications as texts and audiovisual teaching aids to try to develop speaking and conversational ability in the students. Its faculty consists of two full-time administrators and some part-time teachers.

The second type is the schools sponsored by businesses. For example, the Huangpu No 1 and Huangpu No 2 Food and Beverage Company, Tobacco and Sugar Company, and Service Company contracted the Huangpu Middle School to run an evening school at the intermediate level for them. This project started in the second half of 1979 and enrolled 1,200 employees divided into 27 classes. The curriculum consists of mathematics, reading, and foreign languages. The tuition each semester is 8 yuan per student. There is no full-time faculty. Each of the four sponsoring companies sends a representative to check on their employee-students' attendance and progress. The teaching staff and the facilities are all provided by the Huangpu Middle School.

The third type is the spare-time vocational schools run by street blocks. For example, Fengcheng Street established a spare-time middle school in 1978. The faculty consists of three old highschool graduates who have retired due to poor health. They serve both as school administrators and as teachers. They also bring in 20 other schoolteachers and factory technicians to teach part-time. The curriculum consists of mechanical draftsmanship, machine handling, electronic technology, basic electrical engineering, television design, repair and maintenance, reading, writing, mathematics, English, Japanese, accounting, and dress design and tailoring. They have a separate class for each subject, to be completed in 6 months or 1 year. They have graduated some 1,000 students in the past 2 years. At present they have 654 students divided into 14 classes. These students are mostly residents on the same street. Some have full-time jobs, while others are youngsters waiting to be placed in jobs. The school is located at the Benchi Middle School and charges a tuition of 5 or 6 yuan per student per semester.

The above-mentioned three types of schools are born out of the needs of the public as well as the units concerned. They are good in many ways. They are economical to run and require small staffs. They make do with what they can get. With part-time teachers and a small number of administrators, each of these evening schools can educate several hundred to a thousand people at a time. They are also practical in the sense that they tailor their curriculum to local needs. Students who have jobs can readily apply to their work what they learn in the evening. Young people waiting to be placed can also learn vocational and professional skills which will help them find jobs.

The rise of the three types of schools described above shows our universities and middle schools the way to creating more educational opportunities through offering spare-time programs. Our municipality has a total work force of 4 million. Of this number, 2 million entered the work force during the turbulent decade and the years that followed. Fifty percent of them had a primary school education; 40 percent had a junior high school education; the remaining 10 percent were split between high school graduates and semi-illiterates. This year, some 170,000 high school graduates in Shanghai will not be able to go on to college. There are also some 100,000 high school graduates from previous years. This puts the total number of young people waiting to be placed in jobs at 270,000. It is impossible to find jobs for so many young people in the near future. This situation calls for continued education for the young people, both employed and waiting to be employed. Therefore it is necessary to have more evening universities and evening middle schools to absorb them. Judging from what the universities and middle schools in Shanghai have available at present, they are capable of any of the three types of operation described above, for the benefit of the young people both employed and awaiting placement. The present 48 institutions of higher education in Shanghai Municipality have a combined teaching staff of 17,000. After this current schoolyear begins, they expect to have a combined enrollment of 70,000. So the student-teacher ratio is four to one. If we could get this ratio back to the pre-Cultural Revolution level of six to one or seven to one, we could free several thousand teachers for evening classes. In addition, we could also get some part-time teachers to help out. Similar richness in manpower resources also exists with vocational middle schools and ordinary middle schools. The Huangpu Middle School mentioned above is a good example. As for classrooms, there are enough at the more than 400 middle schools in Shanghai to go around for use by the various types of evening schools.

New we see that both the need for and the possibility of creating more educational opportunities through spare-time programs are there. As to how to get the schools at the higher and intermediate levels interested in offering spare-time programs, we must provide encouragement and support at the policymaking level. For example, we should allow sponsors of spare-time schools to keep their revenue from tuition receipts after expenses, and not to have to turn over a percentage of that revenue to the state. We should allow schools to sign contracts directly with businesses opting for evening programs, and to freely recruit from among the employees of the sponsoring businesses as well as from among young people awaiting employment. We should also allow businesses to deal directly with schools for educational contracts. We should suggest to local governments that they set aside certain susidies for sponsors of spare-time education and earmark more funds for those evening schools credited with larger enrollments and better performance. In addition, we should provide incentive for study. Like the Huangpu Food and Beverage Company and other sponsors, we should set certain standards for spare-time schooling for employees and use their records at evening schools as one of the criteria for work evaluation and promotion. To encourage young people to go to evening school, we should suggest to the planning and recruiting departments that they hire the better graduates from evening schools and require academic credentials (or equivalents) for each type of job. The municipality could also set up a civil examination office. Those who are already working and those who are awaiting placement, once they pass an examination establishing their academic competence either at the college level or at the middle school level, would be placed in jobs consummate with their educational level, and be paid accordingly.

9055
CSO: 4005

STEPS TAKEN TO IMPROVE NATIONALITY WORK

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITY UNITY] in Chinese No 5, 15 May 80
pp 20-21

[Article: "Activities in Nationality Work"]

[Text] Military Units Stationed in Tibet Strictly Carry Out Nationality Policy

Since the Fifth National People's Congress, the military units stationed in Tibet have closely grasped the work of re-education in nationality policy questions. Because of the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the nationality policy conception of some commanding officers of our military units stationed in Tibet has become rather thin in recent years. In order to overcome this defect, party committees of units stationed in Tibet at various levels have taken nationality policy questions as an important content of their political education work. On important occasions of celebration, troops are gathered together for such education. In ordinary days, timely education is given on the basis of tasks assigned and problems encountered. When new soldiers are first enrolled, they introduce to them customs, habits, religious beliefs and taboos of the masses of the various tribes in Tibet so as to continue to raise the consciousness of the vast ranks of the commanding officers in carrying out the relevant nationality policy. On the basis of the spirit of documents such as Premier Zhou's "Questions Concerning Our Nationality Policy," the Political Department of our military units stationed in Tibet has also compiled and distributed an "Outline of Education in Nationality Policy." While attention was paid to education, efforts were also made to strictly carry out our nationality policy and solve our nationality contradictions in time. On the basis of the customs and habits of the minority nationality, they have also formulated certain regulations beneficial to unity between the nationalities. Various units have also spared some manpower and material resources to help the productive work in the districts where they were stationed. These actions undertaken by the units won the heartfelt support of the masses of the various tribes. (Zhong Ziangrong [6945 4362 2837], Chengdu Units)

Nimu County Sets Up Tibetan Language Evening School for Han Cadres

Except for a few old comrades who have worked there for many years, most of the Han cadres working in Nimu County, Tibet, basically cannot use the Tibetan language. In the case of the 20-odd Han cadres entering Tibet most recently, they simply know nothing about the Tibetan language. This naturally hampers the exchange of sentiments between the Tibetan and Han nationalities, and constitutes still more a hindrance in the development of our work.

Accordingly, the county party committee grasped the Tibetan language as a basic exertion for the Han cadres and established a Tibetan language evening school especially for the Han cadres.

For 2 hours every evening and three evenings per week, Tibetan cadres with a definite level in the Han language and well versed in the Tibetan language would undertake the teaching, beginning from pronunciation and basic vocabulary; on the basis of the characteristic that the county is centered on agriculture and cattle-raising, they also had the students study phrases for daily use and phrases used at work. The evening school has set up a concrete schedule for their progress in the study.

The action undertaken by the Han cadres to study the Tibetan language has promoted the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of Tibetan cadres to study the Han language, too; the county party committee is also preparing to establish a Han language evening school. (Guan Qingzhi [4619 1987 2535], Tibet)

Liangshan Military District Seriously Trains Minority Nationality Cadres and Fighters

The Liangshan Military District in Sichuan Province, according to the needs of the units and construction in the nationality area and in conjunction with relevant rehabilitation and transfer work, has been purposely sending a large contingent of minority nationality cadres and fighters trained in the units to various localities every year. According to available statistics, since the organization and establishment of the district, 432 minority nationality cadres and 9,690 fighters have been sent to the Liangshan area. Of those who have taken office as leaders at various levels, there are 2 at the prefecture [1558] level, 127 at the county level, 310 at the district level, 1,359 in communes, 1,540 in production brigades, and 2,268 general cadres. These comrades have already become an important contingent of core forces in the four modernizations work of the Liangshan area. (Political Department, Liangshan Military District)

The State Builds Two Cattle-Raising District Dormitory-Schools for Luqu County

The area of the cattle-raising district in Luqu County, Gansu Province, is vast; the Tibetan herdsmen must move their grazing grounds many times according to seasonal changes every year. Since a school cannot solve the room and board problems of its students, it is forced also to move along. This has greatly affected the quality of teaching and the health of the students.

Recently, the state allocated a special fund of 120,000 yuan to the county, and is planning to build 20 student dormitories and mess halls each at the Dohai and Gongba schools; together, they can accommodate more than 300 students, and each minority nationality student can also draw 6 yuan of aid money. (Liang Yiqun [2733 0181 5028], Gansu)

Concentrated Use of Border Area Construction Funds

Starting from the reality of people of minority nationalities encountering difficulties in transportation in their remote hilly areas, the party committee of the Chengbu Miao Autonomous County, Hunan, made concentrated use of its limited border area construction funds on transport enterprises, and thereby gave full play to the effects of the funds in question.

Lanrong Commune, which is situated in the high mountainous area of more than 1,000 meters above sea level, is constructing a mine right now; because of the inconviences in transportation, people there can only rely on the use of shoulder poles and backpacks to transport mineral ores to a spot beside the highway more than 10 kilometers away, and the development of the mine is therefore encountering serious obstruction. The county party committee allocated a transport capital construction fund of 23,000 yuan to this county from the border funds, and also helped it purchase a truck to solve the urgent problem at the moment. It also allocated funds to the Dagu Commune to build a highway in order to have material resources in support of agriculture, and products for daily use reach the mountainous villages in time. Besides, it also allocated funds to help the Pengdong and Wutuan Miao communes bordering Guangxi purchase two trucks to solve the difficulty of having a highway but lacking the means of transportation. (Yang Shenghai [7122 4141 3189], Hunan)

Jinan Municipality Looks After Korean Nationality, Provides Rice

The masses of the Korean nationality like to eat rice; but, because of a rice shortage, Jinan Municipality in Shandong Province has not taken very good care of this habit in their life in the past. After re-education in nationality policy recently, the municipal foodgrain bureau seriously inspected the situation of the execution of nationality policy by its own system and came to the conclusion that this was a practical problem that should be solved. According to the spirit of directives from the superior level, they decided to provide, from April this year onwards, an additional 3 jin of rice to each person of the masses of the Korean nationality each month. Upon hearing this news, comrades of the Korean nationality were all very happy. They said: This action of providing us with additional rice at a time when our municipality is experiencing rice shortage makes us deeply aware of the warmth of the party's nationality policy; we are determined to return the care of the party and government with our practical action in devoting ourselves energetically to the four modernizations. (Qin Xulun [4440 4872 4858], Shandong)

Manchu Nationality in Xinbin Likes To Buy Pennants

Xinbin County in Liaoning Province is the place of origin of the Manchu nationality; here are gathered people of the Red, Blue, Yellow and White Banners. Pasting or hanging up pennants in the spring festival period has been the traditional custom of the Manchu nationality; but during the Cultural Revolution, a festoon such as a pennant was said to be a feudal, superstitious thing, and therefore was eliminated. This year, the nationality policy was put into effect; in order to satisfy the needs of the masses, the county's trading companies especially purchased 100,000 pennants. Masses of the Manchu nationality were extremely pleased to buy these pennants from them; those of the Red Banner pasted up red pennants; those of the Yellow Banner, yellow pennants; those of the Blue Banner, blue pennants; and those of the White Banner, white pennants. These pennants were beautiful in their picturesque patterns and bright in their colors, symbolizing the propitious beginning of the year. As every family pasted up these pennants, everybody smiled with happiness. (Cao Wenqi [2580 2429 1142], Liaoning)

Hui Nationality Restaurant at Huge Mountain Cave Is Run Increasingly Well

Metallurgical Construction Company No 7, which is situated slightly over 20 kilometers from Guiyang Municipality in Guizhou Province, has nearly 100 staff members and workers of the Hui nationality. In the past, if they wanted to eat lamb, they had to go to Guiyang Municipality to buy it; not only did the individuals involved have to spend some money on transport, they also missed many working hours. Staff and workers of the Hui nationality naturally reflected strong opinions in this regard. In view of this situation, the company party committee organized over 10 family members of staff members and workers, put one staff member or worker in charge, and started a Hui nationality restaurant.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially when everyone is marching earnestly toward the four modernizations today, this restaurant is being run increasingly well. Staff and workers of the whole restaurant are united and help each other; they all work fulltime, disregard their working hours, consciously extend their business period, and think of the customers at each turn. This has not only rendered convenience to the masses of various nationalities, but has also made it possible to have profits submitted to the state. Thus the undertaking has been praised by all concerned. (Bao Jianxing [0202 1696 5887], Guizhou)

Deputy Director Qian Pays Special Visit to A-hong Lin

On the eve of the spring festival this year, Qian Diqian [6929 2107 0578], deputy director of the Political Department of the military units in Kunming, Yunnan Province, led part of the leading comrades of the army, division and regiment headquarters on a special trip to Shadianzhai, where brethren of the Hui nationality of Honghe Zhou live in an enclave, and paid a visit to A-hong Lin Guangwen [2651 0342 2429] in particular.

A-hong Lin happily talked about the development of the collective economy in Shadian and the way the life of the commune members had become gradually progressive and enriched; he praised the strictness with which the garrison units carried out the party's nationality policy and religious policy, the conscious respect they exhibited toward the customs and habits of people of the Hui nationality, and the large amount of work they did to enhance the unity between the soldiers and civilians. Deputy Director Qian, in turn, expressed approval of A-hong Lin's lofty character in showing his care and affection for the soldiers of his own nationality and also thanked the masses of the Hui nationality on behalf of the leading organs of the military units for the conveniences they had rendered to the garrison units in respect to their training, construction work, production and general livelihood; he also thanked brethren of the Hui nationality in Shadian for the noble spirit they had exhibited during the period of our defensive counter-attack against Vietnam in courageously supporting the frontline and warmly comforting our cadre fighters and wounded and sick personnel. A-hong Lin was very thankful for the care shown by leading comrades of the units, indicating that he would set himself up as a good example in doing a good job on supporting the military, so that soldiers and civilians could defend the country's borders in unity and rush toward the four modernizations with a common will and common effort. (Li Wenyi [2621 2429 5030] and Du Bing [2629 0393], Yunnan)

Huochang County Opens Up Prayer Temples and Strengthens Management of Religious Activities

Since the launching of re-education in the nationality policy question in Huochang County, Xinjiang Province, last year the county party committee, while guaranteeing the citizens' freedom of not believing in any religion and of propogating about atheism, also sought seriously to protect the vast ranks of the pious masses in their enjoyment of the legitimate right to engage in religious activities. On the basis of the three principles of facilitating the stability and unity of the pious masses, facilitating the motherland's four modernizations work, the county party committee relevantly solved the question of places for religious activities in localities where pious masses usually gather together. There were restored and opened up altogether 7 prayer temples and 19 activity spots in the county, and this was welcomed by the masses of the Uygur, Hasak, and Hui nationalities who believe in the Islamic religion.

In its work to properly solve the question of places for religious activities, the county party committee paid attention to holding full consultation with the pious masses of various nationalities, so as to elect religious personalities who were both knowledgeable in the religion and patriotic and law-abiding, to serve as A-hongs leading the pravers at those places. As for these prayer-leading A-hongs and well known personalities in the religious circles, the county party committee regularly organized them to study politics and current affairs in order to elevate their ideological consciousness and assure the thorough realization of the party's unity, education and transformation policy.

In order to strengthen the management of religious activities, the county party committee also put down certain concrete regulations, whose main contents include the following: Any religious activity must abide by the governments policies, laws and edicts; no permission is given to the restoration of religious and feudal privileges and oppressive and exploitative systems already repealed; no permission is given to the coercion and deception of non-believing citizens into believing a religion; no permission is given to the impartation of religious ideas to youths and children not yet 18 years of age; Communist Party members and Communist Youth Corps members are not allowed to believe in religion; cadres and teachers must also endeavor to get rid of the constraints of religious ideas. (Song Jiaren [1345 1367 0088], Xinjiang)

Mengcun Party School Gives Courses in Materialism and Atheist Education

Taking advantage of the opportunity of rotational training of teachers of party branches in the countryside by the county party committee school, the United Front Department and Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party's Mengcun Hui Nationality County Committee in Hebei Province has carried out atheist propaganda and education. In response to the characteristic that the scientific and cultural level of students in the countryside is relatively low, and according to the spirit of relevant documents from the superior level and concrete conditions of the county, they undertook to compile and write the colloquial lectures themselves. Their main contents are: the struggle between the two world views of materialism and idealism; the emergence and development of religion and its essence; policy limits that ought to be kept under control in the launching of the atheist education; etc. Through education, the students received an education in materialism, gained fundamental understanding of the origin of religion and the conditions on which its existence and development depend, and gained a further perception of the party's principles and policies concerning religion. The students indicated that when they return to their units they are going to actively carry out atheist propaganda, guide the masses to make a clear demarcation between science and superstition, between materialism and idealism, distinguish the right from the wrong, and elevate people's socialist consciousness. (Zhu Yenqing [4376 1693 7230], Hebei)

9255
CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76609

14 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 126

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76609

14 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 126

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE

Plant Upholds 'Four Unites,' Carries Out Education of Party Members
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 27 Aug 80) 1

Exemplary Vanguard Role of Party Members Developed
(Wang Xiangqing; DAZHONG RIBAO, 27 Aug 80) 4

Party Members Urged To Maintain Close Links With Masses
(Yong Pu; DAZHONG RIBAO, 27 Aug 80) 6

Party Curriculum Addresses Red and Expert Theme
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 17 Jul 80) 9

Guidelines for Correct Conduct by Party Members, Cadres
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 10 Jul 80) 14

Party Education Stressed at Beijing Teachers College
(BEIJING RIBAO, 21 Jul 80) 19

'Foolhardy Practices' Said Detrimental to Production Safety
(Editorial; GONGREN RIBAO, 2 Jul 80) 21

Dismissed Party Cadre Criticized at Mass Meeting
(GONGREN RIBAO, 19 Jul 80) 24

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Shandong Puts Civil Defense Projects to Peacetime Use
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 16 Aug 80) 26

Civil Air Defense, by Wang Jiyuan
Short Commentary

[III - CC - 80]

Expert Devises Land Mine for Use Against Infantry, Paratroopers
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 11 Aug 80) 29

Safety Measures Noted for Militiamen Throwing Live Grenades
(Qu Bingtai; DAZHONG RIBAO, 11 Aug 80) 32

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Second Xinjiang Islamic Congress Held in Urumqi
(ZHONGGUO XINWEN, 7 Jul 80) 34

More Practical Work Needed in Engineering Education
(Sun Zongqi; GUANGMING RIBAO, 26 Aug 80) 35

Reform of System in Institute of Higher Learning Urged
(Wei Chang; BEIJING RIBAO, 21 Aug 80) 39

PARTY AND STATE

PLANT UPHOLDS 'FOUR UNITES,' CARRIES OUT EDUCATION OF PARTY MEMBERS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 80 p 3

[Article: "Uphold the Four Unites and Regularize and Systematize the Education of Party Members"; by the Party Member Education Section of the Provincial Party Committee Propaganda Department on Experiences of the Party Committee at the Jinan Locomotive Plant in Ideological and Political Education of Party Members]

[Text] The party committee at the Jinan Locomotive Plant firmly upheld the method of the "four unites," keeping close links with reality, as they conducted education of party members in ideology and politics on a regular basis, giving full play to the exemplary vanguard role of the broad masses of party members in the four modernizations. Their principle method was:

Firmly Integrate Party Member Education with the Core Operations of the Plant

Last year during "quality month" activities, the party committee at the plant called several mobilization meetings of all party members of the entire plant. The various branch committees set forth concrete demands on party members, and the various party groups conscientiously organized discussions to educate party members to become models in raising production quality. Among the 43 staff and workers who were judged "outstanding quality workers" 18 were party members. This year again, in a move to evaluate quality and award promotions in rank, the party committee established contact with the staff and workers and in seven successive meetings conducted education in the communist ideology of "be the first to bear hardship and the last to enjoy comforts," and also on the policies governing promotion in rank. Over 200 party members throughout the plant offered to step down in rank. At the same time many party members also enthusiastically gave assistance to the party and branch party committees in launching ideological work around the question of adjusting wages, in approaching staff and workers to pour out their souls, to do work among family dependents, insuring a smooth progress of the work of evaluating quality and awarding promotions in rank, thus promoting solidarity between party members and the masses and between cadres and staff and workers. They gained an understanding that integration of the central tasks of the plant with the education launched among party members will constantly provide education with fresh content. They "shot their arrows at the precise targets" hitting deep and with lasting effect, thus insuring completion of the central tasks.

Uphold Mutual Integration of Concentrated Training in Rotation with Education of a Regular Nature

Since last year, this plant has conducted 25 training courses for party members, training 839 party members, i.e. 90 percent of all party members. Through concentrated rotational training party members gained fairly systematically knowledge of the basics of the party, and, one step further, raised their knowledge about the party's character, outline and organizational principles, the rights and obligations of party members, party discipline and the party's excellent tradition and working style. While paying attention to the concentrated training, they also attached extreme importance to the perfection of regular education. On the one hand they strengthened the organizational life of the party, firmly upholding the system of three meetings and one lesson. The leading comrades of the party committee, to set an example and take the lead in attending party classes, effectively held democratic life meetings and set a fine example for the party members. Every party branch should in general maintain a schedule of holding monthly one branch small group meetings, one general meeting of all party members, one party small group meeting and one party training class. On the other hand they established a system of regular reports from party members on their ideological progress. The party branches are to gain regularly an understanding and are to analyze the ideological state of the party members, launch ideological and political work on an individual person and topic basis, and to exert efforts to do a meticulous and perfect job of educational work. Due to regular painstaking ideological and political work by the party branch of the coal and water shop, 15 out of 18 party members of that shop were judged "advanced workers," and this shop was evaluated the most advanced workshop of the entire plant.

Firmly Uphold Linking Evaluation of Excellence and Selection of Models with Aid to Those Who Lag Behind

One important point in the education of party members is stimulation by the example of advanced models, that party members have models to learn from and targets to aim at. In this way those lagging behind will be stimulated to change speedily. Last year 20 party members throughout the plant were adjudged exemplary party members, and the party committee of the plant called on the entire membership and all staff and workers to emulate them. Propaganda was focused on Hu Baofu [5170 1405 4395], model party member, who regularly and without fail throughout 26 years has considered the plant his home, has never absented himself from work with or without leave, and has on all occasions performed the advanced type of action that gave evidence of the leading role of a member of the Communist Party. In the coal and water shop there was an old party member who worked listlessly with little energy. The party branch had several heart-to-heart talks with him. By using the example of Comrade Hu Baofu's advanced performances, they educated him in a helpful way so that he finally again came to radiate the revolutionary vigor of his youth and on his own initiative applied for heavy work in a production team or group. At times he would now even take the lead in sticking out at a job, and in the end he was commended as an advanced worker.

Firmly Uphold Linking Positive Education with Enforcing Party Discipline

In the course of the education of party members, priority must at all times be given by the plant party committee to positive education. The broad masses of party members, especially the leading cadres of the party, should regularly organize repeated study of "Certain Rules Governing Political Activities in the Party," as well as the draft revision of the party constitution, to continuously raise their level of political ideology and exert themselves to achieve the standards set for members of the Communist Party. In the course of studies at the toolshop the branch party committee instituted the pledges as mentioned in the "Rules." They displayed the pledges on the wall to allow a supervision by the masses, to have them regularly compared and checked and finally take effect in direct action.

At the time of conducting positive education the plant party committee shall also carry out conscientious investigation and correction of any unhealthy tendencies that should appear in the party. Since last year nine cases of violation of discipline have been investigated and dealt with. In six of these cases disciplinary action was taken. When the finance section needed more accounting personnel, they did not test candidates to select the best but by "opening the backdoor" admitted eight children of cadres or of so-called related units to the training course. When the plant party committee found it out, they immediately instituted an investigation and dealt with this matter. Their criticism of the party members involved was applauded by the staff and workers of the entire plant. Practice has proven that strict enforcement of party discipline is also an important constituent element of the education of party members.

8453
CSO: 4005

EXEMPLARY VANGUARD ROLE OF PARTY MEMBERS DEVELOPED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Wang Xiangqing [3768 6272 1987]: "In the Work of the Four Modernizations, Play an Exemplary Vanguard Role"]

[Text] The branch party committee at the Li Er production brigade, Guangong Commune, Shouguang City, organized the party members for a conscientious study of specialized knowledge, thus one step further displaying the exemplary vanguard role in the work of the four modernizations.

Following is the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the branch party committee at the Li Er production brigade, apart from firmly maintaining the system of 3 meetings and 1 lesson, specified 2 evenings every month for technical courses for party members to study specialized topics in agriculture and has this fixed as a permanent institution. Before each lesson, the branch party committee determines the study topic, which generally is derived from the actual requirements of the brigade and is based on the scientific agricultural information in selected periodicals and books. Instructors at the courses are mainly educated and technically informed party members of the brigade itself, while scientific and technical staff from higher level departments are also invited to give lectures.

In these studies organized by the branch party committee of the brigade, the party members have so far studied the treatment of summer corn, plant protection and use of chemical fertilizer, use of agricultural chemicals and similar items of agricultural science, thus raising the level of specialized knowledge of 16 party members from out of the entire brigade, which has had an effect in actual production. When various destructive insects, such as aphids, "autumn dogs" and corn locusts infested 550 mu of summer corn of the brigade this autumn, the branch party committee immediately organized study of insect pest control, then had the participants go to the various production teams to lead the masses in a concentrated assault on the insects which very quickly eliminated the insect pest.

They have gained the realization that now in the new situation when the focus of our work has turned to the four modernizations, to organize study of general and scientific knowledge among party members in the key lines of work, meaning for them to become red and expert, is the only way to give full play to the exemplary vanguard role of party members. Editorial Comment: "Exert yourselves in study, try hard to become red and expert," are important provisions of the "Certain Rules Governing Political Life in the Party." The draft revision of the party constitution also lists the study of scientific and general topics, work techniques and professional knowledge as one of the responsibilities of party members. It is therefore an important task in the building up of the party in this new era to effectively organize the study by party members of general and scientific knowledge. To engage in the four modernizations is a substantial undertaking, it requires an understanding of science and relies on genuine ability. A party member who is merely filled with lofty aspirations and great ideals but lacks perfect mastery of specialized knowledge and production techniques will always remain an unprofessional outsider in his particular job and will therefore remain unable to make his due contribution to the four modernizations, therefore also unable to fully play the exemplary vanguard role of a member of the communist party. It is very worthwhile to emulate the method of the branch party committee at the Li Er production brigade, who, in the course of studying implementation of the "Rules" and the draft revision of the party constitution, conscientiously organized the party members to study specialized topics of agricultural science.

8453
CSO: 4005

PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO MAINTAIN CLOSE LINKS WITH MASSES

Jinen DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Yong Pu [3057 3877]: "Communist Party Members Must Maintain Close Links with the Masses"]

[Text] "To maintain close links with the masses, to discuss new problems with the masses, lend support to the rights and interests of the masses, respect the special knowledge of the masses and their rationalization proposals, listen with an open mind to the criticism and demands of the masses and to transmit these immediately to the party," this is the sixth paragraph of duties demanded of members of the Communist Party in the draft revision of the party constitution.

Our party faithfully represents the interests of the peoples of all nationalities. The character of our party and its tasks determine that the party must maintain with the masses an intimate closeness that is forever as inseparable as fish and water. In the course of our protracted revolutionary struggle our party has built up an excellent tradition and workstyle of maintaining close links with the masses. In the war years the masses risked their lives to protect party members and cadres, and there have been equally innumerable instances where party members and cadres sacrificed their lives in rescuing and protecting the masses. After the establishment of our present government, it was due to the fact that our party became the party in power that some members of the party and some cadres did not show the same intimacy and friendliness in their relations with the masses. Especially during the 10 years of great turmoil, serious damage was inflicted on the excellent tradition and workstyle of our party in respect to its links with the masses. In order to restore the party's excellent tradition and workstyle, the draft revision of the party constitution stipulates, most necessarily, that close linkage with the masses is an imperative duty of every member of the party. This is an important guarantee for a successful realization of the four modernizations.

Close linkage with the masses requires consultation of the masses whenever a new problem arises. Still we often meet comrades in our party who consider themselves most brilliant, who don't follow the road of the masses in their work, who act on their own and order other people about, who force the masses to do what they don't want to do and who as a result do great undeserved harm to the party's cause. From now on this workstyle will certainly have to change. "Three cobblers with their wits combined equal one Zhuge Liang." Among the masses there are thousands of Zhuge Liangs. Consultation with the masses on any new problem is the only way to overcome any difficulty and to effectively accomplish our work.

Close linkage with the masses will protect the rights and interests of the masses. To serve the people with heart and soul is the purpose of our party. Every word and every action by a member of the Communist Party must conform with the greatest benefit for the broadest masses of the people, and must have as its highest norm the support by the broadest masses of the people. A member of the Communist Party must therefore respect the democratic rights of the people, and with regard to their material life he must firmly protect the interests of the masses. Those party members who show no solicitude for the life of the masses, for their pains and hardships, and that small minority of party members who even go so far as to violate the interests of the masses, must all be subjected to criticism and education, and those who stubbornly refuse to reform must be subjected to criticism and education, and those who stubbornly refuse to reform must be subjected to disciplinary punishment.

Close linkage with the masses means to show respect for the special knowledge and rationalization proposals of the masses. The construction of socialism and the realization of the four modernizations require a high degree of general and scientific knowledge; they require well-qualified men who are capable of mastering various kinds of specialized knowledge. To stifle or suppress talent is a criminal act. Every member of the Communist Party, each at his particular workplace, must therefore conscientiously respect the special knowledge of the masses, must on his own initiative accept the rationalization proposals of the masses, and boldly recommend to the party organization any outstanding talent who shows special knowledge and leadership ability, to have him promoted to work in a leadership position, and thus contribute his intelligence and ability to the construction of socialism and the realization of the four modernizations.

Close links with the masses also has the meaning of listening with an open mind to, and reflect, the criticism and demands of the masses. A member of the Communist Party must be an intimate friend of the masses, become one with the masses, must be supported by the masses, must immediately report to the party organization any criticism and demands of the masses, must become a bridge and bond in the linkage between the party and the masses. He must under no circumstances stand high above the masses, act as lord and master, ignore in silence, or remain apathetic to the criticism, demands and voices of the masses, nor even less turn a deaf ear to the justified criticism and demands of the masses, or even try to reataliate against them, giving anyone "small shoes to wear." That would certainly be cutting one's self off from the masses and turning into the opposite direction.

Our great historical mission of constructing socialism and of realizing the four modernizations demands of all members of the Communist Party that they maintain close links with the masses and exert themselves to be representatives of the masses; by means of the exemplary workstyle of Communist Party members, have the masses rally round the party and have everyone work hard and struggle to accomplish the cause of the party.

8453
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY CURRICULUM ADDRESSES RED AND EXPERT THEME

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 July 1980 p 3

[Article, "Study Hard, Become Both Red and Expert"]

[Text] Study Hard, become both red and expert is the final topic in this series of lectures from the party's training course material. Being the last topic doesn't mean its not an important one. Quite the opposite. In a certain sense this lecture is even more important, because once the party line is determined, the cadres are the decisive factor. Building a rank of cadre who uphold the socialist road and have expertise and ability is an important prerequisite for carrying out the party's political line and expediting the four modernization projects, and it is also a pressing, major political task confronting the entire party.

Communist Party members should become the vanguard warriors for implementing the four modernizations and must study hard to become both red and expert. Speaking of both red and expert, it invariably reminds us of a discussion of the many profitable experiences of the older generation of revolutionaries. Comrade Chen Yi once made up an analogy for young people. He said: "A pilot for example, having no feelings for the motherland and the people, nor any conciousness of socialism, will fly to the enemy's side as soon as he takes off, so how can you let this kind of a person fly a plane? However, another pilot, determined to defend and to sacrifice for the motherland, will never fly to the enemy's side; but, as his skills are poor, will invariably be shot down by the enemy as soon as he takes off, so what's the sense in having a pilot like this either? For this reason, skill alone, without politics won't do, and politics alone, without skill won't do either." Comrade Peng Dehuai gave a very interesting talk to the troops during the War of Liberation. He said: The mastery of one's profession is very important! One very important reason that our millet plus rifles defeated HU Zongnan [5170 1350 0589], was our mastery of this rifle. Haven't you read THE INSEPERABLES [6647 3883 1152]? Dou Erdun [4535 1422 2415] had stronger skills than Huang Tian [7806 1131], but when Huang Tian stole his tiger-headed sickle and replaced it with a broad sword, Dou Erdun no longer dared to compete with him. Why? Because he was not proficient with it. These two revolutionary forefathers used extremely vivid analogies, and illustrated that red and expert is a dialectical unity. Being expert is naturally not the equivalent of being red, but being red certainly demands being expert. If you are defeated in combat because you are not knowledgeable nor an expert, can you honestly say that this is being red?

At present, we are in the process of implementing the four modernizations. The four modernizations we are implementing are socialist modernizations, not capitalist modernizations. Each and everyone of our communist party members must uphold the socialist road. This is a prerequisite. After smashing the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session, the entire line, direction, and all the policies set forth by the Party Central Committee are vivid manifestations of the socialist road under our nation's present-day conditions. For this reason, the current predominant feature in upholding the socialist road is the resolute support and concientious carrying out of these lines, directions, policies, and a continued opposition to those types of mistaken inclinations which are skeptical of, and resist the Party Central Committee's political, ideological, and organizational lines since the 3rd plenum. But can this alone be enough to expedite the four modernization projects? It cannot! We must still acquire the various types of expertise and professional competence that correspond with the modernization projects. It is clear to all that the grand goal for realizing the four modernizations is a much more complicated, formidable, and awesome undertaking than that of the previous Revolutionary War and the economic construction of the fifties. In the past, it was alright to go into battle armed with only millet plus rifles, and an understanding of how to fire, bayonet, and throw a hand grenade. Its not the same today: the Army, Navy, and the Air Force must have modernized expertise in all its various military branches. If you don't study and acquire this expertise, can you fight well in a modernized war on sheer consciousness and courage alone? You can't! That's the way it is in combat, and the same applies in industry, agriculture, business, and education. We can explain it this way, the greatest obstacle to implementing the four modernizations is not the lack of a first rate technology and equipment, but rather the lack of a first rate rank of cadres, capable of grasping modern technology and organizing modern mass production. Therefore, if a Communist Party member does not have real ability and learning, nor the expertise and competence for the four modernizations, even though he has a very strong enthusiasm for the four modernizations, he will not be able to make the proper contributions, and may even end up playing an adverse role. If that's the case, you vanguard warriors of the proletariat might as well be stamped with a large question mark. As long as there are communist party members and cadres with a firm political direction and the ability to adapt to the modernization projects, there will be Communist Party members who can meet the qualifications, and there will be leading cadres who are worthy of fulfilling their positions.

Someone asked, hasn't it been said that "laymen are capable of leading experts"? That's right. In 1957, to counter the slogan of "laymen cannot lead experts" espoused by a handful of rightists to negate the party leadership, Comrade Mao Zedong penetratingly pointed out: "The rightist say we cannot lead. 'laymen cannot lead experts'. We refute the rightists and say that we can lead. We are the capable ones when it comes to politics." He also went on to point out: "It won't do either, to be concerned only with politics and not know about the technical professions. All our comrades should do some study on technology and the professions." That is to say; even though we may be ignorant of a particular profession, or don't know enough about it, we are still the experts in politics, and we are the ones capable of leading in the fields of politics, policy, ideology and organization. But this is not to say that it's alright to be ignorant about the professions and scientific technology. Politics and professions are the unities of opposites. The political tasks are realized through the concrete professional work or the various political work must be carried out in the professions. Politics devoid of professions can only be empty politics, and this kind of empty politics is harmful and unprofitable to the revolution and to construction. As a matter of fact, this being a layman for a long time and having to be a leader too, gives rise to two types of situations: One is where you think of yourself as leading, when in fact you're being led; you can't see that you're just giving orders all day, not giving your full attention to the concrete problems that may arise, and are only capable of managing according to someone else's ideas. If this isn't being led, what is? The other type is pretending to know when you don't, issuing blind commands are given, breaking economic rules, and causing tremendous losses in operations. Would you consider this exercising correct leadership? We already have had too many bitter experiences and lessons in this regard, and "a fall in the pit" should serve as "gain in the wit." We have never been able to be content to be "roughnecks" [1129 5071 4723], who don't study, are unskilled, and are willing laymen. It must be understood that the cadres who have been satisfied with being laymen for quite some time are intoxicated by their political empty talk, and will never be able to run to the country and can only harm her.

Every Communist Party member, in seeking to make a greater contribution to the four modernization projects, ought to devote time and energy to two areas: continually raising of his level of awareness, and striving to attain the skills for the four modernization projects. The works and deeds of Comrade Luo Ronghuan, who for a long time was responsible for the political work of leading units, are very inspiring to us all. During his life, he always stressed that political work cadres should not only understand politics, but the military and the professions as well. He said, if the political cadres are laymen in respect to the military and the professions, then the political work fall into generalities, and won't permeate and play a role in all areas. During the war years, when he was a director of a political department and a political department and a political commissar, he went to the headquarters operations office daily to read and study the military situation reports, and urged the political organs to show concern for the fighting, and made himself combat-oriented.

In March 1942, during a political work session of the 115th Division, convened and presided over by Luo Shuai [5012 1596], in addition to studying political work, he specialized in conducting military technical training and immensely raised the political cadre's technical level and their ability to command operations. Many comrades subsequently became outstanding military commanders. Comrades, Comrade Luo Ronghuan is one who specialized and engaged in unit political work, yet he laid such emphasis on being adept at military functions, and studying military techniques, its no wonder that the great number of Communist Party cadres directly involved in industry, agriculture, the vocations, and cultural education would never be satisfied being a layman again. The broad mass of party members and cadres should energetically strive to acquire genuine skills for the work of the four modernizations, make themselves into experts, and effectively strengthen and improve the party's leadership.

If that's the case, can one become a professional and be both red and expert? Our answer to that is yes! Comrade Peng Dehuai is an example. He was in the midst of bitter and prominent party struggles for several decades, enjoyed a great reputation as a military scientist both at home and abroad, and was regarded by the Chinese peoples as an honorable and distinguished general. On the Northwest battlefield during the War of Liberation, confronted with an enemy force ten times larger, he miraculously decreased the enemy, and wrote a glorious chapter for the Chinese revolution, which was hailed by the people as a "spectacle of war full of power and grandeur." But old Peng was born in poverty and had only two years of schooling when he was young. He had to study assiduously, alone and unaided, attended middle school through studying books, mastered the military profession, and became a distinguished military commander. Even in the critical war environment, old Peng always carried, in a tin document box, the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, ancient and modern military treatises, LU Xun's works, as well as other famous classical and literary works. He would often read at night by candlelight, lose sleep, and forget to eat, and once during a road march, caught himself totally absorbed reading while mounted on a horse, and gave out with a resounding laugh. He once jokingly told someone: "Your humble servant is but an old student with just two and a half years of schooling. The struggle is becoming so difficult, and the party's tasks are mounting so fast, it won't do not to study." These words expressed it so well! In these days we must change ourselves from laymen into professionals in the course of work on the four modernizations, and similarly, the only way out is to study. Since this period, our party has started to adopt various effective measures to strengthen the cadre's professional studies. For example, every level of the party schools, aside from studying Marxist theory and the Party's line, direction, and policies, offers studies in scientific technology and related professional knowledge, runs different types of cadre schools, holds various kinds of training classes and sets up scheduled rotating training for the cadres and so on. However, we should get rid of any ideas of waiting and dependency, bring subjective activity into play, study diligently and well, learn from books, the masses, and all the experts, and gradually transform ourselves from laymen into experts.

As a matter of fact, since the founding of the People's Republic, we have had a very large contingent of communist party member cadres transferred to the economic, scientific technological, cultural and educational, and other fronts, who, responding to the call of the Party Central Committee, took the experts as teachers, studied diligently and painstakingly, relied on their own effort, and within a very short period of time, were transformed into specialists who understood the party's directions, and policies, were good in performing ideological work, and had fully mastered their professions. The experiences of these comrades illustrates that learning scientific technology and professional knowledge is on the same par as learning how to fight used to be, for "there is nothing too difficult for the people, for they can even manage to pursue advanced studies as long as they set the their minds to it, and are good at learning." Each and every one of our communist party members ought to have this kind of confidence, study hard, and continuously advance in a direction that's both red and expert.

9703
CSO: 4005

GUIDELINES FOR CORRECT CONDUCT BY PARTY MEMBERS, CADRES

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 80 p 4

[Article: "Accept the Supervision of the Party and the Masses; Don't Go in for Special Privileges"]

[Text] In this lecture, we will talk about an important problem of correcting the party's style. That is, accepting the supervision of the party and the masses and not going in for special privileges.

During the long-term revolutionary struggle and construction tasks, our proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation worked earnestly and assiduously, never sought private gain, played an exemplary role everywhere by faring and sharing alike with the masses for better or for worse, and thus won the high confidence and love from the hearts of the people. Let us now tell a story of how Comrade Chen Yi made a strict demand of his relative by forbidding him to go in for special privileges. At the initial stage of liberation, when Comrade Chen Yi was mayor of Shanghai, his father-in-law came to visit him and stayed many days. He told [his wife], Comrade Zhang Qian [1728 5409]: "We are now still using the ration system, and whatever we eat or use is limited by law. If your father stays too long, our nation's income will be affected. It would be better to let him go back home." But Comrade Zhang Qian's father could not follow this reasoning and thought that, since Comrade Chen Yi was a mayor, why could he not stay longer? Comrades Chen and Zhang then did some persuasion and said: "The cadres of the Communist Party render services to the people and are different from the Kuomintang officials. The higher their positions, the more they should take the lead. In this way they will be supported by the people, the nation will be prosperous, and our revolutionary causes will be hopeful." Through patient persuasion, the old man was finally convinced to go back home. How well Comrade Chen Yi had done. At a time when our party was just taking over as the ruling party, Comrade Chen Yi by his own actions showed all the party comrades that Communist Party cadres are completely different from the Kuomintang officials. They have a responsibility to render services to the people earnestly and assiduously, and do not have the right to go in for special [privileges]. Each of our Communist Party members should follow the example of Comrade Chen Yi and consider whether he or she is going in for special privileges; this is an important matter of principle related to the question of whether it is possible for our party to maintain its proletarian vanguard character. That is, [each member] must keep from changing from a "public servant of society" into an "official" who is one class higher than the people. Especially today, history has entered a new era, and only the party's leadership is to be relied on for the satisfactory progress of construction of the four modernizations. Party cadres at all levels should more earnestly accept the supervision of the party and the masses, learn and develop the glorious tradition of being happy to serve the people, use the power vested in them by the party and the people to benefit society, wipe out all conduct of special privileges, and devote themselves to the construction of the four modernizations.

We all know that China was a feudalistic society for several thousand years. This society had a very severe gradation of classes, made a clear distinction between high and low, and observed such creeds as "Respect the superior, despise the inferior, treat the emperor as emperor, and treat ministers as ministers"; "The intellectuals rule the people, the manual laborers are ruled by the people"; "Respect is not to be shown to the common people, punishment is not to be imposed on the high officials"; etc. Thus, the feudal ruling class protected the various kinds of special privileges they enjoyed politically and in their daily life. After liberation, we thoroughly destroyed the feudalist land ownership system, but it is not easy to have feudalistic ideologies retreat from the stage of history. Especially during the 10 tumultuous years, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went in for feudalist autocracy in a big way. Politically, they declared themselves kings or leaders; in their daily lives, they lived in an extremely extravagant manner. Feudalistic special privileges were thus developed to the peak, and our party's fine workstyle was thus seriously damaged. As a result, this bad feudalistic habit still is prevalent in places, and a great effort is required to oppose and criticize it. Furthermore, it should be seen clearly that in our communist and socialist country, the relationship among the people is an entirely new kind that is incompatible with any feudalistic special privileges. People's positions may be high or low, but these are only the different divisions of labor, and there should be no difference of superior and inferior, of high and low. Each Communist Party member, especially the party's leading cadres, must consider going in for special privileges to be the greatest shame and to be conduct that brings disaster to the party and nation. As early as the period of the anti-Japanese war, Ye Ting [0673 2185], commander of the New Fourth Army, once went out on official mission with an aide and asked the aide to dine with him on the same table. Comrade Ye Ting said: "An aide and a general are only different divisions of work; they have the same objective--to fight the Japanese and protect the nation. Today we eat at the same table, and we should do the same thing after the victory of the revolution!" In receiving dung collector Shi Chuanxiang [2514 0278 4382] in October 1959, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "By collecting dung, you are an orderly of the people. I, as the chairman, am also an orderly of the people. This is only a difference in the revolutionary division of work, and all are indispensable parts of the revolutionary cause." These two elder revolutionaries had clearly and thoroughly explained that our Communist Party members, no matter how high their positions and how great their contributions, are members in a society of equality, and should have the attitude of treating people equally. The position of ruling party enables many of our comrades to control a very great deal of power and have many advantageous conditions. If attention is not paid to strengthening the formation and training of party spirit and to opposing feudalistic special privileges, then there will be a serious separation from the masses and even a deterioration in character.

Some comrades frequently consider that going in for special privileges is only a problem of individual workstyle which has nothing to do with the general situation, and that it is unnecessary to be so easily astonished, or to make much ado about nothing. This kind of thinking is not right! Our revolution and construction are tasks of the millions and millions of masses. Whether Communist Party members go in for special privileges is an important matter having to do with whether we can unite and lead the masses to struggle and win the victory of revolution and construction. During the years of revolutionary warfare, cadres of our party and the revolutionary political power fared and shared alike with the masses for better or for worse, were trusted in times of trouble, and "with salt, everybody shared the taste; without salt, everybody shared the tastelessness"--thus forming a harmonious whole. This was the basic assurance that our party had overcome all difficulties and defeated Japanese imperialism and the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang. during the 3-year period of economic difficulties, our party's leading cadres of various levels, together with the masses, self-consciously engaged in bitter struggles and took the lead in saving and cutting back. In those years, Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou very often stopped eating meat and eggs and ate miscellaneous cereals. Comrade Peng Dehuai reduced his ration on his own, taking only 18 jin per month.... By their own exemplary actions, they united the majority of the masses and satisfactorily won the battle against natural calamities and manmade disasters, and the national economy rapidly recovered in a short time. At present, we are engaged in the struggle for realization of the four modernizations. Granted that our material foundation is much better than that in the revolutionary warfare period, and than that in the "yiwu" and the "erwu" construction periods, but because of the 10 years of damage inflicted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" we still have many difficulties in various aspects, and we still need for the whole nation to pull together, fare and share alike for better or for worse, and engage in hard struggle. If our leading cadres are zealous in seeking personal special privileges, stretching out their hands and looking diligently for power, position, pay, and material comfort, then they will be separated from the masses, lower the dignity of the party, and suppress and hurt the enthusiasm of the majority of the cadres and the masses, thus affecting the construction of the four modernizations. Is this to be considered a small matter? Our party members and cadres, therefore, should be determined to engage in a long-term bitter struggle, firmly eradicate all kinds of bad styles, and further promote and develop the spirit of arduously fostering the cause.

Some comrades might say that opposing specialization is a matter for high-level cadres, and that there is no need for concern with basic-level cadres like them. This kind of view is not right, either. No matter how great or how small the cadre is, he has control of certain amount of power and has the problem of how to exercise that power. Cases of seeking special treatment for oneself and one's own children by taking advantage of one's official powers have occurred among higher cadres as well as among basic cadres, and the only difference is in the ways they were expressed. As far as the consequences are concerned, this kind of working method is detrimental to the close relationship with the masses and to the construction tasks of the four modernizations. Therefore, our party members and cadres, no matter whether they are on the higher or lower levels, should pay attention to preventing and opposing specialization. Certainly, when we oppose going in for special privileges, we are not going in for absolute parity. Our party's leading cadres at all levels bear heavy responsibility for their various tasks. Their working conditions have a great influence on the tasks of the whole party and nation. It is right to provide the leaders with some reasonably convenient conditions and to insure their safety, and this will be understood and agreed upon by the majority of the masses. However, these necessary attentions should originate from the needs of the work, and there should not be too much difference from the actual living conditions at present. Every cadre is prohibited from going in for special privileges in a big way, with the motive of "patronage." Recently, the party Central Committee set forth specific regulations for the living conditions of leading personnel at various levels. This is entirely necessary. Our leading comrades at various levels should self-consciously observe these regulations. It is prohibited to use public funds in violation of regulations to entertain and send gifts, prohibited to approve money and materials in violation of financial and economic disciplines, prohibited to act in disregard of what is one's own and what is public, to gain private ends from public causes or from public money, to embezzle and spend lavishly funds and materials which belong to the nation or to an organization, etc. At the same time, in connection with the education of one's own children and other relatives, it is necessary to pay special attention to one's conduct and not use one's official powers to seek special attention for them in enrolling in schools, joining the party, promotion, and placement, etc.

In order to effectively oppose special privileges and to prevent public servants from becoming officials riding on the heads of the people, our party's leading cadres at all levels must self-consciously accept the supervision of the party and the masses. In addition to earnestly carrying out such systems for the cadres as examinations, awards and punishments, rotation of jobs, discharges, etc, and to hearing at specific times the opinions and comments of the party members and the masses at the units where they belong, every party member, no matter how high or low his position, must belong to a party branch or a group of the party, participating in the party's organizational life. We cannot have special party members who do not participate in the party's organizational life and who do not accept the supervision of the masses from within and without the party. Party organizations and the masses should supervise party members and cadres so as to know whether they are learning in earnest and are thoroughly carrying out the party's line, guiding principles, and policies; whether they are observing party discipline and the laws of the nation; whether they are insisting on the party's fine tradition and workstyle;, whether they are seeking special privileges; whether they are playing an exemplary role in production, work, study and struggle against enemies; and whether they have a close relationship with the masses and are seeking the benefits for the people. Only if party members and cadres forever place themselves among the masses and accept the supervision of the party and the masses can they make themselves public servants who are wholeheartedly rendering services to the people.

9503
CSO: 4005

PARTY EDUCATION STRESSED AT BEIJING TEACHERS COLLEGE

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 80 p 2

[Article: "Teachers' College Party Committee Purposefully Carries Out Party Lecture Education"]

[Text] The party committee of Beijing Teachers College has proceeded from actual conditions, made its overall planning and arrangements, taken party lecture education as the main means, and again educated party members to raise their level of Marxism-Leninism.

Recently, at various levels arranged for more documents than usual for study in the party. The party committee of the Teachers College proceeded from actual conditions, took party lecture education as the main means, set down special topics separately, culled the relevant sections from all the documents and assembled them according to the special topics for study and discussion, and solved practical problems within the party in a planned way by aiming at these problems. This way of doing things has produced fairly good results and has been well received by the broad party members.

As an initial step, they stipulated eight special topics of party lecture education, namely: 1. "How To Be a Qualified Communist"; 2. "The Nature and Task of the Party"; 3. "Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought Constitute the Guiding Thought of Our Party"; 4. "Communists Should Uphold the Centralized Unity of the Party and Strictly Observe Party Discipline"; 5. "Communists Should Set Themselves as Examples of Stability and Unity"; 6. "Communists Should Firmly Establish the World Outlook of Dialectical Materialism, and Follow the Line of Awareness and the Line of Work by Seeking Truth From Facts and by Proceeding From Actual Conditions in All Matters"; 7. "Communists Should Serve the People Heart and Soul"; and 8. "Communists Should Set Themselves as Examples of Criticism and Self-Criticism." They have adopted as basic teaching materials the Communique of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," the "Draft of the Revised Party Constitution," "Fundamental Knowledge About the Party," Comrade Deng Xiaoping's "Current Situation and Tasks," and Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "On the Self-Cultivation of a Communist." In party lecture education, it is necessary not only to explain systematically the fundamental knowledge about the party but also to apply theory to reality, to integrate organically the study of fundamental knowledge about the party with the transformation of one's world outlook, and in particular to solve such problems as straightening out the ideological line, strengthening one's sense of responsibility to the party, strengthening organizational discipline, and playing the exemplary vanguard role of a communist. After the party lecture, a discussion is conducted as a regular activity of the party in connection with the people's actual thinking. For instance, on the topic of "How To Be a Qualified Communist," the lecture deals with the party's program and with the qualifications for being a communist. In connection with people's actual thinking, the discussion touches upon individualist thinking as exposed in the evaluation of one's work and wages, teaches party members to develop the spirit of seeking neither fame nor gain and to be first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, and commends party members who have expressed themselves well. When there is a contradiction between private interests and the interests of the party and state, members are required to serve unconditionally the interests of the party and state. In carrying out regular party activities, the party members are guided to discuss such questions as: "How far do you lag behind the requirements of the party?" "What have you done to manage relations between the interests of the party, the state, the collective and the individuals?" and "How do you explain that the interests of the party are above everything?" From the study and discussion, they come to understand what they must do before they can become a qualified communist.

In the past 3 months they have held three party lecture sessions. Through party lecture education, the broad party members have intensified their party spirit, and there have appeared a number of party members who have played their exemplary role fairly well. The party committee at the college has also trained cadres who are members of the party, and has successively run three study terms for training party branch secretaries in rotation. In the present term, cadres at the party branch secretary level have basically completed their rotational training. The committee has even set up a "study day" system, whereby the secretaries and members of the party general branch committee get together once a week to study the "guiding principles" and other documents, to elevate their Marxist-Leninist theoretical level and administrative ability, and to further improve and strengthen the leadership of the party.

9039
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'FOOLHARDY PRACTICES' SAID DETRIMENTAL TO PRODUCTION SAFETY

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jul 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Respect Science and Oppose Foolhardy Practice"]

[Text] Serious accidents, numerous casualties, and great economic damage and loss are a prominent problem at present in industrial production. Many things account for such occurrences; however, having no respect for science and believing only in foolhardy practice constitute one of the important reasons for the accidents.

The explosion of a boiler in the Shaoyang Municipal Standard Weights and Measures Factory, Hunan Province, reported in our paper today, was the result of foolhardy practice. However, some people just wouldn't learn a lesson and insisted on saying: "By relying upon foolhardy practice we worked our way out." Though such arguments came from the mouths of only few cadres, an analysis of a large number of accidents reveals that there is no lack of such cadres with this kind of thinking. This kind of thinking is very harmful. Now is the time to stop foolhardy practice.

What is foolhardy practice? It means not paying attention to science and not acting in accordance with objective laws. Objective laws are independent of man's will. Whoever goes against them not only cannot attain his subjectively desired goal but will be punished. Speaking about the boiler, those who have some common technical knowledge understand that there is steam pressure inside a boiler, so that it must be strong enough to withstand this pressure. No matter who goes against this law, the boiler will explode. However, some of our comrades who haven't got the least bit of technical knowledge themselves refused to listen to the opinion of the workers and the technicians, even refused to obey the warnings and restrictions of the government departments concerned, and persisted in their foolhardy practice. Some comrades, having received high quotas from the higher level, did not report the real situation or give their own views by seeking truth from facts, tried obediently to fulfill [the quotas], persisted in risking the equipment and the workers' health, even took no heed of the labor policy of our Communist Party and socialism, exposed the workers to the danger of death, and still considered themselves courageous. After the smashing of the "gang of four," under the repeated instructions of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, many comrades have begun to pay serious attention to production safety. Nevertheless, there are still those who have not yet overcome the evil influence of the ultraleft thinking spread by the "gang of four" on the industrial front, and who still wrongly believe that their present achievements came from foolhardy practice. As a matter of fact, whatever relies on foolhardy practice can never gain success. Sometimes it may gain a temporary success, but it cannot last long; sooner or later it will flop. Vigor is necessary, but foolhardy practice without paying attention to science is sheer stupidity and should not be repeated. Severely criticizing the subjectivism of not acting according to objective laws, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Such subjective methods, which oppose science and Marxism-Leninism, are the great enemy of the Communist Party, of the working class, of the people, and of the nation, and are a sign of an impure party spirit. A formidable enemy stands before us, and we must topple him.

In industrial production, where is the line of demarcation between foolhardy practice and otherwise? A very important point is seeing whether or not you are carrying out strictly the policies and regulations on safety in production and civilized production. From practical production over a long period of time, people have accumulated a rich experience which is summed up and improved to form a set of rules and regulations to be used for the guidance of production activities. These rules and regulations have not come easily; some of them have been paid for with blood. They represent the people's knowledge of objective laws at the present stage. We should cherish them dearly and follow them. They tell us what is right and what is wrong in doing things, and what is prohibited. An analysis of the large number of accidents shows that most of these accidents could have been avoided entirely; 70 to 80 percent of them were caused by operations and orders in violation of rules and regulations. We must educate the broad cadres and workers in observing rules and discipline, and resolutely put an end to giving orders and working against rules and regulations. Of course, rules and regulations are not always hard and fast. They will continually be perfected with the continuous accumulation of people's experience in production and the further progress of science and technology.

In actual practice, some leaders considered foolhardy cadres "praiseworthy" and "likable." Accidents and deaths caused by foolhardy actions were not investigated. Sometimes, these cases ended up with nothing definite and were not duly dealt with according to law; major cases were dealt with as if they were minor offenses, and guilty persons not only received no punishment but were even promoted to more responsible jobs. This is a very wrong tendency. It should be pointed out that foolhardy cadres cannot be considered good cadres. They are unable to accomplish anything but are liable to spoil everything. If our comrades are content to be permanently laymen and persist in acting blindly, they will make things worse. In his speech at the celebration of the 30th anniversary of National Day, Comrade Ye Jianying pointed out: "Our cadres, and especially the leading cadres at all levels, must strive to acquire the necessary scientific knowledge and skill. It is impossible to give competent leadership to efforts at modernization if one does not study hard and acquire scientific knowledge."

To carry out the four modernizations successfully and help the broad workers sustain their enthusiasm continuously and fully, we must attach great importance to this subject of safety in production and civilized production, and should not continue to ignore it. Those bureaucrats who persist in acting blindly and cause serious accidents with heavy casualties must be investigated seriously. Those who have caused casualties and serious damage and violated criminal laws must be punished by law, without any tolerance. The trade union must resolutely defend the rights of workers for safety in production and civilized production, and they must learn to use law as the weapon in the struggle against the serious phenomenon of ignoring the safety and health of workers in the course of production. Meanwhile, it is necessary to strengthen propaganda and education, know how to mobilize the masses, conduct mass activities for supervision of safety, organize the masses to put forward rational suggestions for labor protection, help the enterprise administrations to adopt the necessary measures for technical organization, and fundamentally improve working conditions.

Let us replace foolhardy practice with scientific knowledge, enhance our consciousness, reduce blindness, and enable the workers, under conditions of safety in production and civilized production, to work happily in body and mind for the four modernizations of our motherland!

9039
CSO: 4005

DISMISSED PARTY CADRE CRITICIZED AT MASS MEETING

Beijing GONGRAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Tangshan Municipal Party Committee Deals Severely With Guo Huichuan's Mistake of Pampering His Son"]

[Text] Comrade Guo Huichuan [6753 1920 1557], deputy secretary of the Discipline Inspection Committee of the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee, trying to shield his son who had committed serious mistakes, had the impudence to take advantage of his position and power and carried out certain irregular activities in the party. In this case, a few leading cadres of Tangshan Municipality disregarded party principles and acted as "bureaucrats shielding one another." After our paper reported the case on 18 June, it immediately drew the serious attention of various quarters. To strictly enforce party discipline, the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee made the decision, with the approval of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee, to dismiss Guo Huichuan from his position as deputy secretary of the Municipal Discipline Inspection Committee, and to give a disciplinary warning within the party to comrades Mo Geng [1075 5087], second secretary of the Municipal Discipline Inspection Committee, and Ren Gujian [0117 6253 0256], vice chairman of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

On 17 July, HEBEI RIBAO prominently featured on its first page the decision of the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee and a report by the Tangshan Municipal joint Investigation Group on the mistakes of Comrade Guo Huichuan in pampering his son and of some leading cadres of Tangshan Municipality in acting in collaboration to persecute the family of a girl, and it explained in detail the facts of this case. HEBEI RIBAO also published an editorial under the title "Learn a Lesson From the Case of Guo Huichuan, Who Pampered His Son and Undermined Party Style." The editorial pointed out that Comrade Guo Huichuan, in his capacity as deputy secretary of the Discipline Inspection Committee of the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee, shielded his son who had made mistakes, and also persecuted the family of a girl. Of course, this was a distinct mistake which the party discipline could not tolerate. If such acts in violation of the rules and constitution of the party are not severely dealt with, how can we enforce party discipline?: How can we assuage popular indignation and convince the people?: The Provincial Party

Committee approved the decision of the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee to deal severely with Guo Huichuan and other comrades. This reflects the determination of our party to resolutely enforce the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and restore and further develop the fine traditions and style of the party, which will receive the support of all party members and the broad cadres and masses. The editorial also pointed out that the idea of "being well-matched in social and economic status" for children's marriage exposed Comrade Guo Huichuan's serious feudal mentality of special privileges.... If a responsible cadre in charge of the work of inspection of party discipline still maintained such feudal ideas of special privilege, how could he wage a firm struggle against the style of seeking special privileges and all unhealthy trends and evil practices? It was entirely necessary for the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee to dismiss him from all his posts on the Discipline Inspection Committee. It was an education for Comrade Guo Huichuan, and it is also an education for all comrades who are still contaminated by the feudal ideas of special privilege.

To combat the bad influence, the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee also decided to hold a mass meeting at the Huaxin textile mill and to instruct comrades Guo Huichuan, Mo Geng, and Gujian to criticize themselves at the meeting and listen to the criticism and advice of the broad staff members and workers of the Huaxin textile mill. At the meeting [the Municipal Party Committee] will announce the decision for dealing with Guo Huichuan and other comrades and, at the same time, commend the cadres and staff members and workers of the party committee and youth league committee of the Huaxin textile mill and the public security branch office of Lubei Ward who had struggled against the mistakes committed by Guo Huichuan and other comrades.

9039
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHANDONG PUTS CIVIL DEFENSE PROJECTS TO PEACETIME USE

Civil Air Defense

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by Wang Jiyuan [3769 7139 6678]: "Many Units in Our Province Carry Out a Policy of Integrating Peacetime and Wartime Needs in Building Civil Air Defense Projects In Order To Serve Both Production and Life"]

[Text] Since the beginning of this year, many units in our province have carried out the policy of integrating peacetime and wartime needs in building civil air defense projects, making use of those already completed for the construction of the four modernizations and for service to the people's life. This policy has been fairly effective.

There are many advantages to using idle, unused civil air defense projects and facilities for production sites, warehouses, restaurants, inns, and places of culture and recreation, thus integrating peacetime and wartime needs. 1. It alleviates the difficulty of insufficient production sites in the city. In the past, vegetable shops in the Dongfeng Market of Qingdao, because there were no other sites, normally piled up their vegetables at the sides of streets, a practice which not only led to losses from mildew but also adversely affected the city's appearance and hygiene, and the shop owners were fined many times. Since the beginning of this year, the shop owners have stored their vegetables in nearby underground projects, thereby reducing their losses and increasing their income. 2. It can both develop production and increase the income of the units concerned and provide amenities for the life of the masses. In the past, workers of the printing and dyeing mill in the western suburb of Jining City found it somewhat difficult to attend motion picture theaters.

After they transformed a civil air defense project into a theater, 230 films were shown in it from January to June, bringing in an income of over 200,000 yuan. Yanzhou County utilizes underground projects for the cultivation of mushrooms, edible fungi, and glossy ganoderma. It has already produced 700 jin of mushrooms, and the edible fungi and glossy ganoderma are growing well. 3. It is of advantage in finding employment for youths waiting for jobs. The neighborhood committees of Yantai City utilizes an underground civil air defense project as a restaurant that is not only convenient for the masses but also provides employment for 24 persons. 4. It is of advantage in preventing heatstroke and lowering temperatures. Over 40 units in Jinan City use the cold air in tunnels to prevent heatstroke and lower temperatures, and this is especially pleasant in cinemas and theaters. 5. It is useful in solving the difficult problem of obtaining accomodations. In the past, relatives and people who had come from far away to see patients in the People's Hospital of Jinan had no place to stay. A nearby civil air defense project in the southern part of the city was made into an underground inn, thereby solving the masses' difficulty. 6. It is of advantage in protecting and operating civil air defense projects as they can be rapidly switched to wartime use.

Short Commentary

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 80 p 1

[Short commentary: "Integrating Peacetime and Wartime Needs Benefits State and People"]

[Text] The construction of civil air defense projects is an important strategic measure. The Third National Conference on Civil Air Defense clearly stipulated that a policy of integrating wartime and peacetime needs must be carried out in the construction of civil air defense projects. This policy reflects the strategic requirements while constructing the four modernizations and serving the people's life. It integrates long-term interests with current interests. It is a correct policy.

Since the beginning of last year, our province has gradually shifted the focal point of its construction of civil air defense projects to reinforcing and rebuilding by complete sets those projects that have already been built, thereby putting into use a number of projects that integrate peacetime and wartime needs. Practice proves that the policy of integrating peacetime and wartime needs in building civil air defense projects can be a good investment that reduces state expenditure, creates wealth, and helps the four modernizations. Using the projects for peacetime needs promotes the protection and operation of civil air defense projects, puts them in an excellent state for preparation against war, and benefits air defense in wartime.

In carrying out the policy of integrating wartime and peacetime needs, at present we stress the finding of good solutions to the following problems. First, the party and government leadership at all levels and the departments concerned must fully recognize the advantages and import signifiance of this integration and link it to the actual conditions in their units, taking positive measures and utilizing projects that have already been built. If a project can be used the year around, then vigorously create conditions for its year-around use; if it cannot, then use it on a seasonal basis. Some projects can be used by an individual, others by a group. Some can be used by a single household, others by several households jointly. We must seek truth from facts, adapt to local conditions, and not insist on uniformity. We must take measures for ventilation, illumination, dampproofing, dehumidification, heating, soundproofing, as well as level distribution, exits and entrances for personnel, and the hoisting of materials to the surface. Under the premise of insuring wartime requirements, we must strive hard to meet the individual and technological requirements of peacetime. Third, we must solve problems in the policy concerning the supply of goods, tax revenue, profit distribution, electricity charges, and the labor insurance and welfare of underground working personnel with regard to the funds invested and the management items involved in integrating peacetime and wartime needs. Only when these problems have been solved with the policy truly have been carried out.

9727
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

EXPERT DEVISES LAND MINE FOR USE AGAINST INFANTRY, PARATROOPERS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 80 p 3

[Article: "Achievements of Zhang Shuxin, Deputy Head of Armed Forces Department of Zhanghu Commune, in Land Mine Demolition Research"]

[Text] Zhang Shuxin, [1728 2579 0207], deputy head of the armed forces department of Zhanglu commune, has contributed to the carrying on and development of traditional land mine warfare and has become a land mine demolition expert on the northwest plateau of Shandong Province.

Confronting the special features of a future war, Zhang Shuxin resolved to develop a directional steel fragmentation mine for use against both infantry and paratroopers in order to meet the requirements of these features. A directional explosion involves explosives, mine casing manufacture and detonating device. For Zhang Shuxin, who only had a junior middle school education, this task was very difficult. However, being a man with lofty ambitions and high ideals, he knew no difficulty could stop him. In the daytime he did his normal work at the armed forces department and in the evening he tried to find time for study. To get a good grasp of the principles of explosives, he diligently studied senior middle school textbooks on physics and chemistry. He studied and researched some materials on land mine demolition put out by our country and by America, England, France, Japan, and the Soviet Union. In this way, after not a very long period of time, he got an initial grip on the basic principles and dynamics of explosives.

As his theoretical knowledge became richer, Zhang Shuxin quickened the pace in developing a directional mine. He thought long and hard about the ideal type of mine casing: If one wants the steel fragments to fly in a certain direction, then the mine casing must be concave; if one wants a powerful land mine, then there must be a large explosive charge; if one wants a mine that is convenient to carry, then it must be light and small. In theory, the concave-shaped hollow must be two-thirds higher than the explosive charge. How could this be done in a volume that was not large? One day he got an inspiration from the wooden comb his wife used for her hair: wouldn't the problem be solved if the mine casing were shaped like a comb? He immediately drew a sketch of the mine casing based on this idea. Afterward he began intensive calculations on the concave geometrical shape, the size and external form of the explosive charge, the optimum size of the mine casing, and the trajectory of the steel fragments. During those days, the light in his office burned deep into the night. Comrades in the department and his wife also threw themselves into the battle. Once, when doing calculations on some data, from 4 am until 1 am he sat beside a pot of water resting on a stove in which the water completely boiled away without his being aware of it. With hard work by everybody, the ideal mine casing was finally made. On its first test, the mine exploded with the force and in the direction desired. Zhang Shuxin was as happy as if he had just eaten ice cream during the hot dog-days of summer. He almost jumped for joy, the fatigue from many days of study and work being completely swept away.

His confidence was strengthened; the direction of the mine's blast had been attained. The next step was to solve the problem of the steel fragments being thrown out in a line that made them deviate from the target. That very night he began to work on this problem. Piling his desk high with books and materials on the subject, he conscientiously leafed through them one by one in search of the ideal answer. He finally found (among one of them) a basis for a solution to the problem. Briefly it was this: the detonator must be positioned in the exact middle of the mine casing's concave surface. For him, it was as if a window had been opened in his mind. "Ah, so there is also research on the positioning of the detonator." He asked himself: But why must the detonator be positioned in the exact center of the concave surface? He again became lost in thought, to the extent that sometimes, while out walking he ran into walls or trees. When it was time to eat, he failed to hear his wife call him to the table. Once, in order to get him to eat, she gave him a pat. To her surprise, he became angry and said she had interrupted his train of thought. This concentration made him seem like a person suffering from amnesia. He studied the structural principals of detonators and the relationship between the high-pressure density capacity flow and the detonating capacity. Finally, he fully understood these questions from a theoretical standpoint. The next test explosion achieved the ideal results--a directional steel fragmentation mine for use against both infantry and paratroopers had been successfully developed.

Any ordinary militiaman can install and use this mine. Simple in structure, it is easy to make. It weighs only 3.5 kilograms and costs less than 6 yuan to make. Its maximum range is 240 meters, and it can inflict casualties in a 40-meter zone. It has the power of a volley fired by 1,000 rifles! If several of the mines are laid in a row, an important line of communications can be blocked while casualties can be inflicted on enemy paratroopers.

From first to last, Zhang Shuxin had studied more detonation with his eyes fixed on opposing a future war of aggression, bearing in mind the actual capabilities of militiamen. This was apparent in that he had devised a directional mine for use not only against both the enemy's infantry and his paratroopers but also against his tanks, thereby integrating the traditional and the modern, integrating attacking, blasting, and blocking. The mine can blast out an antitank ditch in order to hold back a tank advance. He chose the method of setting off mines by a pressure and tripping device, in accordance with the principle used in the rural areas in the past of erecting a line of spears to defend against robbers, and succeeded in devising a pressure and tripping detonating device that could fire rocket projectiles at tanks. An enemy tank had only to pass by to have its tortise shell pierced. In order to cope with the complexities of modern warfare, he devised eight new methods for lighting the basting fuse. His improved fuse can be used interchangeably in all kinds of land mines. Under Zhang Shuxin's careful instructions, the members of the commune's militia squad or platoon [fendui 0433 7130] charged with the mission of blowing up tanks can now handle explosives, fuses, electric detonators, and lanyard detonators, and can make and use them by local methods. They can direct the mine's blast into the sky and in any direction they want, and can blast out antitank ditches.

No theoretical question can daunt people who have once cruised in the sea of knowledge. Not long ago, Zhang Shuxin began to assiduously study radio technology, and he has now devised a scheme for remote-control detonation that is in the implementation stage. In line with requirements, this major innovation when applied in actual battle has an effective range of 5 kilometers, and can hit 500 targets. It is a big breakthrough in land mine detonation. Zhang Shuxin is now racing along without pause on the road of mine detonation research, selflessly contributing his intelligence and wisdom to the modernization of our motherland's national defense.

9727
CSO: 4005

SAFETY MEASURES NOTED FOR MILITIAMEN THROWING LIVE GRENADES

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Qu Bingtai [1448 3056 3141]: "Do Careful Work To Prevent Mishaps in Grenade Throwing"]

> [Text] [Editor's Note] Mishaps are a frequent occurence when militiamen throw live hand grenades. To effectively prevent this kind of mishap is an important problem for our people's armed cadres. At present, however, some units have their militiamen throw live grenades in reservoirs, ponds, or ravines in order to prevent accidents. This is a passive method, and there remains the hidden danger that the grenade thrown was a dud [yadan 0800 1734]. Other units, fearing mishaps, simply do not allow militiamen to throw live grenades. Isn't this like "giving up eating for fear of choking?!"
>
> In battle, grenades are an indispensable weapon. How can safety be insured while obtaining the benefits of grenade training? It is profitable to read what Comrade Qu Bingtai has learned from experience.

When militiamen throw live grenades, there are many reasons for mishaps. One very important reason is loss of control when throwing the grenade.

I first became head of the commune's armed forces department in 1958. For over 20 years I have organized more than 100 live grenade-throwing exercises for militiamen without a single mishap. From practice I have seen that militiamen who throw grenades, especially those who do so for the first time, are full of anxiety and become flustered from stage fright. Why? The main reason is that they lack elementary knowledge. They have insufficient understanding of the function and structure of hand grenades and are afraid to throw live ones. Some, because it is their first time, do not have practical experience and are timorous. If their problems are not solved and the subject of throwing live grenades is allowed to weigh upon their minds, they will forget to pull the pin, not throw the grenade far enough, or drop it at their feet or behind their backs, thus causing a mishap. This being the case, how can we help these millitiamen get rid of their worries? I feel it is necessary to do the following things.

The first thing to do is to educate the militiamen to have the confidence that they will be victorious in battle if they are courageous and to throw grenades in line with the enemy's situation. During peacetime training, when militiamen are being mobilized for live grenade throwing, we must make clear to them that the grenade-throwing field is a battlefield and that if the grenade is not thrown far enough or accurately enough, then they cannot wipe out the enemy but, on the contrary, will be hurt by him. They must be filled with the spirit of vanquishing the enemy and throw live grenades. At the end of April this year, a militiawoman of the country's refrigeration plant on two occasions would not throw live grenades. We talked privately with her, linking the training to the Vietnamese bandits' crime of raiding China's border and thus stimulating her to train against this enemy. On the third occasion she successfully completed here assignment. The second thing to do is to explain the function and structure of a hand grenade so as to give the militiamen a good idea of what is safe and what isn't. In this way, they will concentrate on their movements when throwing grenades, maintain the initiative, and not become flurried. The third thing to do is to hold dry runs and set examples. Before training with live grenades, the militiamen should practice dry runs in order to give themselves a better grasp of the essentials involved in grenade throwing and help the individual correct his posture. When practicing with live grenades, the old and new hands who have become adept should throw first and thus set an example for everyone else. This will help those who are throwing for the first time to relax and be unafraid. With regard to those militiamen who are full of misgivings, we must not impatiently organize grenade-throwing exercises for them but, in addition to educating them, let them watch the exercises and, only after they have calmed down, have them practice throwing grenades. In the first half of this year, we organized over 120 militiamen to throw live grenades--and for the great majority of them it was their first time--without a single mishap.

In addition, the commander, when organizing live grenade throwing, besides being steady and full of concentration in order to set an example for everyone else, must educate the others and, when giving orders, must especially see that his manner is polite and calm in order to avoid, because of his stiffness in manner, making the militiamen more nervous. At the same time, we must constantly fix our eyes on every movement of the militiamen and protect the individual in order to prevent the chance mishap.

9727
CSO: 4005

SECOND XINJIANG ISLAMIC CONGRESS HELD IN URUMQI

Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN in Chinese 7 Jul 80 p 13

[Article: "Second Xinjiang Islamic Congress Held in Urumqi"]

[Text] The second Islamic Congress of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was held recently in Urumqi. The well-known Imam (religious head) of the Kashiaitika Mosque, Hashimu Hariaji recited verses from the Koran at the opening. Some of the Muslims said happily: reciting the Koran and using religious language at a solemn meeting like this could not even have been imagined a few years ago.

Xinjiang is one of the primary areas inhabited by Chinese Muslims. There were more than 180 well-known Islamic personages and Muslim representatives of the nine Uighur, Kazakh, [Chinese] Moslem, Khalkas, Tajik, Tatar, Uzbek, Dongxiang [Gansu], and Salar nationalities in attendance at the Islamic congress. Of these, the Moslem representatives of the Dongxiang and Salar nationalities were attending an Islamic congress for the first time.

The week-long conference carried on the spirit of the Fourth Chinese Islamic Congress, and after discussion, passed the "General Regulations for the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Islamic Association;" the conference also elected the leading organ for the association's second committee.

The newly-elected chairman Yahefudamaola Shadeeraji [3660 0677 3940 1129 3029 2139 3097 1779 1422 7093 0679] and Vice Chairman Amutidamaola [7093 2606 2251 1129 3029 2139] said: The Xinjiang Islamic Association will assist the government in implementing its policy of religious freedom, will promote peace and unity, develop the Islamic tradition that one who loves his religion must love his country, and will unite Islamic people and Muslims of various nationalities for the sake of our country's four modernizations, to protect the unity of our country and the unification of our nationalities, to struggle against hegemonism, and to preserve world peace.

The Chinese Islamic Association sent a congratulatory wire to the conference.

9284
CSO: 4005

MORE PRACTICAL WORK NEEDED IN ENGINEERING EDUCATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Sun Zongqi [1327 1350 7322]: "The Practical Side of Higher Education in Engineering Needs Strengthening"]

[Text] I was formerly a mineral prospecting instructor in the Geology Department at the Zhongnan College of Metallurgy. I am now pursuing further studies in Sweden. Although I am living abroad, I make it a practice to read about discussions on education published in newspapers in China. I would like to express some views on the subject, in the light of the situation as it exists in foreign countries.

It is easy to see certain outstanding differences when we compare our institutions of higher learning with those in foreign countries. First, the ratio between teachers and students is larger in foreign countries. Whereas the ratio ranges from 1 to 12 and 1 to 20 in foreign countries, it is 1 to 4.1 in our country. Secondly, whereas most of our college graduates are not capable of taking a job assignment immediately after graduation, most college graduates in foreign countries are better qualified. When they engage in practical work after graduation, most of them are capable of working independently. For instance, while doing practical work following graduation, college students in Sweden are quite capable of undertaking scientific research work in mining offered them by factories and mining operations. From this it can be seen that, in our country, while a larger staff is engaged in higher education, the rate of efficiency is lower. This, of course, has something to do with the basic education system in our middle and primary schools.

I would like, however, to confine myself to a discussion of the problem concerning higher education in engineering. First, it is important to correctly identify the problem facing engineering colleges. My opinion is that it is a problem of industrial production. By that, I mean we must develop the students to the point that, as engineers, they are able to handle basic production problems. To make that possible, it is necessary to achieve a nice balance between theory and practice. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," we made the mistake of overlooking the importance of theory. At the present time, however, my opinion is that sufficient importance has not been placed on the other side of the coin--namely, practical work. This has had a deleterious effect on the ability of students to apply what they have learned, on their ability to undertake work of a practical nature, and on their ability to work independently.

The importance of practical work stems from the fact that our understanding is bolstered by our perceptions. It is only through practical experience that we can come to a deeper understanding of theory. While the hours for classroom instruction are fewer in foreign countries, more hours are devoted to experiments and practical work. According to a Chinese student studying in Sweden, when he was teaching microelectronics in China, only 8 out of 80 or 90 schoolhours were devoted to experiments, where as in Sweden, out of 84 schoolhours in the same course, 30 hours are devoted to classroom lectures, 24 to experiments, and 30 to exercises.

It is a onesided argument to claim that it is necessary to increase the number of hours of classroom lectures so that students will better understand basic theory. For instance, in the early 1960's, because students were lagging so far behind in their special courses, it was necessary for teachers not only to take time in the classroom to teach them production procedures, but even to teach them the names of tools and equipment and their uses. Later, we moved the schedule of practical work in production ahead of classroom lectures, increased substantially the number of hours devoted to practical work, and reduced the number of hours for classroom lectures. The result was that the students were found to be more capable of retaining and applying what they had learned.

Most students who are enrolled in special engineering courses are required to have some knowledge of mechanics, electrical engineering, electronics and hydrodynamics (osmotic pressure), etc. Although many hours are devoted to such subjects, the ability of the students to apply what they have learned is rather limited. That is due to the fact that, although we also have classes for conducting experiments, not enough hours are set aside for homework outside the classroom to give the students an opportunity to solve certain basic problems in the laboratory after class. The senior middle school graduates enrolled in colleges are ill equipped to tackle their special courses. That being the case, it is essential for the students to have the opportunity to engage in practical work in production. Incidentally, in the formulation of our teaching policy, the schools should be given a larger degree of autonomy. Hundreds of special courses are taught in the colleges, and since each has its own special features, they must not be subjected to the same uniform treatment. Furthermore, many special courses have been taught for decades. To allow the colleges to make decisions on the basis of their own experience would make it possible to come up with solutions more suitable to our circumstances.

The problem of providing practical work in production has been one of long standing. Even now, a solution has not been found. Every year, institutions of higher learning have had to assign large numbers of students to receive practical training in selected production areas. Even after the students have been assigned, what they get is an opportunity to observe production at work but not really to take part in actual practical production work. This is most detrimental to the development of the students. The system is entirely different in foreign countries. When it comes to practical production, foreign students are given certain responsibilities in a specific line of work. The junior students are assigned simple duties, while the senior students are given heavier responsibilities usually assumed by team leaders.

Before they return to school, they are required to have a certificate signed by the chief engineer of the mining company, together with a report on their practical work. Practical training along such lines goes a long way toward qualifying them to take on jobs immediately after their graduation. I suggest, therefore, that the government make it a rule for students to do practical work in the plants, and make every industrial and mining enterprise assume that noble responsibility.

Overemphasis on basic theory also retards the development of graduate students. Many of our universities stipulate that research students should spend 1 to 2 years in basic studies and in studying basic technology and special courses, and that after the 2-year period they are then to engage in scientific research. Is it possible to achieve outstanding results when so little time is devoted to scientific research? Although research students in foreign countries also have to study certain courses, they are mainly left to study on their own instead of having to attend lectures. More important still, they are given time to engage in scientific research. After the first 6 months, research students begin to engage in scientific research, which constitutes two-thirds of the total credits which they are required to complete. During the period of research, many of them have proved quite capable of doing good work in scientific research.

As to the proper ratio between theory and experiments, experience offers the best answer. The ratio should be determined by an examination, study, and analysis of the results of the teaching experience. I take the view that it is not possible to achieve a firm grasp of theory if emphasis is arbitrarily placed on theory at the expanse of experimentation.

The problem of achieving a proper balance between theory and practical experience--a problem which plagues our institutions of higher learning in the field of engineering--is attributable to a lack of actual experience on the part of our teachers and to their limited ability to solve actual problems. I myself am not an exception. When discussing this problem, we teachers undergoing graduate studies in Sweden are agreed that certain experimental classes conducted in Sweden cannot be held in our country. First, we do not have the necessary facilities. Secondly, our teachers do not have the experience to conduct such classes. We are not able to produce the problems and exercises, because our teachers have no practical experience in this area.

The only way to turn the situation around is for us to encourage large numbers of teachers to engage in scientific research by giving them the time and money to do so. It is obvious that not many college teachers can be spared from their duties so that they may engage in full-time scientific research. A better way is for teachers to teach and do scientific research at the same time. In our Mining Engineering Research Unit in the Geology Department, it has long been the practice for teachers of special courses to teach and engage in scientific research at the same time. This is not only conducive to the accumulation of knowledge and progress in scientific research, but it also helps to raise the quality and quantity of teaching. Most of the research subjects in engineering colleges should be related to the problem of production. The idea is for the production units to suggest subjects for research, and to sign contracts with the colleges and universities to undertake such research projects. This will not only solve the problem of expenses, but it will also help to increase production and will enable the teachers to help improve the students' ability to analyze various problems related to production.

9621
CSO: 4005

REFORM OF SYSTEM IN INSTITUTE OF HIGHER LEARNING URGED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 80 p 2

[Article: by Wei Chang [4850 2490]: "The System of Teaching in Institutes of Higher Learning Should be Reformed"]

[Text] An extremely important problem facing us today is the fact that burdens borne by students in our institutes of higher learning are too heavy; they are killing themselves with study, but the scope of what they are learning is too narrow. A great many specialists and professors are very worried about this, and a number of well-known foreign scholars have also candidly drawn attention to it. It is commonly recognized that if this is allowed to go on much longer, it will be extremely difficult to train first class scientists, engineers and technicians with creative spirit, and it will also have a directly adverse effect on the development of our science and technology and the realization of the Four Modernizations. There are many aspects to the causes which produced this situation, things intimately involved with the current educational system.

The current educational system of our institutes of higher education is based on the academic year, and it prescribes fixed limitations on years of study. Students are organized according to yearly classes, study an identical curriculum, and the institutes involved use the "year" as the only standard to handle questions of student status. While it cannot be denied that this system contains certain advantages, for example, in planning it is relatively strong, nevertheless it also has disadvantages, the most significant of which are that it is a detriment to training outstanding talent, to promoting the growth of the new frontier disciplines and to opening new avenues for people of ability. The aspirations of individual students, their special aptitudes, capabilities, level of knowledge and prospects for training are, of course, not identical. This educational system is incapable of arranging different educational plans for the diverse range of students. It is prone to cause an artifical evening-up where a minority goes without enough to eat and perhaps drops out, and the majority bears excessive burdens. Students who can do more than just handle their required courses cannot, on the basis of their own preferences and special skills, freely select in a comparatively extensive fashion from a range of lectures. In particular, they cannot cross over to another department or discipline to select courses, and so it is difficult for them to give full play to their special skills and to develop multifaceted interests, and thus meet the requirements necessary for the advancement of the frontier disciplines. Under this system, if one is not able to graduate on time, at the very least it will mean the delay of an entire year, and if one wants to gain advanced standing it can only be to the next year's class. No matter how well one is learning, he cannot graduate early and take the entrance examinations for graduate school; this virtually means that he will have wasted his time and energy.

The academic year system of instruction has its origin in the system of academic instruction arranged in grades and classes which appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At that time, along with the development of capitalism, individual instruction in the feudal society was no longer able to meet current needs, and the academic year system was gradually adopted by countries in Europe and, step by step, reached its final form. However, by the end of the nineteenth century with the expansion of monopoly capitalism and the sudden emergence of large-scale industrialization, there was an urgent need for an accelerating development of science and technology and a massive training of all sorts of specialists; this resulted in demands being made upon university education to adopt a more effective system. At the same time, certain educationalists in America began to promote pilot schemes of elective courses and a system based on academic credits, which were quickly implemented in all their universities. Shortly after that, universities in Western Europe and in Japan began to adopt the academic credit system one after the other. This indicates that whatever form an educational system might take it always does so in response to definite historical conditions, and always is the result of changes stemming from developments in society and in production.

Prior to liberation, our institutes of higher learning emulated American universities and had commonly adopted the academic credit system, but after liberation we modeled ourselves on the experience of the Soviet Union, stopped using the academic credit system entirely and adopted the academic year system. In the last 30 years our institutes of higher learning have practiced this system and have accomplished great thing in training talents. However, we must also recognize that in this same 30 years we have failed as far as nourishing topnotch talent is concerned, the growth of the new frontier sciences has been retarded and there has not been sufficiently broad range of routes which would allow the full realization of human talent. We must confront these issues squarely and conscientiously study and reform the current educational system.

In the last two years there already have been a small number of institutes of higher learning which have begun to make attempts to reform the academic year system and to try out an academic credit system. An academic credit system is an educational system which uses credits as a means of reflecting academic standing, requirements and a way to calculate amounts of study accomplished. It does not prescribe study in terms of yearly restrictions but merely prescribes the total number of credits one must take in each semester and the total number of credits necessary to complete a major. When a student completes all his credits, he then can graduate. The calculation of each academic credit is based upon the total amount of time expended upon the course involved, either inside class or out (including lectures, classroom discussion, experimentation, field training and preparation of lessons). Usually, if one course meets for one hour per week, the student prepares for it with two hours of study outside class and after completing one semester of it and passing the examination, it will result in one academic credit. With the implementation of the credit system, the student can select and study courses on the basis of his own personal foundation and interests, even to the extent that he can cross departmental and school boundaries to study; his freedom is comparatively greater, and there is more flexibility involved. Because by nature the courses taken often turn out to be either involved with specialization, a new discipline or the frontier of knowledge, they usually represent the fruit of the teacher's or researcher's scientific research; therefore, a wide range of course offerings enables the student to study a greater number of subjects, expand the horizons of his knowledge and moreover encourages teachers to spend more effort on scientific research and unceasingly raise the standards of learning. Under this system, standards for graduation are based primarily on fulfilling certain amounts of credits; when these credits are completed, the student graduates.

We must reform the educational system but cannot entirely follow the European or American credit system, for in Europe or America the student himself chooses his own profession and takes courses entirely on the basis of his own preferences and interests. This is excessively free, self-initiated and self-indulgent. Our socialist state ought to train talent in a planned manner; students ought to take into account the needs of the state and the orientation it has determined for specializations, moreover, they should submit to the assignments the state makes for them. Therefore, we ought both to extract from the academic year system those advantages which stem from the strength of its planning and to absorb the merits of the academic credit system offered by its flexibility. It would be more appropriate for the realities of our national situation if we were to adopt a system which incorporates features of both the academic year and the academic credit systems.

The problems and difficulties which we face in reforming the current educational system of our institutes of higher learning and in promoting an academic year-credit system are still fairly numerous, and we must energetically do research into and resolve the following matters:

(1) The reform of assignment system. When students have completed their credit requirements, they ought to be allowed to advance the time of

graduation or the time when they take examinations for graduate school. At present, this problem has still not been resolved. The Personnel Planning Department and the Education Directives Department ought to formulate concrete proposals to deal with this as quickly as possible. If students are not able to advance the time of graduation, it will seriously blunt their enthusiasm and cause the credit system to lose its intended effect of trying to speed up the production of personnel.

(2) The reconsideration of the entire curriculum. In present educational planning required course occupy a very great proportion, and leeway left to the student to choose electives is very small. If things are allowed to continue in this way, the effect of implementing a credit system will not be significant and it will not reach its goal of teaching students in accordance with their aptitude. We ought to reduce the number of required courses to the lowest possible limit and make strenuous efforts to simplify and reduce the number of hours devoted to lectures as well as improve educational methods and provide students with the right to take more initiative to choose the way they learn. The proportion of electives to required courses at the very least ought to be thirty percent to seventy; the best proportion would be forty to sixty.

(3) Start up a great number of electives. We must encourage teachers to strengthen their research, to strengthen themselves through advanced training and to be bold in starting up new specialized course curricula. This is the key to whether or not the credit system will be able to persever. Some people have coined the metaphors that the academic year system is like a "system of boarding at a dining hall" with an unalterable choice of menu and the credit system is like a "restaurant system" where one makes one's own individual choice of dishes. If it is indeed to be a "restaurant system," let us make sure we provide everyone with a rich and varied menu, for if the menu is too limited, then it will not be much different from boarding at a dining hall.

(4) With the utmost vigor improve the conditions for experimenting. The sciences in the small number of comprehensive universities which have adopted the credit system on a trial basis have met with a very grave problem, which is that facilities for experimentation are insufficient, and experimentation courses present great difficulties when people try to move up the time when students are allowed to take them as electives. For this reason, it is almost impossible for science students to try to advance the time of the graduations. This s a problem which we must make every effort to solve. Some people are of the opinion that if the implementation of the credit system in higher education takes place in such a way that experimentation can keep up with it as well, then the standards of training personnel will immediately improve. This seems to make a great deal of sense.

(5) Strengthen direction and use scientific methods to manage education. There is a great deal of scholarship involved in dealing with such matters

as what curriculum a student should select and how best he can prepare himself, and they involve relationships of the greatest significance. If we do not provide concrete leadership and rigorous requirements, it may result in going too far in one direction, adversely affect the healthy growth of trained personnel and a failure to achieve good results. Providing students with the right to take their own initiatives is not at all the same thing as letting things slide wherever they might. It is for this that we must improve the management of education, strengthen the system of teaching and all rules and regulations and make a good job of this task of reorganizing education.

9648
CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 76582

8 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 125

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76582

8 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 125

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Carter Reiterates U.S. Position on Iran-Iraq Conflict (XINHUA, 25 Sep 80) 1

Western Press Reaction to Mideast Crisis Reported (XINHUA, 24 Sep 80) 3

West Calls for Negotiations in Iraqi-Iranian Conflict (XINHUA, 25 Sep 80) 5

UN Security Council Urges End to Iraq-Iran Conflict (XINHUA, 24 Sep 80) 6

UN Security Council Meets on Iran-Iraq Conflict (XINHUA, 27 Sep 80) 7

Western Anxiety Over Iran-Iraq Conflict Reported (XINHUA, 28 Sep 80) 9

U.S. Proposes Meeting To Minimize Gulf Conflict Effects (XINHUA, 27 Sep 80) 11

India, Yugoslavia Concerned About Iraq-Iran Conflict (XINHUA, 27 Sep 80) 12

Japan Appeals for End to Iraqi-Iranian Conflict (XINHUA, 25 Sep 80) 13

Togo, Niger Presidents Urge End to Iran-Iraq War (XINHUA, 27 Sep 80) 14

Singapore-Kuwait Joint Statement Viewed (XINHUA, 20 Sep 80) 15

Stalemated European Security Conference Reported
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 25 Sep 80) 16

EEC Foreign Ministers Hit USSR, SRV for Invasions
(XINHUA, 25 Sep 80) 18

EC Foreign Ministers Concerned Over Iran-Iraq Conflict
(XINHUA, 25 Sep 80) 20

Hungarian Enterprises To Run Small Food Stores
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 23 Sep 80) 21

Mexican, Venezuelan Leaders on Iran-Iraq Conflict
(XINHUA, 25 Sep 80) 22

French Premier in Austria Discusses International Issues
(XINHUA, 27 Sep 80) 23

European Parliament, Belgium, FRG on Iran-Iraq Conflict
(XINHUA, 25 Sep 80) 24

Giscard Calls for Iraqi-Iranian Negotiations
(XINHUA, 26 Sep 80) 25

Turkish Premier Comments on Iran-Iraq Conflict
(XINHUA, 26 Sep 80) 26

U.S. Selling Better Weapons to Taiwan
(Ba Yi Radio, 21 Sep 80) 27

Purchase of U.S. Military Equipment Criticized
(Ba Yi Radio, 18 Sep 80) 29

Rome Conference Supports Afghan Rebels' Resistance
(XINHUA, 27 Sep 80) 31

Nepal's Shahi Speaks on Afghanistan, Kampuchea
(XINHUA, 27 Sep 80) 33

CPPCC Honors Zhang Xueliang's Relatives in Mainland
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 23 Sep 80) 34

Fifth Annual Franco-British Summit Meeting Viewed
(XINHUA, 20 Sep 80) 35

Singapore Envoy Criticizes Soviet, Vietnamese Aggression
(XINHUA, 24 Sep 80) 37

Indonesian Foreign Minister Addressed UNGA Session
(XINHUA, 25 Sep 80) 39

Australian Foreign Minister's UN Speech Cited
(XINHUA, 26 Sep 80) 40

FRG's Genscher Proposes UN Debate on Refugee Problem
(XINHUA, 25 Sep 80) 41

British Prime Minister Honored at Dinner in Athens
(XINHUA, 23 Sep 80) 42

Ghanaian Finance Minister Amon Nikoi Interviewed
(XINHUA, 23 Sep 80) 44

Turkish Premier Discusses New Government Policy
(XINHUA, 27 Sep 80) 46

Japan-U.S. Auto Export Problem Reviewed
(XINHUA, 22 Sep 80) 48

Japanese Self-Defense Forces To Employ Electronics
(XINHUA, 29 Sep 80) 50

Italian Government Resigns 27 September
(XINHUA, 28 Sep 80) 51

Italian Workers Strike, Support Fiat Workers' Demands
(XINHUA, 26 Sep 80) 52

Briefs

Pakistan Border Attacks 54
Mrs Marcos Welcomes Musicians 54
India, Yugoslavia on Asian Crises 55
Mozambique Weapons From USSR 55
Acrobats in Trinidad 55
Opera to Latin America 55
U.S. Finances Egyptian Projects 56
U.S. Uranium Sales to India 56
Study in UK 56
Taiwan Trawlers in Fujian 57
Japan on Iran-Iraq 57
Islamic Conference on Conflict 57
PLO on Iran-Iraq 57
Thailand on Iran-Iraq 58
U.S. Hostage Debate Postponed 58
Iraqi Action Against Iran 58
Turkey on Iran-Iraq 59
Jordan Supports Iraq 59
Pakistan Officials to Baghdad 59
Iraqi President Receives Haq 60
Iraq Ceasefire Requested 60
Iraq Welcomes Mediation Efforts 60
Iran Refuses Mediation 60

Nepal on Iran-Iraq 61
Venezuela on Iran-Iraq 61
Iraq-Iran Mediator 61
UN Action on Iraq-Iran 62
Turkey on Iran-Iraq 62
Gabon on Iraq-Iran 62
Guinea on Iran-Iraq 63
Pakistani Talks With Iran 63
Bangladesh on Iran-Iraq 63
PDRY on Iran-Iraq 64
Iran Sets Conditions 64
Beijing Greets Taiwan Relatives 64
Radio Kabul Director Defects 65

PARTY AND STATE

Three Important Missions of CCP
(BEIJING RIBAO, 30 Jun 80) 66

Upcoming NPC Standing Committee Session Discussed
(HSIN WAN PAO, 25 Sep 80) 72

Open Repudiation of Mao Zedong Called For
(Ba Yi Radio, 26 Sep 80) 74

'HONGQI's' Theoretical Guidance Discussed
(WEN WEI PO, 22 Sep 80) 76

Cadre Retirement System Ridiculed
(Ba Yi Radio, 28 Sep 80) 78

Cadre's Son Sentenced To Death for Murder in Heilongjiang
(Beijing Domestic Service, 27 Sep 80) 80

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'Taiwan-Born' Cadres, Fighters in PLA Discussed
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 20 Sep 80) 81

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

New Films Shown for National Day
(XINHUA, 30 Sep 80) 82

Qinghai Murder Case Stimulates Public Discussions
(Qinghai Provincial Service, 23 Sep 80) 83

Briefs
Guangzhou Protestant Church 85

CARTER REITERATES U.S. POSITION ON IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

OW250304 Beijing XINHUA in English 0236 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] Washington, September 24 (XINHUA)--U.S. President Carter reiterated today that there should be "absolutely no interference by any other nation" in the conflict between Iran and Iraq and called for a negotiated settlement.

In a special statement issued here this afternoon, he said that the fighting "represents a danger to the peace and stability of the region." "It should be promptly terminated. Any grievances between Iran and Iraq should be settled at the negotiating table and not on the battlefield."

Carter's remarks reportedly reflected a deepening concern over the Soviet Union's readiness to rush an additional large quantity of weapons and supplies to the region.

He repeated that the United States has "not been and will not become involved in the conflict between Iran and Iraq."

The United States "strongly supports" both the statement made by the secretary-general of the United Nations and also by the president of the U.N. Security Council to bring this fighting to a prompt end and to obtain a negotiated settlement, he said.

Carter also warned that the strategic Persian Gulf must be kept open. "Freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf is of primary importance to the whole international community. It is imperative that there be no infringement of that freedom of passage of ships to and from the Persian Gulf region," he said.

The statement came after the president, who was fresh from a two-day west coast campaign trip, met this morning with his principal advisors at the White House to assess the crisis in the Persian Gulf and discuss U.S. policy considerations and decisions in the area.

Secretary of State Edmund Muskie was recalled from New York, where he had been attending sessions of the United Nations and had consulted with a number of foreign ministers in the last several days. Carter himself is also in contact with other nations through U.S. embassies abroad and directly between him and the leaders of some of those nations. "We will continue to work vigorously with as many nations as possible and also with international institutions who seek as we do, a speedy end to the conflict," he said.

Speaking of the American hostages held in Iran, the president said that the United States will "continue our work for their prompt and safe release and we continue to hold the Government of Iran responsible for the safety and the well-being of the American hostages."

CSO: 4020

WESTERN PRESS REACTION TO MIDEAST CRISIS REPORTED

OW241600 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 24 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 24 (XINHUA)--Western press has expressed concern that the Iranian-Iraqi conflict might create an opportunity for the Soviet Union to intervene in the Gulf region and could seriously affect oil supplies to the West.

THE NEW YORK TIMES said editorially yesterday that it has been feared for months that "problems in the Persian Gulf could provide the Soviet Union with new opportunities to gain influence in the region" and now the conflict between Iran and Iraq has created "increased opportunities for Soviet encroachment on the Persian Gulf region."

The conflict caused such instability that "the Soviet Union might be tempted to intervene in Iran as it has in the past," it noted.

An AFP report from Paris said that Western embassies feared that escalation of the conflict might "give the Soviet Union a long-sought excuse to step in at the heart of Western oil supplies" and "that is why Western governments are following with such concern the development of a conflict whose implications go far further than the two countries concerned."

The WALL STREET JOURNAL said yesterday that the conflict "is raising concern that the fighting could escalate out of control, endangering Western oil supplies and providing new opportunities for Soviet gains in the Persian Gulf region."

"What makes the latest Iraqi-Iranian fighting particularly threatening is its intensity and the growing potential for Soviet involvement," it said.

It said "since last spring, the Soviets have steadily improved their ability to capitalize on turmoil in the region by building up their forces, near the Iranian border" and the presence of Moscow's forces "increases Russian ability to respond to any development."

It also said "the more immediate concern is that the fighting might jeopardize the 3.5 million barrels of oil a day the two countries are exporting to the West and significant loss of production from Iran and Iraq could bring still higher world oil prices."

A NEW YORK POST editorial yesterday said "the Russians have not only invaded Afghanistan, but have now deployed half of the Red Army units in western Afghanistan along the Iranian border. Is this, in turn, to fulfill the rights of intervention they claim to hold under a 1921 treaty."

The British DAILY MAIL expressed concern that "the Iraqis and the Iranians are bombing each other's oil installations and, much more worrying, if the war does continue to escalate, there is the threat of tanker traffic through the Straits of Hormuz, the oil jugular to the West."

The LONDON TIMES in an editorial yesterday hoped "the Arab nations and the West have a common interest in stopping the fighting at the earliest opportunity."

CSO: 4020

WEST CALLS FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN IRAQI-IRANIAN CONFLICT

OW2507.5 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 25 (XINHUA)--The French Government yesterday called on the great powers to show "great restraint" toward the Iraqi-Iranian conflict in order to favor a political settlement, according to reports reaching here.

After a cabinet meeting, presidential spokesman Jean-Marie Poirier said, "France takes note that the difference at the root of this confrontation is strictly bilateral. France considers that it should be the object of a political settlement."

British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, in an address to the U.N. General Assembly on September 23, noted, "Iran and Iraq are now in a state of undeclared war."

He said he shared U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's fear that the conflict "could have serious and unpredictable consequences, and I echo his call for the utmost restraint, for an immediate end to the fighting and for a negotiated settlement."

Meanwhile, the Italian Government said in a statement that it was following the escalation of the hostilities between Iran and Iraq with "the greatest concern." The statement appealed to the two warring states to cease hostilities and create conditions for negotiation.

An Australian Foreign Ministry spokesman said on the same day, "Australia is extremely concerned at the developments but also notes that the superpowers have adopted a restrained approach and we hope this will continue."

The secretariat of the Organization for Petroleum Exporting Countries stressed in a statement yesterday, "we strongly appeal for an end of the hostilities so that Iran and Iraq, both founding members of OPEC, may devote all their resources to the well-being of their people."

CSO: 4020

UN SECURITY COUNCIL URGES END TO IRAQ-IRAN CONFLICT

OW240828 Beijing XINHUA in English 0817 GMT 24 Sep 80

[Text] United Nations, September 24 (XINHUA)--The U.N. Security Council last night appealed to the governments of Iran and Iraq to immediately end their fighting and settle their dispute peacefully.

The appeal was contained in a statement issued by security council president Taieb Slim of Tunisia after the council's urgent "informal consultations on the extremely serious situation prevailing between Iran and Iraq" at the request of U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim. The appeal was adopted without a vote.

The statement said the members of the security council "have taken note of the sharp deterioration in relations and the escalation in armed activity leading to loss of life and heavy material damage" and "are deeply concerned that this conflict can prove increasingly serious and could pose a grave threat to international peace and security.

"The members of the security council welcome and fully support the appeal of the secretary-general, addressed to both parties on September 22 1980, as well as the offer that he has made of his good offices to resolve the present conflict."

The statement appealed "to the governments of Iran and Iraq, as a first step towards a solution of the conflict, to desist from all armed activity and all acts that may worsen the present dangerous situation and to settle their dispute by peaceful means."

CSO: 4020

UN SECURITY COUNCIL MEETS ON IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

OW270819 Beijing XINHUA in English 0744 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Text] United Nations, September 26 (XINHUA)--The U.N. Security Council met tonight to consider Iran-Iraq conflict after repeated, arduous consultations since yesterday.

The meeting was jointly requested by Mexico and Norway. Iraq was represented at the meeting by a special emissary, while Iran was absent.

Addressing the council as the first speaker, U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim reiterated his deep concern over the escalation of the tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq and expressed his anxiety at dangers which would inevitably arise from it.

He believed that the council would find the most useful and practical way of ending the fighting and settling the differences between the two countries by peaceful means.

Porfirio Munoz Ledo, ambassador of Mexico, stressed that the security council should continue to promote mediation and not stand in the way of other efforts by both the non-aligned and the Islamic countries.

He urged the parties to the conflict to heed the appeals of the United Nations and called upon all states to abstain from any action that might aggravate the current situation.

Norwegian Ambassador Ole Algard said the war between Iraq and Iran was a matter of the gravest concern to all.

The security council should adopt a resolution calling upon the governments of Iraq and Iran to take forthwith all measures for an immediate ceasefire and to initiate negotiations, he said.

Iraqi representative Ismat T. Kittani, said that Iraq was ready and willing "to respond to any initiatives for international peace and security." He requested the council to inform the Iraqi foreign minister to participate in the council meeting, if, he said, it would move into substantive discussion of the conflict or consider a draft resolution in connection with this matter.

Before adjourning the meeting, the president of the security council Tables Slim (Tunisia) announced that the council would resume consultations tomorrow morning to decide the time for the next formal meeting.

CSO: 4020

WESTERN ANXIETY OVER IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT REPORTED

OW280127 Beijing XINHUA in English 0103 GMT 28 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 27 (XINHUA)--Anxiety over the Iraq-Iran hostilities is mounting in those Western countries which depend on the steady flow of Middle East oil for their survival. They are deeply concerned with the safe passage for oil tankers through the Strait of Hormuz, the gateway of the Persian Gulf.

Iran and Iraq used to be two key oil exporters in the Middle East. However, owing to the upheaval since spring last year, Iran's daily oil output had dropped from six million barrels to 1.5 million and its average daily export to about 700,000 barrels by the time of the outbreak of the current conflict.

Iraq produced 3.5 million barrels a day before the conflict and has been the second largest oil exporter next to Saudi Arabia only in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries as well as in the world. It exported three million barrels a day, two-thirds of which passed through the Persian Gulf.

Owing to the raging conflict, the oil supply from the two countries has practically come to a halt. Economists estimated that the present oil stocks in the West stood at five to six billion barrels which can last three to five months, and that other major producers could help by boosting their output when necessary. So there is no immediate danger of an oil crunch.

However, the International Energy Agency has pointed out that France, Italy, Spain and Japan are likely to be the hardest hit among its member nations if the oil flow from Iran and Iraq is interrupted for a long period by the war.

What worries the West most is the safe passage of oil through the Strait of Hormuz. Of the nearly 50 million barrels consumed by the Western countries and Japan each day, 40 per cent came through the strait. And oil shipped from the Persian Gulf accounts for 80 per cent of Japan's oil imports and 60 per cent of France's.

On September 24, the nine foreign ministers of the European Economic Community and the spokesman of the French president issued statements, all stressing the utmost importance to the community of nations of free passage for ships in the Gulf. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany said yesterday that his government would use all its influence to keep the vital Persian Gulf open for navigation.

While watching closely the developments in the Middle East, the United States is having consultations with its allies on what can be done to keep the Straits of Hormuz open.

CSO: 4020

U.S. PROPOSES MEETING TO MINIMIZE GULF CONFLICT EFFECTS

OW270130 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Text] Washington, September 26 (XINHUA)--The United States has offered to host a meeting with its major allies to discuss ways of minimizing the economic effects of the Iraq-Iran conflict on international shipping and world petroleum markets, White House press secretary Jody Powell said today.

No such meeting has been set, he said. But the United States is willing to host such a meeting if that meeting "should seem desirable."

A brief statement issued by the White House said that the idea emerged after President Jimmy Carter and State Secretary Edmund Muskie "have exchanged views over the past several days with key friends and allies on a wide range of issues related to the conflict between Iran and Iraq."

The statement did not mention the countries to the meeting. But those consulted are reported to have included Japan, Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy.

The oil export cut-off from Iran and Iraq is a cause of immediate concern to the United States and its allies although the former is affected indirectly. They are even more worried that the worsening conflict could lead to cuts in the flow of oil from the other Persian Gulf producers.

More than 18 million barrels of crude oil move through the Strait of Hormuz a day--roughly 40 percent of all the oil imported by Western nations. For Japan, it is 20 percent and for the United States 11-13 percent.

The United States and many other countries have called for restraint by all parties and a negotiated settlement of the Iraq-Iran dispute.

CSO: 4020

INDIA, YUGOSLAVIA CONCERNED ABOUT IRAQ-IRAN CONFLICT

OW271411 Beijing XINHUA in English 1320 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 27 (XINHUA)--Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the visiting Yugoslav Executive Council President Veselin Djuranovic expressed concern at the Iran-Iraq conflict, according to a New Delhi report.

V. Djuranovic who arrived [in] New Delhi on September 26, held talks on the same day with Mrs. Gandhi on the Gulf conflict and the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. They hoped that the non-aligned nations would make constructive efforts towards reducing tension and creating conditions for peaceful resolution of problems.

They agreed that the two countries should work together to strengthen the non-aligned movement and preserve its unity. They expressed concern over the global economic crisis and stressed the need for greater solidarity and cooperation among non-aligned and developing countries in solving their economic difficulties.

Speaking at a banquet given in his honour by Indira Gandhi, Djuranovic expressed the hope that Iran and Iraq would end their conflict and seek a peaceful solution to the controversial questions by political means proceeding from the principles of the policy of non-alignment and the United Nations Charter.

He told the Indian NATIONAL HERALD that non-aligned countries must not remain a detached observer in the present-day tense situation but should face challenges and develop their activities regardless of differences in views."

India and Yugoslavia signed on September 26 a five-year economic agreement beginning in 1981.

CSO: 4020

JAPAN APPEALS FOR END TO IRAQI-IRANIAN CONFLICT

OW251936 Beijing XINHUA in English 1922 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 25 (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki was reported today to have appealed for an immediate end to the hostilities between Iran and Iraq, as hundreds of Japanese workers were preparing to leave a bombed petrochemical complex in south Iran, according to news reports received here.

Japanese acting foreign minister Kiichi Miyazawa told a Diet committee that Japan would seek the help of Islamic countries to arrange an early end to the conflict. He added that Japan would also ask both the Soviet Union and the United States to refrain from intervening in the dispute.

In Baghdad, a British Embassy spokesman said today that ambassadors of West European countries in the Iraqi capital had met and planned concerted evacuation of their citizens in Iraq.

The Emir of Kuwait, Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, had a telephone conversation with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn today. They discussed the possibility of convening an emergency meeting of Arab and Islamic foreign ministers.

King Khalid of Saudi Arabia telephoned President Husayn today that his kingdom stood by the side of Iraq "in its pan-Arab battle and conflict with the Persians, the enemies of the Arab nation," according to an Iraqi News Agency report.

CSO: 4020

TOGO, NIGER PRESIDENTS URGE END TO IRAN-IRAQ WAR

OW271310 Beijing XINHUA in English 1251 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 27 (XINHUA)--Gnassingbe Eyadema, president of Togo, and Seyni Kountche, head of state of Niger, have cabled Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn calling on them to end the armed conflict.

President Eyadema's cable dated yesterday says: "No matter what is the result of the conflict, the two belligerent parties and the communities to which they belong would be harmed and weakened and the only victors are the merchants of arms." "The conflict can only pave the way for foreign interference and bring harmful results," it adds.

"We are deeply convinced that dialogue is the only way to protect the genuine interests of the two countries and to save the future," the cable said.

President Eyadema hoped that his appeal would help bring a peaceful solution to the disputes.

Niger head of state Kountche, in a cable to the presidents of Iran and Iraq on September 25, expressed his concern over the conflict between the two countries and urged them to come to an immediate ceasefire so as to create an atmosphere conducive to a peaceful settlement.

CSO: 4020

SINGAPORE-KUWAIT JOINT STATEMENT VIEWED

OW201730 Beijing XINHUA in English 1701 GMT 20 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 20 (XINHUA)--Singapore and Kuwait today "expressed grave concern over the open foreign armed interventions in the two non-aligned countries in Asia, namely Kampuchea and Afghanistan," and called for an "immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces" from the two countries in accordance with the relevant U.N. resolution, according to reports reaching here from Singapore.

This is contained in a joint statement issued at the end of a three-day visit to Singapore by the Amir of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah.

The statement said the two sides "further stressed the need for the peoples of the two countries to determine their future without foreign interference, coercion and intimidation."

They "reaffirmed the important role played by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in promoting regional cooperation in Southeast Asia, in the spirit of equality and mutual respect, towards preservation of peace, prosperity and progress in the region," the statement said.

The two sides also stressed the need for non-aligned countries to redouble their efforts to strengthen international peace and security.

On the Middle East situation, the statement said no just and durable peace can be achieved without a total withdrawal from territories occupied by Israel since June 1967 including East Jerusalem, and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The two countries reiterated their support for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and noted that the security of the Gulf area should be left to the Gulf states themselves.

The two sides expressed the desire to further strengthen the bonds of bilateral friendship and cooperation in various fields. The Kuwaiti amir left Singapore for home today after his five-Asian-nation tour including Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and Malaysia.

CSO: 4020

STALEMATED EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE REPORTED

OW280210 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1653 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] Madrid, 24 Sep (XINHUA)--The preparatory session for the followup European security conference has entered the third week since it was opened in Madrid on 9 September. The session's discussion on the schedule for the followup conference in November has, in fact, been stalemated because the Soviet Union has done its utmost to prevent the creation of a situation in which the Western nations will condemn Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and persecution of political dissidents at the conference.

The aim of the preparatory session is to map out the schedule and agenda for the formal conference in November. Since it will be the first meeting between the East and the West since Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the United States intends to demand an explanation from the Soviet Union on its persecution of political dissidents and its invasion of Afghanistan and to protest Soviet jamming of Western radio broadcasts. On the other hand, TASS commentaries have condemned the U.S. discriminatory policy toward the Soviet Union in foreign trade and declared that the "economic sanction" against the Soviet Union violates the spirit of Helsinki.

As soon as the preparatory session began, the two rivals entered into a dispute over the schedule for the conference. The Western nations insisted that the schedule should be discussed and arranged on the basis of the yellow paper adopted by the 1977 followup conference in Belgrade. According to the guidelines of the Belgrade yellow paper, each European security conference should--during the political debate--thoroughly inspect the implementation of the final document of the Helsinki conference and set a specific time and place for the next conference, as well as discuss the continuity of the conference.

In order to avoid the predicament of being condemned, the Soviet Union has tried by hook and by crook to obstruct the discussion of the schedule for the conference based on the yellow paper. According to Western officials, the Soviet delegation wants to limit the political debate at the conference to 3 weeks and demands that once the political debate is over, the conference should immediately discuss new proposals on cooperation so that the Soviet Union could peddle its pet projects on "cooperation," "disarmament," and so forth.

Owing to the Soviet Union's tough stand, no progress has been made since the start of the session. As the session entered into its second week, Spain, the host nation, made a verbal motion on 15 September in order to break the stalemate. The motion, which called for half of the time of the conference to be devoted to a debate of essential political issues, received the immediate support of the Western nations. Then, the Hungarian delegation also submitted a motion written in Russian on the question of the schedule, calling for reducing as much as possible the time to be spent on political debate. The Soviet delegation endorsed the motion right away and called it a "positive" move. Obviously, the Soviet side believed that if the motion was approved, it could avoid the plight of being condemned. Thereupon, both sides engaged in a dispute over the two motions.

On 23 September, the Czechoslovak delegate submitted a proposal written in Russian for "replacing the Belgrade yellow paper," saying that the debate should be limited to a week and that the question of the continuity of the European security conference not be discussed at all at the debate. The U.S. delegation has called the proposal unacceptable.

After a week of argument, a proposal by Yugoslavia was finally adopted on the morning of 22 September. That is, first the European security conference should be held at the level of "state representatives"--that is, delegates should be foreign ministers--and second, the European security conference should be continued. This proposal has so far been the most important achievement of the session.

In a word, since the preparatory session was opened on 9 September, the participants have agreed on nothing except the level of delegates attending the conference. Diplomatic circles in Madrid believe that, should the Soviet Union insist on the Czechoslovak proposal, the preparation session will be completely paralyzed. However, both rivals are expecting to gain something from the conference and for the moment at least, do not want to call off the session.

CSO: 4005

EEC FOREIGN MINISTERS HIT USSR, SRV FOR INVASIONS

OW250740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] United Nations, September 24 (XINHUA)--Speaking at the U.N. General Assembly today, EEC foreign ministers stressed that the withdrawal of Soviet and Vietnamese aggressor troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea is an indispensable condition for the solution of problems of the two invaded nations.

Gaston Thorn, vice president and minister for foreign affairs of Luxembourg, in his speech on behalf of the European Economic Community, observed that the invasion of Afghanistan and Kampuchea constituted a flagrant violation of the principle of the U.N. Charter, that is the right of peoples to self-determination and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of another state.

He censured the invading countries "which take advantage of their military superiority in order to establish their spheres of influence, even at the risk of jeopardizing peace and stability."

He said the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops occupying Kampuchean territory was an indispensable condition for a solution of the Kampuchean problem, "which should be based upon the existence of an independent and neutral Cambodia, with a genuinely representative government."

On Afghanistan, he said, the nine members of the EEC once again hoped that "it will be possible to avoid the indefinite continuation of this particularly cruel war through a solution in keeping with the resolution by our assembly providing for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the free exercise by the Afghan people of their right to determine their own future."

French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet stated that the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan was unacceptable and that no security considerations can justify such action.

He pointed out that the first obstacle to the solution of the Afghanistan issue was the intervention of a foreign army and this obstacle must be removed.

He stressed that the military occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnam had to end and agreement be reached if Kampuchea was to re-emerge free, peaceful and neutral.

Lord Carrington, secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs of Britain, said, "Let there be a political solution--a solution which will remove Soviet forces from Afghanistan, restore to the people of that country their sovereignty and their independence and enable them to choose for themselves how they shall be governed."

"Tens of thousands of Soviet troops remain in Afghanistan. But they have failed to subjugate the people of Afghanistan," he added.

He stressed that there could not be a political solution without the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea.

The foreign ministers of Italy, Denmark and West Germany also deplored the armed invasion of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. They emphasized that any political solution must be based on the withdrawal of foreign aggressor troops from the two countries and the exercise of the right of the Afghan and Kampuchean people to self-determination.

CSO: 4020

EC FOREIGN MINISTERS CONCERNED OVER IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

OW250132 Beijing XINHUA in English 0112 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] United Nations, September 24 (XINHUA)--The foreign ministers of the European Community have expressed their deep concern at the military confrontation between Iraq and Iran in a statement issued here today.

The statement was made at a meeting held in New York late last night by the foreign ministers of the nine countries of the community.

The statement stressed the need to avoid anything which might give the conflict a broader dimension. "In this connection, they (the nine countries) look to other states, particularly the great powers, to maintain the restraint which they have shown."

The nine countries declared themselves ready to support any international initiative likely to promote a political settlement of the conflict. "They recall the capital importance for the international community of freedom of navigation in the Gulf, on which it is imperative not to infringe."

Speaking at the U.N. General Assembly today, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister for foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, appealed to "those involved not to add yet another conflict to those already existing in the Middle East but to sit down at the negotiating table."

He also appealed to all states "to exercise the greatest restraint so as to prevent the conflict from spreading."

Lord Carrington, British secretary of state for foreign commonwealth affairs, remarked yesterday that the United Nations surely could not afford to ignore the grave situation which had developed between two of its member states, Iraq and Iran.

He called for utmost restraint, an immediate end to the fighting and a negotiated settlement.

CSO: 4020

HUNGARIAN ENTERPRISES TO RUN SMALL FOOD STORES

OW251225 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1432 GMT 23 Sep 80

[Text] Budapest, 22 Sep--According to local newspaper report, the Hungarian Government recently adopted a decree stipulating that commercial enterprises are allowed to establish small-scale retail trade and food service stores with only a few staff members and workers.

The decree stipulates: the staff members and workers of the stores can be from the same family, but the leaders of the stores must be selected from among the staff members and workers of their own enterprises who are willing to accept offers for such jobs. The stores' equipment is owned by the enterprises, but their operations are independent and their accounting separate. The enterprises and the store leaders are required to sign contracts in accordance with the stipulations of the civil law. Contracts should stipulate that the stores will turn over a definite amount of profits to the enterprises and pay other expenditures with their incomes as well. The stores may distribute all the profits left over after deducting the aforesaid expenditures to their staff members and workers without limits, provided that tax regulations are observed.

The reports said: Such operating methods are conducive to the enhancement of the quality of service, the attraction of customers, the improvement of work efficiency and the implementation of convenient and economic operations. Besides, the operating time of these stores will also better meet the needs of the local residents.

This new operating method will be gradually implemented by the retail business and food service trade beginning 1 January 1981.

CSO: 4005

MEXICAN, VENEZUELAN LEADERS ON IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

OW251950 Beijing XINHUA in English 1905 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 25 (XINHUA)--Government leaders and political figures in Mexico and Venezuela have voiced concern over the conflict between Iran and Iraq.

Mexican President Lopez Portillo, speaking at a dinner in honor of Luxemburg Prime Minister Pierre Werner on the evening of September 23, said that the situation in which the Middle East finds itself as a result of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict threatens all mankind and has made the international situation more dramatic. He viewed all conflicts in the world as "resulting from violations of the principle of co-existence." He also said that the way through which to bring about the right of people to self-determination is to "ban the use of force in conflicts and in the approach to other countries' internal affairs."

In a reference to the conflict between the two mideast countries, Mexican Foreign Secretary Jorge Castaneda said in New York that an end must be put to the hostile actions and peaceful means should be explored to resolve the conflict. He called on the U.N. Security Council to act to stop this conflict.

Political figures in Venezuela regarded the Iranian-Iraqi conflict as a menace to world peace. They expressed opposition to any interference by big powers. Venezuela's independent parliamentarian Rumulo Henriquez told the Spanish News Agency, EFE, yesterday that the world is expecting the strong powers not to meddle in the dispute. He said he stood for a cease-fire between the two warring nations in an effort to arrive at an agreement through negotiations. Former Foreign Minister Aristides Carvani viewed the fighting between the two OPEC member countries as "extremely dangerous." If the conflict continues, he said, it will bring real problems to the world's oil supplies and may lead to a bigger war. He termed the Middle East region as a "hot spot" since various factors and interest groups are in action there.

CSO: 4020

FRENCH PREMIER IN AUSTRIA DISCUSSES INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

OW271608 Beijing XINHUA in English 1533 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Text] Vienna, September 26 (XINHUA)--The conference on European security and cooperation must not be an excuse for the Soviet Union to pass itself off as the sole champion of peace, said French Prime Minister Raymond Barre in his talks with Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

Barre's visit to Austria from September 24 to 26 was the first official call to Austria made by a French prime minister since 1967.

The two heads of government had an exchange of views on European security and the Middle East, according to APA. With regard to the followup conference on European security in Madrid, Barre held that detente is indivisible and that the policy of detente toward the Soviet Union, initiated by De Gaulle, must be maintained.

Barre pointed out that the Afghanistan event has actually turned the process of detente into a problem. People must not accept lightly Moscow's grave violation of international law and encroachment upon the right of a people to decide the political system of their own country independently and freely.

On the current conflict between Iraq and Iran, Barre said that France is trying to help bring this conflict to a halt through its representatives in international bodies. He said that passage through the Straits of Hormuz must be ensured by all means.

Barre returned to Paris this afternoon.

CSO: 4020

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, BELGIUM, FRG ON IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

OW251922 Beijing XINHUA in English 1901 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 25 (XINHUA)--The European Parliament, Belgium and West Germany have expressed deep concern over the military conflict between Iran and Iraq and hoped the two sides will restrain themselves and obtain a peaceful settlement of the conflict speedily.

An European Parliament statement issued yesterday said that "the political commission of the European Parliament is deeply concerned over the armed conflict on the frontiers between Iran and Iraq." It would like to see "the conflict be settled through negotiations, so as to avoid destructions and human victims in the future in the territories involved."

The Belgian Government in a statement yesterday called on Iran and Iraq to "seek a peaceful settlement of the conflict rapidly out of the consideration of their own interests and in the interest of world peace."

The West German Government spokesman also expressed the hope yesterday that the two parties would cease hostilities as soon as possible.

In Luxembourg yesterday, the joint committee of the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries and the European Economic Community urged the two belligerent parties to solve the conflict through negotiations.

CSO: 4020

GISCARD CALLS FOR IRAQI-IRANIAN NEGOTIATIONS

OW261403 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 26 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 26 (XINHUA)--French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing yesterday urged Iraq to state its readiness to open negotiations with Iran over their four-day armed conflict, according to reports from Paris quoting presidential spokesman Jacques Blot.

The spokesman, reporting on a 90-minute meeting between Giscard d'Estaing and Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz, said that the two men discussed the conditions under which negotiations could begin to settle the dispute by political means and that different formulas were examined.

The president expressed the opinion that the Islamic states could have a particular role to play in seeking a solution, Blot said.

Giscard d'Estaing had stressed the importance of freedom of navigation in the Gulf and the Hormuz Strait, and 'Aziz assured him the Iraqi authorities would do nothing to interfere with that freedom, the spokesman said.

It was reported that the Iraqi deputy prime minister, President Saddam Husayn's special envoy, had held high-level consultations in Moscow and Amman, Jordan, before meeting with French President Giscard d'Estaing.

CSO: 4020

TURKISH PREMIER COMMENTS ON IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

OW261612 Beijing XINHUA in English 1541 GMT 26 Sep 80

[Text] Kuwait, September 26 (XINHUA)--Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu said, "We feel a great regret over the worsening situation between Iraq and Iran and we are following the situation with concern."

He made the statement in an interview to the Kuwaiti paper AL-QABAS published today.

"Both Iraq and Iran are Islamic countries and our neighbours. Anything happening between them will have an effect on us.... If Turkey was called for by international community to make mediation, we will not hesitate," he said.

On Turkey's relations with Arab countries, he said, "We will cooperate with all Arab countries, especially the Gulf countries. We will sell them our products and buy from them what we want." The Arab world would have a special position in Turkey's foreign policy, he stressed.

He also said that Turkey's ties with the West would not affect its relations with the Arab world. On the contrary, such ties would serve as a bridge between the West and the Arab world.

He stressed that his country would continue to develop and strengthen its ties with the Islamic countries.

While denouncing Israel's expansionist policy, he said, "Turkey always insists that Israel should withdraw from the occupied Arab land. As a matter of fact, Turkey has fiercely attacked Israel's decision to make Jerusalem its permanent capital."

CSO: 4020

U.S. SELLING BETTER WEAPONS TO TAIWAN

OW212150 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 21 Sep 80

[Text] From just the Sino-U.S. agreement on purchasing U.S. military technology and equipment, one can at least see the following three serious questions:

1. Comparing the lists of U.S. military equipment ordered for our country and Taiwan, we can immediately see that our country has been placed in an unequal position. In fact, the United States only agreed to sell to our country some ground and air transport means and some obsolete military equipment. At the same time, it declared that it would not sell any offensive weapons to China. However, U.S. imperialism signed a new arms sales agreement with the Kuomintang, supplying Taiwan with new powerful modern offensive weapons and military technology, such as (?F-S medium-range fighters, Falcon antiaircraft missiles, a new type of ship-to-air missile, two antitank missiles, a fire control system for naval vessels, a new type of electronic spy system, 70-mm rapid firing guns) and other modern U.S. weapons. Many of these weapons are not possessed by our army. We do have some of the weapons mentioned, but they are inferior in performance to those sold by the United States to Taiwan.

2. According to the agreement, our country must supply at fixed prices large quantities of titanium, (?vanadium), (?tantalum) and other rare metals for a long period. This deal is obviously not in our favor. There are very great demands for these rare metals on the international market, and their prices are constantly increasing. Why should our country commit itself to supply the United States these valuable strategic commodities at fixed prices for a long period? Obviously the condition imposed on us by the United States will cost us dearly in lost foreign exchange.

3. Owing to the many commitments Comrade Deng Xiaoping had made to the United States previously, our country's representatives were seriously fettered in negotiating the agreement with the U.S. side. Particularly when Vice Chairman Deng held talks with U.S. Defense Secretary Brown earlier this year, he accepted many conditions put forward by the

United States without considering and discussing with other state leaders. Some of the conditions at first glance seemed to be in our favor. In fact, we lose more than we gain in the deal. Today the United States refuses to renegotiate or revise articles of the agreement, using the agreement already reached between Vice Chairman Deng and the Americans as an excuse.

Although Comrade Zhang Aiping, who recently became vice premier, suggested to the military commission that it is necessary to continue to ask the United States to revise as soon as possible the articles that are not favorable to our country, his suggestion was rejected. Premier Zhao Ziyang insisted on upholding Comrade Xiaoping's leading authority in the party, saying that revising the agreement already reached is to undermine the prestige of Vice Chairman Deng in front of the Americans.

CSO: 4005

PURCHASE OF U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT CRITICIZED

OW182228 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 18 Sep 80

[Text] The talks between our country's delegation and the U.S. military technical delegation have shown that Americans still want to furnish technical equipment for military use to our country at a high price and that they are trying hard to sell certain extremely expensive and complicated military equipment--which is not needed by our country--to us.

The problem is that we still do not know how to use, repair and maintain this kind of equipment. However, the authoritative military advisor in the central authorities is doing his best to help the U.S. side. In view of the situation, some comrades urgently suggested to the military commission of the CCP Central Committee (?not to buy such foreign military equipment). [words indistinct]

Last year Comrade Deng Xiaoping approved the use of funds for military construction in order to procure foreign military equipment in disregard of the huge national budget deficit which exceeded 2 billion yuan. The funds from those machine-building ministries and scientific research projects exceeded 870 million U.S. dollars. As a result, our country was in an even more difficult situation in regard to foreign exchange.

It should be pointed out that the use of huge funds for procuring foreign military equipment [words indistinct] and the overspending of foreign exchange cannot obtain the military equipment that our army really needs. On the contrary, the wanton use of funds often results in obtaining military equipment which cannot satisfy the national defense needs.

It is regretful that this situation often occurs and is happening more frequently.

In recent years facts have shown that certain leading comrades of our country act in a rash manner in procuring military equipment and they do not consider things carefully. The reason for this situation is that those leaders each took a different view and policy in procuring military equipment and made decisions without listening to the opinions (?of others).

Everyone knows that in his talks with U.S. Defense Secretary Brown early this year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, ignoring the views of authorities and experts, ordered the purchase of sophisticated electronic reconnaissance equipment. As experts have pointed out, we cannot as yet use such equipment effectively. These highly sophisticated instruments and pieces of equipment ended up in the storage room, a waste of tens of millions of U.S. dollars.

Recently a number of comrades in concerned organs expressed dissatisfaction with the decisive role usually played by the Chinese military attache in Washington in the purchase of American military equipment. As a rule, in negotiations and purchases of military equipment, the views of Chinese military representatives in foreign countries obviously should be considered. But the question here is that our military attache in Washington is related to Comrade Deng Xiaoping and is his trusted follower. Thus, he represents the central authorities in the field of military purchases and Sino-U.S. military cooperation. However, to our regret, most of last year's foreign exchange deficits were incurred by the purchase of unnecessary, outdated U.S. military equipment. The third session of the Fifth NPC demanded that everyone vigorously practice economy, oppose waste and stop deficit spending. This demand is entirely applicable to the army. All responsible comrades should be profoundly aware that although the party and people give us the power to spend huge funds to meet the needs of the army, it does not mean that we can squander them at will. Every penny we spend must be truly for the modernization of our army and strengthening of our national defense.

CSO: 4005

ROME CONFERENCE SUPPORTS AFGHAN REBELS' RESISTANCE

OW271254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Text] Rome, September 26 (XINHUA)--"It is the duty of the left to render political, moral and material assistance to the resistance movement in Afghanistan," declared European Parliament member Jiri Pelikan, of the Italian Socialist Party, at a two-day international meeting ending here today.

Pelikan told the "support for Afghanistan" meeting sponsored by the Socialist Party monthly MONDO OPERAIO that the continued Soviet military presence in Afghanistan and the construction of airports and military bases there reveal the Soviet intention to use the ground they have gained as a staging base for further expansion into other countries in that region.

The Soviet objective, he went on to note, "is a triple one: acquisition of Indian Ocean bases for the Soviet navy, access to the regional oilfields crucial to the Soviet Union since that country will not be able to meet its own and its allies' oil needs in five years time and the use of this control to contain the West which is heavily dependent on the region for oil."

In the presence of Soviet troops, he pointed out, a political settlement of the Afghan issue could only mean recognition of the Karmal regime and a free hand to the Soviet troops to close the border and stifle the resistance movement by bloodshed and starvation.

The meeting also heard charges of Soviet atrocities in Afghanistan by other participants.

A U.S. expert on Afghanistan Mike Barry gave an account of prisoners gunned down and buried alive, and peaceful villages bombarded by the Afghan puppet regime in active collaboration with Soviet occupation troops.

Dr. Z. Rassoul, member of the Islamic Council for the Liberation of Afghanistan, said that the majority of the Afghan people who are fighting against the Russians for national independence and political liberties, "would rather die than live enslaved."

Describing the resistance movement as one of national liberation, former professor of the Kabul University Mohammad Habib had this to say: "The Afghan patriots are making an immense contribution to the cause of world justice and peace. We appeal to all anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces not to remain silent about the genocide of our people."

CSO: 4020

NEPAL'S SHAHI SPEAKS ON AFGHANISTAN, KAMPUCHEA

OW270730 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Text] United Nations, September 26 (XINHUA)--"The total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces" should be "the first prerequisite in any political settlements in Kampuchea and Afghanistan," declared K. B. Shahi, foreign minister and chairman of the delegation of Nepal, at the U.N. General Assembly today.

Shahi pointed out in his general debate statement that the events of far-reaching consequences in Kampuchea and Afghanistan "constitute a serious threat to the peace and security of the world, let alone the peace and security of the neighbouring areas."

"This grave situation," he continued, "has arisen as a result of armed intervention in those two non-aligned countries." "Non-interference in the internal affairs of another country is the most fundamental principle of relations between states," he added.

Refuting the specific excuses used by certain aggressor countries, Shahi stressed, "the nature of a particular government or its actions and policies, the conditions prevailing in another country, the suspected designs of foreign powers in that country--none of these factors give any state the right to interfere in the affairs of another."

On the political settlements in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, Shahi emphasized, "there should be no giving in to the concept of fait accompli." "In such situation," he remarked, "nothing will be accomplished if it were not acceptable to the people of the countries concerned." "The total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces should be the only basis for any solution," he said.

CSO: 4020

CPPCC HONORS ZHANG XUELIANG'S RELATIVES IN MAINLAND

OW232210 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1659 GMT 23 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, 23 Sep--Ulanhu, Liu Lantao and Xiao Ke, vice chairmen of the National CPPCC Committee, held a banquet at the hall of the CPPCC this evening in honor of General Zhang Xueliang's relatives and old friends residing in the mainland to celebrate the midautumn festival together jubilantly.

Present at the banquet were Zhang Xueliang's younger brother Zhang Xueming and his wife Zhu Luojun; Xie Xueping, wife of Zhang Xueliang's young brother Zhang Xuesi; his younger brother Zhang Xuequan and his wife Ma Yunlan; his younger sisters Zhang Huaiying and Zhang Huaiqing; his olf friends Liu Lanbo, Lu Zhengcao, Guo Weicheng, He Zhuguo, Xie Fang and Gao Cunxin and their wives; Wan Yi, Chen Dazhang and Liu Ding.

Ulanhu spoke at the banquet. He said: The midautumn festival symbolizes the full moon in the skies and family reunion on earth. I am very glad to have this happy get-together with Mr. Zhang Xueliang's relatives and old friends tonight to celebrate this festival.

He said: Mr. Zhang Xueliang was a noted patriotic general of our country. He made tremendous contributions to the struggle to end the civil war and bring about the resistance against Japanese aggression. The people of the whole country hold him in high esteem and miss him very much. "On festive occasions more than ever we think of our dear ones far away," so the saying goes. Today, we deeply cherish the memory of Mr. Zhang Xueliang.

Ulanhu said: We firmly believe that China's sacred territory Taiwan will certainly return to the motherland. He encouraged Mr. Zhang Xueliang's relatives in the mainland to continue studying and working hard to make contributions to the motherland's four modernizations and to the cause of the motherland's unification.

CSO: 4020

FIFTH ANNUAL FRANCO-BRITISH SUMMIT MEETING VIEWED

OW201943 Beijing XINHUA in English 1925 GMT 20 Sep 80

[Text] Paris, September 19 (XINHUA)--The fifth annual summit meeting between leaders of France and Britain was held at the Elysee Palace here today.

Deputy Spokesman of the Elysee Palace Jacques Blot told reporters after the summit that French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had held an exclusive meeting and the two parties mainly discussed problems of strategy and defence, East-West relations and Iran.

At the subsequent enlarged meeting, both sides discussed Afghanistan and the forthcoming followup meeting of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe to be held in Madrid. French Premier Raymond Barre, Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet and British Deputy Foreign Secretary Ian Gilmour attended the meeting.

Mrs. Thatcher told reporters after the summit that the two sides had made "considerable advances" during their talks and their discussions were "a great advantage" for both sides to get to know each other's position on major international issues.

Mrs Thatcher said both she and Giscard d'Estaing agreed that relations with the Soviet Union could not be normal as long as Soviet troops still occupied Afghanistan. "We are very, very firm about that" and "we must make that very clear when we meet in Madrid," she said.

President Giscard d'Estaing said both sides had "similar or converging views" on all issues discussed. He also said he had been encouraged by Britain to pursue efforts to end the anomaly of Europe playing a relatively minor role in world affairs.

Mrs Thatcher left Paris for Bordeaux to attend the first meeting of the Franco-British council in the evening. In her speech at the meeting she strongly condemned the Soviet Union for its military occupation of Afghanistan. She pointed out that "the Soviet Government appears to regard force as the best card left in their hand."

Sounding a warning on dangers posed by the Soviet Union, she said "those of us who live in Western Europe cannot ignore the menacing accumulation of modern weapons and highly trained soldiers deployed on our doorstep." "The deployments are said to be defensive. But allegedly so was the invasion of Afghanistan," she noted.

"Europe," she stressed, "must maintain its strength." To that end, she called for a fundamental enhancement of an all-round cooperation between France and Britain. She said "Britain is always ready to develop a somewhat fuller and closer defence cooperation on the basis of our successful joint production of military equipment," she said.

Both French Premier Barre and Mrs Thatcher noted the importance of European construction at the meeting. On the European common agricultural policy, however, Barre insisted on integration of both market and price, interdependent financial relationship and the priority of the Common Market, while Mrs Thatcher called for a change in the policy.

It was reported that both heads of government returned to their respective capitals from Bordeaux in the same evening, while about 150 delegates to the Franco-British Council remained there to continue their discussions until the end of the meeting on September 21.

CSO: 4020

SINGAPORE ENVOY CRITICIZES SOVIET, VIETNAMESE AGGRESSION

OW240714 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 24 Sep 80

[Text] United Nations, September 23 (XINHUA)--S. Dhanabalan, foreign minister of Singapore, warned at the U.N. General Assembly here this afternoon that if we acquiesced in, compromised with or condoned the actions of aggression of the Soviet Union and Vietnam in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, "we in the Third World would surely pay the price, as the next victim would come from our ranks."

He appealed to all U.N. member states to "resist any attempt to unseat Democratic Kampuchea from the U.N." "To allow Democratic Kampuchea to be unseated would be to endorse and encourage the policy of aggression by Vietnam," he remarked.

"Are we going to allow the legitimate government of a country, which is fighting against a foreign invader, to be unseated just because the foreign invader has been successful in establishing a puppet regime in the capital city?" he asked. "Some are advancing the idea of leaving the seat of Kampuchea vacant in the U.N. This will only punish the victim and reward the aggressor because an empty seat is a prelude to the puppet regime making a bid for the empty seat," he said.

"In both Kampuchea and Afghanistan, foreign occupation forces must be withdrawn and the people of Kampuchea and Afghanistan be allowed to chart their own destiny. The root cause of the present problem in Afghanistan and Kampuchea is their occupation by foreign forces," he stressed.

Refuting the allegation of the Soviet Union and Vietnam that "they were invited to send their military forces into Afghanistan and Kampuchea," he noted that "the pattern of invasion was the same in both countries." "The aggressor nation first invaded its neighbour with massive military power, then established a puppet regime and then got the puppet regime to acknowledge subsequently that it invited the foreign forces."

He repudiated the Vietnamese fallacy about so-called "Chinese menace" and drew attention to the fact that "today it is Kampucheans who are dying, not the Chinese. Vietnamese troops are unwelcomed guests in Laos, not in China. And on June 23, Vietnamese troops made incursions into Thailand."

He condemned the Soviet Union for seeking its proxies in the non-aligned movement. He said "today the Soviet Union already has allies and proxies in the non-aligned movement who are completely in support of its policies." "With such allies and proxies within the non-aligned movement, the Soviet Union can be assured that there will be no clear consensus among non-aligned countries to oppose its moves against a non-aligned country."

"If we condone Vietnamese action in Kampuchea, it will be a clear signal to the superpowers that they have our licence to canvass for proxies among the non-aligned nations to promote their interests," he stressed.

"We are against all forms of imperialism and domination" and "we must show clearly to the superpowers that we will have no truck with the policies of their proxies," he declared.

CSO: 4020

INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ADDRESSED UNGA SESSION

OW250244 Beijing XINHUA in English 0230 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] United Nations, September 24 (XINHUA)--Foreign Minister of Indonesia M. Kusumaatmaja today asked the general assembly to take necessary measures to implement the U.N. resolutions on Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

Addressing the plenary session this afternoon, Kusumaatmaja said, "My delegation notes with deep concern the continuing conflict in Kampuchea resulting from the armed intervention by Vietnam in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter."

"One year after the adoption of the resolution on Kampuchea," he complained, "foreign forces still remain entrenched" there, "hunger and starvation persist in the country, while hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans continue to live as refugees in neighbouring Thailand."

The recent armed incursions into Thailand from inside Kampuchea, he observed, "has heightened tensions along the Thai-Kampuchean border and increased the danger of a widening of the conflict." Therefore, he stressed, "it is essential for the general assembly to find ways and means to secure the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea."

On the problem of Kampuchean refugees, he pointed out that "it is important that a system of voluntary repatriation of refugees be instituted and that the dire predicament of the Kampuchean people in Kampuchea be alleviated."

In regard to the situation in Afghanistan, he said, "the resolution adopted by the emergency special session which called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan has not been implemented." He urged that "the assembly should take necessary measures to ensure its full implementation in order to facilitate the re-emergence of Afghanistan as a non-aligned country, able to play an independent role in the conduct of world affairs."

CSO: 4020

AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S UN SPEECH CITED

OW260132 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 26 Sep 80

[Text] United Nations, September 25 (XINHUA)--Australian Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock pointed out here today that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea had caused regional political instability and tension and impaired the international climate of trust.

Australia, he said, joined others in urging Iran and Iraq to terminate their conflict and appealed for restraint and a negotiated solution to their dispute.

Speaking at the U.N. General Assembly session this morning, Peacock said that the activities of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and elsewhere had brought about "the general climate of apprehension and uneasiness" amongst the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean region.

"The massive military buildup and deployment by the Soviet Union in the region of the Indian Ocean has cast an ominous shadow on efforts to bring about peace in that region, and consequently over preparations for a conference aimed at creating a zone of peace," he added.

He went on to say that owing to the presence of 200,000 Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea, "there is the consequent lack of any opportunity for the Kampuchean people to choose their own government. In addition, there are threats to the security of Thailand made manifest by the incursion of Vietnamese troops into Thailand earlier this year."

"A peaceful and secure Southeast Asia cannot be achieved until a political settlement has been reached in Kampuchea which is acceptable to all parties concerned and which gives full opportunity to the Kampuchea people to determine their own style of government and way of life," he stressed.

CSO: 4020

FRG'S GENSCHER PROPOSES UN DEBATE ON REFUGEE PROBLEM

OW250130 Beijing XINHUA in English 0108 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] United Nations, September 24 (XINHUA)--Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister for foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, suggested that the current session of the United Nations General Assembly should include in its agenda a new and urgent item entitled "International Cooperation To Avert New Refugee Flows."

Addressing the general assembly this morning, Genscher pointed out that the mass exodus from Indochina, Afghanistan and Ethiopia "has further aggravated the refugee problem." "In the border region between Thailand and Cambodia refugee problems have led to an acute danger of war," he said.

He added that today, all over the world, the number of the refugees was estimated at 15 million.

"We must tackle the problem of the world's refugees at its roots," he stressed, adding that the problem constituted "a growing challenge to our conscience, an increasing disregard for basic human rights and a growing threat to good-neighbourly relations between states and to the international order as a whole."

He said, "We must increase further the humanitarian assistance for refugees. But we must also face up to the political task of counteracting the causes of their flight and expulsion. We must work together to avert new refugee flows."

CSO: 4020

BRITISH PRIME MINISTER HONORED AT DINNER IN ATHENS

OW231708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 23 Sep 80

[Text] Athens, September 23 (XINHUA)--"The world is as unsettled and as dangerous a place as it has ever been at any time since 1945," pointed out the visiting British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday at a dinner given in her honour by Greek Prime Minister Yeoryios Rallis.

The British prime minister arrived here yesterday afternoon for a three-day official visit at the invitation of former prime minister of Greece Konstandinos Karamanlis which was renewed by Prime Minister Rallis.

The British prime minister said, "We see a power--the Soviet Union, whatever may be our analysis of Soviet motives and intentions, has decided to use its overwhelming military force to subjugate a small neighbour--Afghanistan."

She expressed concern over "the persistent aggression in Southeast Asia, dangerous instability in Iran, and continuing confrontation in the Middle East." She also hoped that "the Polish people will be left to determine their own destiny."

Talking about Greece's re-entry into the military wing of NATO, Mrs Thatcher said, "it is of highest importance that Greece returns soon to the military structure of NATO. We all want you back in--urgently. A solution is essential, both for Greece's sake and for that of the rest of us in the alliance."

Prime Minister Thatcher appreciated the efforts of the Greek Government to modernize its armed forces "in view of the Soviet Union's massive military strength which is a visible menace to the balance of forces between East and West." "Britain has an important part to play in its realization--both in supplying equipment and by encouraging closer co-operation between our armed forces and yours," she said.

On his part, Greek Prime Minister Yeoryios Rallis hoped there would be close co-operation with Britain in both the economic and political fields within the community.

The British prime minister was received this noon by President Konstandinos Karamanlis. The president gave a luncheon in her honour.

The visit, the first to Greece by a British prime minister since 1958, takes place a few months before Greece joins the European Community as its tenth member on January 1, 1981. Britain welcomed from the start Greece's application to join the community, and was the first community country to ratify Greece's treaty of accession.

Prime Minister Thatcher will leave here tomorrow for Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

CSO: 4020

GHANAIAN FINANCE MINISTER AMON NIKOI INTERVIEWED

OW231704 Beijing XINHUA in English 1651 GMT 23 Sep 80

[Text] Accra, September 23 (XINHUA)--Initial results have been achieved in Ghana's economic recovery and development, said Amon Nikoi, Ghanaian minister of finance and economic planning during an interview with XINHUA correspondents on the eve of the first anniversary of the Third Republic of Ghana.

September 24, 1979 was the day when the military rule came to an end and the civil system was restored in Ghana and the Third Republic was founded. At that time, the country faced problems of slow growth in industry and agriculture. Factories operated under capacity. There was a shortage of food, with the main cash crop--cocoa production--declining markedly. In addition, trade deficits became larger and larger and inflation was runaway.

On the present economic situation, Nikoi said: "The country's gross domestic product is expected to increase 2 per cent this year whereas there was no growth at all last year, this year's balance of payments is expected to have a surplus of 440 million cedis (one U.S. dollar equals 2.75 cedis)." He predicted, "the rate of economic growth may reach five per cent in the next three years, and the rate of inflation will stabilize around 20 per cent in the same period."

Referring to the measures the government will adopt to promote economic development, Nikoi said that the economic policy of the government will be carried out with a focus on agricultural production. The government will provide the farming community with seeds, seedlings, farm implements, spare parts for agricultural machinery and fertilizers in sufficient amounts to encourage production of food, raw materials and export crops.

He also said that the government will promote the linkages between agriculture and industry so as to reduce her dependence on imported raw materials, fertilizers, weedicides and insecticides.

He added that the short-term agricultural programme launched last May is expected to form a basis of sustained increase in output. Ghana has succeeded in clearing a large portion of its accumulated trade arrears. She is in a position to allocate more financial resources to import raw materials so as to increase capacity utilization of factories, he said.

Referring to the prospects of Ghana's economic development, he said: "The difficulties outlined above were created over a long period of time. We cannot hope to solve them overnight." "What we expect to see over the next two years is to boost production, particularly agricultural production, so as to create conditions for a sustained growth and development," he added.

CSO: 4020

TURKISH PREMIER DISCUSSES NEW GOVERNMENT POLICY

OW271926 Beijing XINHUA in English 1906 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Text] Ankara, September 27 (XINHUA)--The government program read out by the new Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu here this afternoon listed the establishment of peace and order and economic recovery as matters of the government's primary concern.

The program read at a meeting of the National Security Council, the ruling military body, covers both domestic and foreign policies. It says that "anarchy, sectarian provocations and separatist activities that are directed against the unity and indivisibility of our nation shall definitely be eradicated."

Before the military takeover, terrorist activities, Islamic religious differences and separatist activities of the Kurds had grown to alarming proportions, endangering peace and security of the country.

Ulusu said that the government's economic and financial policies consisted of holding price rises at a reasonable level, checking inflation, using the country's resources in a most productive way and maintaining a process of sound, planned development.

"Our major objective in national defense," the program says, "is to maintain, at the highest level, by making use of all available means, the fighting strength of the heroic Turkish armed forces." It points out that the armed forces are the backbone of the nation and the principal safeguard against the internal and external dangers confronting the country "located in the most sensitive region of the world."

Education will have a special place in the economic, social and cultural policies of the government.

On foreign policy, the program says: "Turkey's approach to the conflicts in the region will be based on such principles as that of justice and equity, the right of each nation to determine its own destiny and inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by the use of force." Turkey will continue its support to the just cause of the Palestine people, it says.

The prime minister declared that Turkey's relations with the other member nations of NATO, first and foremost the United States, and with NATO itself would be developed further. He added that the government desired to strengthen friendly relations and close cooperation with all its neighbours and that special importance would be attached to the development of friendly relations with the Soviet Union. "Our relations with the European Economic Community will be directed towards Turkey's eventual attainment of its place within the community."

Ulusu affirmed his government's desire to have the existing issues with Greece and the Cyprus problem solved by means of negotiations, and to develop relations with Islamic countries, the Arab countries in particular, as well as Iran and Pakistan.

CSO: 4020

JAPAN-U.S. AUTO EXPORT PROBLEM REVIEWED

OW222000 Beijing XINHUA in English 1942 GMT 22 Sep 80

[Text] Washington, September 22 (XINHUA)--Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito made it known at a press conference here today that Japanese auto export to the United States in the last quarter of this year is expected to be below the level of the corresponding period last year.

He told the press that Japanese auto makers, after talks with the government, are expected to exercise restraint in their export to the United States. He added that the U.S. administration welcomed this development.

Foreign Minister Ito arrived here on September 18 on his way to New York for the United Nations General Assembly and met Vice-President Walter Mondale, Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, advisor to the president Zbignew Brzezinski, Secretary of Treasury Miller and members of the congress.

They discussed the Asian situation, defense and bilateral economic problems and the discussions, according to Ito, were focussed on defense and Japanese auto export to the United States. Ito agreed to give "special treatment" to its defense budget.

The United States now absorbs 20 per cent of Japanese auto output. It imported 1.3 million Japanese cars in the first half of 1980 which is up 40 percent over the year before and maintains a 22 per cent share of the U.S. auto market. Last year Japan sent 6.7 billion dollars worth of cars to the U.S., 25 per cent of its total exports to the U.S.

The automobile trade imbalance is a hot issue in U.S.-Japanese relations of trade which is now reaching 50 billion dollars each year. The continuing flood of Japanese automobiles and other imports into the United States came at a time domestic auto manufacturers have lost hundreds of millions of dollars and laid off more than a third of their work force.

Chrysler, recently rescued from bankruptcy by government intervention, announced it had lost 536 million dollars in the second quarter alone. Ford lost 468 million dollars in the same period, and General Motors lost 412 million dollars, these being the big three American auto manufacturers.

Under growing pressure from representatives of the United Automobile Workers, the U.S. administration seems to be digging in its heels against imported competitive Japanese automobiles. U.S. Secretary of Labor, Ray Marshall, warned Japanese auto makers when he was in Tokyo last month that continued strong shipments of Japanese cars to the United States could result in "a serious reaction."

CSO: 4020

JAPANESE SELF-DEFENSE FORCES TO EMPLOY ELECTRONICS

OW290820 Beijing XINHUA in English 0806 GMT 29 Sep 80

[Text] Tokyo, September 29 (XINHUA)--The Japanese Defence Agency has decided recently that new electronic troops and electronic supporting units would be established in the ground and maritime self-defence forces respectively with a view to improving the country's electronic war system.

According to Japanese press reports, the decision was made because the Japanese ground and maritime self-defence forces were rather poorly equipped as compared with the air self-defence force which was almost fully equipped with electronic devices.

Under a plan of the defence agency, the electronic troops to be added to the ground self-defence force would be deployed in Higashichitose, Hokkaido Prefecture under the northern army. The ground chief of staff office disclosed that this move was aimed at enhancing the capabilities of jamming and counter-jamming technics.

On the part of the maritime self-defence force, an electronic supporting unit would be set up in Yokosuka where there was the fleet headquarters of the force. This unit was to acquire as quickly as possible the combat capability ranging from following enemy warships to attacking and disrupting the electronic system of the enemy.

The plan would be implemented as from next year.

CSO: 4020

ITALIAN GOVERNMENT RESIGNS 27 SEPTEMBER

OW281212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 28 Sep 80

[Text] Rome, September 27 (XINHUA)--The government of Francesco Cossiga resigned today after the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of parliament, voted down an economic decree.

A government motion asking parliament to pass the economic decree into law was defeated by 298 to 297 votes in parliament today, thus leading to the current government crisis, although Cossiga won a vote of confidence by 329 to 264 in a roll-call vote earlier.

Italy is faced with grave economic difficulties since the beginning of the year, caused by recession in auto-making, chemical, textile, ship-building and other industrial sectors, heavy inflation, increased foreign trade deficit and steadily rising unemployment. As a remedy, the Cossiga government proposed in July a series of austerity economic measures including increases in taxes and oil prices and setting up of funds to assist ailing industries and presented to parliament an economic decree covering the above measures in early September.

After the economic decree was defeated in parliament then, the government had to revise it. But when the new, revised decree was brought to vote in parliament today, it was again rejected not only by the opposition parties including the Italian Communist Party, Social-Democratic Party, Liberal Party and the Radical Party, but also by some members of parliament from the ruling Christian Democratic Party and the Italian Socialist Party.

Because of the resignation of the Cossiga government, Italian President Ales Sandro Pertini, who was then in Hong Kong, decided to postpone his visit to Jordan and return home immediately.

CSO: 4020

ITALIAN WORKERS STRIKE, SUPPORT FIAT WORKERS' DEMANDS

OW260833 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 26 Sep 80

[Text] Rome, September 25 (XINHUA)--One point five million metal engineering workers held an eight-hour nationwide strike today protesting the Fiat management's plan to sack 14,000 workers.

The sympathy strike coincided with an imminent breakdown of the negotiations between the Fiat management and the engineering workers' confederation on the planned sacking.

In Turin and Naples, which are centres of engineering industry, the strikers held protest rallies or took to the streets. 70,000 workers in Turin marched in processions from four directions on Piazza San Carlo, the site of their rally. Their placards read, "no sacking" and "no job switch."

The Turin rally was attended by the mayor of the city and the president of the Piemonte Region.

Strikes of varying durations were also held by workers in the communications, transport, construction, public utilities and trading departments. Teachers boycotted classes and all newspapers in Piemonte Region suspended publication.

Thousands of representatives of the workers in the regions of Liguria, Lombardia and Emilia made special trips to attend the demonstration in rally in Turin.

A similar action involving 20,000 workers took place in Naples.

The biggest auto-maker in Italy, the Fiat Company has met with growing difficulty in sales abroad since the beginning of this year in face of a global economic recession, a shrinking car market in the West and intensified competition from Japanese auto-makers. To tide over its difficulty, Fiat has twice reduced the working hours of the workers since last June and on September 7 it announced a decision to sack

14,000 workers. Negotiations between the engineering workers' confederation and the management were started two days later to seek for a formula that would avoid outright sacking, but they broke down because the management insisted on its plan to sack workers. The government intervened on September 11 with Minister for Labour Franco Foschi participating in the talks, but no breakthrough was in sight.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

PAKISTAN BORDER ATTACKS--Islamabad, September 29 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union "cannot absolve itself of the responsibility" for the two air attacks within 48 hours on Pakistan's border posts in Northwest Frontier Province, the Urdu-language newspaper JANG wrote editorially today. It said that the raids were mounted by Afghan helicopter gunships, but Afghanistan is now "under Russia's military control." The paper noted that there have been some 200 violations of Pakistan's airspace since December 1979. It urged the government to make representations to the Soviet authorities and demand an end to such provocations. The armed forces of Pakistan, it said, would teach a telling lesson to the aggressors who persisted in such provocations. Another Urdu-language daily, NAWA-I-WAQT in its editorial today stressed the need for "heightened alertness along the border." [Text] [OW291916 Beijing XINHUA in English 1904 GMT 29 Sep 80]

MRS MARCOS WELCOMES MUSICIANS--Manila, September 27 (XINHUA)--A packed and enthralled audience, numbering over 2,000, applauded heartily every item performed by players of traditional Chinese instruments and singers of Chinese songs at the magnificent cultural center here this evening. The evening's programme performed by the visiting broadcasting national music ensemble of China included traditional Chinese music, music of Chinese national minorities and modern music. The concerto, duet and solo of different Chinese instruments such as erhu, suona, zheng, pipa and flute drew very warm applause and were obviously understood by the audience. Tenor soloist Guo Song, soprano Lu Qingshuang and the young Uighur singer Guli sang songs rich in Chinese flavour and local colour They also sang Philippine songs to the applause of the audience. Mrs. Marcos received members of the ensemble yesterday and listened to some items performed by the Chinese artists at the presidential palace. In a message welcoming the ensemble to her country, Mrs. Marcos said she believed that its performances would contribute to the enhancement of friendship and cultural relations between the two countries and inspire greater appreciation of Chinese music in her country. [Text] [OW271922 Beijing XINHUA in English 1913 GMT 27 Sep 80]

INDIA, YUGOSLAVIA ON ASIAN CRISES--Beijing, September 28 (XINHUA)--Yugoslavia and India have expressed in a joint communique their "serious concern" over the growing aggravation of the situation "in some parts of Asia," according to reports from New Delhi. The communique says that crises in south-east and south-west Asia could and should be resolved "only through political solutions based on well-recognized principles of nonalignment, peaceful co-existence and the United Nations' Charter implying full respect and support for the sovereignty and independence for all countries in these regions as well as the right of their people to live in their own way without interference from outside." The communique adds that the leaders of the two countries felt that "there were growing tendencies to use force and to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, and this represents a serious threat to peace, stability and security in the world." The communique was issued yesterday at the end of the official visit of Yugoslav president of the Federal Executive Council Veselin Djuranovic to India. [Text] [OW281232 Beijing XINHUA in English 1222 GMT 28 Sep 80]

MOZAMBIQUE WEAPONS FROM USSR--Nampula, September 28 (XINHUA)--The 16th anniversary of the Mozambican armed struggle for national liberation was celebrated at a mass rally held here yesterday. Speaking at the rally, President Machel Samora, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, said, "September 25 is a day symbolizing the Mozambican people's bravery and heroism and their deep hatred for foreign domination." The Mozambican people, he said, are confronted with an arduous task of overcoming the country's under-development in the 1980s, and great efforts and sacrifices are needed. He expressed the hope to buy more weapons from the Soviet Union. The second cultural and sports festival was held here from September 21 to 28 to mark the army day. Mozambique began its armed struggle in September 1964 and September 25 was named army day after independence. [Text] [OW291244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 29 Sep 80]

ACROBATS IN TRINIDAD--Beijing, September 24 (XINHUA)--Ellis Clarke, president of Trinidad and Tobago, yesterday received the visiting Chongqing Acrobatic Troupe of China and gave a cocktail party for the guests, according to a report from Port-of-Spain. Earlier, head of the Chinese troupe Xu Mingzhen called on Marilyn Gordon, acting minister of education and culture. Shi Jian, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Chinese embassy in Trinidad and Tobago, was present on both occasions. The Chongqing Acrobatic Troupe arrived in Port-of-Spain on September 21. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1219 GMT 24 Sep 80 OW]

OPERA TO LATIN AMERICA--Beijing, September 25 (XINHUA)--The First Beijing Opera Troupe sent by the People's Republic of China to Latin America will begin a three-month's performance tour of Mexico, Brazil and Argentina, on September 29. The 65-member Tianjin Beijing Opera Troupe has prepared ten operas for the tour. Zhang Yinxue, director of Tianjin's Cultural Bureau and leader of the troupe, today told XINHUA that "Beijing opera is winning a wider audience abroad. Our Argentinian friends requested that the opera 'Chisangzheng' be included in the repertoire. A Brazilian friend told me he thought the people of Brazil would enjoy Beijing opera as much as they do football." The Tianjin Beijing Opera Troupe is mainly composed of graduates of that city's opera school. Their average age is 33. Most of the artists have had over a decade's stage experience. Art adviser Xie Guoxiang hopes that his group will "increase friendship and mutual understanding between China and Latin America. [Excerpt] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 25 Sep 80 OW]

U.S. FINANCES EGYPTIAN PROJECTS--Cairo, September 28 (XINHUA)--Egypt and the United States today signed seven agreements amounting to 165.3 million dollars to finance development projects in Egypt, MENA reported. The agreements completed the U.S. aid programme to Egypt for this year. An official source told MENA that through these agreements Egypt will obtain funds and the technical know-how from the U.S. which would help it in oil prospecting. He added that these agreements will give Egypt a push in the field of the mineral resources prospecting and will give a double push as far as the Egyptian economy is concerned. The source said that these agreements will also help the opening of new vistas for investment in Egypt. [Text] [OW290127 Beijing XINHUA in English 0102 GMT 29 Sep 80]

U.S. URANIUM SALES TO INDIA--Washington, September 24 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Senate voted 48-46 today to permit the sale of 38 tons of enriched uranium to India, thereby neutralizing an earlier House disapproval and clearing the way for the shipment to go ahead. The nuclear fuel export, destined for India's Tarapur reactor, a U.S.-aided project, was authorized by President Carter in June in consideration of U.S. interests in that area and for fear that the Soviet Union might substitute as a supplier if the United States denied India the fuel. The proposed sale, however, was blocked last week by an overwhelming vote in the House of Representatives. Opponents of the sale based their case on the possibility of use by India of the fuel for nuclear explosions and on India's close relations, including arms deals, with the Soviet Union. To overcome the barrier, the administration mounted an intensive lobbying campaign in the Senate during the last few days. Objection by both the House and the Senate was required to stop the sale. [Text] [OW250920 Beijing XINHUA in English 0844 GMT 25 Sep 80]

STUDY IN UK--London, 17 Sep (XINHUA)--Thirty-eight Chinese students majoring in science and engineering have all completed their 2-year preparatory courses in 1 year with very high marks and have been enrolled in universities in Britain. They are all 1978 senior middle school graduates and were selected to study abroad shortly after they enrolled in Chinese universities. Their ages range from 18 to 20. Five of them are girls. [OW240115 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0808 GMT 18 Sep 80]

TAIWAN TRAWLERS IN FUJIAN--Two Taiwan trawlers which went to Fujian's Dongshan Port to seek shelter from storm and repair engines were warmly received by the local people's government and the Dongshan reception center for Taiwan fishermen on 27 August. Braving rainstorms, the local fishermen worked on the Taiwan trawlers for 3 hours until engine trouble was eliminated. During their stay at Dongshan, the Taiwan fishermen were also entertained at a movie party. [OW141115 Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Taiwan 1500 GMT 5 Sep 80 OW]

JAPAN ON IRAN-IRAQ--Tokyo, September 25 (XINHUA)--Six major Tokyo newspapers today editorially expressed concern about the escalating armed conflict between Iraq and Iran and appealed for an immediate ceasefire and settlement of the dispute through negotiations. The NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN said what is urgent at present is to check the war flames from spreading. "The prerequisite for preventing deterioration of the situation is that both the United States and the Soviet Union should refrain from supplying arms to the warring parties or deploying military forces in the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf area," it said. The SANKEI SHIMBUN also said in order to quench the war flames, the United States and the Soviet Union should not provide military aid to the belligerents. It warned the two superpowers against the danger of fishing in the troubled waters. The paper expressed the hope that the U.N. Security Council now being called into session would speedily adopt a resolution on ceasefire and that Iran and Iraq should respond at once and stop fighting. The MAINICHI SHIMBUN, ASAHI SHIMBUN, YOMIURI SHIMBUN and TOKYO SHIMBUN all called for a ceasefire and U.N. mediation.[Text] [OW250812 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 25 Sep 80]

ISLAMIC CONFERENCE ON CONFLICT--United Nations, September 23 (XINHUA)--The member states of the Organization of the Islamic Conference held an emergency meeting here today to consider the situation arising from the conflict between Iraq and Iran. The meeting urged the parties involved, with the good offices of the U.S. Secretary-General and the secretary-general of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to seek a peaceful and just solution to the conflict in the spirit of Islamic solidarity and brotherhood. A press release issued after the meeting said that the Islamic group, on this occasion, expressed its grave concern over the tension existing between two member countries, Iraq and Iran, characterized by major military hostilities and the far-reaching and negative economic consequences of the situation. [Text] [OW240137 Beijing XINHUA in English 0130 GMT 24 Sep 80]

PLO ON IRAN-IRAQ--Beirut, September 24 (XINHUA)--Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, has sent messages to President Saddam Husayn of Iraq and President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr of Iran, urging them to put an end to the hostilities in order to better combat the Zionist and imperialist conspiracies against the Arab and Islamic nations. The Palestine News Agency reported today that the messages were sent in the name of the Palestinian fighters confronting the attacking Israelis in south Lebanon, the occupied Palestine and Jerusalem. 'Arafat also telephoned the Iraqi and Iranian leaders, saying that he was ready to travel to Baghdad and Tehran to help bring an end to the dangerous and regrettable conflict between the two countries. [Text] [OW250134 Beijing XINHUA in English 0117 GMT 25 Sep 80]

THAILAND ON IRAN-IRAQ--Bangkok, September 24 (XINHUA)--Iran and Iraq should immediately cease fire because war between them would affect both sides, said the Thai Prime Minister Prem to reporters here yesterday. He made clear that Thailand would maintain a neutral stand toward the conflict. Thai deputy prime minister Thanat Khoman said in commenting on the same subject that Iran and Iraq are both situated in the oil-producing region coveted by the super powers. A superpower is already attempting to intervene. Therefore, he said, all countries of the world, and the U.N. Security Council, in particular, should adopt measures to bring the fighting between the two countries to an end so as to prevent the possible interference by a third country. Thanat also showed concern over the effect on the oil supply from the two countries to other parts of the world as a result of the conflict. He believed that Thailand would no doubt be affected enormously. He hoped that departments concerned in Thailand would closely watch the development of the situation and work out corresponding measures to cope with it. [Text] [OW241303 Beijing XINHUA in English 1256 GMT 24 Sep 80]

U.S. HOSTAGE DEBATE POSTPONED--Beijing, September 24 (XINHUA)--The Iranian parliament yesterday decided to break off its debate on the U.S. hostages because of the border conflict between Iran and Iraq, according to reports reaching here. The debate which barely started followed the recent U.S. secretary of state's letter to the Iranian prime minister expressing U.S. recognition of the reality of the Iranian revolution. The reports quoted Radio Tehran as saying that the Iranian Islamic students had transferred the U.S. hostages from six Iranian cities to new locations. After six months of captivity in the American Embassy, the U.S. diplomats were sent to provincial cities last April following the abortive American rescue mission. [Text] [OW241230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1221 GMT 24 Sep 80]

IRAQI ACTION AGAINST IRAN--Baghdad, September 23 (XINHUA)--"Iraq will take all appropriate measures" to compel Iran "to observe the rights of others and international law." This was declared in a statement of the Revolution Command Council signed by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn at dawn today. The statement, broadcast over radio, came after Iran declared yesterday all sea frontiers with Iraq including the Hormuz Straits war zones and banned all freight to Iraqi ports. It said that Iran's announcement of its intention to control "this vital and international route at the entrance of the Arab Gulf meant a declaration of full-scale war." "The Iranian action will pave the way for foreign powers to meddle in the internal affairs of the region," the statement said. It also warned that "Iraq will not stand idly by vis-a-vis this situation." [Text] [OW231224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1207 GMT 23 Sep 80]

TURKEY ON IRAN-IRAQ--Ankara, September 23 (XINHUA)--Turkey has deplored the military conflict between Iraq and Iran. Foreign Ministry spokesman Savlet Aktug announced here last evening that the Turkish Government felt sincere anxiety over the confrontation between Iran and Iraq and was watching the developments closely. Aktug said that this confrontation would upset peace and stability in the region. Turkey hopes that "this confrontation will come to an end as soon as possible and that the two friendly and fraternal countries will find peaceful solutions to the problems between them," he said. According to the press here today, the Turkish Foreign Ministry sources believe that the continuation and spread of the war may lead to external interference in the region which would be detrimental to regional and world peace. This is why Turkey is following the developments with concern. Meanwhile, the Turkish airline THY has suspended all flights to the Middle East, following Iraq's declaration of war on Iran yesterday. [Text] [OW231233 Beijing XINHUA in English 1219 GMT 23 Sep 80]

JORDAN SUPPORTS IRAQ--Damascus, September 29 (XINHUA)--"The National Consultative Council of Jordan today expressed its total support for Iraq in waging a national war for the liberation of the occupied Arab lands," Radio Amman reported tonight. In a statement released after a special meeting, the council also urged the Arab nation to stand'on the Iraqi side. It urged "the Arab countries to refuse any foreign intervention, especially superpowers' intervention in the affairs of the region." According to another report, King Husayn of Jordan sent a message to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn today expressing Jordan's support for Iraq in its conflict with Iran. The message was carried to Baghdad by Crown Prince Hasan. On the same day King Husayn received Iraqi Foreign Minister Sa'dun Hammadi and heard a briefing on the fighting between Iraq and Iran. [Text] [OW300334 Beijing XINHUA in English 0245 GMT 30 Sep 80]

PAKISTAN OFFICIALS TO BAGHDAD--Damascus, September 29 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq and Habib Chatti, secretary general of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, left Amman for Baghdad today to continue their goodwill mission and to seek a settlement for the Iraq-Iran conflict, according to a report from Amman. During his stay in Amman, the president was met by King Husayn Ibn Talal, Crown Prince Hasan Ibn Talal, Prime Minister Mudar Badran and other high-ranking officials. The two guests arrived in Amman from Tehran last night. [Text] [OW300139 Beijing XINHUA in English 0102 GMT 30 Sep 80]

IRAQI PRESIDENT RECEIVES HAQ--Baghdad, September 29 (XINHUA)--Iraqi President Saddam Husayn received Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq, the current president of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, here today. In the meeting, the two sides recalled the developments in the Arab world. Ziaul Haq said that the Islamic world would make efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict. Present at the meeting was also the secretary general of the Organization of the Islamic Organization Habib Chatti, who is accompanying Ziaul Haq on a goodwill mission visit to Iran and Iraq. The Pakistan president arrived here at noon today. [Text] [OW300133 Beijing XINHUA in English 0112 GMT 30 Sep 80]

IRAQ CEASEFIRE REQUESTED--Baghdad, September 29 (XINHUA)--Iraqi President Saddam Husayn declared in an official statement Iraq's readiness to immediately halt the hostilities between it and Iran if the other side made a similar undertaking, and to resort to negotiations directly or through a third party, "in order to reach an equitable and honourable solution which would guarantee our rights and our sovereignty." He said this in a message to U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, the Iraqi radio and television networks broadcast here at 6:00 this evening. He noted that the Iraqi decision on this matter is perfectly consistent with the spirit of Resolution 479 of the U.N. Security Council on September 28, 1980. He emphasized: "We naturally accept the above-mentioned resolution of the security council and declare our readiness to abide by it if the Iranian side does likewise." "We hope that the security council will take the necessary measures to urge the Iranian side to abide by that decision," he added. [Text] [OW300136 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 30 Sep 80]

IRAQ WELCOMES MEDIATION EFFORTS--Baghdad, September 26 (XINHUA)--Iraqi Foreign Minister Sa'dun Hammadi said in a press release here today that his government "appreciates the proposals for mediation" to solve the problems that led to the current conflict with Iran. He declared that his country "welcomes all efforts to achieve peaceful relations between Iraq and Iran." "Iraq's sole aim is to protect its legitimate national rights in its territories and sovereignty over its national waters, and has no ambitions whatsoever over Iran's territory," he said. He affirmed that his country has been and will remain one of the most loyal adherents to the policy of non-alignment based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of others and respect for the sovereignty of all states and on its keen interest in peace and security of the world. [Text] [OW261906 Beijing XINHUA in English 1851 GMT 26 Sep 80]

IRAN REFUSES MEDIATION--Tehran, September 27 (XINHUA)--Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Raja'i announced yesterday that Iran would not accept any mediation on its armed conflict with Iran. In an interview with Tehran Radio, the prime minister said, "If any foreign envoys want to see the evidence of the Iraqi aggression, we will make arrangements for them," but "we do not accept anybody as a goodwill mission." He said

Iran would be prepared "to put forward our viewpoints on the dispute with Iraq for foreign representatives, but never will we be ready to say one word in the form of negotiations." A proposal to send a goodwill mission to mediate between the two warring Gulf states was endorsed by the Islamic group at the United Nations, at a meeting earlier yesterday. [Text] [OW270814 Beijing XINHUA in English 0754 GMT 27 Sep 80]

NEPAL ON IRAN-IRAQ--Katmandu, September 26 (XINHUA)--The Nepalese Government in a statement yesterday appealed to Iran and Iraq to end the armed conflict and seek a peaceful settlement of their dispute. It said the current armed conflict between the two countries "has given a serious turn to the already existing conditions of tension in the area and the situation calls for the utmost restraint on all sides." The statement added, "If the conflict is allowed to persist, it will be a great setback to the aspirations of all people for peace and development and constitute a real threat to the peace and security of the world. "It is with this perception in mind that the Nepalese Government would also like to appeal to all countries to bring their influences to bear for the solution of the problem by peaceful means." "We are of the view that outside interference in this matter in whatever form will be extremely serious for international peace and security," the statement stressed. [Text] [OW260904 Beijing XINHUA in English 0823 GMT 26 Sep 80]

VENEZUELA ON IRAN-IRAQ--Beijing, September 27 (XINHUA)--Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campins has expressed the hope that the Iranian-Iraqi conflict should be settled as early as possible, according to a Caracas report. The president spoke at a recent meeting in commemoration of Juan Pablo Perez, founder of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). On September 24, President Herrera instructed Humberto Calderon Berti, Venezuelan minister of power and mines, to seek ways of restoring peace in the Gulf region. Calderon said on the following day that he had made contacts with members of the OPEC. His country would do its best to contribute to the solution of the conflict, he added. On the same day, Venezuela's acting foreign minister Oswaldo Paez Pumar asked the Venezuelan ambassadors to Iran and Iraq to mediate a restoration of peace between the two countries. [Text] [OW271224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 27 Sep 80]

IRAQ-IRAN MEDIATOR--United Nations, September 26 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq will undertake a goodwill mission to Iraq and Iran to mediate between them in response to an appeal by Islamic countries, Foreign Minister Agha Shahi told reporters here today. The proposal, made by Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmaja, was endorsed by all Islamic foreign ministers at a meeting held here today. It was accepted by Iraq and Iran. President Haq's mission, assisted by secretary-general of the Islamic Conference Habib Chatti, will seek the views from the warring parties. Agha Shahi said that Haq would come to New York to address the U.N. General Assembly on his mission to the two countries. It is learned that Mr. Habib left New York this afternoon to accompany the Pakistan President on his trip to the United Nations and on the extraordinary mission. [Text] [OW270137 Beijing XINHUA in English 0121 GMT 27 Sep 80]

UN ACTION ON IRAQ-IRAN--United Nations, September 26 (XINHUA)--U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim has once again urged the security council to consider the military conflict between Iran and Iraq "with the utmost urgency." His suggestion was contained in a letter addressed to the president of the security council yesterday, which was issued here this morning. Despite all the efforts made by the security council and the secretary-general himself, unfortunately "the fighting has continued and intensified," the letter says. [Text] [OW261726 Beijing XINHUA in English 1650 GMT 26 Sep 80]

TURKEY ON IRAN-IRAQ--Ankara, September 25 (XINHUA)--Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen announced here yesterday, "one of the factors to end the confrontation between Iran and Iraq is certainly the non-intervention of any country, be it of the region of outside it." This was said by Turkmen at the airport before his departure for attending the 35th session of the U.N. General Assembly. Turkmen said, "We support both the U.N. secretary general's and the general assembly's appeals for peace. It is our sincerest wish that the confrontation be ended and that the topics of controversy be solved through negotiation." Turkmen said, "If the confrontation continues and the oil refineries and wells of the two sides are harmed, then there may be a serious gap in the oil supplies of the entire world." [Text] [OW251536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 25 Sep 80] Ankara, September 27 (XINHUA)--"Turkey has been following the Iranian-Iraqi war with great concern and sensitivity and is prepared to meet the situation with her usual alertness," declared Turkish Defence Minister Haluk Bayulken here yesterday. The Turkish armed forces are ready to put into effect the current military plans, he said. "Our aim is to protect the integrity of the country and the nation and we are well prepared to do this as always," he added. All necessary measures have been taken for this. Bayulken reaffirmed, "It is our greatest wish that these two countries find a way of solving their problems with peaceful means and agree on a ceasefire for this purpose in the near future." [Text] [OW271918 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 27 Sep 80]

GABON ON IRAQ-IRAN--Beijing, September 27 (XINHUA)--Gabonese President Omar Bongo sent messages yesterday to the presidents of Iraq and Iran appealing to the two countries to stop military conflict, a report from Libreville reported. The messages said: "The war broken out between Iraq and Iran makes us uneasy for every reason. The war damages the solidarity of the Muslim world in particular. The Muslim world needs to be more united than ever before to meet the challenges it faces at present. Therefore, I have the duty to appeal to both of you for taking sensible attitude and hold dialogue, so that the conflict may be stopped, and peace and concord may be resumed in the Gulf region. On the same day, the ministerial council of the Gabonese Government issued a communique saying that in face of this grave situation, Gabon cannot remain indifferent. The Gabonese Government appealed to the two sides to exercise great restraint, solve this problem through dialogue and resume peace between the two countries. [Text] [OW271916 Beijing XINHUA in English 1836 GMT 27 Sep 80]

GUINEA ON IRAN-IRAQ--Conakry, September 27 (XINHUA)--Guinean President Sekou Toure has sent separate messages to Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeyni and President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, calling for an immediate ceasefire and negotiation to solve the Iranian-Iraqi disputes. Sekou Toure said in his message: "The war between the two fraternal countries creates an extreme dangerous situation for their people, their economies and the entire region, and brings severe damage to the stability and development of the region." The Guinean Government, he wrote, is concerned about the dangerous situation brought about by the conflict between Iran and Iraq and calls on the two countries to remove the root cause of the conflict and find a just settlement through talks, instead of the use of force. [Text] [OW280836 Beijing XINHUA in English 0745 GMT 28 Sep 80]

PAKISTANI TALKS WITH IRAN--Beijing, September 28 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq arrived in Tehran yesterday and held two hours of talks with his Iranian counterpart Abolhasan Bani-Sadr and Iranian Prime Minister 'Ali Raja'i in the evening, according to reports from Tehran. After the meeting, President Bani-Sadr told Pakistan reporters he was happy that General Zia had come, but repeated that Iran was not prepared to accept mediation in its conflict with Iraq. The Pakistan president told the journalists: "I have not come here for mediation," "I have come to hear Iran's views." President Ziaul Haq's trip was decided by the representatives of Islamic states, including Iran and Iraq, at the United Nations on September 26. Later both President Bani-Sadr and Prime Minister Raja'i announced that they rejected any mediation effort. [Text] [OW280300 Beijing XINHUA in English 0250 GMT 28 Sep 80]

BANGLADESH ON IRAN-IRAQ--Dacca, September 25 (XINHUA)--Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman sent separate messages to President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr of Iran and President Saddam Husayn of Iraq yesterday, calling for an immediate end to the hostilities between the two countries and urged them to resolve their disputes through peaceful and negotiated settlements, according to Radio Bangladesh this morning. In the messages, President Rahman said, "We are greatly disturbed and distressed by the escalation of the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, two Islamic and non-aligned countries." He said the armed conflict has caused serious loss of life and property to the two countries. "The continuation of the conflict is bound to endanger the security of the entire region and lead to most dreadful consequences, hurting not only Iraq and Iran but also the Islamic world as a whole," the Bangladesh president stressed. [Text] [OW251355 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 25 Sep 80]

PDRY ON IRAN-IRAQ--Aden, September 25 (XINHUA)--Nasir Mohammad, president of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and Premier of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, appealed today to the Iranian and Iraqi leaders to exercise restraint and enter into negotiations to settle their differences by peaceful means, Radio Aden announced here today. Nasir is currently paying a visit to Libya. His appeal was addressed to Ayatollah Khomeyni and President Bani-Sadr of Iran and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn today. He expressed his regret over the bloody conflict now going on between Iraq and Iran. "This is in the interest not of the people of the two countries but of imperialism and Zionism," the premier said. [Text] [OW260126 Beijing XINHUA in English 0109 GMT 26 Sep 80]

IRAN SETS CONDITIONS--Beijing, September 26 (XINHUA)--Iranian President Bani-Sadr has laid down two conditions for calling off the fighting with Iraq, according to a Press Trust of India dispatch from Tehran yesterday. The Iranian president said at a meeting with ambassadors of Islamic countries on Tuesday that Iraq must withdraw its forces to peacetime positions and stop interfering in Iran through weapons and saboteurs. "If Iraq accpets the two conditions and if there were any other problems, we would sit and discuss how to solve those problems," he said. [Text] [OW260810 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 26 Sep 80]

BEIJING GREETS TAIWAN RELATIVES--On the eve of the moon festival, some celebrities in Beijing scientific and technological as well as educational and cultural circles expressed their deep feelings for their friends and relatives in Taiwan through the station reporter. Ye Gongshao, noted professor of the Beijing Medical College, said: On this moon festival, I would like to extend my sincere greetings to my many relatives, friends and schoolmates in Taiwan. In the past 30 years, I have not been able to correspond with them directly. I could only know how they were doing through indirect means. I know they deeply miss their hometowns and relatives. I hope to establish direct correspondence with my relatives and carry out academic exchanges with my counterparts. On this moon festival, China's noted bridge-building expert Mao Yisheng and noted geologist Cheng Yuqi, who had been to Taiwan before liberation [of the mainland], sent their regards to their friends in Taiwan. Cheng Yuqi said: Last July, I attended the 26th geological conference in Paris and met six geologists from Taiwan. During the session, they visited the exhibition and admired new China's geological achievements. Nowadays geologists of many countries frequently visit China for academic exchanges. I hope my counterparts in Taiwan will also come back to make joint contributions to developing the motherland's geological work. [Excerpts] [OW221025 Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Taiwan 0400 GMT 22 Sep 80]

RADIO KABUL DIRECTOR DEFECTS--Islamabad, 25 Sep (XINHUA)--The director of Radio Kabul, Syed Fazle Akbar, has defected and reached Pakistan's border city of Peshawar. In an interview with Radio Pakistan, he said that he made up his mind to leave the country because he could no longer bring himself to keep up the anti-Islamic and anti-Afghan propaganda over Radio Kabul. The staff of the radio, too, felt "very much frustrated" because of the tragic state of affairs into which the Soviet invaders had plunged their country, he added. [Text] [OW260128 Beijing XINHUA in English 0111 GMT 26 Sep 80]

CSO: 4020

THREE IMPORTANT MISSIONS OF CCP

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jun 80 pp 1, 4

[Commentator's Article: "The Party Must Control the Party"]

[Text] To develop such a great country as ours with its 10 million people into a strong modern socialist country, we must rely only on the leadership of the CCP.

In all the modern civilized nations, politics is guided by political parties. This is not an accidental phenomenon. In today's society, the substance of life is complex and far reaching. The rights and interests of any class of people cannot be effectively realized and protected unless the most active, most aware, and most representative members of society form political parties. Further, the recent hundred year's history of our country points to the fact that the proletarian class, as well as the multitude of the working people, gained victory in their New Democratic revolution, socialist revolution, and socialist construction precisely because they were led by a political party of the working class, that is, the Chinese Communist Party.

Taking the world into view, one can say that only two classes of people are capable of providing leadership in modernization: the bourgeoisie and the working class. Only these two classes are closely connected with modern socialist production. In China, because the bureaucratic capitalist class is the slave of imperialism and because the national bourgeoisie possesses inherent weakness, the Chinese bourgeoisie can neither lead Democratic Revolution to victory nor assume leadership position in modern construction. After the CCP led the Chinese people to great victory in the new democratic and socialist revolutions, the important task of leading the country to become a strong, modern socialist country historically fell to it.

Socialist modernization is a revolution of unprecedented breadth and depth. For example, eliminating the influence of fuedalism, capitalism and small-scale production is a very difficult task. During the course of such a mission, various contradictions are bound to develop as a result of differences of views and interests, though the basic interests are the same. The CCP is the advanced unit of the Chinese working class. It is highly organized and disciplined; it is broadly connected to the masses of the people. Furthermore, armed with Marxism, Leninism, and the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. the CCP is capable of grasping the patterns of social development. Thus it contributes a great deal of stability to the future of China's socialism and communism. Only such a party can represent our people's present as well as future interests, correctly handle conflicts among the people and enable people to recognize the relationship of dialectical unity between their present and future interests so that they can be united as one and struggle to achieve their own interests. No other party can undertake such a mission. Therefore, in the course of socialist modernization, it is in the interest of the people in the whole nation that we uphold the leadership of the communist party from beginning to end. Based upon their personal experience, the masses of the people always look to good, correct leadership, a leadership that is free from gross errors and that corrects itself in time if it does commit errors.

The fundamental goal of Lin Biao and the gang of four was to destroy our party so that they might devastate a host of other things. They completely destroyed our party's political line, ideological line, and organizational line; they trampled on our party's fine traditions and style, and they advocated "kicking over party commissions and rousing revolution." Consequently, at one time they almost paralyzed party organization at all levels. Later, although these organizations were nominally restored, many organizations actually fell into the hands of their factional systems. In addition, because they erroneously interpreted and promoted the "unified Leadership" slogan to substitute party for government, party organizations got bogged down in handling everyday administrative affairs and solving all kinds of trivial disputes. As a result, they had no energy or ability to carry out the construction work of the party itself. Under such circumstances, it seems irrelevant to talk about strengthening the leading role of the party.

Presently, as the task of the Four Modernizations is progressing speedily, every sector urgently needs the Party's leadership to be strengthened, but the conditions of party organizations at all levels do not suit the needs of our great endeavor. Only if we try our best to improve party leadership can we strengthen it. To do so, we must first change the undesirable condition of ignoring the distinction between party and government, substituting party for government, having the party run everything and substituting administrative leadership for party leadership. This change will give party organizations at all levels adequate time and energy to handle primarily the task of party construction. If we can properly handle party construction, if we can effectively carry out the party's correct political line, ideological line, and organizational line; and if party organization is strong and its members can set good examples, then everything else can be easily managed.

Since some party members looked upon the party's right to lead as individuals' rights to approve, to make decisions, and to have the final say, once these rights were taken out of their hands they would feel that there was nothing for them to do, and that they couldn't guarantee party leadership. This is an erroneous conception. For the socialist endeavor is the endeavor of the people; it is to be undertaken by the concerted effort of the masses of the people, each in his/her own capacity, and through the cooperation of the executive organ and other agencies. Only if the party effectively manages its own affairs, provides correct leadership, establish its prestige among the people, and conducts detailed, patient, and thorough ideological-political work among the masses can we expect the masses to follow the party willingly, and only then can the party's leadership be consolidated. If you insist on doing all that administrative and technical work yourself, then you will be so busy that you can't manage it all, and won't necessarily be able to do it well. Moreover, you will prevent others from bringing their initiative into play. More important, you will not have the time to do well the things the party ought to be concerned with. Instead, you may lose prestige and weaken the party's leadership.

What then are the missions the party ought to carry out effectively?

The primary mission of the party is to indoctrinate, through propaganda education, party members and the masses of the people in the party's line, principles, and policies, and to make sure that party lines, principles, and policies, will be strictly adhered to within our own district, department, or unit.

Now the political line, ideological line, and organizational line of our party are all correct. But this is not to say that these correct lines will all be completely followed through in due course. We must admit that because of the existence of the poisonous current of the extreme lefttist, the influence of feudalist consciousness, capitalist thought and small-scale production mentality, the fact that some of our party cadres and members are below par with regard to their knowledge of Marzism and that they lack scientific and cultural knowledge--resistance to carrying out the correct line of the Party Central is still quite strong. Party organizations at all levels must first put forth their effort to raise the level of consciousness among the people and party members as a whole with regard to the execution of the party line. Now we must lead the people to march with one mind toward the modernizations. We should examine their work in terms of whether it is beneficial to the task of the Four Modernizations, whether they have made the best contribution they can to the Four Modernizations. To cite Beijing as a specific example, party organizations must make sure that the people in Beijing are united in thought and in action in carring out completely the four proposals given to Beijing City Administration by the secretariat of the Central Committee of the party.

Party organizations at all levels must indoctrinate the party as a whole, from top level cadres to ordinary members so that they will adhere to the dialectical materialist ideological line or proceeding from actual conditions, and seeking truth from facts. Situations change constantly, and many contradictions do exist. Only if everyone's thought is truly liberated and everyone strives to study the new situation to solve new problems and to act strictly according to objective rules and regulations, can we extol the good, avoid the bad and fully develop our strengths.

To insure complete execution of the party's political line, all party organizations must also constantly familiarize themselves with the conditions of party cadres, strengthen cadres' education and training and promptly recommend those who carry on the party line, who have real ability and learning, who are young and strong to assume leadership positions. At the same time, they must reorganize, when necessary, those who are unfit for leadership resonsibilities and sincerely help these cadres to improve themselves.

Another important mission of the party is to persevere in educating party members in democratic centralism and strict organizational discipline, and to insure the cohesiveness and unity of the party.

The power of the CCP lies in its upholding the unity in thought and in action, based on Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought. This unity, moreover, is in turn strengthened by the iron discipline which is built upon the foundation of self-awareness. Without this condition, the Communist Party cannot be a united combat group. Party organizations should teach all party members, including high-ranking cadres, to strictly abide by the principles of organizational discipline of democratic centralism: "individuals must subordinate themselves to the organization; the minority must subordinate itself to the majority; the lower level must subordinate itself to the higher level; and the entire party must subordinate itself to the Central Committee." Above all, politically we must maintain perfect harmony with the Party Central Committee. When carrying out the Central Committee's and party organizations' decisions, we should not allow any individual deviations or pretended observance of the principles. We must clearly explain to party members that strictly adhering to organizational discipline is not a trifling matter which concerns only a few party members involved; rather it is a matter of great importance which can determine whether our party has fighting power, and whether our party can carry out, consolidate, and strengthen its leadership. Once discipline is set, it must be strictly carried out and not be regarded, as just something for us to pay lip service to. In fact, if we fail to inspect and carry out discipline, it might as well be non-existent. As to those who violate party and discipline, we must distinguish different situations and seriously discipline them without indulgence and any compromise.

Still another important mission of the party is to constantly increase party members' political awareness, and to develop fully their function of being pioneering models in production, in work and in various social activities. Party members' function of being pioneering models is a very important condition in achieving party leadership. The masses of the people judge whether our party truly represents their interests, serves them and leads them toward the magnificent goal of achieving socialist modernization. They judge not only from the correctness of our party lines, principles, and policies, but also, in a large measure, the actions of our party members, especially those in leadership positions. They usually learn about our party through the conduct of our party members. In our new long-march, every party member should be the backbone and core of the masses of the people and work with them with wholehearted zest and dedication. Furthermore, they should function as bridges between the party and the people; as intermediaries who can quickly promote and explain the party's lines, principles, and policies to the people and also report the people's views and needs to party organizations. Most important of all, these members should assume leadership roles in learning, production, work as well as other social activities. They should endure hardship before others and enjoy themselves after others and demonstrate their spirit of self-sacrifice. They should take the initiative to shoulder greater responsibilities and to set good examples for the masses to follow. During the ten years of upheavel, the party's fine traditions and styles suffered serious damage. Within the party, quite a few members are either unqualified or not fully qualified; in fact, some even fall far behind the people outside the party. We must rectify this situation; we must do so no matter how much energy it takes, how many obstacles we have to oversome. Otherwise, if some members object to whatever the Party promotes and insist on doing what the Party is against, how can we lead the masses to march forward?

We must educate party members to establish firm convictions in communism on scientific bases. This is an essential requirement of a member of the Communist Party. For if one doesn't believe that the communist ideology can be realized and if one doesn't plan to struggle for it, why does one bother joining the Communist Party? When taking oath on joining the party, every member would express his/her desire to struggle for communism his entire life. But some of these comrades considered the oath as a kind of exaggerated or empty talk, devoid of meaning and aren't really prepared to do this. What they failed to realize is that this oath has real meaning and is supposed to guide all of one's actions. For example, in the face of unhealthy trends and evil practices, should one follow the crowd or should one act as a solitary rock in a turbulent stream? Should one enthusiastically study science, technology, and various kinds of technical know-how or should one muddle along? When confronted with an important decision, should one consider the interest of the party first or should one consider one's own interest first? Many questions such as these are directly related to one's understanding of communism.

The Fifth National CCP Congress adopted "Some Guiding Principles of Inner-Party Political Life." The new draft of Party Constitution also established higher standards for the qualifications of party members. Party organizations at all levels must earnestly organize their members to integrate with reality, to learn these standards and to measure oneself by them. They should highly praise the party members who serve as vanguard models, and, at the same time, help those unqualified or not fully qualified members to improve themselves expeditiously through criticism and education. If upon understanding the party's standards for members and repeatedly seriously considering them some members feel that they can't measure up to such strict standards, it is perfectly all right for them to ask to withdraw from the party. The party organization must approve such a request. It is by no means a disgraceful act to withdraw from the party; nor can we say that these comrades have committed serious errors. They are still our good comrades. When they have acquired the necessary qualifications, they can still re-apply for membership. This approach to the problem is beneficial to both the party and these comrades.

It is not easy to fulfill these three important missions, but we must try our utmost to fulfill them. In the past, during the war, under difficult circumstances or in adversity, people followed the party because various party organizations truly fulfilled these missions. We relied on the correct party line, strong party organizations, and exemplary party members for our success. Today, in our new long march, we still have to rely on these conditions. If we can succeed in our missions, not only will our prestige among the masses be further restored, but it will attain a new height on a new scientific basis. Our party's leadership in all endeavors can then be strengthened, people will unite themselves more earnestly around the party, and the victory of socialist modernization will be more attainable.

9697
CSO: 4005

UPCOMING NPC STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION DISCUSSED

HK300745 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 25 Sep 80 p 1

["News Talk column": "A Reshuffle at the Ministerial Level of the State Council"]

[Text] The NPC Standing Committee will probably hold a session in the next few days. It is said that one of the subjects to be discussed at the session is the trial of the "gang of four" and the other is the reshuffling of some ministers and vice ministers of the State Council.

The "gang of four" will be tried soon and the trial of the gang is a matter of the Ministry of Justice. As for how the "gang of four" will be tried, the NPC has a say in the matter. The trial of such a delicate case is a matter of primary importance in our country. The opinions of NPC can at least be presented to the Supreme People's Court for reference. Leaders of the Supreme People's Court are also elected by the People's Congress. The NPC is the highest organ of state power and the supreme court is in charge of judicial work. Just as the State Council which manages administrative work, the supreme court should also hold itself responsible to the NPC.

Of course, even the NPC is not allowed to decide the case before the trial is conducted. Nobody should conclude that the "gang of four" will not be sentenced to death and so forth. At the recent NPC session, some people criticized Hua Guofeng, saying that he should not announce the "gang of four" will not be sentenced to death before the trial has even started. This reflected the democratic atmosphere prevailing at the NPC session.

Before the session, Song Zhenming asked to be removed from the post of minister of petroleum industry because of the capsizing of the oil rig "Bohai No [illegible]" Some people maintained that in so doing he tried to regain the initiative though he was already in a passive position and that he tried to evade responsibility. He should not be allowed to escape punishment because he is legally accountable for the accident. After Song Zhenming's resignation, the vacant position of the minister of petroleum industry will certainly be filled at the upcoming sesson of the NPC Standing Committee.

In addition, the vacant post of defense minister should also be filled as a result of Xu Xiangquan's resignation. Some people think that according to the principle of differentiating the work and responsibilities between the government and party, the Defense Ministry will substantially take over the work of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee. As a result, minister of defense will take over greater responsibility. The problem of the military commission was reportedly not discussed at length at the recent NPC session. It is obvious that the duties and responsibilities of the Ministry of Defense will not be enormously changed at least at the present moment. Yang Dezhi and Li Desheng are the most popular candidates for the post of defense minister. However, Yang Dezhi is chief of general staff and concurrently a secretary of the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee. According to the principle of differentiating the work and responsibility between the government and party and preventing the holding of too many posts concurrently by one person, the possibility of his being appointed the defense minister is not great.

Will other ministers be changed? This is a possibility. At least some vice ministers will be relieved of their posts. For example, after Vice Minister Li Guocai was criticized by name and exposed by RENMIN RIBAO, GONGREN RIBAO demanded that he be dismissed from his post. He should not be allowed to hold his post any longer. Another vice minister of chemical industry, Yang Yibang, was also criticized at the two recent NPC sessions.

Li Guocai was reportedly protected by a member of the State Economic Commission. This person was Vice Premier Kang Shien who received a demerit because of the capsizing of the oil rig "Bohai No 2."

CSO: 4005

OPEN REPUDIATION OF MAO ZEDONG CALLED FOR

OW280233 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT
26 Sep 80

[Text] Speaking at a party Central Committee work conference earlier this year, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping said that the rootcause of the ideological confusion within the party and the army lay in leadership, that is, those leaders who were not persecuted or suffered only a little during the Cultural Revolution. He brought up this question again when meeting some PLA deputies at the third session of the Fifth NPC.

Facts show that this view expressed by Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping is wrong and its intention is not as simple as we thought. A large number of party, government and army leaders have been dismissed from their posts in the past few years, including more than 8,000 cadres of all army headquarters, arms and services, military regions and districts, military academies and at and above regiment and battalion levels. Despite the reshuffles, the ideological problem among the masses of cadres has basically remained unsolved and the crisis of confidence has continued. Only a few people have confidence in the principles, policies and plans set forth by certain leaders of the party Central Committee, its military commission and the State Council. According to the estimation made by the party Central Committee's organizational work conference held last year, less than 24 percent of people had trust for the principles, policies and plans. The third session of the Fifth NPC laid bare more problems, which have undoubtedly further aggravated the crisis of confidence and caused more ideological confusion.

At the NPC session, a deputy from Hubei said: Owing to their past experience, the masses of people worry that the present situation is fluid and the policy may be changed again. Deputies from Anhui and Hunan pointed out: Many of the prominent leaders today were vanguards of the "great leap forward," heroes of the anti-rightist struggle and opportunists during the Cultural Revolution. They always paraphrase Chairman Mao's quotations in their speeches and articles. It is very possible that when these people seize the power in future, the policy will be changed again.

The rootcause of the ideological confusion and crisis of confidence lies in the fact that in handling the questions of the party left over from history and in discussing Mao Zedong's contributions and errors, certain leaders in the central authorities were motivated by their selfish interests and deliberately left some questions unsolved. Because of these leaders' equivocal attitude in handling the questions and constant praises for Mao Zedong's Thought and contributions, it is only natural that the cadres and masses of people cannot but raise the doubt that Mao Zedong's policies will be revived someday.

As for the "gang of four" and their followers, they merely followed Chairman Mao's instructions. The "gang of four" were the successors promoted by Chairman Mao personally. He was the spiritual leader and backstage boss of the "gang of four." We strongly condemn the "gang of four" for [words indistinct] the "great leader." How could the ideological confusions have been avoided?

Political campaigns--the three red banners, the anti-rightist struggle, the rectification campaign and the "Great Cultural Revolution"--which were personally launched and led by Chairman Mao after the founding of the country, have now been officially negated and repudiated. However, their culprit still lies in the memorial hall and is worshipped by people. Such a ridiculous thing could happen only in our party and country.

In order to eliminate the ideological confusion within the party and the army and among the masses of people, at the 12th National Party Congress we must openly and unselfishly repudiate Chairman Mao's errors after the founding of the country and remove his remains from the memorial hall and bury them in Shaoshan village, his hometown.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'HONGQI'S' THEORETICAL GUIDANCE DISCUSSED

HK291015 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 22 Sep 80 p 3

[WEN WEI PO article: "Beijing Theoretical Circles Offer Ideas to HONGQI and Look Forward to Theoretical Guidance To Deal With Present Disorderly Thinking"]

[Text] For the sake of improving propaganda work and raising the quality of propaganda, on 1 July, the editorial department of HONGQI invited 42 public figures from theoretical circles in Beijing to a forum presided over by Xiong Fu, the editor-in-chief of the journal. At the meeting, speeches were delivered by Wu Liping, Feng Ding, Liu Zongzhuo, Wen Jize, Zhang Jian, Xue Muqiao, Qian Junrui, Ma Peiwen, Wang Ruoshui, De Lin, Zhang Tengxiao and Liu Keming. Wang Renzhong and Zhou Yang, director and deputy director respectively of the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee, also addressed the meeting.

The forum summed up the work of HONGQI over the last 2 years: HONGQI has made progress and portrays things better than in the past. However, it has still not succeeded in becoming a publication everybody is anxious to read and must read. Since changing into a semimonthly publication, it has become more timely and also taken on additional writers. However, there are still very few articles of a more profound theoretical flavor and richer theoretical content that can really proceed from reality, grasp rich practical materials, carry out conscientious study and are able to evoke and solve new problems in the complicated economic sphere. There is still not enough theoretical courage and although the literary style is most serious, it is not lively enough. There is still a very big gap between the demands of the CCP Central Committee and the desires of the masses.

Those attending the meeting held: There are masses of problems urgently requiring theoretical guidance in the country at present. The minds of the masses are confused and they hope for enlightenment and solution. For example: Why is there no improvement in the economy of our country? Why is the superiority of the socialist system not brought into play? What has caused the intensification of class struggle and such a great number of unjust, false and wrong cases? How can we prevent a repetition of such mistakes? How can we correctly handle the relationship between the socialist four modernizations and Marxism-Leninism? What are the characteristics of the Chinese-style road to modernization? There is also: the object of socialist production, democracy and law, the ethical standard of communism and the youth problem. They hope to get hold of some urgent major issues and organize people to study and write special articles about them or organize comradely mass discussions and debates, fairly exchange views and boldly carry out exploration.

Xue Muqiao proposed: I hope that HONGQI will in the next 3 to 5 years, or perhaps longer, do a good job in clearing up the many ideological and theoretical problems left behind by history, find out which are correct or incorrect and keep on publishing articles about them.

Feng Ding held that apart from articles of a guiding and educational nature, we must try and include some articles of scientific and general interest. Wen Jize hoped for the publication of more articles on science and technology. Wang Ruoshui proposed that party organs and journals should sometimes also go in for friendly competitions or call for competitions. Zhou Yang agreed with the views of many of the comrades and called for HONGQI to be run in a more lively manner and to achieve unity of thinking by means of active free discussions. He said: "There may be some risks in free development and discussions, but comparatively speaking, this is less dangerous than ideological ossification. We would rather run this risk in order to invigorate the thinking of our party and people so that they will have the courage to speak, express opinions and discuss things."

At present, the circulation of HONGQI has reached 7.1 million copies. Wang Renzhong held that we must make it the best publication in the whole country. He accepted the request made by the participants for the CCP Central Committee to strengthen leadership and said that he was prepared to hold a special meeting to study the work of the journal.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CADRE RETIREMENT SYSTEM RIDICULED

OW291045 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT
28 Sep 80

[Summary from poor reception] "It is understandable that a large number of deputies to the third session of the Fifth NPC have warmly welcomed the abrogation of lifelong tenure for cadres. The abrogation of lifelong tenure for leading cadres, especially for the leading cadres in the party Central Committee, is a prerequisite for the smooth development of our party, army and country. However, the abrogation of lifelong tenure must be observed both in name and in reality, and new leaders should be elected by giving full expression to inner-party democracy; otherwise, the new retirement system will be meaningless.

"The present situation in the party is contrary to the new system. Before they tendered their resignations, many leaders--including Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and other leaders among the central authorities--(?used the feudal method) to select and set up their own teams of successors. This method is, in essence, the same as that employed by Mao Zedong in stipulating Lin Biao as his successor and promoting and training Wang Hongwen as a trade union leader."

What is worse is that before their resignations, certain people promoted their longtime subordinates, comrades-in-arms and confidants to various leading posts. Some of those promoted are not in the prime of life, nor do they have rich experience, but they are a bunch of opportunists who blindly accept and carry out their masters' orders. In the past, our party and army suffered grave losses, prestige was seriously damaged, and the people went through various hardships because this bunch of people betrayed the interests of the country and people and did everything they could to please their master.

"There are also certain people, especially some among the central authorities, who call for rejuvenating the leadership and oppose lifelong tenure. However, when it is their turn to retire, they resign from some secondary posts and retain the post with actual power. Our country is ruled by the dictatorship of one party, and the party leadership is above all.

For this reason, certain people are firmly grabbing the power of the party and trying to manipulate key party, government and army departments and to appoint their leaders through the control of the party Central Committee."

In sum, de facto lifelong tenure for responsible persons in the party Central Committee has seriously affected government office work and obstructed the growth of a new generation of leaders.

CSO: 4005

CADRE'S SON SENTENCED TO DEATH FOR MURDER IN HEILONGJIANG

OW280217 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Excerpts] (Zhang Huatang), Standing Committee member of the party committee and deputy director of the Shuangyashan Forestry Bureau, Heilongjiang, was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment for shielding his son--who was charged with seizing a gun and murder--giving him ammunition and hand grenades and supporting and conniving with him in resisting arrest by public security personnel. (Zhang Yongping) was sentenced to death and deprivation of political rights for life. Relatives who harbored and shielded (Zhang Yongping) were also punished by law.

(Zhang Yongping), son of (Zhang Huatang), was an assistant driver of the (Baoshan) lumber yard, under the Shuangyashan Forestry Bureau. He was locked up for driving a motor vehicle without authorization. While in custody, on 18 April this year, (Zhang Yongping) and (Liu Shangjiang), also in custody for the same offense, hit two guards with bricks, seriously injuring them, and escaped with two pistols, 12 rounds of ammunition and a wristwatch, both robbed from the guards. The two criminals stole a motor vehicle and escaped to Harbin City. In Harbin, they ran into public security personnel who were after them. (Liu Shangjiang) opened fire to resist arrest and was shot dead on the spot by the public security personnel. (Zhang Yongping) got away in the motor vehicle and, while running away, shot and killed (Xiao Qifeng), political instructor of the (Xiaofang) Traffic Police Company, Harbin City.

(Zhang Yongping) escaped to his uncle (Zhang Haitang's) home in Anda County, Heilongjiang. (Zhang Haitang), who was a communist party member, had already received two wanted circulars on (Zhang Yongping) from public security organs, but he still personally sent the killer (Zhang Yongping) into hiding in the home of another relative, (Zhang Binghua). He also went to (Zhang Yongping's) home twice to bring back pistol ammunition and handgrenades for (Zhang Yongping) to resist arrest. (Zhang Huatang), father of (Zhang Yongping), not only failed to report to the public security authorities, but sent on two occasions a total of 56 rounds of ammunition and handgrenades to (Zhang Yongping). (Zhang Binghua), a distant cousin of (Zhang Yongping), and (Zhang Yuncheng), an uncle, created conditions for (Zhang Yongping's) hiding and escape. They committed perjury and lied to public security authorities. (Zhang Yongping) was arrested in a relative's home in Shandong Province by public security authorities and brought to justice.

CSO: 4005

'TAIWAN-BORN' CADRES, FIGHTERS IN PLA DISCUSSED

OW202216 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1241 GMT 20 Sep 80

[Excerpts] Fuzhou, 20 Sep--A large number of Taiwan-born cadres and fighters have grown up rapidly in the people's army and made positive contributions to accelerating the modernization of national defense. They have been commended and rewarded by their superiors.

Chen Jinsheng, a Taiwan-born fighter who won the honorary title of "hero in fighting the enemy" in the campaign to cross the Changjiang River, is now deputy director of the Xiapu County People's Armed Forces Department under the Fujian Provincial Military District. In his leading post, he has systematically studied lasers, guided missiles, nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, atomic confrontation, and other modern military science knowledge and written more than 100,000 words in study notes. He has also used the theoretical knowledge he acquired to study the reform of military training, directed militiamen to practice modern fighting skills and trained more than 700 outstanding training cadres.

Shen Xinlong and Shen Lihua are Taiwan-born brothers of the same parents. They enlisted in 1973 and 1974 respectively and were assigned to Fuzhou PLA units.

Liu Shian, a surgeon in the general hospital of Fuzhou PLA units, is a native of Xinzhu County, Taiwan. Pressed into military service by the Kuomintang and sent to the mainland, he was moved and inspired by our army. He revolted and crossed over in 1946.

CSO: 4005

NEW FILMS SHOWN FOR NATIONAL DAY

OW300734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 30 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--"You Can Be Proud of Me, Mama," China's first feature film on the 1979 battles in defence of China's borders against Vietnamese troops, will be shown this national day. A Changchun production in color, the film tells how a group of young soldiers defend their country and a mother's sorrow and courage on the death of her son.

Other new film attractions involve the chaos and harm of the Cultural Revolution and the people's yearning for Taiwan's return.

"Tenth Bullet," a Sian production, traces the life story of a veteran public security man who received nine bullet wounds in past years of revolutionary wars and was jailed on false charges by the "gang of four." In his first case on his resuming post, he found the criminal to be his only son. Left alone when his parents were in jail, the boy had suffered a great deal and come under the influence of the ultraleft, finally was party to a sabotage attempt. To the father, this was the tenth bullet wound.

"Love of Lushan," a Shanghai widescreen love story, gives views of Lushan Mountain's sea of clouds, waterfalls, ancient pines and winding paths.

"Spy," produced in Changchun, reveals how factional quarrels are used by the enemy. The story is set in the 1930's.

"Loyal Hearts" is adapted from one of Beijing's first dramas about medical scientists persecuted by the "gang of four."

CSO: 4020

QINGHAI MURDER CASE STIMULATES PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS

SK250932 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Sep 80

[Text] According to QINGHAI RIBAO, a murder was committed at noon on 1 September at a room in [words indistinct] living quarters of the highway section of the Qinghai Provincial Communications Department. A man shot a girl to death and wounded her older brother with a 45-caliber pistol. Subsequently, the murderer killed himself.

The murderer was (Zhou Jianguo), 25, a cadre at the Xining Municipal Public Security Bureau. The victim was (Zhang Li), 21, a nurse at Qinghai Medical College Hospital.

(Zhou Jianguo) had been in love with a girl in his college class. In April 1979 he met (Zhang Li) when he was taking field training at Qianghai Medical College Hospital. He tried to woo her. Being honest, upright, diligent and responsible, (Zhang Li), a nice girl, refused his proposal. Desiring to improve herself, she believed that she should concentrate on her study and work while she was still young. After several contacts, she learned that they were different in character and had nothing in common. More than once she told him to leave her alone. (Zhou Jianguo) became depressed and planned the murder.

On 31 August (Zhou Jianguo) tried to force the girl to sign a suicide pact with him.

Around 1000 the next morning, (Zhou Jianguo) called at the girl's home and continued to torment her. At noon the girl's two brothers returned from work. Learning that (Zhou Jianguo) had been inside with their sister for hours, they knocked at the door and asked Zhou to open it. Zhou refused to let them in. Finally, the girl's younger brother lost his temper and broke down the door. The murder ensued.

The broad masses are indignant on learning of the murder. They all say that being a public security officer and knowingly violating the law by murdering such a nice girl, (Zhou Jianguo), even after his death, should be bitterly criticized. Everyone is sorry about the death of (Zhang Li).

QINGHAI RIBAO carried a brief commentary on this case 23 September. It states: Young people are apt to commit suicide and murder when they are confronted with frustrations such as failing a university entrance examination. Disappointment in a love affair or lack of promotions also lead to frustration. We must heed this abnormal social phenomenon. No one can avoid frustrations. The question is what attitude we adopt in facing difficulties. Some people use them as experience and learn from them: they deserve to be called strong men. Others blame everyone but themselves when they are defeated. They collapse after a single setback. They may even lose confidence and commit suicide. These persons are cowards. There are also those who will become desperate when their selfish goals are unlikely to be attained. They may hurt or kill others. These persons are black sheep.

All social circles should strengthen the education of youths on the legal system and the proper outlook on life. All departments that possess weapons must strengthen controls over weapons, forbid their abuse and strictly guard against theft and loss.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

GUANGZHOU PROTESTANT CHURCH--(Xian) Church, a newly repaired Protestant church in Guangzhou, resumes religious service today. The (Xian) Church's religious activities ended during the Great Cultural Revolution. Since then, the church was used for other purposes. Repairs to the church began in May this year. The church is scheduled to open today. To celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Protestant (San Jian) Patriotic Association, Protestants will also perform a commemoration ceremony. [Text] [Guangzhou City Service in Cantonese 0430 GMT 21 Sep 80 HK]

CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 76617

14 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 127

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76617

14 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 127

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

An Analysis of Ronald Reagan's China Policy
(Chu Sheng; QISHI NIANDAI, 1 Sep 80) 1

Problems Facing UNGA Session Discussed
(Shih Chun-yu; TA KUNG PAO, 15 Sep 80) 6

Briefs
Mexican Team in Wuhan 8

PARTY AND STATE

Liu Shaoqi's Downfall, Imprisonment Described
(Liu Ying; ZHENGMING, 1 Sep 80) 9

We Must Look at Facts When Implementing Policies
(Zhang Tao; DAZHONG RIBAO, 21 Aug 80) 17

Two Different Policies, Lines on Cadres Discussed
(Hu Jilong; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 25 Aug 80) 21

Young People Told To Rely On, Support The Party
(Ji Yongfu; SHANXI QINGNIAN, No 7, 1980) 24

Past 'Mistakes' of CCP Have Been Corrected
(Zhao Yuting SHANXI QINGNIAN, No 7, 1980) 26

Cadres Accused of Violating Law Sentenced to Prison Terms
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 25 Aug 80) 30

Civil Service System That Made Han Dynasty Strong Restated
(Li Konghuai; WEN WUI BAO, 15 Aug 80) 33

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Moslems Observe Ramadan; Official Recognition Given
(Various sources; 14 Aug 80) 40

Moslems in Jinan
Moslems in Guangzhou, Tianjin

Blueprint for a new Xizang Given by Acting CCP Secretary
(Yin Fakang; MINZU TUANJIE, 15 Jul 80) 42

Works of Graphic Artist Profiled
(XINHUA, 1 Oct 80) 55

Briefs
Xizang Language Science Publication 57

AN ANALYSIS OF RONALD REAGAN'S CHINA POLICY

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 80 pp 60-61

[Article by Chu Sheng [2806 3932]: "Reagan's China Policy"]

[Text] When U. S. Senator Goldwater, in pursuit of the presidential throne, won the Republican nomination in 1964, Ronald Reagan, then only an actor in Hollywood, first went into politics and campaigned for him. Goldwater suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Johnson of the Democratic Party.

Goldwater failed because he was too conservative. Before running for the presidency, he even opposed many of the policies supported by Republican president Eisenhower and the moderates in Congress; therefore, how could he win the support of the broad voters? Again serving as a senator later on, he was a well-known leading figure of the ultrarightwing faction of the Republican Party and the treasure of Taibei.

Let us see how he, in the U. S. Senate on 6 August, interpreted Jiang Jingguo's announcement on holding an election at the end of this year. He said that Jiang Jingguo's move was "a momentous step for the Republic of China to stride toward a perfect and model democratic government." (Cited from CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY; not seen in other foreign press reports). Recently, he even denounced Beijing's criticism of Reagan's statements on the China policy as interference in U. S. elections.

The market for Goldwater's views is becoming more limited in the U. S. government and with the public. However, Ronald Reagan, a Goldwater protege of former years and a rightwing Republican, has been considerably edified, and even his advisers have close ties with Taiwan.

According to the WASHINGTON POST of 6 June, one of Reagan's important advisers is the head of a public relations firm in California. Some 2 1/2 years ago, he accepted an employment contract with the Taiwan authorities at a monthly allowance of $5,000 to propagandize for Taiwan in America, including preparing statements for Reagan in support of Taiwan and against maintaining relationships with Communist China. The measure was endorsed by Reagan.

Taibei's ZHONGGUO SHIBAO [CHINA TIMES] of 18 June cited reliable sources in Washington saying that, if Reagan was elected, possibly he would send a personal representative to Taibei and improve U. S.-Taiwan relations, and that the representative would discuss with Jiang Jingguo such momentous issues as the sale of arms.

However, what produced the strongest reaction were Reagan's statements when campaigning for nomination in Detroit, Cleveland and (Michigan). He declared repeatedly that, if elected, he would resume "official relations" with Taiwan. Even though the point was not included in the Republican platform, Reagan remained his old self and held firmly to his own view.

Though the reactions of the U. S. government and public and of China, which was the party concerned, were unfavorable, Reagan's China policy remained vacillating and uncertain.

On the part of Communist China, Chairman Hua Guofeng and Vice Premier Zhao Ziyang in charge of daily affairs, when receiving U. S. congressmen in July, censured, without naming names, Reagan's campaign promises.

U. S. Undersecretary of State Holbrook felt that, if Reagan considered changing the relations with Taiwan, it would bring negative results to America's strategic position in Asia. He cited the newest public opinion poll which indicated that two-thirds of the Americans had a favorable impression of China.

General (Haigue) (President Nixon's aide), former commander of NATO, whose views receive Reagan's serious attention, felt that the best way to protect the security of Taiwan was to maintain a good relationship with Beijing, and that, if Beijing felt that its territorial sovereignty was not under external threat, it would continue to tolerate the status quo of Taiwan.

U. S. Senate majority leader Byrd (Democrat) declared that Congress would block Reagan from resuming complete diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

In a didactic tone, he said: "As an individual running for the presidency, he may be ambiguous, unclear and uncertain of the issues, but once winning the presidency, he will become more steady and realistic in his thinking, because he will be dealing with the real world."

Never having dealt with the real world, Reagan encountered for the first time the setback brought on by himself. A comment in the British ECONOMIST said that, if Reagan wanted to become an Eisenhower, he must free himself from "Goldwater's shadow" in the mind of the voters. His foreign affairs advisers hurriedly defended their boss. His chief foreign affairs adviser (Ailun) said that at present there would be no change in the relationship with Communist China and indicated that the possibility of supplying non-offensive military equipment and other material to Beijing was not ruled out.

(Ailun) said that Reagan merely wanted to study the possibilities of establishing official relations with Taiwan but never thought of resuming diplomatic relations with it.

The chairman of the Republican platform committee (Tuoer) also agreed that there was no possibility of restoring the old relationship between the U. S. and Taiwan prior to Carter's recognition of mainland China.

The defenses failed to pacify public indignation. Thus, Reagan took his first diplomatic initiative on 4 August and announced that he was sending his campaign partner Bush and (Ailun) and others to the Orient. The group would arrive in Beijing on 20 August after visiting Japan, utilizing Bush's favorable status as the former chief of the liaison office in Beijing to intercede with Communist China. However, just when Bush started on his trip to China, Reagan again mentioned establishing the so-called "official relations" with Taiwan. JENMIN RIBAO promptly reacted and asked Reagan "not to miscalculate." Bush and (Ailun) again did their patching up in Tokyo and Beijing. Bush also said: Reagan and I both feel that the relations between the U. S. and China will continue to develop harmoniously. He denied that Reagan promoted "two China's," and even declared that the Taiwan Relations Act passed by Congress after resumption of relations with Beijing limited the power of the president and stipulated the non-governmental relationship with Taiwan.

Undersecretary of State Holbrook pointed out sharply that the statements of Reagan and Bush and (Ailun) were not consistent. Besides indicating Reagan's ignorance in foreign affairs (he never clarified the form of official relations), it also reflected the split on the China policy between the different factions in the Republican party.

However, unquestionably it is absolutely impossible for Communist China to permit the resumption of relations between the U. S. and Taiwan. Before the establishment of diplomatic relations with China, not that the then Secretary of State Vance did not want "to keep the cake and eat it," proposing setting up an embassy in Beijing and a liaison office in Taibei, but his proposal was rejected by Beijing. Reagan's manifestations this time only revealed his own vacillation on foreign affairs and the internal split of the Republican party, unfavorable to the election.

Naturally, Taibei jumped with joy over Reagan's early manifestations on resuming relations with Taiwan. However, with the changes in situation discussed above, it had to sober up and refrain from rashness, for fear of repeating a bad dream. Taiwan Provincial Chairman Lin Yanggang [2651 3152 3263] visited America from the end of July to the beginning of August, and observed, in passing, the election situation of that country. Upon his return to Taibei, he informed the reporters: "We will not support either side or any political party. The relationship between the U. S. and Taiwan is not determined by whomever that is the president, but by the people of the two countries." It was a strong indication that Taiwan had given Reagan up. The Taibei LIANHO BAO [ALLIANCE NEWS] also published an editorial stating: "Bush's explanations to Communist China easily make one realize that the Beijing policy of the future Reagan government will not depart from that established by the two Republican governments in the past, i.e., the policy of normalizing relations, which is actually the policy now in force." In other word, the Republican and Democratic parties sing the same tune.

This time, one can say that the Guomindang is more penetrating in its observations. Actually, campaign promises are often empty words. Didn't Eisenhower, before his inauguration, say that Eastern Europe would be liberated from the Soviets? Didn't the 1976 Democratic platform guarantee the gradual withdrawal of troops from South Korea? Those promises were never made good.

Naturally, if the Republicans win, the relationship between the U. S. and Taiwan will probably improve. Reagan may possibly utilize the Taiwan Relations Act to reinforce the tie between the two sides, such as facilitating, by means of semi-official status, the dealings of Taiwan representatives with the various departments of the U. S. federal government.

Meanwhile, the amount of arms sold by the U. S. to Taiwan may possibly increase greatly with Reagan's assumption of power. In 1979, after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the U. S., the U. S. sold $800 million in arms to Taiwan in 1 year. In the first half of this year, the U. S. Congress approved the sale of

$28C million in arms to Taiwan, and the U. S. government permitted (General Dynamics) and the (Northrop Aircraft) to discuss with Taiwan the sale of advanced FX warplanes. All such measures were openly opposed by Communist China.

The financial concerns in the west and the south backing Reagan all possess colossal arms industries. (California and Texas are the largest arms production bases in America, occupying first and second positions in military orders). They hope to further develop the arms market in Taiwan through Reagan.

However, even if Reagan is elected, just how far he will go in his Taiwan policy will still have to depend on how he balances the Taiwan issue with the entire international strategy.

In his new book ("Real War,") former U. S. President Nixon pointed out: "China's direction is primarily determined by Beijing, but also by the U. S. The Chinese leaders are primarily concerned over China's survival. Thus, they must effectively resist the Soviet threat. Under this situation, the U. S. must win China's trust, making it feel that the U. S. is a long-range reliable and powerful friend. If America's conduct makes China feel that it is unreliable, it will influence China's direction and its attitude toward the Soviet Union."

One believes that probably no U. S. president will destroy the world balance of power just to please a handful of rightists.

6080
CSO: 4005

PROBLEMS FACING UNGA SESSION DISCUSSED

HK261515 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 15 Sep 80 p 2

["Political Talk" column by Shih Chun-yu: "The 35th UN General Assembly Will Be Facing the Same Old Problems"]

[Excerpts] The Secretary General's Report

The 35th UN General Assembly will open in New York on 16 September. On the day before the opening of the General Assembly, the UN Secretary General Waldheim made a report on the work of the UN, introducing its activities over the last 1 year.

The report was 25 pages long. On the whole, it admitted that the UN had not fulfilled its tasks in the past 1 year in disarmament and in settling various international disputes. Let's not discuss disarmament since it is a same old problem and nothing has been done about it for a number of years. However, it is a fact that the UN cannot curb the expansion and invasion of great and small hegemonists despite strenuous efforts.

On the other hand, the report expressed worry about the current worldwide arms expansion and called for the governments and peoples attention to this tendency.

A Pessimistic Attitude Toward the Future World Situation

The report carried a pessimistic attitude toward the future world situation. It demanded cooperation of all countries but it did not point out what were the roots of the disasters. The problems in Afghanistan and Kampuchea are related because both have life-and-death struggles taking place. On these two issues the UN has held two assemblies and passed resolutions by overwhelming majorities, demanding that the Soviet Union and Vietnam unconditionally withdraw all their forces. However, both the Soviet Union and Vietnam ignored those resolutions of the UN General Assembly and continued their invasion into these two sovereign states. Israel has repeatedly sent troops to invade Southern Lebanon and even declared its annexation of East Jerusalem and proclaimed Jerusalem as its capital. Because of this, the UN issued several warnings to Israel. But what was the result?

Regarding the delignment of hostages in Iran for over 9 months, the UN has made every effort to reach a settlement. The UN secretary general even went to Tehran in the hope of mediating. However, the hostages have not yet been released.

Nowadays, it is not just the superpowers who ignore international morality and justice and pay no attention to the UN resolution. But some small countries have begun to do so for the sake of their own petty interests. And the very existence of the UN is in question at present.

Minor Achievements of the UN

The UN has fulfilled quite a number of tasks. However, it has been weak in dealing with the most important--safeguarding world peace.

It is a fact that arms expansion exists. The Soviet Union is the chief culprit that has led the world on to this dangerous path in the past few years. Its invasion of Afghanistan is an important step in pushing its global strategy and building up a fortified base to plunder the Middle East oil. For this reason, the United States and Western Europe began to strengthen military defenses to meet the next move of the "Polar Bear." Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea has forced the Asean nations to strengthen their forces. It is obvious that it was the hegemonists such as the Soviet Union and Vietnam that began this worldwide arms race.

Rebuild Prestige of the UN

The UN General Assembly will open soon. The problems that they will face in the coming year will be the same old problems. The UN will not be able to rebuild its prestige until it finds a way to curb Soviet and Vietnamese aggressions. It seems that all countries should consider how to strengthen the UN as an organization in order to maintain world peace.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

MEXICAN TEAM IN WUHAN--A Mexican football team consisting of 27 members arrived in Wuhan today. They will meet the Hubei football team at 1930 today. This is a championship Mexican football team. They are in China at the invitation of the China Football Association. They have had matches in Beijing, Tianjin, Shaanxi and Sichuan. Today's match is their last one before leaving for home. [HK300248 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Sep 80]

CSO: 4005

LIU SHAOQI'S DOWNFALL, IMPRISONMENT DESCRIBED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 pp 44-47

[Article by Liu Ying [2692 3851]: "The Last Talk Between Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi"]

[Text] The portrait of Mao Zedong in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing has been quietly taken down, and the New China book store has begun anew selling the works of Liu Shaoqi. The true faces of these two big bosses of the Chinese communists are being restored bit by bit, while the secrets and ugliness covered up by the Cultural Revolution are being slowly uncovered. Although the work of restoration and revelation is proceeding very slowly and not at all thoroughly, the people can nevertheless see, through certain crevices, some of the true pictures.

Liu Shaoqi did not know before-hand about the Hongzhou Conference to set the Cultural Revolution in motion and to purge Liu Shaoqi and the others--that was a plan that had long been nurtured but never disclosed by Mao Zedong. Naturally Liu Shaoqi, having been kept in the dark, could not have known about it. However, indications of certain events did arouse Liu Shaoqi's suspicion.

In April 1966, upon his return to Yunnan at the conclusion of his visit to Burma, Liu Shaoqi suddenly received a long-distance telephone call from Zhou Enlai, saying that the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee had already begun an enlarged meeting in Honzhou. Hearing this, Liu Shaoqi was rather puzzled. After all, he was the vice-chairman of the Party Central Committee. Why then had he not had the slightest inkling that such a meeting was to be held?

The Hongzhou meeting was a very important meeting in the history of the Cultural Revolution. In that meeting, individuals like Peng Zhen [1756 6297] were singled out by name for criticism, and the "Programmatic Document of the Cultural Revolution" was formulated (Circular of 16 May). In fact, that conference was a conference for the "Declaration of War" for Mao Zedong to set the Cultural Revolution in motion. But, from the very beginning, Liu Shaoqi had been quietly kept in the dark.

Liu's Sleeping Pills and Mao's Telephone Calls

Factually speaking, Liu Shaoqi did not have any aggression or animosity toward Mao Zedong. Prior to the Seventh Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Zedong's prestige in the party was not terribly high. Liu Shaoqi did his best to help establish Mao's prestige and power. Among the high level cadres of the Chinese Communist Party, Liu worked the hardest. Then, the Seventh Congress was convened in which Mao Zedong's prestige and power were duly established. So, Liu Shaoqi figured that his goal had been realized and, therefore, no longer pushed this goal. Liu Shaoqi's daughter said the following during the Cultural Revolution: "Whenever he (Liu Shaoqi) was asked why he did not hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, as my younger sister later told, he answered that, 'Before the Seventh Congress, Mao Zedong's absolute prestige had not been established but became established after the Seventh Congress. Before it had been established, great effort had to be taken to establish it; but once it had been established, it was a reality, no matter what the people said.'" It is obvious that Liu Shaoqi worked much toward the establishment of Mao Zedong's prestige.

The respect Liu Shaoqi had for Mao Zedong could also be seen from certain events in his daily life.

Ordinarily Liu Shaoqi could fall asleep only after having taken sleeping pills twice. After the first, and milder, dosage of sleeping pills, he would usually look through some documents and papers; then, he would take the second and stronger dosage. After this, he would go to bed. Before going to bed, he always told his secretary not to awaken him for any telephone calls, except for those from Mao Zedong. However, Mao Zedong always called at this time, because he was used to working at night and sleeping during the day. Therefore, he frequently telephoned to chat with people during the middle of the night or in the small hours of the morning.

Whenever this happened, Liu Shaoqi would always get up immediately, wash his face with cold water, make a cup of strong tea to wake up and go to see Mao Zedong without delay. When he came back he would get busy with the work that Mao Zedong had laid out for him. There was no way for him to go back to sleep. This happened often and Liu Shaoqi never complained.

The Change in Liu Shaoqi's Thinking

But all political struggles have their own rules and regulations, and the loyalty to friendship can not eradicate the conflicts brought about by political contention. Very soon after the eruption of the Cultural Revolution, Liu Shaoqi suffered his first fall at Mao Zedong's hands. It was over the question of dispatching work teams.

Mao Zedong, after having personally lit the fierce fire of Cultural Revolution in Beijing, left for an inspection tour in the south, leaving Liu Shaoqi to handle the daily routine. Liu Shaoqi had not the slightest idea as to how Mao Zedong wanted this Cultural Revolution to be conducted.

So he followed the regular pattern which had been used in the previous 17 years. In light of the experience with past political campaigns, it was customary to dispatch work teams. Hence, Liu Shaoqi dispatched work teams after having requested Mao Zedong's permission to do so.

However, when Mao Zedong returned to Beijing from the south in the latter part of July, he suddenly criticized Liu Shaoqi's dispatching of work teams as "oppressing and silencing the people." Immediately after, he wrote during the 11th Session of the All-China Party Congress of the Eighth Central Party Committee ("Shelling the Headquarters--My First Big-Character Poster,") that Liu Shaoqi's name had been moved down from number two to number eight in the name list of the Chinese Communist Party.

Since Liu Shaoqi could not understand the reasons for this sudden criticism and demotion, he was bound to grumble sometimes at home. However, due to his many years' trust and loyalty toward Mao Zedong, he still believed, out of habit, that he himself must have committed some errors. Therefore, he ordered his chauffer, after the Eighth Party Congress, not to drive his car to the front any more but to take the eighth place in the convoy when ever he was riding among the other leaders. At the same time, during the work conference of the Party Central Committee held in October, he made a sincere self-examination and genuinely believed that this self-examination would meet with the understanding of the other party leaders.

But, things did not go the way he had imagined. When the "January Storm" came in 1967, conditions had already changed to such a degree that it was even harder for him to understand the situation--almost all the responsible cadres of all the provinces were criticized and purged; and more and more people were struck, and fell. Liu Shaoqi's faith also faltered. In a letter to Mao Zedong, he expressed two opinions: "1. The responsibility for taking the wrong line this time lies with me. The broad cadres are good, especially those old cadres who are the valuable assets of the party. I take the major responsibility. So, set the cadres free as soon as possible, so that the party will not sustain too much damage. 2. I will resign from the positions of chairmanship of the People's Republic of China, of the standing committee of The Party Central Committee and of the editorial committee (for "The Selected Works of Mao Zedong.") I will take my wife and children to Yenan or to my native place to take up farming in order to end the Cultural Revolution at the earliest date and to spare the nation from damage."

By the time Qi Bengyu's [2059 2609 5736] article "Patriotism or National Betrayal" came out, Liu Shaoqi's anguish of "incomprehensibility" had already turned to deep anger. Of course, his anger was not directly aimed at Mao Zedong but at Qi Bengyu and the others who were campaigning for the "Party Central's Cultural Revolution." Qi Bengyu's article was the first open criticism against Liu Shaoqi, though his name was not mentioned. Liu Shaoqi's children and those who worked closely with him questioned him about the "charges" listed in the article. He was very angry about these charges and refuted every one of them.

The Last Talk in the Beijing Hall

After a few months of criticism, Liu Shaoqi's morale worsened. By then he had not seen Mao Zedong for a long time. He really wanted to have a good talk with Mao Zedong, but there was no chance.

In July of 1967, Mao Zedong suddenly notified Liu Shaoqi to come for a talk to the Beijing Hall in the Great Hall of the People. Liu Shaoqi was very happy and immediately rushed over.

In this Great Hall, Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi together had held many conferences. But this time, the two figures at the summit of the Chinese Communist Party were having their last talk.

The Beijing Hall is located on the upper floor of the Great Hall of the People, near a snack counter and the lounge. A carpet with a brown color design lay on the floor and there were brown sofa chairs arranged in a circle.

Sitting in the brown sofa chairs, Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi began their last talk. It lasted for one hour and 45 minutes. The atmosphere was amiable. On the way out, Mao Zedong even patted Liu Shaoqi on the shoulder warmly, asking him to read three books when he got home--one by Feuerbach, one by Hegel and another one.

Liu Shaoqi's mood was really good when he returned home from the Great Hall of the People. He was like a long-suffering patient who had suddenly received a dosage of a miracle drug. But this good mood did not last long.

Liu Shaoqi Looks Around for Wang Guangmei [3769 0342 5019]

Liu Shaoqi's home was searched on 18 th July. During this search he was separated from Wang Guangmei--his children had long been isolated from him.

Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei were under house-arrest, kept separated in the front and rear courtyards. Over the entrance between the two courts there hung a bamboo curtain. Each time Liu Shaoqi was let out for fresh air, he would stealthily peep through the curtain to see if Wang Guangmei was there. Ever so often, it happened that Wang Guangmei was also out for fresh air at the same time. He could see her silhoutte vaguely.

On September, Wang Guangmei was officially arrested, taken from Zhongnan Hai, and imprisoned. Liu Shaoqi did not know about it and thought all along that she was still under house-arrest. So whenever he was let out for fresh air he would continue to look for Wang Guangmei through the bamboo curtain. But he could never see her. He thought: "Perhaps

Wang Guangmei is being taken away for sessions of criticism and purge." But he quietly wondered: "Why is Wang Guangmei not back yet?"

Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei cherished each other very dearly. When Liu Shaoqi was struck down, Wang Guangmei was particularly concerned and did everything possible to take care of him. Many a bothersome development was taken care of by her. For example, whenever people came to search their house, it was Wang Guangmei who faced them. Again, when people came to pressure them for secret documents, Wang Guangmei held on to the keys, firmly refusing to unlock the safe.

Having not seen Wang Guangmei for a long time, Liu Shaoqi's morale became worse and worse and his emotional state deteriorated.

Mao Zedong's Written Instructions

When Liu Shaoqi was first placed under isolated house-arrest, Mao Zedong issued written instructions not to lower the standard of Liu Shaoqi's medical care or diet.

However, when the entire society was churning wave after wave of hatred toward Liu Shaoqi and when any behavior, although overly ultra-left, could appear legal behind the facade of the "campaign of the masses" or the "demand of the masses," even written instructions from Mao Zedong amounted to nothing more than a sheet of blank paper.

Liu Shaoqi's kitchen staff refused to prepare decent meals for him, giving him only hard corn bread to eat day in and day out. Originally, there had been a cook in Liu Shaoqi's house, by the name of Hao Miao. Before liberation, he was an apprentice for western cooking at the Cui Ming Cottage, where Ye Gianying [5509 0494 5391] had resided when the negotiations were going on in Beijing between the nationalists and the communists. After the liberation, Hao Miao was dispatched to Liu Shaoqi's house to work as a cook--and thus began 18 years of service. A very good relationship existed between him and Liu Shaoqi's family. During the Cultural Revolution, despite the fact that Liu Shaoqi received much criticism, Hao Miao still was devoted to him--heart and soul. This loyalty brought him great grief later, for in May 1967 (2 months before Liu Shaoqi was detained in isolation) he was imprisoned and kept imprisoned for 6 years. After Hao Miao's arrest, a new cook was sent over. This individual--perhaps because he had drawn a lesson from Hao Miao or becuase he was under the influence of the anti-Liu Shaoqi mood prevalent in society at the time--refused to perpare good for Liu Shaoqi. Every day Liu Shaoqi was given only corn bread to nibble on.

Mystery of the Calabash-shaped Bottle

The medical care that Liu Shaoqi had been receiging also stopped. Liu Shaoqi had diabetes and had been receiving a certain Japanese-manufactured drug all along. After his house-arrest, this drug was no longer supplied to him. When this medication was stopped, his hands began to shake so much that he was unable to light a cigarette. This was followed by other symptoms--cells in the brain began to deteriorate which affected control of his legs--all of which were treatable with medication. But these people were unwilling to let Liu Shaoqi have his treatments. Diabetics should eat more vegetables and nutritional food and fewer foods that contain much sugar and starch--but they just let him eat bread made of cornmeal.

The year before his death, Liu Shaoqi stopped talking altogether and refused to eat any food. Whether this was because of his physical weakness or because of his deep despair has become a mystery which followed him to his grave. After his detention in isolation Liu Shaoqi no longer had anybody with whom he could communicate. So who could have known the world deep in his heart?

When Liu Shaoqi refused to eat, the guards forced liquids into his mouth. His physical condition deteriorated.

He usually appeared restless and impatient, his two bony arms constantly stretching out, grabbing aimlessly in the air. No matter how the guards tried, they could not stop him. One day, when a guard accidentally pushed a calabash shaped bottle into his hands, he suddenly held the bottle tight and calmed down instantly. Later on, whenever he had his stretching out and grabbing aimlessly in the air, the guards would push this bottle into his hands. He always calmed down at once.

Why did Liu Shaoqi quiet down whenever he had this bottle in his hands? This is another mystery.

After Liu Shaoqi became rehabilitated and redressed, someone approached Wang Guangmei with this question. Wang Guangmei could not give an immediate answer. Only after a great deal of recollection did she remember that she had kept prickly-heat powder for the children in a calabash-shaped bottle. Could it be that this bottle made Liu Shaoqi feel again the affection of his children and the warmth of his home, and thus made him calm? This question can not be answered.

Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281] was the section chief for handling the "special case of Lir Shaoqi." So, the guards regularly reported to him all information on Liu Shaoqi's condition.

After 1968, Liu Shaoqi's illness became more and more serious. When Wang Dongxing heard about this, he said to the guards at once, "don't let him die but keep him in a state between living and dying, because when the Ninth Congress convenes, he can serve as a live witness."

Besides, Wang Dongxing himself went regularly to the house where Liu Shaoqi was detained. There, he would peep in from the outside, to see how Liu Shaoqi was getting along.

Soliciting Liu Shaoqi's Opinion

In 1969, Lin Biao's "Strategy No 1" was put into operation. At that time, the supreme strategists of the Chinese Communist Party decided to transfer under escort all the highest level political criminals out of Beijing. Such criminals, of course, included people like Liu Shaoqi.

Before the transfer took place, the guards had tried to solicit Liu Shaoqi's opinion about it. But Liu Shaoqi, at that time, had not spoken for more than a year. Therefore a nurse wrote on a newspaper, with a piece of cotton dipped in ink, these few large characters: "Leave Beijing." "Consent?"

Liu Shaoqi opened his eyes and looked at these characters feebly. But, he neither nodded his head to indicate consent nor did he shake his head to object. He only turned his face to the side, signifying that he refused to answer the question.

Actually, in his situation it really made no difference whether Liu Shaoqi consented or not. His decision of staying or leaving would not have made any difference. As to the question of who had instructed the guards to get his opinion and why his opinion was even solicited in the first place --these, again, are two mysteries that have not been unraveled.

At the Jin Cheng Bank

On 17 October 1969, Liu Shaoqi was transferred under escort to Kaifeng.

The Place where he was detained in Kaifeng was not a regular prison of the barracks of the Liberation Army, but the site of a former bank.

It was the Jin Cheng Bank during the nationalist days. After the liberation, it became the office of the Municipal People's Council. Within the large courtyard of the bank, there was a smaller yard, which, having none of its sides adjacent to the streets, was very secluded. Therefore, it became the special secret jail for Liu Shaoqi's imprisonment.

When Liu Shaoqi was first taken there under escort, 48 burly chaps were standing at the first gate and 26 more at the second gate. The security was certainly tight. The stretcher with Liu Shaoqi on it was placed in a small room at the southern end on the first floor of the west building. After 27 bed-ridden days in this small room, Liu Shaoqi quietly left this world. Then, his body was pushed into the vault in the cellar. When the guards were making the last check on Liu Shaoqi's body, they found that a thermometer was still under his armpit. This shows the lack of medical care given him.

Death put a stop to the suffering of Liu Shaoqi's flesh, but the injustice suffered by his soul could not disappear together with his flesh. Liu Shaoqi firmly believed that "history is written by the people"; in other words, all the rights and wrongs in history have to be judged fairly by the people. Of course, this belief is correct in a broad sense and in the long-run. However, when the people want to record the concrete history of a particular period, they often find it impossible to do so for lack of inside information. Unfortunately, up till now, because of all kinds of "security" reasons, too little information in this respect has been made public by the Chinese communists.

9523
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

WE MUST LOOK AT FACTS WHEN IMPLEMENTING POLICIES

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zhang Tao [1728 3447]: "Only By Seeking Truth From Facts Can We Correctly Implement Policies"]

[Text] The party's policies are based on the premise that truth can be derived only from an examination of facts. Whether in practice or in theory, it is important to bear in mind the inherent relationship between implementation of the party's policies and the need to seek the truth by examining the facts.

The party's policies are formulated on the basis of the course of action which should be taken in order to follow the line and fulfill the mission set in a particular historical period. Like theories, planning, principles, and courses of action, matters of policy belong to the realm of thought. A correct policy is the true reflection of the world as it is and of the laws that govern it. It can be arrived at only by examining the facts. However, we still have among us some leadership cadres who are not concerned about finding out how a correct policy comes to be formulated. They only see the great impact created by the party's policy on the positive attitude and the creative power of the masses. They do not realize that this power is derived from the party's policy which is founded on actual facts and is a reflection of the basic interests and wishes of the masses. Some have the incorrect view that a correct policy and the correct course of action are not reflections of objective circumstances and of the laws pertaining to such circumstances, but that they are correct because they are formulated by the leadership. These comrades often confuse authority with truth by taking the view that "leadership and policy are one and the same." Because they do not bother to delve into the actual circumstances, they do not have the "facts" in hand and they do not use their heads to seek the truth. They merely rely on their own assumptions in providing leadership to the masses. By veering to the left and then to the right, they have dealt a serious blow to the positive attitude of the masses. Only by relinquishing our subjective views and seeking the truth through a careful examination of facts can we implement our policies in a correct manner.

In both the natural world and in human society, continual development results from the interaction of internal conflicts. A policy must correctly reflect objective circumstances and the laws pertaining to such circumstances. It must also be continually developed and revised to keep in step with changing objective circumstances. We must formulate our policies by taking into account the changes that have taken place as a result of changes in objective circumstances, so that our subjective views may be more attuned to objective circumstances. It cannot be expected that, once formulated, a policy will fully reflect actual objective circumstances, or that our subjective views will be perfectly in line with actual objective circumstances. This is especially true with respect to implementation of the four modernizations, because of very complicated circumstances. Some of our comrades do not have a clear understanding of this. When the party revises its original policy, or when it proposes a new policy to meet changing circumstances, these comrades, instead of looking at the actual circumstances and weighing the merits of the revised or new policy, quote statements made in the past in attacking and denouncing the revised or new policy as smacking of "rightism" or "revisionism," contradictory thinking, and indecisiveness in policy implementation. They are badly mistaken.

When a policy is in the process of being implemented, certain practices may be noted. There are those who try to get things done with "one stroke of the knife." Regardless of adverse conditions, and under whatever circumstances, they set the same standard and progress at the same speed. Some follow instructions to the letter, regardless of the consequences, as long as they are written on a piece of paper with a red letterhead or are handed down by the authorities. Others challenge, on grounds of special circumstances, the validity of the general guiding principles of a policy, claiming that the party's policy does not apply to them, or they take a lackadaisical attitude in implementing the policy. All these aberrations are the products of subjective and metaphysical ways of thinking.

According to dialectical materialism, contradictions, whether in general or in particular, exist in all objective situations. A policy is the embodiment of the sum of numerous concrete situations. It was Lenin, in summarizing the relationship between particular and general situations, who said, "A particular situation exists only as it relates to a general situation. A general situation exists only as it relates to and through particular situations. All particular situations (no matter what) are general, and all general situations are particular (a part, a phase, or by its very nature). A general situation is but the sum total of particular situations, and no particular situation can be fully covered by general situations, etc." ("Collection of Selected Writings of Lenin," Vol 2, p 213) It was Comrade Mao Zedong who said, "The relationship between the general and the particular and the absolute and the relative is the essence of the conflict between situations. Failure to understand this is tantamount to abandoning dialectics." ("Mao Zedong's Five Chapters of Philosophical Writings," p 75). Regarding the line of thinking described above, there are some who take into consideration only the general at the expense of the particular, and there are those who arbitrarily overemphasize the particular at the expense of the general. They all fail to have a true understanding of the situation according to the rules of dialectics. They all have abandoned the line of thinking prescribed by the party--that truth can be arrived at only by examining the facts. They have all failed to implement the party's policies in a correct manner.

To correctly implement a policy, it is necessary to seek the truth by examining the facts, to give due regard to dialectics in assessing situations, and to understand that the formulation of a policy and the implementation of that policy involve a process of proceeding from the particular to the general and from the general to the particular. We should accept the fact that the party's policy is the product of the scientific abstraction of the sum total of numerous particulars and that, therefore, it should exert a general guiding influence. It should be understood that no single location or unit can cut itself off from the guidance of the unifying policy of the party. It should also be known that, while a policy has a general application, it is merely the sum of the essential characteristics of certain particular factors or parts of certain particular factors, and that it cannot embrace all the distinctive features of the particulars. In the process of implementing a policy, it is necessary to investigate and study the relevant factors in order to have a concrete understanding of a situation and to be able to propose specific measures which will meet the needs of a specific situation. The implementation of the party's four modernizations policy, for instance, is a reflection of the needs of the general situation throughout the nation. All localities and all units must therefore put construction of the four modernizations at the center of their efforts. However, different localities and different work units have their distinctive features. In the process of implementing the four modernizations, it is necessary to take advantage of one's strong points in adjusting, amending, reforming, improving upon, and heightening the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation, and improvement. The need to adjust is crucial, as can be borne out by the comparatively serious maladjustments in the national economy brought on by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In the implementation of a policy, we must not lose sight of the actual situation or follow orders as if by rote. Even those enterprises which have little or no responsibility for making adjustments should also pay attention to the need to introduce reforms and improvements. We should not, on the one hand, look upon the party's policy as a rigid model and try to ram it through without regard for actual circumstances, or, on the other, minimize its importance as a unifying guiding force. Under special situations created by different circumstances in different areas, we should not insist on absolutely complete implementation of a policy, nor should we ignore its existence. It is only when we take into account actual circumstances, act under the guidance of a unifying policy, and adopt flexibly the methods and measures most befitting the circumstances that we can effectively implement a policy. It is only thus that a policy can be put on the right track.

It should be said at this point that in the formulation or implementation of a policy, certain deviations and errors are unavoidable, in view of the limitations placed on the people by their different levels of knowledge, their practical experience, their reasoning power, and certain physiological factors, not to mention the complicated nature of objective circumstances. It is only when we seek the truth by examining the facts and make experience the only criterion in getting at the truth that we can discover our deviations and errors in time, find out the causes which give rise to such deviations and errors, benefit by learning from our errors, and adopt the proper corrective measures. After the adoption of a wrong policy during the difficult 3-year period, the entire party leadership, under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong, was able to discover and correct certain errors within a comparatively short period by strictly adhering to the principle of seeking the truth by examining the actual facts. Following the 10-year havoc brought on by the ultraleftist line and policy, we were not able to take corrective action for a long period of time because we failed to seek the truth by examining the actual facts. It was only after Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had been smashed that the party's excellent tradition of seeking the truth by examining the facts was restored and corrective action was taken. The lessons of history tell us that a policy can be correctly implemented only when we seek the truth by examining all of the facts.

9621
CSO: 4005

TWO DIFFERENT POLICIES, LINES ON CADRES DISCUSSED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Hu Jilong [5170 1323 7893]: "'Cherish' and 'Shield'"]

[Text] Cadres are valuable assets of our party, which is known for its long tradition of cherishing cadres.

The "guiding principles for inner-party political life" adopted by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is an important measure to effectively eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who were guilty of undermining the party's fine workstyle and discipline, and to strengthen and improve the leadership of the party. The "guiding principles" also calls for looking after and cherishing cadres politically. Practice proves that only by conscientiously implementing the "guiding principles," daringly exposing their violaters and firmly upholding party discipline can we rectify the party's workstyle, markedly improve the relations between the party and the masses and make party cadres more popular with the masses.

But it must be noted that at present, there are still some localities and units which have failed to thoroughly implement the "guiding principles." When a few cadres were criticized by the masses for seriously violating the "guiding principles," these localities and units have failed to defend these principles and carry out the ideological struggle for fear of irritating these cadres. Worse was the fact that they have done everything possible to defend these erring cadres and cover up their misdeeds until they could reduce such major issues to minor ones and minor ones to naught. Ironically, they called this "an act of cherishing the cadres." But the angry masses sharply criticized them by saing: "This is an act of shielding rather than cherishing the cadres!"

This criticism is completely correct. A clear distinction must be drawn between the two terms "cherish" and "shield." The term "cherish cadres" primarily means an endeavor to strictly educate them, to control and oversee their activities, to look after them politically, to allow them an opportunity to develop and increase their ability to serve the people, to take care of the daily needs of their families within the limits of our policy and material conditions and to help them solve their difficult problems. The term "cherish cadres" also means criticizing and educating cadres in an appropriate and friendly manner or even reprimanding them in case they committed mistakes. The term "shield cadres" means tolerating and condoning their wrong ideas and misdeeds that betray the interests of the party and people. It also means defending their shortcomings and covering up their mistakes. When erring cadres are treated in this way, they will have no way of knowing their mistakes, or how to conscientiously correct them and teach other comrades to avoid repeating similar mistakes. Furthermore, shielding erring cadres will result in endangering unity between the party and the masses and damaging the party's prestige among the masses.

The reasons for shielding cadres stem from many factors. For example, some comrades who want to shield cadres contend that cadres who have already suffered too much at the hands of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" should be punished no more even if they committed mistakes. This idea apparently results from their failure to distinguish between the plot of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to frame false charges against the cadres and the present ideological struggle launched by our party to educate cadres through criticism and self-criticism. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and company dealt merciless blows to cadres. They framed false charges against those cadres who opposed them, and deliberately exaggerated their mistakes to the maximum so that they could sentence these cadres to death on charges of non-existent crimes. Their aim was to destroy our party's cadre system and to pave the way for usurping the supreme party and state power. Our party's longstanding policy is to teach erring comrades to correct their mistakes through serious criticism, and to help them grow in a healthy environment so that they will be in a better position to serve the people and the purpose of the four modernizations. The criticism launched by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" against cadres was aimed at "viciously punishing innocent cadres" to death while our present criticism is aimed at helping those criticized and "preventing them" from committing more mistakes. We should never confuse the former form of criticism with the latter. In dealing with cadres who have shortcomings and who have committed mistakes, we must persist in seeking truth from facts. When we hear anything wrong with cadres, we should check it out be seeking truth from facts. We should not mistake wind for rain, deliberately exaggerate their mistakes and regard their minor errors as serious crimes. It is absolutely unfair to punish cadres without going through a thorough investigation. But this does not mean that we cannot launch necessary criticism against those comrades who have really committed mistakes. Nor does it mean that we cannot openly expose those cadres who have made serious mistakes and have shown no intention of correcting them. Disciplinary actions must be taken against them. Party members must be highly disciplined. A clear distinction must be drawn between those who merit commendation and those who deserve punishment and between right and wrong. In other words, those who have made contributions to the party must be properly commended; proper punishment must also be meted out to others who have made mistakes. Only in this way can we continue to promote healthy workstyles and overcome baleful influences in our society, induce all party members to work enthusiastically, and inspire party cadres to preserve their true nature as servants of the people. Some comrades are concerned that exposing others' faults in violation of the "guiding principles" may result in disrupting unity and may adversely affect their future working relations with them. For this reason, they prefer to make peace with everyone within the party whenever they detect any unhealthy trends affecting the normal inner-party life. Their philosophy is that the cultivation of "normal flowers" is better than the cultivation of "thorny roses." But we must understand that any that is not achieved on the basis of the party's principles will not last long, and anyone who wants to achieve rapport with others in this manner will end up being accused of cherishing and unifying them in a wrong way.

Some comrades want to "cover up others' faults" for the reason that they "are now riding in the same boat, and therefore should sympathize with one another." In plain language, they have committed similar mistakes, and therefore have no right to criticize one another. One of them once said: "If I am wrong, do I have any right to criticize others?" In response to this question, I would like to suggest that he need not fear drawing fire from others while criticizing their shortcomings and wrongdoings, and that he voluntarily place himself under the supervision of the party and the masses and welcome them to expose and criticize his own mistakes. I also want to remind him that gone are the days when the people could practice feudal factionalism and "quackery" which led them to share "glory and humiliation" together and deliberately cover up each other's mistakes and prevent them from being exposed. As for those comrades still obsessed with feudal factionalism, we must take necessary actions to patiently and carefully educate them until they can extricate themselves from such feudal factional shackles.

In short, the practice of cherishing cadres and that of shielding them have nothing in common. These two different practices serve two different purposes and will produce two different results. They also represent two extremely different policies and lines on cadres. In order to defend the interests of the party and people and to insure the successful implementation of the four modernizations program, we must improve the style in party relations; we must never mistake "shielding cadres" for "cherishing cadres"; we must courageously launch criticism and self-criticism against those comrades who have commiteed mistakes, and struggle against them according to the "guiding principles for inner-party political life." Everyone should be aware that any attempt to cover up mistakes and wrongdoings and condone wrongdoers would not be tolerated; it is wrong to tolerate the decadent practice in which officials are encouraged to protect one another in case of scandals.

9574
CSO: 4005

YOUNG PEOPLE TOLD TO RELY ON, SUPPORT THE PARTY

Taiyuan SHANXI QINGNIAN in Chinese No 7, 1980 p 34

[Article by Ji Yongfu [0679 0516 1133], Central Party School: "How Should the Party's Leadership Strength Be Viewed?"]

[Text] It seems that the question on how the party leadership should be viewed is somewhat in a state of confusion. The reason for it is that the question is not viewed from all angles.

Does our party have the strength to lead the construction of modernization to success? Looking back on our party history, there were people during the period of the democratic revolution who wondered "how long the red banner could hold up." Chairman Mao firmly answered: "A single spark can start a prairie fire." There were some who said during the years just following the founding of the People's Republic: "The Communist Party is capable of fighting a war, but as for construction it is out of the question." In fact, we have not only crushed an old world but we are also able to build a new one. At present, we also hear some people say: "The Communist Party is pretty good at carrying out class struggle, but not at implementing the four modernizations." The views of some people have been changing since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially through practice since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Practice has proved or is going to prove that our party is capable not only of leading the democratic revolution to victory, but also of leading the cause of socialist construction to success.

On the other hand, we must not lose sight of the fact that to adhere to party leadership, it is necessary to improve party leadership. We must fully see and understand the problems which are within or which face our party. It is more comprehensive to look at these problems from a developmental point of view. Now we should say: "There are many problems in our party which are incompatible with the development of the situation or with the hopes and demands of the masses. At the same time, we must admit that the prestige of the party among the people is not as high as in the past. Following the shift in the focus of party work, we are confronted by many problems which are more complicated than in the past, and our mission is more strenuous than in the past. That is why the party, at its Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, put forward the call to adhere to the party's leadership, improve the party's leadership, and raise the party's fighting power. It has also studied and resolved many important problems related to improvements in the party's organizational situation, and to the responsibility and system of the party's leadership. Documents such as the new draft amendment of the party constitution and the "Guiding Principles Regarding Inner-Party Life" are powerful weapons for greatly increasing the party's fighting power in order to adapt to the situation. The election of additional members to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the establishment of the Central Committee Secretariat are important policy decisions designed to better adapt to the needs of the strenuous work of modernization, to ensure the long-term continuity of the lines, principles, and policies of the party, and to guarantee the long-term stability of the core of party leadership. Moreover, the new party constitution raises the question of abolishing the existing system of lifelong posts for cadres. This is a farsighted reform based on the historical experiences and lessons gained from the international communist movement and from our own party. This reform is advantageous to implementing the four modernizations, and it will play an important role in improving the leadership system of the party. All of these [measures] indicate that the party leadership is becoming stronger and stronger by summing up experiences, drawing on lessons, and marching forward continuously. It is very promising to see that our party will lead our country to implement the four modernizations in an all-round way by the end of the century.

9560
CSO: 4005

PAST 'MISTAKES' OF CCP HAVE BEEN CORRECTED

Taiyuan SHANXI QINGNIAN in Chinese No 7, 1980 pp 2-3

[Article by Zhao Yuting [6392 7183 0080], secretary, Shanxi Provincial Party Committee: "Unswervingly Follow the Communist Party; a Talk to Young Comrades on How Mistakes Committed by the Party Should Be Viewed"]

[Text] In the new long march toward the four modernizations, we step forward to greet the 59th anniversary of the birth of the great, glorious, and correct Chinese Communist Party. Over the past 60 years, the people of the whole country, under the leadership of our party, have achieved signal victories one after another, after having undergone many winding struggles and overcome numerous difficulties and obstacles. This shining festival is most memorable to us.

The history of the Chinese revolution over the past 59 years tells us that the Chinese Communist Party is a most revolutionary and most advanced party that represents the correct direction for developing scientific socialism and the basic interests of the masses of people. During the period of the democratic revolution, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the party, have carried out arduous and remarkable struggles, overthrown the "three big mountains" that had lain like a deadweight on the backs of the people of our country, achieved a great victory in the new democratic revolution, and founded a new China. From then on, the great People's Republic of China has stood like a giant in the East of the world. Since the founding of our People's Republic, our party has once again led the people of the whole country to rapidly restore and develop the national economy, smoothly carried out a socialist transformation, and achieved important victories in socialist revolution and construction, putting an end once and for all to our poverty and backwardness. All of these irrefutable facts are obvious to and strongly impressed on all of us. You young comrades have never experienced the hardships of the old society and do not have the specific feeling of the contrast between the old and the new social systems. I hope that you will consult your parents, your elder brothers, and revolutionaries of the older generation. They will be able to tell you how the working people of the old society were discriminated against politically exploited economically. They will be able to tell you how corrupt and incompetent the reactionary rulers of old China were, and how the imperialists invaded and plundered us. They also will be able to tell you how, for a period of more than 100 years after the Opium War, advanced elements and people with lofty ideals in China, for the purpose of resisting the big powers, rejuvenating the nation, and seeking truth in order to save the country, experienced many hardships and shed their blood; however, they failed to alter the situation throughout their efforts. Only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party were the people of our country completed liberated. The historical facts show clearly that only the Communist Party can save China. This is an absolute truth which we must keep firmly in mind and be sure not to forget.

However, we now often hear that some young comrades say that, yes, the Communist Party is great, glorious, and correct, yet why did the party commit errors, especially major errors like those committed during the Great Cultural Revolution? Others even say that the Communist Party was great, glorious, and correct in the past, but it is not all that great, glorious, and correct now. One could follow the Communist Party in past, but now he can't. Even though such a view is extremely incorrect, it indeed exists in the thinking of some comrades. Since the problem exists, we cannot evade it but must give it an explicit answer. It is true that our party has in its history committed a lot of mistakes and some greater ones, and serious mistakes which were committed during the Great Cultural Revolution were very distressing. Moreover, everytime mistakes occurred, they brought losses in varying degrees to the cause of the party and the people. Mistakes committed during the Great Cultural Revolution were the most severe setbacks since the establishment of the People's Republic. We should not avoid mentioning the problems that have already occurred. Yet one divides into two, and it is said that a fall in the pit, a gain in your wit. Mistakes and setbacks did not cause the collapse of the party, but instead, every time we have experienced a mistake, we learned a profound lesson. The party's prestige has not been weakened, but heightened; the party's power has not been crippled, but strengthened. The experience of several mistakes committed in our history is like that, and the experience of the mistakes committed during the Great Cultural Revolution is also like that.

Our attitude toward committing mistakes should not be confined to realizing mistakes or admitting mistakes but, more importantly, to conscientiously analyzing the cause of the mistakes, finding ways and means to overcome and correct the mistakes, and knowing clearly the direction and target for marching forward continuously. Comrades know that if one wants to do revolutionary work, it is hard to avoid mistakes. There is nobody in the world who does not commit mistakes, except either before he is born or after he is dead. At the same time, it must be recognized that a political party is led by a group which is organized by the leaders, and a leader is not a divinity but a human being. Historically, all revolutionary parties and leaders have committed mistakes and the difference lies only in the levels of the mistakes committed. The causes of committing mistakes are many and varied. A concrete analysis should be made according to the concrete situation. Some of the mistakes committed in our party's history were the result of a lack of experience or blindness in work. The socialist cause which we are carrying on is a great and entirely new one. A socialist system cannot automatically emerge from a capitalist base, and therefore it is very hard to avoid making mistakes. Some mistakes were committed because of subjectively taking an onesided view and not starting off from the actual situation in China, and therefore subjective desires were divorced from objective realities. Such mistakes can be avoided, but they often are difficult to avoid. Some mistakes in our history show that every time the ideology of [dialectical] materialism was upheld, no mistakes were made, but when idealism was dominant, mistakes were bound to be made. Becoming dizzy with success was another reason for committing mistakes. Mistakes are bound to be made when one becomes arrogant and complacent in the face of success. One of the important reasons of the mistakes committed by our party during the Great Cultural Revolution was that some of our comrades, even our principal leading comrades, after great successes in socialist revolution and construction, became arrogant and complacent in their thinking and thereby made a wrong appraisal of objective realities in our country, contrary to the actual situation. As a result, mistakes were made and great losses were suffered. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" utilized our mistakes in carrying out extensive counterrevolutionary sabotage which brought unprecedented disaster to the people of our country, thereby resulting in the most severe setback in the course of our socialist construction since the establishment of the People's Republic. However, even in the face of such severe mistakes and setbacks, our party never became disheartened, but always summed up experiences and drew lessons for marching forward continuously. Our party decisively smashed the conspiratorial clique of the "gang of four" with one blow boldly managed to bring order out of chaos on the front of political and ideological theories, and proceeded with a forceful overhaul and consolidation of the organization. Our party openly redressed large numbers of unjust, false, and wrong charges, including the serious false charge against Comrade Liu Shaoqi. The true features of Mao Zedong Thought have been restored and, at the same time, the serious distressing mistakes that occurred during the period of the Great Cultural Revolution have been openly recognized before the party and the people of the whole country, and corrections have been openly made. Thus, the prestige of the party has been heightened instead of lowered. The glorious image of the party, which was severely sabotaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," has gradually been restored in the eyes of the people. Especially after the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee, on the basis of summing up the experiences and lessons of the Great Cultural Revolution, the party proposed a shift in the focus of party work; enacted and affirmed the political, theoretical, and organizational lines of the party; restored, perfected, and developed a series of party principles and policies; and adopted an eight-character policy aimed at readjusting, consolidating, restructuring, and improving the national economy. From then on, the party has gradually put the cause of socialist construction on the correct path of development. Practice in the short period of merely a little over 3 years since the crushing of the "gang of four" has once again proved that our party is a party which is practical and realistic, serious about correcting mistakes when discovered, earnest and conscientious, open and aboveboard, and full of promise. Our party is a great, glorious, and correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party. We must firmly believe in it without the slightest doubt or vacillation.

Young comrades, you are the masters of new China and the principal force in implementing the four modernizations. The heavy historical responsibility of implementing the four modernizations falls on your shoulders. It is hoped that you will get a clear understanding of the situation, acquaint yourselves with the goals, and foster lofty ideals and a high ambition. You must still more believe in the party, love the party, support the party, and unswervingly follow the party. You must unite as one, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and together with the people of the whole country, look forward and implement the four modernizations in a practical way in order to dedicate your life to the struggle for building China into a powerful socialist country, accomplishing the four modernizations before the end of the century to achieve the bright future of communism.

9560
CSO: 4005

CADRES ACCUSED OF VIOLATING LAW SENTENCED TO PRISON TERMS

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by the Party Committee of the Pingshan Commune, Zhuji County: "We cannot Under Any Circumstances Shield People and Affairs Which Violate the 'Guiding Principles'"]

[Text] What should we do with the violators of the "guiding principles," party discipline and state laws who happen to be members of the party leading groups? Should we do everything possible to cover them up or display courage to expose them? An answer to this serious question will spell success or failure in the implementation of the "guiding principles." We will never forget a profound lesson we have drawn from our experiences in this connection.

Not long ago, the former secretary of our commune party committee tried to cover up the misdeeds of Qi Xingquan [2058 5887 2938], former secretary of the party branch of the Feng Cun brigade, who was accused by a commune member of ganging up with many others in stealing the collective property--trees. After being reprimanded by higher authorities concerned for this wrongdoing, Qi Xingquan still showed no remorse for what he had done. Later, he was sentenced to 5 years in prison by a judicial organ for abusing his authority to launch a vengeful attack and framing false accusations against that commune member who exposed his crime of theft. We were not surprised to see Qi Xingquan punished according to the due process of the law. But what has surprised us is the fact that the former secretary of our commune party committee failed in his duty to take timely actions to educate and prevent his subordinate from committing that crime. We were also angered by his attempts to condone and cover up this crime. When Qi Xingquan was educated and criticized for setting up a private court to torture that commune member, the former secretary of our commune party committee continued to name and support him as the secretary of the party branch of the Feng Cun brigade, thus further emboldening and encouraging him to commit more mistakes and crimes. When our commune party committee assigned personnel to help the county judicial organ investigate the Qi Xingquan case, that former commune party committee secretary called it a miscarriage of justice "dealing a fatal blow to a basic level cadre in the countryside." After Qi Xingquan was eventually arrested and sentenced to prison terms, the former commune party committee secretary wrote several letters to the higher authorities concerned, insisting on calling this judicial decision a mistrial. After committing this mistake, he created a serious situation in which the masses completely lost their confidence in the integrity of our party organizations.

This incident has taught us a profound lesson in a negative way: "Gone are the days when officials could protect one another and could cover up each other's shortcomings. Everyone should daringly struggle against bad elements and misdeeds, especially at a time when party cadres violated party discipline and state laws and committed mistakes. Practical experience shows that any deliberate attempt to shield erring cadres and cover up their misdeeds will do them great harm. No one should cherish cadres in this way." After learning this lesson, our party committee has made greater efforts to study and implement the "guiding principles," and to conscientiously examine our shortcomings and mistakes without fear of "leaking our family secrets to the outsiders." We have also placed our problems on the table for discussion by party members and the masses. Earlier, we found that some of our party committee members indulged in excessive feasting. As soon as this came to our attention, a special meeting was held for party members to openly criticize this unhealthy tendency. In order to stop it, our party committee has adopted a "15-point" regulation calling on all subordinate brigade party branches to thoroughly implement the "guiding principles" and place them under the supervision of party members. As a result, wastage caused by excessive feasting has been stopped. Since then, none of our nine party committee members has ever abused power by seeking jobs for their relatives and friends as they have done in the past. Nor has any one of them ever engaged in any "fraudulent backdoor ideals for private gains," framed false charges in retaliation against the innocent, and lobbied for erring comrades in an attempt to cover up their misdeeds. Our experiences tell us that only by resolutely acting as models in observing and upholding the "guiding principles," and in serving the public interest, can our leading comrades bravely deal blows to all violators of the "guiding principles." Not long ago, a deputy secretary of the party branch of the Loujia brigade under our commune ganged up with one of its members and concurrent accountant in embezzling collective funds several times. Although some of our commune members had gathered evidence to prove this wrongdoing, they only grumbled about it behind the people's back, rather than openly bringing the two embezzlers to justice, for fear of reprisals. As soon as Lou Xianfu [2869 6343 1133], member of our commune party committee and secretary of the party branch of the Loujia brigade, received a report on this alleged corruption case, he promptly called his party branch into session to rectify the workstyle of party members and to call on commune members to expose the crimes of the two embezzlers. After this charge of embezzlement was proved true by auditors, the party branch of the Loujia brigade ordered the two embezzlers to return the stolen money to the collective treasury. Later, with the approval of party committees at the higher levels, the party branch also took disciplinary actions against these two leading cadres. Commenting on this decision, party members and the masses in this brigade said: "as long as leading cadres at all levels strictly observe the party regulations and rules by treating every legal case with absolute fairness, our party can certainly revive its fine workstyle."

9574
CSO: 4005

CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM THAT MADE HAN DYNASTY STRONG RESTATED

Shanghai WEN WUI BAO in Chinese 15 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Li Konghuai [2621 1313 2037]: "The Selection and Appointment of Government Officials in the Han Dynasty"]

[Text] Although the centralized feudal bureaucratic political system built by Qin Shihuang, founding emperor of the Qin Dynasty, lasted only 15 years, it was adopted by the succeeding Han Dynasty as a basis for building a series of political systems of its own and for improving and perfecting these systems. For example, the system designed to select and appoint people to the government posts--an election system for short--was an important aspect of the government system adopted by the Han Dynasty, a system which had had a far-reaching impact on the bureaucratic politics of our feudal society which covered over 2,000 years.

Methods for Choosing Government Officials

"Every mode of production will result in a human relationship of its own and a specific form of government." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 2, p 91) The political power of the Western Han Dynasty emerged as a result of a series of peasant uprisings. After its founding, it attached great importance to the development of a system designed to select, train and appoint talented people to the government posts, along with other related systems. Shortly after Liu Bang came to power, he regarded the selection and the training of talented intellectuals as a necessary step in consolidating the political power of the landlord class. In the 11th year of his reign, he issued a decree, saying: "As far as I know, no ruler is more powerful than Emperor Wen of the Zhou Dynasty and no king is more popular than the duke of the state of Ji. But both rulers were heavily indebted to the talented officials for their successes. Are our talented intellectuals today not as good as their ancient counterparts? Certainly not. The problem is that the intellectuals will know no way of entering the government service if a ruler is unwilling to look for them and to keep them in contact. Today, with the blessing of the Heaven, I hereby declare my willingness to share this kingdom with all talented intellectuals and officials, along with a determination to make it live forever." It was this guiding thought that led the Han Dynasty to pay great attention to the selection and training of government officials. The ways devised by the Western Han Dynasty to select and train government officials can be summed up as follows:

First, imperial selection: This was an important method adopted by the Western Han Dynasty to select and appoint talented intellectuals to government posts. Imperial decrees were issued from time to time for this purpose. Included in each decree was detailed information on subjects to be tested, numbers of vacancies to be filled, and required experiences and educational backgrounds, and where such tests were to be held. Men of letters and of integrity were selected by the emperors of the Western Han Dynasty to serve as their advisors and consultants.

Second, annual selection: each year, every province was required to recommend a specific number of talented intellectuals for positions with the central government. At first, each province was required to suggest only one best qualified person for a government position. Later, Dong Zhongshu [5516 0112 5289] suggested that two persons be recommended for government positions from every province. Aware that the population varied from province to province, the Eastern Han Dynasty entitled each province to choose one for every 200,000 in population with the exception of frontier provinces and minority regions which were entitled to special treatment. This was a method by which the central government could directly select talented intellectuals for official positions.

Third, special appointments by the emperor and Cabinet members: Beyond the aforementioned two ways of selection, emperors might deem it necessary to hire special talented professionals or experts to meet specific needs. For example, Shu Suntong [0647 1327 6639], a man of letters; Xia Housheng [1115 0186 5168], a specialist in ceremonial dresses; Shu Guang [3990 1639], a scholar concentrating on the study of the Warring States, were hired as advisors by the royal family. Among others so hired were mostly noted social figures, who were either directly hired by his majesty or recommended to the royal family by Cabinet members. Special envoys might be sent along with gracefully decorated carriages to fetch those highly esteemed and elderly scholars to fill special government vacancies. This was a special privilege and treatment accorded scholars of great academic achievements. Senior officials were also authorized to select and appoint scholars to government positions. But recommendations for posts which paid more than 10,000 litres of rice in kind a year had to be submitted to the central government for approval during the Western Han Dynasty. Until the Eastern Han Dynasty, this requirement was waived so that provincial governors and the Inspection General of the central government and other officials at higher levels could feel free to employ people as they wished. This was an important reform in the government employment system. During the succeeding dynasties, senior officials often recommended their pupils and former subordinates for government positions, thus forming complicated social relations.

Fourth, Appointment of Sons, Sale of Official Titles: "An official who earns a salary equivalent to 200,000 litres of rice or more a year can appoint one of his sons to an official post after completing 3 years of government service." This was a special privilege enjoyed by bureaucrats' children at that time regardless of their moral qualities and abilities. Commenting on this faulty system which entitled bureaucrats' children to assume the government positions without going through any civil service examination, some people at that time pointed out: "Officials born of the families with an annual income of 200,000 litres of rice are not necessarily competent to serve the people." During the Han Dynasty, there was a system under which official positions could be bought at a price. Although these positions ran ranked low and were not on the payroll, those who got them could wait for transfer to lucrative posts later on. Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty even opened government positions to experts in the martial art which could be bought and could change hands at specific prices. Until the Eastern Han Dynasty, the government raised revenue partly from sales of official positions as a way to solve its financial difficulties. No wonder corruption became increasingly widespread in the days ahead. Furthermore, good scholars, those skilled in the martial art, and rich men could also become officials if they so wished. Among others who entered the government service at that time were occultists, medical doctors, astrologers, and musicians. In short, the doors to the government service were wide open to those interested.

The aforementioned facts revealed a close relationship between the personnel employment system and politics in the Han Dynasty. When emperors Wen and Jing of the Western Han Dynasty and Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han Dynasty were in power, they welcomed people from all walks of life, including the poor, to join the government service, thus creating an important condition for developing production and for bringing about unity and stability in society. They believed that the practice of favoritism and nepotism in selecting the government officials was a key factor that led to political corruption and caused contradictions to sharpen in society. This belief was vindicated when the development of an unfair election system led to political corruption during the later stage of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Examination and Employment

During the Han Dynasty, candidates for government positions were strictly tested and evaluated before they were employed in order to raise the political standards of government officials and to insure the normal operation of state organs at all levels.

In the process of recruiting new officials, each candidate's family background, occupation, experience, education, assets, physical health and complexion would be cross-examined by the authority concerned before he was selected to join the government service. During the early days of the Han Dynasty, the government required each candidate for public office to offer evidence that he was worth more than 100,000 yuan in property. In other words, the poor stood no chance of being selected to serve their country.

For example, Han Xin [7281 0207] was too poor to qualify for a government position despite his dazzling intellectual virtuosity. Critics of this system at that time said: "Rich people are not necessarily competent to serve the government." This system remained unchanged although Emperor Xiaojing changed the requirement for each candidate's property value from 100,000 to 40,000 yuan during the second year of his reign. During the Han Dynasty, businessmen, their sons-in-law who took the place of their sons and lived in their wives' homes, and loan sharks were banned from entering the government service. The government of the early Han Dynasty also adopted a policy to promote agriculture and suppress commerce. Under this policy, businessmen were prohibited from wearing brocade clothes and using carriages, and from becoming government officials, and were heavily taxed. This restriction on businessmen was not lifted until after Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty came to power, and the country was confronted with financial difficulties which forced the government to welcome contributions in the form of useful materials, grains, sheep and goats and female servants from the businessmen in exchange for government positions. Also welcomed to join the government service were those muscle men skilled in the martial art. Nevertheless, each candidate for public office had to undergo rigid training. "A pupil cannot graduate or apply for a government position until he can memorize and recite more than 9,000 Chinese characters and is well-versed in their applications." In addition to training officials through schools, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty offered positions to those who passed tests in five books, and an oral examination in government policy." Those who took such oral examination were required to answer questions about government policies at three different levels. Their answers to such questions were later evaluated to determine their qualifications for official positions at all levels. After passing preliminary examinations held by the provincial government, a candidate had to take two or three more tests before a final decision could be made with regard to his selection or rejection. At these tests, the emperor might appear in person to ask some candidates questions about policies. This strict civil service examination system eventually provided the landlord class in the Han Dynasty with an endless flow of talented officials to form the backbone of the government systems at all levels.

Of the candidates who passed examinations, a few of extraordinary intellectual virtuosity and erudition would be directly promoted to Cabinet level positions in the imperial court, and the majority would have to go through a year's probation and evaluation before they could work independently as government officials. If anyone failed to meet the required standard during the probation period, he would be either transferred elsewhere or sent back to the original place of his station. During the Han Dynasty, the probation system applied to both civilian and military officers. After passing the probation period, each of them was required to serve out a term of several years at a post to which he was assigned. According to the recorded history of the Wei and Jin dynasties, every prefectural magistrate and provincial inspector general had to stay at one post for at least 3 years before qualifying for a transfer. It was believed that the Han Dynasty followed the same system, although it left no record for us to confirm it.

Evaluation, Promotion, Commendation and Punishment

During the Han Dynasty, the government adopted an evaluation and reporting system aimed at promoting or demoting officials. Under this system, their performances were evaluated once a year according to the regulations set by the central government; local government officials were required to report their achievements to the central government by the end of the year. These reports covered a wide range of subjects including taxes, theft, robbery, lawsuits, elections, agriculture, national disasters, population, roads, waterway transportation, irrigation. This system began with the Qin Dynasty and fully developed during the Han Dynasty. According to this system, "by the end of the year, each provincial government is required to send an envoy to report to the central government what has happened in the province during the past year." During the Han Dynasty, provincial officials in charge of this work customarily gathered in the capital of the country sometime in January to pay their tribute to their majesty and to report to him their respective achievements in all fields of work. In addition to this annual routine report, every responsible provincial official was also required to submit a more important report to his majesty once every 3 years. The emperor could also get such reports while on an inspection tour of various provinces throughout the country. This meant that he attached great importance to this work. During the Western Han Dynasty, these reports were usually handled by the prime minister but had to be verified by the imperial censor. The Han Dynasty government system also stipulated that the governor of every province had a duty to obey orders dictated by the central government and to oversee the operation of his subordinate counties; he should insure that each county would get its annual administrative report ready far ahead of his own report to the central government each year. Generally speaking, counties were required to submit their reports to the governor of their province sometime between the autumn and winter so that he could sum them up in a report to be submitted to the central government early the following year. Efficiency reports of this kind were also required of government offices at all levels and of the offices of nine Cabinet ministers. Sometime, his majesty would like to be briefed by his Cabinet officials on what had taken place throughout the country. In the fifth year of Yuanfeng, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty set up an office of the general inspector, directly under the supervision of the imperial censor, to inspect and oversee the operation of 13 provinces and to directly get acquainted with the actual situations there. The general inspector usually returned to the Capital to report his findings to his majesty by the end of the year, which could be used to verify the annual reports submitted by all provincial governors in January. In this manner, the central government opened another avenue to keep itself informed of the latest developments in the country. This reporting system was instituted by the government to evaluate and survey achievements by officials at all levels and to gain a better understanding of what they had done and to encourage them to further improve their performances. This system was backed up by another system designed to promote those who merited commendations and demote others who deserved punishment. During the Han Dynasty, officials who made extraordinary contributions to the government could jump several grades to high-ranking positions while others who made ordinary contributions would be promoted to the next higher level positions. Usually, such promotions brought higher pay, cash awards and other honors. Officials who were proven inept or found guilty of crimes could be demoted or banished to remote areas. Severe punishment would be meted out to officials who committed crimes. Officials who were found guilty of crimes were banished to frontier regions along with other criminals. Guilty officials could also be dismissed from office, demoted or sentenced to prison terms. Inept officials were often demoted with reduced pay. During the Han Dynasty, the transfer of officials from the local to central level positions was called "entry" and from the central to local positions was dubbed "exit." The transfer from one station to another at the same level was called the "routine changes."

A survey of the Han Dynasty's government employment system also revealed regulations that entitled officials to take home leave, and to retire at a specific age. The regulations also entitled staff officials to take 1 day off following 5 days of work in office, and to take sick leave no more than 3 months at a time. An official would be relieved of his duties provided his sick leave exceeded 3 months unless extended leave was authorized by the higher authorities. Shortly after their parents died, officials were allowed 3 years to mourn their death at their homes. Old or ailing officials were permitted to retire from office and were entitled to pensions. But retired high-ranking officials should be prepared to attend the imperial political meetings and to advise the emperor again if so requested. During the early days of the Han Dynasty, the three highest-ranking officials in the imperial court were required to serve the country for life. But this de facto system of the three highest-ranking officials serving for life was abolished when Prime Minister Wei Xian [7279 6343] was permitted to retire for the reason of poor health and old age in the third year of Emperor Xuan (67 B.C.). At the time of his retirement, he was awarded 100 jin of gold. This retirement system was highly valued by the succeeding rulers in Chinese history for the reason that it could keep bringing fresh blood to the government and retain those politically experienced and eminent retirees as advisors. Cash was donated to each official at his death along with silk fabrics, clothes, utensils, seals and other gifts which were to be buried with the dead. His majesty also made it a tradition to confer on him a posthumous title of honor to be inscripted on the gravestone in a cemetery also granted by the government. If he was a senior official or Cabinet member, he could hand his official title down to his future generations. This was a special privilege enjoyed by high-ranking bureaucrats in the Han Dynasty.

Election System Undergoes Changes in the Eastern Han Dynasty

The stringent system adopted by the Han Dynasty to select, evaluate and oversee the government officials was instrumental in insuring the smooth operation of the state machine of the landlord class at that time. But a comprehensive survey of the Western Han Dynasty's personnel selection system must include an assessment of politics at that time which had had direct impact on the process of selecting candidates for public service. As it was mentioned earlier, no corruption surfaced in the process of selecting candidates for official positions during the period of the first three emperors of the Han Dynasty. Nevertheless, impropriety in the selection of officials gradually broke into the open when Emperor Wu was in power and the country was embroiled in a civil strife, causing serious damage to the economy. Emperor Wu was the first ruler of the Han Dynasty who set up official positions to be filled by martial art experts and later sold them for profits as part of the government revenue. Worse was the fact that the power to select people for government positions gradually fell into the hands of influential local tyrants and landlords, who recommended people for government positions not in terms of their talents or competence and integrity but in terms of their wealth and financial resources. They also used their money to curry favor with those both in and out of the government. Fortunately, at that time, the state machine remained in good shape to resist such temptations and to insure the normal operation of the examination and evaluation system so as to continue to introduce to the government the useful talents it needed. Toward the end of the Western Han Dynasty, two peasant uprisings caused by political corruption plunged the country into disorder. Order was soon restored by Guangwu, first emperor of the Eastern Han Dynasty. Also revived were healthy social practices and the stringent system to select qualified talents for government positions. With the Eastern Han Dynasty entering the later stage of its life, the powerful office holders and their families and landlords began to assert themselves and push the people around again. They used the personnel selection system as a tool to form cliques to serve their private interests and to build up their influence until they could hold sway over the imperial court.

In the first year of Emperor Shun (132 A.D.), General Secretary of the central government Zuo Xiong [1563 7160] suggested that the personnel selection system be strengthened and age limits be placed on candidates for government positions. He did so in an attempt to prevent the selection system from worsening. But the selection system became so rotten that it eventually became a tool to serve only the private interests of local tyrants and landlords and to expand their political influence. An example was that the powerful families which held the three highest-ranking government positions for four generations at that time had had disciples and old subordinates all over the country and could recommend them for any positions as they wished. Their relationships resembled those between a ruler and his close confidants and between fathers and sons. As a result, new clans and new classes emerged in society. The general character of the officials who entered the government service under this system could be reflected in the following remark: "Candidates for civilian positions never read books, and did not stand for the principle of filial piety and integrity; once they were selected, civilian officials became corrupt and generals from noble families were as cowardly as chickens." This corrupt personnel selection system had a disastrous effect on the destiny of the Kingdom of the Eastern Han Dynasty. This system still held sway over the societies of the succeeding Three Kingdoms and Wei and Jin dynasties in which "the children born of the poor families never stood a chance of being selected to serve their country."

9574
CSO: 4005

MOSLEMS OBSERVE RAMADAN; OFFICIAL RECOGNITION GIVEN

Moslems in Jinan

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] On 13 August, a vast number of the people of Hui nationality in Jinan jubilantly observed their traditional holy day--Ramadan. Ramadan is a grand festive day celebrated by the people of Hui nationality in our country annually. But when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in their heyday of power, mosques were closed throughout the country, thus depriving the Moslems in our country of their right to observe Ramadan. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," as a result of the thorough implementation of the party's nationalities and religious policies, the mosques have reopened following 14 years of their close, thus enabling the Moslem faithful to jubilantly observe Ramadan again.

On the early morning of 13 August, Moslems brimming with joy visited the homes of their relatives and friends, and exchanged greetings. Some of them even presented tasteful foods which they took following a fasting to the people of Han nationality. At 8 am, the Moslem faithful, both male and female, cheerfully participated in a prayer at the Nanda Mosque decorated with lanterns and colored buntings. Foods were served in the mosque at the end of a fasting.

Before the worshipping service was performed, responsible comrades of the Shandong provincial and Jinan municipal departments concerned with nationalities affairs extended greetings to the masses of Ahong and Hui nationalities during their visit to the Nanda Mosque. Mi Changmao [4717 7022 5399], standing committee member of the National Moslem Association, and Imam of the Nanda Mosque, greeted the visitors on behalf of the Moslem faithful. He called on Moslems in Jinan to study hard, strengthen unity among the people of all nationalities, and make contributions to the four modernizations under the leadership of the party and government.

Introduction to Ramadan

Ramadan is one of three major holy days for the Moslem faithful, which falls on 1 October in the Moslem calendar every year (or on 13 August in the world calendar this year). In China, Ramadan is observed by the people of Hui, Uygur and Kazak nationalities annually. On that day, relatives, friends and neighbors of the Moslem faithful exchanged greetings; households of the Moslem faithful served guests special foods or presented them to friends and relatives as gifts. The government has proclaimed Ramadan a holiday for the aforementioned minority people as a demonstration of respect for their tradition and customs.

Moslems in Guangzhou, Tianjin

Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN in Chinese 14 Aug 80 p 11

[13 August News Report by ZHONGGUO XINWEN from Beijing]

[Text] On 13 August, over 1,000 Moslems gathered at the Huaishengguang Mosque to jubilantly mark their traditional holy day--Ramadan.

At nearly 8 am, these well-dressed Moslem worshippers participated in a prayer led by the imam of the mosque clad in white turban and robe, with their heads facing the mihrab which marks the direction of Mecca. Later, after exchanging greetings in the mosque, they went to Guihuagang or north part of Beijing to pay homage to their ancestors at their graves.

In addition to Moslems living in Guangzhou, other participants in the observation of Ramadan at the Huaishengguang Mosque were muezzins from Xinjiang, Hong Kong and Macao. On the morning of 13 August, Chen Yilin [7115 0122 2651], Liao An [1675 1344] and other responsible persons of the Guangdong Provincial and Guangzhou Municipal Committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Guangdong Provincial and Guangzhou Municipal Nationalities Affairs Committees arrived at the mosque to extend greetings to the Moslems who gathered there. Thousands of Moslems in Tianjin Municipality gathered to observe Ramadan at their newly remodelled mosque on 13 August.

9574
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BLUEPRINT FOR A NEW XIZANG GIVEN BY ACTING CCP SECRETARY

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITY UNITY] in Chinese No 7, 15 Jul 80 pp 2-8

[Article by Yin Fakang [7113 3127 1660], acting first secretary of the Xiang Autonomous Region CCP Committee: "Strive Hard for a United, Prosperous, and Civilized New Xizang"]

[Text] Xizang is an inseparable part of the sacred territory of the motherland and is a nationality autonomous region of a particularly important nature. The people of the Xizang nationality are diligent, sincere, honest, intelligent, and brave. Historically, they opened up the Xizang Plateau with their own intelligence and strength, and played an important role in the formation and development of all nationalities in China.

However, owing to the cruel exploitation and oppression by the reactionary serf-owning class in the past, the economy and culture of old Xizang for a long time was in a state of extreme backwardness, the life of the laboring people was exceedingly poor, and the population was shrinking year by year.

With the peaceful liberation of Xizang, especially after the reforms that were made after putting down the rebellion, a million serfs stood up and became the masters of Xizang, and earth-shaking changes occurred in the social system. In the past 30 years, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the party committee of the autonomous region and party organizations at all levels in the region have led the broad ranks of party members, cadres, and the PLA stationed in Xizang, of both the Tibetan and Han nationalities, to mobilize and organize the masses of people of the Tibetan and all other nationalities, to unite the Xizang patriotic democratic figures, to build up Xizang, to defend the border, to uphold the unity of the nationalities, and to guard the unity of the motherland. In this they have achieved great results and made great contributions. However, owing to the extremely backward base left from history, especially the 10 years of turmoil caused by the disturbance and destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as well as certain deficiencies and mistakes in our work, as of now, in Xizang the development of agricultural, animal husbandry, and industrial production is still very slow, culture and education are very backward, and the life of the masses is very poor.

The Party Central Committee shows extreme solicitude for the Tibetan people and attaches great importance to the work in Xizang. After the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Central Secretariat held a special forum on work in Xizang that clearly put forward the central tasks, the struggle objectives, and an eight-point policy for work in Xizang under the new historical conditions. Soon afterward, Comrade Hu Yaobang, secretary general of the CCP Central Committee; Comrade Wan Li, secretary of the CCP Central Committee Secretariat and vice premier of the State Council; Comrade Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee; Comrade Yang Jingren, vice chairman of the CPPCC and deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee; and Comrade Zhao Chenqing [6392 6591 3237], deputy director of the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee, personally inspected the Xizang Plateau and directed work there. Comrade Hu Yaobang concretely put forward six big issues that Xizang needs to resolve now and in the future. Comrade Wan Li also issued many instructions that clearly pointed out the direction Xizang should take to further advance from poverty to prosperity.

The central tasks and struggle objectives put forward by the Party Central Committee for Xizang Autonomous Region under the new historical conditions are: With the Tibetan cadres and people given first place, strengthen the unity among cadres and people of all nationalities; bring every positive factor into play; starting with the actual conditions, heal by every means the wounds inflicted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; develop the national economy; raise the material living standard and the cultural and scientific standard of all nationalities; construct the border areas; strengthen the border defenses; and, in a planned and orderly way, make Xizong flourish and develop, thrive and prosper.

The policies, tasks, and struggle objectives put forward by the Party Central Committee, as well as the call to build a united, prosperous, and civilized new Xizang, fully accord with the realities of Xizang and fully reflect the fundamental interests of the people of every nationality in Xizang. They are the concrete embodiment in Xizang of the party's general line and general task in the new era, and are also a powerful weapon for our party in solving nationality problems now and for a long time in the future. This battle task is a glorious historical mission given by the Party Central Committee to the people of all nationalities in Xizang. Striving hard to realize this objective is of extremely important significance for step by step realizing practical equality, economically and culturally, between the Tibetan and Chinese nationalities, for effecting a further close relationship between the party and the Tibetan people, for building a powerful modern socialist state, and for fictoriously carrying out the international struggle.

1. Emancipate the Mind and Relax Policies To Make the People of All Nationalities in Xizang Prosperous As Soon As Possible

The party's ideological line is the theoretical basis in formulating the political line, and is also the fundamental guarantee for the execution and implementation of the political line. In order to fulfill and realize in the work in Xizang the central tasks and struggle objectives and to build a united, prosperous, and civilized new Xizang, first of all we must emancipate the mind, correct the ideological line, uphold dialectical materialism, arrange the work in Xizang around the implementation of the Party Central Committee's important directives, conscientiously supplement the lesson on discussion of the truth criterion, keep in touch with reality, and relentlessly criticize the ultraleft, thereby freeing the people's minds from the shackles of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

At present, there are very many problems in ideological theory that urgently await solution. We must grasp the key points and solve the problems that are blocking our advance and that most urgently require solution. An important problem that, first of all, is worth bringing up is whether we can seek truth from facts and in everything start from reality. Such being the case, the greatest reality at present in Xizang, speaking of the autonomous region as a whole, can be summarized in one word, viz, poverty. We should have the courage to dare to face this reality, dare to admit backwardness, dare to admit poverty. The premise for curing poverty is to admit poverty. Only by frankly admitting poverty can we cure poverty by all possible measures. At the same time, we must solve the problem of daring to possess wealth. In the past, one kind of thinking always linked poverty to socialism, wealth to capitalism. Without a doubt, this viewpoint that fears wealth, fears becoming too conspicuous is mistaken. Under the premise of maintaining the course set by socialism, to create wealth by labor is glorious, and we should dare to possess wealth. We must thoroughly criticize the fallacies of false socialism advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," viz, the "transition through poverty" and the "eating of messhall food," and truly clarify what is socialism and what is capitalism. To maintain public ownership of the means of production, to maintain distribution according to work, and to not allow exploitation are socialism. For the masses of peasants and herdsmen to work to create wealth is certainly not capitalism. Starting from the reality that the commodity economy of Xizang is not very developed--speaking of the situation as a whole--it is fundamentally useless to worry about capitalism. If we fear wealth then we cannot cure poverty.

We must get a clear understanding of the goals of socialism. The goals of our production are not to learn from Daqing and Dazhai, to reach the target set by the national program for agricultural development, and to fill up the blank spaces, and also are not to get more bonuses by fulfilling directives, tasks, and plans, but are to satisfy the Tibetan people's needs in their material and cultural life. We cannot again seek underserved reputations and do stupid things that invite disaster.

We must see that Xizang is different from the interior of our country, and also is different from other minority nationality regions. We must study the particularity of this contradiction, and make clear the specific and general nature of the dialectical relationship. We should firmly establish the practice in Xizang of starting everything from reality and looking at everything from the viewpoint of the people of Xizang. In our handling of agriculture, animal husbandry, transportation, commerce, culture, education, and every other construction undertaking in Xizang, we should see whether it is of benefit to the people of every nationality in Xizang, whether it meets their requirements. Whatever is of benefit to the people of Xizang and is welcomed by them should be conscientiously done: if it does not satisfy their needs and is not welcomed by them and yet is done obstinately, then we will become separated from the masses and will not have the viewpoint of the masses. To do things well requires good intentions, but good intentions by themselves will not do, as it is still necessary to conform to reality. Otherwise, good intentions can lead to doing bad things. Therefore, only by having a correct ideological line can we advance steadily in the correct direction toward changing poverty into wealth.

In order to enrich the masses as quickly as possible, we must start with the reality in Xizang, and for all economic problems put into effect specific and flexible policies. Starting from the present circumstances of the masses' poverty, the policies should certainly be liberalized, liberalized, and again liberalized. By using the party's policies to mobilize the enthusiasm for socialism of the broad masses of peasants and herdsmen, a powerful and dynamic production force will be created. Only by putting our policies on the right track and adopting them to local conditions can there be a big increase in output, and by adding science to the equation, there can be a huge increase in output.

Starting with 1980, throughout the autonomous region for 2 years there will be an exemption from agricultural and animal husbandry taxes; and the state monopoly on purchasing, marketing, and distribution of agricultural, animal husbandry, and sideline products will be abolished. The state's adoption of the method of discussion and barter in its purchasing, on the voluntary basis of the masses, will encourage the peasants and herdsmen to sell to the state more surplus agricultural, animal husbandry, and sideline products. Eliminating formal exactions, abolishing all added burdens, not practicing any equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources, the state, from now on, when running each construction undertaking, when employing the labor and draft animal force of the commune and production team that is really necessary, will adopt the method of contracts, giving reasonable remuneration. Exempt from industrial and commercial taxes will be agricultural, animal husbandry, and handicraft industry products; the handicraft industry of the commune, production team, and individual; and the small trader's, peddler's, and individual commune member's sales and exchanges in the market. Road tolls will not be levied on tractors and motor vehicles used for agriculture and animal husbandry at the county, district, commune, and production team levels.

We must fully respect the right to stand on their own feet of the production team, the work team, and the household. From now on, the autonomous region will adopt a comprehensive balanced method, from top to bottom, in formulating production plans, and will not again have production output and planting plans in which orders are transmitted to lower levels. Every production team and work team will, according to their local natural conditions and the requirements of society, arrange their own crop planting. What is suited to be planted will be planted, what is desired to be planted will be planted. Where there are production measures to be taken, the decision on them will be left to the production team, the work team, and even the household itself. We must not resort to coercion and commandism, we must not give arbitrary and impracticable orders. The production team has the right to decide itself the distribution level, thus abolishing the past maximum quotas for distribution. The labor force, the financial capacity, and the goods and materials of the production team, work team, and household are protected by laws and must not be subject to equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources or subject to seizure.

We must establish and perfect every form of the production responsibility system and strengthen labor management. Every place can organize work teams on a temporary and seasonal basis; can divide the work teams on a yearly basis and link output to the calculation of remuneration; and can also try out the method of "major responsibility for a task" and other methods that please the masses. With regard to livestock that are inconvenient for the collective to manage, the method of having the commune members take care of them and sharing the work proportionately can be adopted. If the scope of the production team is too large--its members living far apart and management being inconvenient--it can, based on the wishes of the masses, appropriately divide the work into smaller b its, normally 20 to 30 households being most suitable.

Poor communes, poor production teams, and isolated households in remote fringe areas, after receiving permission from the county people's government, and under the premise of not changing the system of collective ownership, are allowed to have "grain ration fields" and household production contracts. Individual communes and production teams where for many years production has not risen and where the life of the masses is extremely poor can, if the masses really demand it and the county people's government approves, temporarily withdraw from participation on the mutual aid teams, and at a suitable time again take the path of collectivism.

We vigorously encourage and energetically support the management by commune members of private plots and privately owned livestock, privately owned trees, and privately owned hills and the development by commune members of household sideline production. The private plots must be reserved according to regulations. Privately owned livestock must be handled by the household. Under the premise of not affecting collective production, the commune members can raise whatever livestock they want and in whatever quantity they want. The number and breed are not limited. Moreover, the commune members are permitted to plant forest trees and fruit trees in front and in back of their houses; commune members are permitted to plant forests at places designated by the production team.

Whoever plants owns whatever he plants. No matter for whatever reason, the commune member's private timber and fruit trees that had been taken by the collective in the past must be resolutely returned to him. The commune and production team also can, based upon concrete circumstances, transfer to every commune member household a fixed amount of barren hills, barren slopes, and barren banks where trees and grass can be planted for the household's long-term use, and the income therefrom will go to the individual household. Commune members are permitted and encouraged to engage in all sorts of household sideline production and handicraft industry. Craftsmen are permitted to practice their craft by traveling from one village to another. Commune members' products and income from practicing the "four retentions and one auxiliary" system will not be subject to allotment and purchasing assignments and will not be subject to collective distribution.

Every prefecture and all counties, communes, and production teams must start from what is of benefit to economic development and the people's life, and, based on natural laws and objective economic laws, determine their own production policies that are suited to local conditions, adjusting well the overall arrangements for agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline, and fishery production, tapping new sources of production, giving priority to one enterprise, and developing in an allround manner.

Every place must vigorously support and encourage communes and production teams to fully utilize their local natural resources, to develop commune-run enterprises, to develop sideline occupations, to develop the transport service among the people, and to develop nationality handicraft industries. Communes and production teams are permitted to establish direct contacts with the outside; conclude contracts; contract for processing agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry, and sideline products; and contract for transportation, capital construction, and other production projects. They are permitted to open restaurants, inns, inns with sheds for carts and animals, repair shops, and other service trades. They are permitted to directly sell and exchange their own handicraft industry products and their local and special products.

The ban on country fair trade is lifted. Each county and district can, viewing its own concrete circumstances, organize at designated points country fair trade and commodity interflow meetings. The commune, production team, work team, and household have the right to sell their agricultural, animal husbandry, and sideline products at county fairs, and are permitted to barter foodgrain, oils from crops, and livestock at the county fairs. They are permitted to distribute some commodities wholesale to the collective management, and individual small commodity buying and selling from village to village is permitted.

Product exchange between peasants and herdsmen, town and county is encouraged. Based on the wishes of the masses, the former mediums and habitual forms of exchange will be restored, thereby handling well the exchange of agricultural and animal husbandry products, salt and grain.

Every place can, based on the wishes of the masses, gradually transfer the rural basic-level supply and marketing cooperative to the people's commune, forming the commercial organization and the supply and marketing department of the people's commune, putting into effect a system of independent accounting.

Commodity price departments and commercial departments must uphold the principle of no loss and no gain, and maintain the principle of relative stability of commodity prices, again examining and revising the purchasing and selling prices of commodities, particularly of the production materials and livelihood materials that concern peasants and herdsmen, and adjusting prices that are unreasonable. Buying and selling must be fair. The purchasing of the sideline products of the masses of peasants and herdsmen must be on the basis of determining the price according to quality with high prices for high quality. It is definitely not permitted to force prices down step by step or to pocket part of what should be paid. The valuable medicinal herbs and hides gathered and bagged by the commune members should be sold to the state, and when necessary, after approval is granted, floating prices can be put into practice.

Starting from the requirements of production and of the life of the masses, trade with the outside is to be vigorously developed. Departments concerned and prefectures in the autonomous region must pay special attention to the trade of people living along the border, fully make use of the advantageous conditions of border areas, open up former channels, establish new channels, vigorously organize the supply of goods, support the principle of mutual benefit to the masses, and energetically develop border trade.

The industrial production of our region must also proceed from the reality in Xizang and be adjusted accordingly. The adjustment is not to be one of not developing but of developing, especially the energetic development of transportation, hydroelectricity, and nationality handicraft industry. Some factories and enterprises must be closed down and transfered, must be cut back, must be dismantled. Not all industry must be cut back or dismantled; the cutbacks and dismantling now are for their improvement and restoration in the future.

The thorough implementation of these specific and dynamic economic policies will surely be warmly welcomed by the broad masses of Tibetans, will surely greatly mobilize their enthusiasm for production, but they also might encounter some resistance, some new problems might emerge, and it might be necessary to do a great amount of work. Owing to the lack of experience, it is normal that a few problems will emerge. We must strengthen investigation and study, sum up experience in good time, and do our work well with one heart and one mind. We can see that only by unswervingly carrying out these policies that enjoy immense popular support can we bring about in the economic development of our region within a fairly short time comparatively marked successes.

2. Improve Nationality Relations, Strengthen Nationality Unity

Xizang is a minority nationality autonomous region composed mainly of Tibetans. Tibetans make up over 85 percent of the region's total population. Compared with other fraternal autonomous regions, Xizang is a relatively special autonomous region with a great many distinguishing features in natural conditions, geographical environment, nationality traits, and economic structure. From beginning to end we must attach great importance to the great questions of firmly carrying out the party's nationality policy, of maintaining close relations with all nationalities, and of strengthening the unity of all nationalities; this is the key to the success or failure of all our work.

Since the peaceful liberation of Xizang, and after the democratic reform and the socialist transformation, the class sources of nationality oppression and nationality discrimination have basically been wiped out. Therefore, the statement that "the nationality problem is in essence a class problem" is mistaken. This formulation can only cause confusion and misunderstanding in nationality relations. Nationality is a problem that falls within the category of history, and its process is one of emerging, developing, and dying out. Under different historical conditions, the essentials and tasks of the nationality problem are different. Under socialism, the people of every nationality become the masters of the state, and among them are established brand-new relationships. The fundamental task confronting us in nationality relations is to gradually solve the existing problems left over by history of the factual inequality in economics and culture of every nationality. In dealing with the nationality problem, to rashly cut off the nationalities from their historical legacy and say it is a problem of class struggle not only cannot strengthen nationality unity but also must necessarily give our foreign and domestic enemies an opportunity they can exploit to their advantage. This is what our Tibetan comrades must fully understand, and they absolutely cannot be careless about it.

We must, under the unified leadership of the central authorities, exercise the autonomous power of regional self-government. If there is no full self-government by the nationality, then there will be no measures suited to local conditions. If there is no full self-government by the nationality, then there will be no great unity of all the people of the country. Unity and centralism are closely related to nationality region self-government, and this dialectical relationship must be handled well. Speaking of the present conditions in Xizang, to overlook nationality traits and be separated from the reality in Tibet is the main erroneous tendency in our work. That leadership work style and work method that is subjective, one-sided, vaguely generalized, and is done at one stroke, that work experience that is blindly and rigidly spread to other areas, the practice of subjectivism, the forcing of one's will onto other people, the work style of not respecting, to the point of abolishing, the autonomous power of minority nationalities have already created serious consequences for the work in Xizang. From now on, we must, according to the directive from the central authorities and the special characteristics of Xizang, formulate relevant work policies and tasks and give concrete guidance. All decisions and measures must first of all be truly and wholeheartedly consented to and supported by the Tibetan people. If they are not, then they will be revised or put off. In order to integrate well the line and the general and specific policies formulated by the central authorities with the reality of Xizang, we will decide work policies based on actual conditions and fully exercise the autonomous power of the nationality region.

We must strengthen the construction of the autonomous organs of the nationality region, and, starting from the reality in Xizang, do good legislative work. The autonomous region's people's congress, along with its standing committee, is the organ of power, under the unified leadership of the central authorities, in the nationality region, and is the major mechanism for fully exercising the right of making independent decisions. The autonomous region's people's congress, based on the PRC constitution and the relevant laws, decrees, rules and regulations of the state, on the basis of investigation and study and starting from the actual circumstances in Xizang, formulates the laws, decrees, and rules for Xizang in politics, economics, culture, education, hygiene, nationality, and civil administration. It protects by laws the just rights of the Tibetan people in social life and in economic and cultural life.

We must regularly educate the party members, cadres, PLA officers and men, staff and workers, and the masses in the party's nationality policy, decisively overcoming or preventing Han chauvinism and also preventing local-nationality chauvinism. From now on, there will be regular checkups every year on the implementation of the nationality policy in which achievements will be displayed and mistakes corrected, thereby solving the existing problems concerning the nationalities and doing away with all factors not advantageous to nationality unity. At present we must pay special attention to: 1) Vigorously training the cadres of the Tibetan and other minority nationalities to gradually take over, with the Tibetan cadres as the main component, the party, government, and mass organizations at the county level and above in the autonomous region. We must boldly promote them, give them a free hand, enthusiastically help them, and give them concrete guidance so that they have position, power, and responsibility and fully play their roles. At the same time, we must be solicitous toward their life and solve their difficulties. 2) We must earnestly carry on and develop the nationality's culture, respecting the use of the Tibetan written and spoken language, respecting each nationality's customs and habits.

The official communications of the party and government organs of the autonomous region must be in both the Tibetan and Han scripts, and we must train translating personnel and perfect the translating and printing mechanisms. Han cadres must study the Tibetan written and spoken language, and the nationality cadres must first of all learn well the script of their own nationality while studying the Han written and spoken language. We must choose effective measures to gradually make elementary school education universal, eliminate illiteracy in the Tibetan language, transform elementary schools run by the local people into public ones, and make a great effort to run well county and district post-elementary schools and county middle schools. We must vigorously make arrangements for universities. Every large special academy and school and middle-level vocational school should principally enroll students from the Tibetan nationality and from the Monba, the Lopa, and other minority nationalities in order to train qualified specialists for building up Xizang. We must vigorously develop enterprises of a nationality, scientific, and mass nature in culture, education, medicine, and hygiene. We must carry on and develop Tibetan medicine, Tibetan medicinal herbs, and the Tibetan calendar and meteorology. We must carry on with the system of free medical treatment and free film viewing for the masses and students of every nationality. 3) In recruiting workers and enrolling students, we must insure that the proper quotas for the Tibetan nationality and the other minority nationalities are maintained. Industrial and communications, financial, and commercial, cultural and educational, hygienic, and scientific research units must all take in as many as possible Tibetan cadres and Tibetan staff and workers in order to train a contingent of nationality intellectuals and nationality staff and workers.

We must comprehensively implement the party's religious policy. Belief in Lamaism has a long history and has had profound and lasting effects on the people of Xizang, and it must be treated with care. While respecting the normal religious activities of the religious masses, we must also vigorously carry out ideological and political work, science, culture, and education, among them. The present monasteries and temples must be protected and maintained; with regard to those lamas who study and who have chalked up scholarly attainments in the Buddhist and other religious scriptures, as long as they are patriotic, they should be treated as intellectuals. We must let them play their proper role in carrying on and developing the excellent cultural heritage of the Tibetans. Lost or damaged Tibetan cultural artifacts should be recovered, protected, and put in order.

We must earnestly do well in the work of uniting, educating, and remolding the high-level patriotic figures in nationality religion. In politics we show concern for them, in life we give them proper consideration. We give them opportunities to learn from and do good deeds for the people, thereby consolidating the development of the revolutionary, patriotic united front.

We must get a good grip on the work of redressing grievances, trumped-up cases, and miscarriages of justice and of solving the important problems left over by history; realistically redressing the problems of the magnification of the scope of putting down the rebellion and of mistakes in demarcating the rich peasant status.

We must continue to publicize and carry out the party's and the people's government's policy concerning Tibetan compatriots residing abroad, viz, "all patriots belong to one big family, whether they rally to the cause early or late, let bygones be bygones, meritorious deeds will be rewarded, and they are free to come and go." We welcome Tibetan compatriots residing abroad, including the Dalai Lama, to return to their country in order to visit their relatives and friends, sightsee, or settle down. No matter when they come, we will welcome and warmly receive them.

In a word, we stress the unity of all nationalities in Tibet, especially the unity between the Tibetans and the Hans. No matter what nationality and no matter where it comes from, we must cherish nationality unity as we cherish our own eyes, and truly speak and do what is advantageous to nationality unity. Those who mistakenly express opinions that are not advantageous to nationality unity must be severely criticized and educated. Behavior that harms nationality unity must be boldly and resolutely curbed. Bad individuals who deliberately sow discord in nationality relations and destroy nationality unity must be dealt a firm blow. The people of all our nationalities must, with the great goal of building a united, prosperous, civilized new Xizang, closely unite, be as close to each other as if they were one flesh and blood, have brotherly love for each other, and never separate to their dying day.

3. Carry On the Revolutionary Tradition of Building an Enterprise Through Arduous Effort, Wholeheartedly Handle Affairs Well for the People of Xizang

The task of building a united, prosperous, civilized new Xizang is extremely formidable. Without arduous labor and great effort, this grand goal cannot be attained and this glorious task cannot be accomplished. In the past 30 years, the revolution and the construction in Xizang have always received great help from the state and have always been vigorously supported by the people of all nationalities in the country. In the future, this help and support will still be extremely important and cannot merely depend on the support of the people in the interior, we certainly cannot only be "people who are in the habit of asking the higher level for help." We must use the help of the state and the support of the people of the country to arouse our fighting will to cure poverty and create wealth, substantiating the conditions in this respect. In the initial period after liberation, the PLA and the work personnel who came to Xizang displayed the spirit of revolutionary heroism. On one hand they marched, on the other they built. They climbed snowy peaks, walked across glaciers, and conquered bitter cold, lack of oxygen, hunger, and sickness. They made the mountains bow their heads and the rivers give way, leveled hilltops to build bridges, built highways, reclaimed and cultivated wasteland, and increased production and practiced economy.

Together with the Tibetan people, they waged arduous struggle, regenerated the region through their own efforts, overcame one difficulty after another that was hard to overcome in this world, and obtained one victory after another in the revolution and construction of Xizang. Today, compared with the past, there are many more favorable conditions for building a prosperous, flourishing, rich, and strong new Xizang. But it is still necessary to maintain and carry on the fervent, vigorous, death-defying spirit of those years when we marched into, liberated, and built up Xizang, when we suffered greatly, endured hard work, took hard conditions as an honor and a joy, and devoted our intelligence and strength to the cause of rapidly transforming the poverty-stricken features of Xizang.

We must firmly establish the idea of wholeheartedly serving the people of Xizang. Our party's sole purpose is to work for the well-being of the people and do good things for them. The broad masses of party members and cadres in our region want to work for the well-being of, and do good things for, the people, in Xizang. All party members and cadres of every nationality in Xizang must strengthen the transformation of their world outlook and consciously launch a struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology. We must really and fully understand the basic truth that the power we hold was given to us by the people and that we can only use it to work for the people's well-being and certainly cannot use it to work for our private gain. No matter whether he is a Tibetan or Han cadre, no matter whether he is a new or veteran comrade--all of them must pay attention to overcoming and correcting the unhealthy tendency toward subjectivism, bureaucratism, and the special privilege mentality. They must firmly establish the mentality of the masses, maintain close relations with the Tibetan masses, go down to the basic levels at regular intervals, share weal and woe and go through thick and thin with the masses of people of all nationalities, understand and experience and observe their hardships, and always keep their hardships in mind. They must truly think what the masses think, worry about what the masses worry about, help the masses in their needs, be diligent and conscientious, quietly immerse themselves in hard work, be honest in performing their official duties, with all their heart and soul consider the interests of the people, wholeheartedly do many good things for the people of Xizang, and, with the Tibetan cadres in first places triumphantly shoulder the heavy burden of building a new Xizang.

We must further establish the idea of "building up Xizang for a long time and making the borderland our home. The construction of Xizang is a long-term task and is a component part of the construction of our country's four modernizations. Concretely, for each cadre, staff member, and worker who comes to Xizang, the time they serve the people of Xizang is limited, but the development of the construction undertaking in Xizang is limitless. Each comrade who comes to Xizang to work, no matter the length of time he has been in Xizang, should not take a short-term view or feel that he does not belong there, but should feel at home and fight side-by-side with the people of Xizang. The individuals leaving or staying in Xizang must heed the party's summons and be subordinate to the requirements of the revolution. At present, the great majority of cadres, staff and workers who came to Xizang have already completed or are about to complete the construction tasks given to them by the party, and are about to receive new assignments and take up new posts, gradually being transferred in turn back to the interior of the country. The less time these comrades have been in Xizang the more they should make the best use of their time, do more work, and handle the work at their last post well. In fact, many comrades are even more enthusiastic about and like their work even more than before. At the same time, Xizang also needs a certain number of comrades of the Han and other nationalities to remain and work in Xizang for a long time, and some forces need to be constantly replenished, particularly doctors, teachers, and scientific and technological personnel. This is not a makeshift measure, but is decided by the requirements of the construction undertaking in Xizang. Although the Tibetan cadres are given first place, this definitely does not mean that we do not need cadres of other nationalities. Therefore, looking at the situation strategically and speaking of the situation as a whole, we still must continue to raise loud and clear the slogan "build up Xizang for a long time and make the borderland our homes" and promote the revolutionary spirit of "loving the country and Xizang as we love our homes."

The key to implementing the important directives issued by the Party Central Committee concerning Xizang is to maintain and improve the party's leadership and to increase the party's fighting capacity. We must gradually, with first place given to the Tibetan cadres, do well in building up the leading groups. Party committees at all levels must spare no effort to earnestly study, publicize, put into effect, and implement the directives of the central authorities. They must study new conditions, solve new problems, strengthen political and ideological work, and strengthen the party's organizational discipline. Party committees at all levels and every Communist Party member must be promoters in emancipating the mind and men of action in implementing the directives of the central authorities.

In the previous 30 years, in order to "plant the five-starred red flag on top of the Himalayas and let the flowers of freedom and prosperity bloom all over Xizang," we, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, have victoriously completed the glorious mission of marching into and liberating Xizang and of laying the initial foundation for the construction of Xizang. Today, the Party Central Committee has issued the battle mobilization order to build a prosperous, flourishing, rich, and strong new Xizang, and once again in history a great march has begun in Xizang.

Let us, on this new historical march, unite as one, work in full cooperation and with one heart, inspire revolutionary enthusiasm, and struggle arduously. This year we must seize the key points, stadily and surely do several good things, win the confidence of the people, lay a good foundation, strive within 2 or 3 years to reverse the impoverished situation of the people in Xizang, surpass in 5 to 6 years the highest level of the past 30 years, become in 10 years prosperous on a comparatively large scale, and struggle hard for a united, prosperous, and civilized new Xizang.

9727
CSO: 4005

WORKS OF GRAPHIC ARTIST PROFILED

OW010744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, 1 October (XINHUA)--Powerful realism is shown at a display of woodcuts by China's leading graphic artist Gu Yuan that opens here at the National Art Gallery today.

On exhibit are 100 woodcuts (1939-1980) and 90 paintings in watercolors (1953-1980). They represent the artist's style, technique and themes in various stages of his career.

To support the exhibition, the national journal "ART RESEARCH" in its current issue carries a chronological table of Gu Yuan's works and two articles praising the "conciseness, grace and warmth" the artist has achieved in his woodcuts. "He possesses a power that turns Yenan's crude yellow soil into gold, and this comes from his revolutionary zeal and genius," wrote Li Qun, also a leading graphic artist of modern China.

The woodcut display includes "Carrying Fodder" (1940), one of Gu Yuan's graduation works as an art student in Yenan, which drew the attention of the well-known painter Xu Beihong; "At the District Government Office" (1943), showing the close ties between cadres and masses in the liberated areas; "Lowering Rents" (1943), featuring a peasants' meeting where farmhands settle accounts with a landlord; "Human Bridge" (1947), on the People's Liberation Army's advance under heavy enemy fire; "Revival of Anshan" (1949), depicting new China's early effort to build an iron and steel complex; "Jade Belt Bridge" (1962), demonstrating his excellent skill in portraying water, gently flowing and crystal clear.

"Visit to My Old Peasant Host" (1963) and "I Remember Yenan" (1978) recall old time intimacy between army and people. Among the new paintings are "Vietnam Refugees" done in 1979 and "Bringing the Sweet to the People" (1979), a gift to a foreign friend.

A primary school teacher in Guangdong Province, 19-year-old Gu Yuan travelled a long way from South China to Yenan in the north to take a direct part in the communist-led revolution. He painted wall pictures and did woodcuts, telling how the workers and peasants were smashing the old world and building the new worker-peasant regime. His works cover all kinds of subjects in the daily life of the people, from the new marriage law to land reform, from fighting drought to collecting manure. There are beautiful landscapes imbued with the joy and sorrow of the people. The Chinese peasant, awakening from a long history of oppression, stands out as a central figure in his art.

Gu Yuan directed the graphic arts department at the Central Institute of Fine Arts in 1958 and is now vice president of the Chinese Graphic Artists Association.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

XIZANG LANGUAGE SCIENCE PUBLICATION--China's first publication printed in Xizang language--was inaugurated in Lhasa recently. The inaugural issue of this publication contains detailed information on enormous energy resources in Xizang--solar energy, geothermal energy, and abundant hydroelectric power resources--and prosperous animal husbandry, and some well-known medical herbs. Also included in that issue were a number of articles dealing with subjects of production and human interest, which were accompanied by pictures. This scientific paper is published by the Xizang Autonomous Regional Society of Science and Technology for the benefit of cadres, scientists, technicians, workers, and herdsmen in Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, and Yunnan Provinces in addition to Tibet Autonomous Region. [Text] [Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN in Chinese 14 Aug 80 p 9] 9574

CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 76621

15 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 128

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76621

15 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 128

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Islamic Ministers Seek Iran-Iraq Settlement
(XINHUA, 2 Oct 80) 1

Iran-Iraq Aerial War Continues
(XINHUA, 1 Oct 80) 3

Iran Ignores Iraq Ceasefire Call, Cuban Effort
(XINHUA, 3 Oct 80) 4

Brzezinski on USSR, Iraq, Iran
(XINHUA, 1 Oct 80) 5

Brezhnev on Iran-Iraq Conflict
(XINHUA, 1 Oct 80) 6

U.S. Deploys AWACS Aircraft to Saudi Arabia
(XINHUA, 1 Oct 80) 7

Somalia Denies Providing U.S. With Military Bases
(XINHUA, 30 Sep 80) 8

Iranian Parliament Discusses Hostages
(XINHUA, 1 Oct 80) 9

Pakistan's Zia Addresses UN on Mission to Iran, Iraq
(XINHUA, 2 Oct 80) 10

Pakistan's Zia Condemns Soviet Aggression in Afghanistan
(XINHUA, 2 Oct 80) 11

Malaysian Minister on Kampuchea, Afghanistan
(XINHUA, 2 Oct 80) 13

'XINHUA' Notes Anti-Khalqi Purge in Afghanistan
(XINHUA, 1 Oct 80) 14

U.S. Urges Reintegrating Greece in NATO
(XINHUA, 2 Oct 80) 15

NATO Exercises Begin in Mediterranean
(XINHUA, 30 Sep 80) 16

Soviet Cruiser Kirov Joins Northern Fleet
(XINHUA, 2 Oct 80) 17

NATO's Secretary General Cites Need for Modern Navy
(XINHUA, 3 Oct 80) 18

Talks on Central Europe Forces Reduction Resumed
(XINHUA, 26 Sep 80) 19

French President Discusses Security
(XINHUA, 30 Sep 80) 20

ASEAN Meeting on Industry, Energy Ends in Indonesia
(XINHUA, 30 Sep 80) 21

Thai Minister on SRV Rejecting ASEAN Proposal
(XINHUA, 2 Oct 80) 22

Kuwait Lacks Enthusiasm for Increased Oil Demands
(XINHUA, 30 Sep 80) 23

Group of 77 on International Economic Order
(XINHUA, 2 Oct 80) 24

Polish Leader Urges No More Strikes
(XINHUA, 1 Oct 80) 25

Polish Leaders Meet University Student Delegates
(XINHUA, 30 Sep 80) 26

Briefs
- Measures To Keep Strait Open 28
- Thai Armed Forces Transfers 28
- UN Study Group 28
- Tianjin Friendship 29
- Iraq-Iran Fighting Slackens 29
- 'Arafat Leaves Iran for USSR 29
- Free Trade Zones 29

Iranians Refuse to Compromise 30
Envoy in San Marino 30
Pakistan's Zia Leaves Baghdad 30
USSR Suspends Oil to Turkey 30
Iraq Calls for Cease-Fire 31
Sadat Reiterates Offer to U.S. 31
Iran Rejects UN Call 31
Iran-Iraq Conflict Continues 31
Iran Captures Border Town 32
France Appeals for Cease-Fire 32
Strait of Hormuz Shipping 32
Iran-Iraq Conflict Continues 32
Sadat on Iran-Iraq Conflict 33

PARTY AND STATE

Hong Kong Journal on New Challenges Faced by Zhao Ziyang (Lin Wei; KUANG CHIAO CHING, 16 Sep 80) 34

Hong Kong Paper on Trial on Lin Biao, Jiang Qing Cliques (HSIN WAN PAO, 29 Sep 80) 40

'HSIN WAN PAO' To Publish 'Unofficial History of Jiang Qing' (HSIN WAN PAO, 1 Oct 80) 42

'WEN WEI PO' Advocates Freedom of Press in PRC (Editorial; WEN WEI PO, 25 Sep 80) 43

Hong Kong Magazine Reporter Comments on NPC Session (Shih Tien-hui; TUNGHSIANG, 16 Sep 80) 45

'Ba Yi Radio' Blames PRC Leaders for China's Economic Failure (Ba Yi Radio, 1 Oct 80) 50

'WEN HUI BAO' Readers Respond to Intellectual's Emigration to U.S. (WEN HUI BAO, 14 Sep 80) 51

Briefs

PRC National Day Reception 54
Zhejiang Minority Cadres 54
Xinjiang County-Level Elections 54
Shanghai Judicial Decision 55
Zhejiang CPPCC Meeting 55
Zhejiang NPC Meeting 55
Jilin CYL Delegation 55
Shandong Standing Committee Session 56

Guangdong County Level Elections 56
Shandong CPPCC Meeting 56
Liaoning Lawyers 56
Yunnan Procuratorial Conference 57
Anhui Propaganda Work Meeting 57

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Guangdong Military District Party Congress Closes
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 27 Sep 80) 58

Guangzhou PLA Forum Discusses Advantages of Socialism
(Rao Xinjiang, et al.; NANFANG RIBAO, 6 Sep 80).... 59

Heilongjiang Cracks Smuggling, Profiteering Case
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 25 Sep 80) 61

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Shandong Achieves Good Results in Secondary Education Reform
(Shandong Provincial Service, 1 Oct 80) 62

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Theatrical Reform
(RENMIN RIBAO, 24 Sep 80) 63

'XINHUA' on Feelings in Taiwan Cultural Circles for Mainland
(XINHUA, 30 Sep 80) 67

Briefs

PRC Publishers 69
Math History Book Publication 69
Beijing Memorial Service 69
Xinjiang Education 70
Xinjiang Geological Meeting 70
Xinjiang Minority College Enrollment 70
Xinjiang Literary, Art Congresses 70
Heilongjiang Journalists Association 70
Jilin Work-Study Schools 71
Sichuan Educational Funds 71
Sichuan National Symposium 71
Guangxi Song Festival Revival 71
Beijing Courteous Language Forum 71
Liaoning Middle Schools 72
Liaoning Secondary Education 72
Shanghai Middle Schools 72
Shanghai College Enrollment 72
Shanghai Writers', Artists' Forum 72
Jiangsu Radio-TV-Guide 73

ISLAMIC MINISTERS SEEK IRAN-IRAQ SETTLEMENT

OW020831 Beijing XINHUA in English 0816 GMT 2 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 1 (XINHUA)--The Islamic conference of foreign ministers held its extraordinary session at the UN headquarters this afternoon and unanimously resolved to recommend the continuation of the efforts of the good-will mission headed by Pakistani President Ziaul Haq to end the military conflict between Iran and Iraq.

The conference also decided to keep the present extraordinary session open "until a solution is reached, which will safeguard the Islamic solidarity and stop the bloodshed among brothers."

The two-and-half hour meeting was chaired by Agha Shahi, foreign minister of Pakistan and current chairman of the Islamic conference.

The meeting heard a report by Chatti (Tunisia), secretary general of the organisation of the Islamic Conference, on the good-will mission to Iran and Iraq and the address of the Pakistani president as well as the statements of the representatives of Iran and Iraq.

Chatti told reporters that the Pakistani president was asked by the Iraqi president to convey to the foreign ministers of the conference his proposal on the unilateral ceasefire which is to begin from October 5 until 8.

However, the Iraqi side put forward this offer with four conditions, which indicates that the ceasefire is not valid if there are any military activities undertaken by Iran against the Iraqi forces after the beginning of ceasefire, or there is additional military concentration on the contact line betweenthe armed forces of the two parties or on the Iraqi borders, and the above stated period will be terminated if there will be no clear declaration on the part of the highest responsible authority in Iran expressing agreement on the ceasefire on its part and readiness for immediate entry into negotiations.

The Iranian representative rejected the Iraqi proposal at the meeting. He stressed that Iraq must put an end to its "aggression" and pull back its troops to the original position before the fighting started.

Earlier today, Iranian President Banisadr in a letter to the UN Secretary General also rejected the Security Council's resolution calling for a peaceful settlement of disputes between Iran and Iraq.

Sources said that the Islamic Conference would meet again on October 4 and then the good-will mission would go back to Iran and Iraq. The Pakistani president will fly to Washington the day after tomorrow ans will hold talks with U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

CSO: 4020

IRAN-IRAQ AERIAL WAR CONTINUES

OW011207 Beijing XINHUA in English 1150 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 1 (XINHUA)--Iranian jets raided Baghdad yesterday and scored a direct hit on a power station, according to Western news agency reports.

The thermo-electric power station in the southern industrial suburb of Doura was struck early in the afternoon. Five hours after the bombing flames still leaped high up in the evening sky. Heavy casualties were reported.

Iranian aircraft also struck close to a nuclear reactor in north Baghdad, damaging a nearby warehouse. A gas pipeline exploded south of Baghdad and some cars were wrecked.

An Iraqi Army command communique said the towns hit in yesterday's strikes included Kirkuk, Erbil, Mosul and Takrit.

Iraq claimed to have brought down nine Iranian planes during the raids, seven over Baghdad, one over Erbil and another over Takrit.

The Iraqi communique declared that Iraqi aircraft directly hit the Iranian reinforcements trying to reach Dezful in southwest Iran and hammered a helicopter landing site, an ammunition dump and Iranian forces at Ahwaz.

Iranian losses included the destruction of oil depots in Ahwaz, a factory in Abadan, a naval unit in Daforin and oil installations in Khorramshahr, the communique noted.

CSO: 4020

IRAN IGNORES IRAQ CEASEFIRE CALL, CUBAN EFFORT

OW030732 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 3 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 3 (XINHUA)—Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-sadr ignored Iraq's call for a ceasefire yesterday and told his armed forces to intensify their efforts instead.

Iraq said on October 1 that it will unilaterally stop firing from October 5 to 8. Iran's top UN diplomat, Jamal Shemirani, immediately rejected the Iraqi truce call, saying that first "Iraq must put an end to aggression against Iran and it must go back to original positions before the start of hostilities."

After reviewing Iranian forces in Qazvin and near Tehran, President Bani-sadr yesterday urged his troops to make sacrifices.

Speaking on Tehran Radio on the same day the president praised the "discipline and steadfastness" of his countrymen.

It was reported that officials in Tehran had no comment on Iraq's ceasefire call.

Meanwhile, Iran has rejected an initiative by Cuban leader Fidel Castro who sent his Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca to Iran on October 1 to hold talks with Iranian Premier Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i in an attempt to end the Iranian-Iraqi war.

Raja'i told the Cuban foreign minister: "I am surprised at Fidel Castro's message recommending us to sit around a negotiating table with (Iraqi President) Saddam (Husayn), while we are under the chains of the tanks and shells of the enemy." "I think that he (Castro) has misunderstood our revolutionary people," he added.

Raja'i said that Iran was "prepared to fight to the end" against Baghdad's army.

Before coming to Tehran, the Cuban foreign minister had visited Baghdad.

CSO: 4020

BRZEZINSKI ON USSR, IRAQ, IRAN

OW011214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 1 (XINHUA)--Zbigniew Brzezinski, U.S. President's national security adviers, yesterday urged the Soviet Union not to fuel the conflict between Iran and Iraq, according to reports received here.

Speaking at a Samford University forum in Birmingham, Alabama, Brzezinski said "It is important that no foreign power enter into that region and attempt to dominate."

"We feel the international community as a whole, and that includes the Soviet Union, should join in the most rapid termination of the conflict," he said.

"Any attempt to fuel that conflict by the infusion of arms, to one or another of the parties, would be destructive and in conflict with international consensus," he added.

Talking later to a local civic club in Mobile, Alabama, yesterday, Brzezinski noted that the new challenge facing America is to stop the "southward advance of the Soviet Union."

Referring to the consequences which the escalation of Iran-Iraq conflict might have for the U.S. and its Western allies, he warned: "If the flow of the vital source of energy to the economies of Western Europe and the Far East is interrupted or placed under the control of an adversary power, then there will have taken place a fundamental tipping of the balance of global power."

He declared that the United States is prepared to respond to threats to its national security and in the Mideast, security arrangements must be more subtle.

He said the United States has prepositioned equipment for possible use by American forces in the Middle East and substantial U.S. naval and air forces are already within reach of the vital Strait of Hormuz oil shipping channel.

CSO: 4020

BREZHNEV ON IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

OW011233 Beijing XINHUA in English 1217 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 1 (XINHUA)--Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev said the Soviet Union is for Iran and Iraq settling disputable issues between themselves at the table of negotiations. Meanwhile, he accused the United States, though without naming it, of "obviously trying to turn this conflict to their profit."

According to a TASS report, Brezhnev said this at a dinner in Moscow yesterday in honour of the visiting Indian President N. S. Reddy who arrived in Moscow on September 29.

Iran and Iraq are two neighbouring countries "friendly to the Soviet Union," Brezhnev said. "As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we are for Iran and Iraq settling disputable issues between themselves at the table of negotiations. It would be good if they settled in the spirit of concord what can be settled now, but put off till tomorrow, when a settlement, possibly, comes easier what they cannot settle today."

He went on to say: "Neither Iraq, nor Iran will gain anything from mutual destruction, bloodshed and undermining each other's economy. It is only the third side, to which the interests of peoples in that region are alien, which stands to gain." The Soviet leader did not name the "third side" in the presence of the Indian president. He merely said: "They are those who want to establish their control over Near and Middle East oil, who again dream of turning Iran into a military base and gendarme post of imperialism."

Referring to current international tension, Brezhnev indicated that the Soviet Union was not responsible for it and tried by distorting facts to lay the blame on others for the tense situation in Asia, and other parts of the world.

CSO: 4020

U.S. DEPLOYS AWACS AIRCRAFT TO SAUDI ARABIA

OW010129 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Text] Washington, September 30 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Defense Department announced today the U.S. Government has initiated the temporary deployment of AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia "purely for defensive purposes."

The deployment "is designed to track aircraft and thus to provide additional warning for Saudi defenses," the statement said.

The statement reaffirms the position of neutrality of the U.S. Government in the conflict between Iraq and Iran. "We are committed to as rapid a termination as possible of the conflict," it said.

State Department spokesman Jack Cannon, responding to questions put up by reporters, noted that the widening of conflict between Iraq and Iran "heightened Saudi concerns." He indicated that the security of Saudi Arabia is important to the security of the region.

Stressing the pure defensive purposes, Cannon emphasized that the deployment is "in no way to threaten Iran and any other countries." "We are responding to a defense request which we consider legitimate for Saudi Arabia," he said.

A State Department official said that four AWACS aircraft will be deployed to Saudi Arabia. The AWACS stands for Airborne Warning and Control System, which is able to detect incoming attacks and direct military operations from high altitudes.

CSO: 4020

SOMALIA DENIES PROVIDING U.S. WITH MILITARY BASES

OW301936 Beijing XINHUA in English 1925 GMT 30 Sep 80

[Text] Beirut, September 30 (XINHUA)--President Mohamed Said Barre of Somalia has denied that the agreement signed last August between his country and the United States provided the latter with military bases in Somalia.

In an interview with Beirut's Arabic daily AL-NAHAR published today, he said that the agreement only provided for supply of fuel by Somalia to U.S. vessels and aircraft in case of emergency, "but we did not give them any bases, nor do they have any presence here."

On condition mentioned in the agreement was that such facilities would not be provided to the Americans if they were fighting Somalia's friends, the Somali president added.

He explained that it was Arab reluctance to come forth with aid to this country in the conflict with the Soviet-supported neighbouring country of Ethiopia that had left him with no choice but to sign an agreement with the United States.

It was earlier reported that on August 22d, Somalia and the United States signed an agreement allowing the U.S. access to the port and air base facilities in Berbera, northern Somalia, in exchange for five million U.S. dollars in economic aid, and permission to buy 40 million dollars in U.S. military equipment over the next two years.

CSO: 4020

IRANIAN PARLIAMENT DISCUSSES HOSTAGES

OW010755 Beijing XINHUA in English 0746 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 1 (XINHUA)--The Iranian Parliament yesterday failed to make any decision on American hostages in a heated debate, according to Western news agency reports.

It has decided to set up a seven-member commission to study the issue of the American hostages, which had no power to make a final decision. But yesterday's parliament session failed to agree on who would be its members.

Speaking at the session, which was held after two earlier postponements, Speaker Hasheme Rafsanjani said that the parliament had to "get rid of this ominous issue (of American hostages), and pass it on to the commission."

The deputies were also divergent on whether the commission should contact officials of the United States or other countries which represent American interests in Iran.

Some deputies said that the taking of the American Embassy was a righteous move and any move to enter upon negotiations would weaken the Islamic Revolution. They persisted that the American "spies" among the hostages should be put on trial.

Others argued that the world would condemn Iran if it refused to negotiate.

Former speaker Yadol ah Sahabi said, "All the difficulties the country finds itself in stem from the problem of the hostages." "We are isolated in the world, we must negotiate so that the problem becomes clear to all," he added. His remarks brought about protests of many deputies.

CSO: 4020

PAKISTAN'S ZIA ADDRESSES UN ON MISSION TO IRAN, IRAQ

OW020113 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 2 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 1 (XINHUA)--Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan and chairman of the Islamic Conference, stressed in his statement to the UN General Assembly today that an essential condition for the return of peace between Iraq and Iran would be the observance of strict neutrality and noninterference in their internal affairs by the outside powers.

He said, "The tragic conflict between the two Islamic states of Iran and Iraq is a source of deep concern to the world community." "This violent conflict between two brotherly Islamic states," he pointed out, "is attributable to the unstable conditions created in a sensitive area by the pressures and counterpressures of superpower rivalry."

Commenting on his just concluded good-will mission to Iraq and Iran at the behest of the Islamic Conference, Ziaul Haq said, "I was able to ascertain the views of my two brothers in a series of meetings in an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence."

He added, "I have faithfully conveyed to each brother the views and position of the other in regard to a cessation of hostilities."

He expressed his hope that "efforts will continue to end the tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq and that a peaceful solution will be found to their differences on the basis of justice, respect for each other's rights and in the spirit of Islamic solidarity and brotherhood."

CSO: 4020

PAKISTAN'S ZIA CONDEMNS SOVIET AGGRESSION IN AFGHANISTAN

OW020117 Beijing XINHUA in English 0109 GMT 2 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 1 (XINHUA)--Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan, at the UN General Assembly today strongly condemned the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan and voiced firm support for the Afghan people in their heroic resistance against this act of aggression.

Ziaul Haq said, "The world of Islam is pre-occupied with the tragedy that has overtaken Afghanistan. This small, independent, non-aligned Muslim country has been subjected to military intervention on a massive scale, in an attempt to keep in power a regime that has been foisted on an unwilling people."

The struggle of the people of Afghanistan against the Soviet intervention, he pointed out, "is as sacrosanct, and worthy of respect and support, as the heroic struggle of the Algerian people, the people of Zimbabwe--and, indeed, of all the oppressed and exploited people of the world, at one time or another against foreign domination."

"The deeply-felt resentment of the international community, and of the Muslim world in particular, against this act of aggression has been clearly expressed in the demand for the immediate, unconditional, and total withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Afghanistan," he stated.

Ziaul Haq reaffirmed the principles on which the solution was based as follows:

(a) the immediate, unconditional, and total withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan;

(b) the restoration of the independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan;

(c) respect for the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny, and to choose their own form of government in accordance with their own wishes, free from external intereference; and

(d) the creation of conditions which would permit the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

Turning to the issue of Kampuchea, Ziaul Haq said, "Here, again, a puppet regime has been foisted by the foreign occupation forces, leading to a mass exodus of the Kampuchean people, who have endured great suffering and privation."

"In both cases," he pointed out, "principles of international law and peaceful co-existence have been flouted."

CSO: 4020

MALAYSIAN MINISTER ON KAMPUCHEA, AFGHANISTAN

OW020747 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 2 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 1 (XINHUA)--Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen, Malaysian foreign minister, reiterated his country's condemnation of military aggression against Kampuchea and Afghanistan by Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

Speaking at the UN General Assembly session this afternoon, he pointed out that events in Kampuchea and Afghanistan posed a grave challenge to the United Nations. "This challenge must be faced if we are to maintain the strength and credibility of the organisation as the guardian of international peace and security," he said.

"To meet this challenge," he added, the UN General Assembly "must not allow countries to twist 'aggression' as 'cooperation' and 'intervention' as 'assistance'."

He stressed a solution to the Kampuchean problem must be found urgently in accordance with the UN relevant resolution which calls for immediate and total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, ensuring that a sovereign and independent Kampuchea will not be a threat to any of its neighbours.

"It is only on this basis that the beds of future intervention and interference in the internal affairs of that country either by regional or extra regional powers will be removed and Southeast Asian countries can together determine factors of peace and security as envisaged in the concept of the zone of peace for the region," he stated.

With regards to Afghanistan, he said Malaysia had deplored Soviet actions in Afghanistan and reiterated the call for an immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces in order to enable the people of Afghanistan to decide their own future free from interference and coercion.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' NOTES ANTI-KHALQI PURGE IN AFGHANISTAN

OW011533 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 1 (XINHUA)—Over twenty former government ministers, vice-ministers and politicians of the Khalq (people) facton of the Afghan People's Democratic Party have been removed from the jails where they had been imprisoned to embassies of East European countries in Kabul.

The Pakistan English-language daily, THE MUSLIM, reported today quoting "a reliable source" that the step was taken after the Soviet advisers and diplomats of countries friendly to the Babrak Karmal regime had failed to bring about a reconciliation between the Khalq and Parcham (flag) faction of the People's Democratic Party. Karmal is the leader of the Parcham faction.

The Khalqis who had been jailed included Abdul Kareem Misaq, former minister of land reform; Abdul Hakim Sharaee, former attorney-general; and Dr. Shaq, governor of Kabul. They had been responsible for organizing members of the Khalq faction to challenge the Karmal regime and Karmal's appointment as general-secretary of the party.

Other Khalqi leaders who joined Karmal's government or the Revolutionary Council, had lodged a strong protest against the execution of four former Khalqi ministers and six pro-Khalqi officials by the Karmal regime in July.

CSO: 4020

U.S. URGES REINTEGRATING GREECE IN NATO

OW020726 Beijing XINHUA in English 0709 GMT 2 Oct 80

[Text] Washington, October 1 (XINHUA)--"The United States regards the early reintegration of Greek armed forces into the NATO military structure as a matter of great importance for the NATO Alliance and for the security of the eastern Mediterranean," a U.S. State Department spokesman said today.

The statement was made in response to a warning yesterday by Greek Foreign Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis in New York that Greece will withdraw from NATO and close the U.S. base facilities in Greece, if its reintegration into NATO is not completed within a few weeks.

Greece withdrew from the NATO's military structure in 1974 over its dispute with Turkey on the issue of Cyprus. But it has participated in the NATO's political activities and in limited maneuvers with NATO forces. It formally applied for reentry in 1976.

Greece and Turkey are reportedly deadlocked over Greek insistence that its reentry into NATO include operational control of Aegean Sea and air lanes as part of NATO's defense planning. Turkey's refusal to agree has blocked the unanimous decision needed from NATO members to readmit Greece.

According to the spokesman, efforts to achieve reintegration are being carried out in NATO military channels. The Supreme Allied Commander in Europe Bernard W. Rogers is working actively with both the Greek and Trukish military authorites. Rogers is said to have presented Greece and Turkey with a three-point formula earlier this month that would reintegrate Greece into NATO now and decide the Aegean dispute later.

The spokesman said that the United States "fully supports General Rogers' efforts to reach an agreement as soon as possible that is satisfactory to all parties."

The United States has four major military installations in Greece, including a strategically important naval base and a regional electronic surveillance center.

CSO: 4020

NATO EXERCISES BEGIN IN MEDITERRANEAN

OW301218 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 30 Sep 80

[Text] Rome, September 30 (XINHUA)--NATO's annual fall military exercises in the Mediterranean started in the Pordenone region, northeastern Italy, yesterday.

The exercises, codenamed "Display Determination '80" and commanded by Admiral William J. Crowe Junior, commander-in-chief of the Allied Forces of Southern Europe, are designed to demonstrate the determination of NATO to defend and reinforce the Mediterranean countries and its ability to supply military equipment to those nations. They are also intended to train allied ground, naval and air forces as well as amphibious operation units to improve their efficiency and coordination.

Before October 14, ground, naval and air forces as well as amphibious operation units from NATO countries including the Netherlands, Portugal, Britain, the United States, Turkey and Italy would conduct military exercises by stages in different war zones.

Yesterday's exercises under the command of General Bittorio Santilli, commander for the Allied Southern European ground forces, were air-to-ground manoeuvres in areas lying between Italy's Pordenone and Carnia. One division and three brigades of Italian troops, with the coordination of one independent, mixed brigade of Portuguese troops, undertook the task of patrolling the frontier areas, ready to smash any "invaders." This was to show solidarity and support for threatened NATO countries.

CSO: 4020

SOVIET CRUISER KIROV JOINS NORTHERN FLEET

OW021840 Beijing XINHUA in English 1829 GMT 2 Oct 80

[Text] Washington, October 2 (XINHUA)--The battle cruiser Kirov, the Soviet Navy's first nuclear-powered ship, has been sighted by NATO patrol aircraft cruising north off the Norwegian coast evidently headed for the northern fleet, based on the Kola peninsula, disclosed a report in the NEW YORK TIMES today.

At about 28,000 tons, the Kirov is the largest warship, apart from aircraft carriers, to be deployed in more than 30 years. It is a multiple purpose warship with weapons for surface, anti-aircraft and anti-submarine warfare.

The report said that the Soviet decision to build three battle cruisers, of which the Kirov is the first to be deployed, was interpreted by naval analysts "as a sign that the Soviet high command intended to concentrate on ships capable of projecting naval power around the world."

The deployment of the Kirov with the northern fleet is considered a "significant reinforcement" of that fleet which is the most powerful of the Soviet Union's four major naval commands, the report said. North Atlantic Alliance naval analysts remarks that when the Kirov arrived, the northern fleet would have 81 major surface combatants, 130 submarines and 80 to 90 bombers, including long-range Backfire B's armed with air-to-surface missiles.

The report said that the northern fleet would probably be able to round the north cape and move through the Norwegian Sea to the major "choke points," the seaways between Greenland and Iceland and Iceland and Scotland.

In the view of senior United States admirals, the report said, should the Russians be able to force their way through the gaps and allied blocking forces of submarines, aircraft and surface ships, convoys crossing the North Atlantic with reinforcements and supplies for allied battlefronts in Europe would be at grave risk. The addition of the Kirov to the northern fleet, they said, increases the breakthrough capability of the Russians.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATO'S SECRETARY GENERAL CITES NEED FOR MODERN NAVY

OW030146 Beijing XINHUA in English 0115 GMT 3 Oct 80

[Text] Brussels, October 2 (XINHUA)--"NATO has little choice but to make whatever sacrifices may be required to maintain effective, modern, and highly capable naval forces of its own," said J. Luns, secretary general of NATO here this evening.

In his speech for the Royal Institute of International Relations in Brussels, Luns said: "All the tangible evidence of the broadening horizons of Moscow's strategic thinking may be found in the relentless development by the Soviet Union of an ultra-modern, all oceans, offensive naval capability."

The secretary general pointed out that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has sensitized the Alliance to the potentially direct relevance of events far removed from its official geographic purview to the safeguarding of those vital Western interests which NATO has been charged to defend since its inception. "This new awareness has been especially acute in the naval field, where it has become broadly recognized that, for example, other NATO states must do more within the treaty area in order to free US fleet units to pursue missions outside that area to the benefit of Western security," he added.

On preliminary U.S.-Soviet talks on long-range theatre nuclear forces in Europe, Luns said that even if these talks are to succeed, "the Alliance still must move to modernize its nuclear forces in Europe as a necessary counter to the existing and threatening Soviet superiority in this field."

On the Madrid conference, Luns said that the allies should speak at Madrid with one voice, making emphatic that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is "an unacceptable affront to the principles supposedly agreed to at Helsinki five years ago."

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TALKS ON CENTRAL EUROPE FORCES REDUCTION RESUMED

OW261349 Beijing XINHUA in English 1234 GMT 26 Sep 80

[Text] Vienna, September 25 (XINHUA)--Talks on a reduction of forces in Central Europe were resumed here today for their 22d round after a two-month adjournment.

It is generally held among observers here that the new round, which is aimed at setting a common ceiling for the forces of the NATO and Warsaw Pact nations, is not likely to produce any positive results worthy of mention.

This is because the two sides are still far apart in their estimates of the Soviet ground forces now stationed in Central Euorpe.

Luxembourg Ambassador and spokesman of the NATO countries Edouard Molitor told a joint press conference after the plenary session today that the Warsaw Pact nations must "adopt practical measures now to clear up the difference between the East and the West on the number of Soviet ground troops stationed in the reduction area."

A spokesman of the Warsaw Pact nations refuted the Western estimate that the Soviet side has an advantage of 150,000 men in the reduction area. He even accused the NATO countries of intentionally playing up the data issue and the "geographical factor" that the Soviet Union is closer to Central Europe than the United States.

The new round of talks will last till the end of December.

CSO: 4020

FRENCH PRESIDENT DISCUSSES SECURITY

OW301240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 30 Sep 80

[Text] Paris, September 29 (XINHUA)--French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing said today that "in a dangerous world where we are living, the first and foremost rule for a big power such as France is not to be at a dead end in security matters."

The French president made the statement while inspecting the training camp of the 11th Parachutist Division in Caylus, southern France.

"France should be capable of facing all kinds of threats, whatever their condition, time, location and nature," he said.

Touching on the reformation plan for the French Army which required reduction of paratroopers, he said: "I have decided to change the decision in the plan so as to keep this contingent of troops intact in our armed forces."

He approved the plan to establish a sub-unit of women soldiers in the paratroops who would receive, care for and transport the wounded and extend relief to all would-be war victims.

In addition, he also put forward three proposals to the staff office of the armed services, namely, to keep reserve units ready for action at any time in case of emergency, to speed up the production of improved automatic rifles, and to work out a five-year plan to ensure sporting activities for servicemen.

CSO: 4020

ASEAN MEETING ON INDUSTRY, ENERGY ENDS IN INDONESIA

OW301730 Beijing XINHUA in English 1623 GMT 30 Sep 80

[Text] Beijing, September 30 (XINHUA)--The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) ended its first ministerial meeting on industry and energy in Indonesia today with general agreement on basic guidelines including cooperation in energy and automotive cooperation projects, according to reports received here today.

A joint statement issued at the end of the two-day meeting held at Denpasar, Bali, said that the ministers agreed "to formulate framework for cooperation in energy and to enable the countries to obtain security of supply."

They also agreed to exchange information on the development of alternative energy resources, including nuclear power, and emphasized the importance of energy conservation.

"ASEAN member countries should work towards lessening dependence on imported oil and accelerating the development of indigenous sources of energy," the statement pointed out.

The ministers of the five ASEAN countries agreed to establish a plant in each country for five automobile components. Under this automotive complimentation scheme, Indonesia will build a steering plant, Singapore a fuel injection pump, Malaysia a headlight plant, the Philippines will produce heavy-duty rear axles for commercial vehicles, and Thailand a carburetor plant.

Indonesia's Ministry of Industry A. Rauf Suhud said after the meeting that they also agreed to give more emphasis to private participation, such as joint ventures among ASEAN private companies.

An economic ministers' meeting to discuss and approve the agreement will be held in Bangkok at the end of October, he said.

CSO: 4020

THAI MINISTER ON SRV REJECTING ASEAN PROPOSAL

OW020836 Beijing XINHUA in English 0825 GMT 2 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 1 (XINHUA)--Sitthi Sawetsila, foreign minister of Thailand, told the press following his talks with Foreign Minister of Vietnam Nguyen Co Thach here this afternoon that Vietnam rejected the ASEAN proposal with regard to the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea.

Sawetsila described the talks as a "frank and friendly exchange of views." He said that views of both sides were apart. Vietnam did not accept the proposal of ASEAN countries, while ASEAN countries did not accept the Vietnamese four-point proposal advanced at the so-called foreign ministers' meeting of three Indo-Chinese states in Vientiane either.

The proposal presented to Nguyen Co Thach by Sawetsila on behalf of ASEAN at the talks includes among other things the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea, free elections in Kampuchea under UN supervision and guarantees to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and neutrality of Kampuchea.

At the press conference Sawetsila stressed the need to find a just and lasting solution to the conflict in Kampuchea. He also reiterated ASEAN's proposal for the convening of an international conference to resolve the conflict in Kampuchea.

He pointed out that "once a just and lasting solution to the conflict in Kampuchea has been found, the ASEAN countries will exert renewed efforts, in cooperation with all the other countries of Southeast Asia, including Vietnam, towards the common goal of establishing Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality."

CSO: 4020

KUWAIT LACKS ENTHUSIASM FOR INCREASED OIL DEMANDS

OW301622 Beijing XINHUA in English 1508 GMT 30 Sep 80

[Text] Kuwait, September 30 (XINHUA)--Since the outbreak of the war between Iraq and Iran, former oil buyers of the two countries have turned to Kuwait for oil.

According to AL-QABAS today, the Kuwaiti Ministry of Oil has received messages from oil companies in Asia and Europe in the past few days expressing concern about their interest being affected by the Iraqi-Iranian war. They said they would send delegates to Kuwait to negotiate oil contracts to make up for the oil shortage in the world market caused by the war.

A Kuwaiti official of the Oil Ministry told the paper that Kuwait showed no enthusiasm over these demands. Adhering to its policy of producing an average of 1.5 million barrels of oil per day, Kuwait would refuse these countries' demands for oil, the paper said.

It was reported that the most eager among the countries asking Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf oil producing countries for oil was Japan. Both Iraq and Iran were its suppliers.

Despite the war, Iraq's oil still flows abroad through the pipelines in some Mediterranean countries. A total of 500,000 barrels transit the pipelines in Lebanon and Turkey every day and 400,000 barrels transit the pipeline in Syria.

CSO: 4020

GROUP OF 77 ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

OW020842 Beijing XINHUA in English 0831 GMT 2 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 1 (XINHUA)--"The main impediment towards progress in the establishment of a new international economic order is the opposition on the part of many developed industrialized countries to measures for restructuring the international economic system," the Group of 77 stressed yesterday.

In a declaration issued after the conclusion of the 4th annual meeting of the foreign ministers of the members states of the group which was held at the UN headquarters from September 29 to 30, the ministers expressed deep disappointment and serious concern at the failure of the 11th special session of the General Assembly to achieve its objectives.

The ministers stressed that the present difficulties and uncertainties in international economic relations and the stalemate in negotiations between developed and developing countries require renewed efforts to promote and strengthen economic cooperation among developing countries as an indispensable element both of the accelerated development of developing countries and of strengthening their negotiating power in their relations with the rest of the world.

They noted the consensus reached on the text of the new international development strategy for the 1980's, which is to come into effect from January 1, 1981. They recommended that the strategy be adopted by the General Assembly at its 35th regular session.

CSO: 4020

POLISH LEADER URGES NO MORE STRIKES

OW011852 Beijing XINHUA in English 1843 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, October 1 (XINHUA)--Member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers Kazimierz Barcikowski in a televised address yesterday called on the workers to refrain from holding any more strikes.

Barcikowski said, "It was announced in Gdansk that a warning strike would be held on October 3. The strike, if staged, may spread all over the country. It could not be taken as anything other than a breach of the agreement."

Under the agreement reached between the government committee and the United Strike Committee at the end of August, the government should work out a plan for wage raises before the end of September. As the government failed to keep this promise, the Independent Trade Union of Gdansk decided to hold an one-hour strike in the city on October 3 as a warning.

Barcikowski said that the government was determined to observe the agreement and would put it into effect. But, he added, "Things do not depend on the will of the government." In some cases, the agreement could not be carried out as scheduled because of the impotence of the authorities concerned. In other cases, the demands for wage increases are excessive and the government is unable to meet it.

He went on to say, "The economic losses caused by the work stoppages are tremendous. Our factories are now operating at 80 to 85 per cent of their capacity. The pace of production must be speeded up and productivity raised as soon as possible. Any more disruption of the production would add to the existing difficulties, staggering enough as they are."

CSO: 4020

POLISH LEADERS MEET UNIVERSITY STUDENT DELEGATES

OW301631 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 30 Sep 80

[Text] Warsaw, September 30 (XINHUA)--Polish leaders Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski and Jozef Pinkowski met representatives of the Socialist Youth Union of University Students yesterday and discussed with them major problems of interest to the students.

The Polish telegraph agency reported that during the three-hour meeting, they discussed the institution of higher education, instruction and study in the universities and colleges and the tasks of the university students' movement.

In recent months, university students have demanded more insistently than ever the right to form independent students' unions and reform of higher education. Those of the University of Gdansk have formed their independent union and appealed to the students of universities in the Baltic coast areas to take united action for the autonomy of their universities.

According to the newspaper, VOICE OF THE COAST, the Gdansk Students' Union has drawn up its rules and program of action and will strive for students' autonomy, reform of higher education and better material conditions for the students.

University students in this capital are making preparations for the formation of an independent union of their own. Similar demands were seen in handbills pasted on walls and windows of the dormitories of the Warsaw Polytechnic Institute and were also voiced by students in other cities.

Thus, the meeting of Polish leaders and students' representatives yesterday attracted much public attention.

At the meeting, Kania was reported to have said that the party "is deeply concerned" about what has happened among the university students. He promised to "give due attention" to the demands of the students and will answer them soon.

Speaking of the workers' strikes which broke out last month and the current situation, Kania said that the workers "oppose not socialism but distortions of socialism; they oppose not the people's power but the methods of administration."

He added that "the crisis has not yet come to an end."

The representatives of the students told their leaders that the students wanted to play a greater part in the administration of the universities and revive academic criticism in the universities and scientific institutions. When discussing the formation of organizations for students' autonomy, they said they were in favour of the Socialist Youth Union of University Students functioning under the guidance of the ideological line of the party. They added that the union would "act with the party as partners."

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

MEASURES TO KEEP STRAIT OPEN--Beijing, 29 Sep (XINHUA)--Washing news: U.S. President Carter said today that the United States and its allies will take "all the necessary" measures to insure that the Strait of Hormuz will be kept open so that oil can be shipped to the West." Carter said: "I have been in contact with leaders of our allies in the Western world and leaders of Islamic countries directly involved. We will take all the necessary measures to keep this strait open." He said: If this strait is blocked to navigation, the United States and its allies "will have to ask the people of their own countries to adopt conscious conservation measures and also to enforce compulsory conservation measures." Carter emphasized: If such a situation arises, "our countries may suffer serious losses." [Text] [OW290440 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1638 GMT 27 Sep 80]

THAI ARMED FORCES TRANSFERS--Bangkok, 29 Sep (XINHUA)--The office of the prime minister of Thailand announced here today the promotion and transfer of 231 officers of colonel's rank and above in the three services of the Thai Armed Forces. The former Under-Secretaries of State for the Ministry of Defence General Chao Swasdisongkram and Admiral Ket Santivejkul were appointed deputy supreme commanders of the armed forces; the former deputy commander of the Royal Thai Navy Admiral Smut Sahanavin was appointed commander of the Royal Thai Navy; the former Naval Chief of Staff Admiral Udom Pumhiran was appointed deputy commander of the navy; the former Assistant to the Commander of the Royal Thai Air Force General Phayome Yensoodjai was appointed new deputy commander of the Royal Thai Air Force. According to a retirement decree of the Thai Government, officers in the Thai Armed Forces reaching 60 years of age will retire before October first each year; therefore, an overall transfer of officers is made annually. The promotion and transfer of posts this time will be effective from October first this year. [Text] [OW291938 Beijing XINHUA in English 1912 GMT 29 Sep 80]

UN STUDY GROUP--Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--A group of specialists organized by the United Nations Department of Technical Cooperation for Development and headed by Robert Dijon left here by plane today. Members of the group came from 14 developing countries. They studied the prospecting, exploitation and utilization of ground water in the semi-arid areas in north China and had discussions with Chinese engineers and technicians during their 24-day stay in China. Zou Jiayou, vice minister of geology, gave a dinner in honor of the group. [Text] [OW030115 Beijing XINHUA in English 30 Sep 80]

TIANJIN FRIENDSHIP--Tianjin, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--The friendship store in Tianjin has begun to handle international insurance, international through-transport and purchase by mail and issue certificates of origin to cater for the growing number of foreign guests who purchase Tianjin's rugs, furniture and arts and crafts. The store gives customers quotations of prices, specifications and packing by letters on request. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0254 GMT 30 Sep 80 OW]

IRAQ-IRAN FIGHTING SLACKENS--Beijing, Sep 30 (XINHUA)--Two Iranian war planes bombed and destroyed an Iraqi oil refinery at Khanaqin close to the Iranian border early yesterday afternoon, according to reports reaching here. Tehran Radio announced that the planes also knocked out a military post, a gas reservoir and a radar antenna in Iraqi territory. In addition, three Iraqi MiGs were hit while circling above Abadan early yesterday and three others were downed as they attacked the military base at Bushir and the Kharg Island oil terminal the previous day. The Iraqi side was quoted as saying that their planes attacked Bushir again yesterday and destroyed all the aircraft on the runways. A communique issued in Baghdad said that Iraqi planes attacked and destroyed "enemy concentrations" near Sar-e-pol-e-Azahab in western Iran. But an Iranian communique announced that Iraqi forces were compelled to retreat and abandon several tanks in the region after being confronted by Iranian forces. [Text] [OW301238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 30 Sep 80]

'ARAFAT LEAVES IRAN FOR USSR--Tehran, October 1 (XINHUA)--Leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasir 'Arafat left here for the Soviet Union on September 29 after his visit to Iran, reported the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC here today. He had three rounds of talks with Iranian President Bani-sadr. The paper quoting a Palestinian source said that during the third meeting held on September 29, 'Arafat and Bani-sadr "exchanged views on the situation in the region, particularly the military situation on the Iranian-Iraqi frontier." They also discussed "the effect of the (recent) events on the situation in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East in general and with regard to the Zionist enemy." [Text] [OW011645 Beijing XINHUA in English 1635 GMT 1 Oct 80]

FREE TRADE ZONES--Colombo, 1 Oct (AFP)--A Chinese delegation has told the Sri Lanka authorities that China is considering establishing three free trade zones and the experience they gained here would be most useful, the Foreign Ministry said today. The nine-member delegation led by Mr Jiang Zemin, vice minister of the Chinese Foreign Investment Commission, who studied the operation and techniques of Sri Lanka's free trade zone, left for Malaysia today after a 5-day visit here. During their stay here they visited the free trade zone and had discussions with officials of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission which runs the zone. They also had discussions with the export development board, the principal collector of customs and the chairman of the port cargo corporation. They were hosted to dinner last night by the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs Tyronne Fernando. They visited Sri Lanka on the first leg of a tour of several Asian and South American countries to study the operation of free trade zones. [Text] [BK011442 Hong Kong AFP in English 1333 GMT 1 Oct 80]

IRANIANS REFUSE TO COMPROMISE--Beijing, October 1 (XINHUA)--Iran leader Ruhollah Khomeyni said yesterday evening that there could be no conciliation with Iraq, according to Western news agency reports. In a message broadcast over Radio Tehran, Khomeyni said, "We are not negotiating with the Iraqi people unless they evacuate our territory." He said, "Only if they surrender, for the sake of Muslims, we might consider something." "But as long as they have arms in their hands we'll also have arms, faith and Islam. We will proceed with these arms and crush them all, as we have crushed the superpowers with the same arms," he added. Khomeyni said, "To those people who are in cities such as Khorramshahr, Ahwaz and Abadan, I say they should resist with dignity and courage and not flee. This is a sign of weakness." "If we are killed, then we have done our duty. If we kill, we have fulfilled our obligations," he declared. "The Iranian nation must crush paper tigers such as Saddam Husayn," he said. "It is the duty of all to defend Islam. If we are obliged to, everyone must take up arms to defend Islam." [Text] [OW011210 Beijing XINHUA in English 1202 GMT 1 Oct 80]

ENVOY IN SAN MARINO--Rome, 1 Oct (XINHUA)--The Government of the Republic of San Marino today held a traditional grand inauguration ceremony for the newly-elected heads of state Gian Carlo Berardi and Rossano Zafferani. Diplomatic envoys of various countries to San Marino including Chinese Consul General Huang Yuping attended the ceremony. The two consuls captains-regent were elected on September 19 at the great and general council. They will assume the office of head of state for six months starting from October first. After the ceremony, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Political Affairs Giortano Bruno Reffi received and had a cordial and friendly talk with Huang Yuping. [Text] [OW030117 Beijing XINHUA in English 1915 GMT 1 Oct 80]

PAKISTAN'S ZIA LEAVES BAGHDAD--Baghdad, September 30 (XINHUA)--Pakistani President Mohammad Ziaul Haq left here this afternoon for New York via Paris after talks with President Saddam Husayn on the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, according to a Radio Baghdad broadcast this evening. During the talks this morning, the two sides examined developments of the conflict and reviewed efforts made by the Islamic nations for a peaceful solution to the dispute. No result was reported by the radio. The radio said that President Ziaul Haq paid tribute to the Iraqi leader's speech delivered on September 28 as expressing "a cordial spirit of ardent love of peace and lenience." Attending the talks were the visiting crown prince of Jordan, Hassan ibn Talal, and Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference Habib Chatty. President Ziaul Haq, who heads the Islamic Conference, arrived here yesterday after his visit to Tehran. [Text] [OW019713 Beijing XINHUA in English 0659 GMT 1 Oct 80]

USSR SUSPENDS OIL TO TURKEY--Ankara, October 1 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union has told Turkey that it would be unable to deliver the balance of the crude oil it promised to supply to Turkey this year because of the conflict between Iran and Iraq, according to press reports here today. The Soviet Union originally pledged to provide Turkey with 800,000 tons of oil up to mid-September but, so far, it had only supplied 300,000 tons. The Soviet Union has been delivering oil to Turkey from Iraq which has suspended crude oil export since the outbreak of conflict with Iran. [Text] [OW011231 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 1 Oct 80]

IRAQ CALLS FOR CEASE-FIRE--Beijing, October 2 (XINHUA)--Iraq has decided to call a unilateral ceasefire in its war with Iran from October 5 to 8, if Iran does not fire on Iraqi forces, according to news agencies' reports quoting an Iraqi special envoy yesterday. Iraqi President Saddam Husayn's special envoy Ismat Kittani made this statement on his way to a New York meeting of the Islamic Conference to hear a report on a recent good-offices mission to Tehran and Baghdad of Pakistani President Mohammad Ziaul Haq. The Iraqi Government reportedly informed Habib Chatti, secretary general of the Islamic Conference, of its decision while he was in Baghdad this week on a peace mission. [Text] [OW020740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 2 Oct 80]

SADAT REITERATES OFFER TO U.S.--Cairo, October 1 (XINHUA)--Iraq and Iran both are Islamic countries and Egypt does not side with either of them against the other except for a just cause, said Egyptian President A. al-Sadat at the closing session of the first congress of the National Democratic Party tonight. The president pointed out that he had said on many occasions that Egypt would offer the U.S. facilities to defend any Islamic or Arab country. He revealed that despite the rupture of Egypt-Saudi relations, Egypt willingly gave permission for the passage through Egyptian air space of four American radar planes to defend Saudi territory at the request of the Saudi Government. He said Egypt would ask America to channel all equipment through Egypt for the defence of Saudi Arabia. This privilege, he added, is not limited to Saudi Arabia, but applies to all Islamic countries as far as Indonesia. Al-Sadat regretted current happenings on the Arab scene. [Text] [OW020724 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 2 Oct 80]

IRAN REJECTS UN CALL--Beijing, October 2 (XINHUA)--Iran yesterday rejected a UN Security Council resolution calling upon Iran and Iraq to refrain immediately from any further use of force and to settle their dispute by peaceful means, according to reports reaching here. In a letter to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-sadr said that "while the Iraqi war of aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran is continuing, the proposals suggested in your letter and contained in the Security Council resolution cannot be considered by our government." Iraq had previously accepted that proposal, on condition Iran did the same. [Text] [OW020742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 2 Oct 80]

IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT CONTINUES--Baghdad, October 1 (XINHUA)--Iranian air forces bombed military targets, economic installations and civil buildings in Kirkuk, Aqra, Sulaimaniya, Kut, Basrah and Ummqasr of Iraq today, according to Radio Baghdad quoting a war communique released by the high command of the armed forces of Iraq. During the bombing, two Iranian planes were shot down and 12 Iraqis were killed and four others wounded. The communique said that the Iraqi air forces today bombed an Iranian oil tank in Ahvaz and a nearby railway station as well as the Dezful railway station and the mechanized and armoured forces in Abadan of Iran. According to Radio Baghdad today, the Iraqi military command said in another communique that Iraqi forces attacked Iranian troops on the central front, demolishing an Iranian machinegun post and a mortar position. [Text] [OW021235 Beijing XINHUA in English 1225 GMT 2 Oct 80]

IRAN CAPTURES BORDER TOWN--Tehran, October 2 (XINHUA)--Iranian troops yesterday recaptured Mehran, a border town in Ilam Province, reported the Iranian newspaper ISLAMIC REPUBLIC today. The report said that 10 Iraqi tanks were destroyed in the region and artillery duel was continuing. On the west frontier, Iranian troops succeeded in forcing the Iraqi troops to retreat. On southern frontier, Iraqi troops intensified their attack upon Khoramshahr yesterday and once came close to the railway station and the office of Khoramshahr port. Faced with fierce resistance, they drew back several kilometres and lost 23 tanks. Iraq bombarded a residential area of Abadan yesterday, the newspaper said. [Text] [OW021220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 2 Oct 80]

FRANCE APPEALS FOR CEASE-FIRE--Paris, October 1 (XINHUA)--The French cabinet today demanded that Iraq and Iran respond to the appeal of the UN Security Council and bring an end to their conflict. A cabinet communique stresses "the keen preoccupation of France in the face of the extension of the destructions that have been carried out as well as the prolongation of a conflict which shakes the equilibrium of the region." The communique also emphasizes "the vital importance for the world economy of the maintaining of free navigation in the Gulf and the Hormuz Strait." "In his talks with Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan, the president of the republic (France) has assured him of France's support for the action of peace taken within the framework of the Islamic Conference," the communique says. [Text] [OW020833 Beijing XINHUA in English 0823 GMT 2 Oct 80]

STRAIT OF HORMUZ SHIPPING--Beijing, October 2 (XINHUA)--The Iranian Government yesterday pledged to spare no effort to keep the Straits of Hormuz open to shipping to and from the Gulf, according to reports reaching here. A statement from the office of Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i said, "despite our current relationship with the hostile government or governments of the area...Iran guarantees to do its share to keep this waterway open." The statement charged that several governments were "considering interference in the Gulf" under the pretext of concern over the possible closure of the straits. [Text][OW021524 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 2 Oct 80]

IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT CONTINUES--Beijing, October 3 (XINHUA)--Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani told Iranian parliament yesterday that Iranian armed forces had launched an all-out offensive against Iraq. General mobilization was ordered in the southwestern oil province of Khuzistan, according to reports from Tehran. President Abolhasan Bani-sadr said in a message to his armed forces that the Iranians had chased the Iraqis out of the border city of Susangerd and forced them to retreat towards the Iran-Iraq border. A spokesman of Iranian joint staff said yesterday that Iranian aircraft had bombarded Iraqi cities with thousands of leaflets in which Ayatollah Khomeyni urges the Iraqi people to rise against their leader. It was reported that Iraqi and Iranian troops were locked in a savage hand-to-hand combat yesterday for control of the oil port of Khoramshahr. Iran claimed it dispatched paratroopers behind a wave of jet attacks to rescue Khoramshahr yesterday. Meanwhile, Iraqi high command said in a communique that "our heroic armed forces have achieved their main targets and their major operations will be dedicated now to preserving these targets." [Text] [OW030728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 3 Oct 80]

SADAT ON IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT--Cairo, October 2 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat has warned of the great danger of the present Iraq-Iran war which, he noted, has lots of dimensinns that may be very dangerous not only for the area but also for world peace. If the Hormuz Straits are closed, he added, it will affect the Arab world, the oil producers, Western Europe, America and the balance of power in the whole world. Al-Sadat said these in an interview with the correspondent of the U.S. CNN Television. He pointed out that whatever happens to the Iraq-Iran conflict, the only gainer will be the Soviet Union, because it means more chaos in the area. He went on to say that the U.S. should be vigil and not allow the Soviet Union to gain without losing anything at all. On the Middle East peace negotiations, al-Sadat said he did not give up hope and would remain optimistic. "We have to sit together and discuss difficulties with the U.S. and no party has the right to impose his thoughts on the other," he added. He stressed: "Egypt asserted again that Jerusalem is part of the West Bank of the Jordan River." [Text] [OW030136 Beijing XINHUA in English 0111 GMT 3 Oct 80]

CSO: 4020

HONG KONG JOURNAL ON NEW CHALLENGES FACED BY ZHAO ZIYANG

HK301030 Hong Kong KUANG CHIAO CHING No 96 16 Sep 80 pp 8-12

[Article by Lin Wei--"Zhao Ziyang Faces New Challenges"]

[Excerpts] Hua Guofeng was relieved from office on 7 September and Zhao Ziyang took up the premiership of the State Council. Zhao Ziyang began to work as a vice-premier in April, and the 5 months he spent in that capcity were in fact his training period to become the premier of the State Council.

Why Has Zhao Ziyang Been Substituted for Hua Guofeng?

Zhao Ziyang worked in Guangdong for quite some time. However, it seems that people in Guangdong are not interested in talking about his policy achievements in their province. What made him so famous in Sichuan then? What are the real reasons? It is hard to find a satisfactory answer.

Why has Zhao Ziyang been substituted for Hua Guofeng?

According to the NPC,Hua's stepping down enables him to concentrate on party affairs and accomplishes the policy of separating the party from the government.

To separate party affairs from government affairs is surely the current policy of the PRC, and it might be a good idea for Hua Guofeng to concentrate on party affairs.

As for the talk that the power of Hua Guofeng is being curtailed, that does not seem to be a big factor. In fact, while Hua Guofeng held the position of premier, power was actually in the hands of Deng Xiaoping. To resign from the position is not a great loss for him.

Is It True that Zhao Ziyang Is Deng Xiaoping's Protege?

Some say that Zhao Ziyang has been promoted because he is Deng Xiaoping's protege, but facts show that this is not true. Looking at his personal record, before Zhao Ziyang was transferred to the State Council, he had never worked under Deng Xiaoping.

The real reason for Zhao Ziyang taking the post of premier is that he has made contributions to the reform of China's economic system. Experts abroad and at home have held that the existing economic system poses the greatest obstacles to accomplishing modernization in China. How are we to remove these obstacles? If errors should occur in reforming the economic system which has been used for a long time, it would be very difficult to cope with the chaotic situation that might ensue. Therefore, selection of the right person to take charge of the reform is of key importance. The man selected must not only be bold and resolute but must also have the courage to challenge the traditional values. He must have a cool mind and practical experience.

Expand "Self-Management Power of Enterprises"

Expanding the self-management power of enterprises is the main aspect of Sichuan's economic reform, which has been the main factor leading to Zhao Ziyang's present position.

The Courageous and Learned Zhao Ziyang

Although expanding the self-management power of enterprises is not Zhao Ziyang's invention, someone is needed to put the theory into practice. Moreover, to carry out such a policy in a country which has been seriously influenced by ultraleftist ideology for many decades requires great courage.

We must note that it was in October 1978 that Zhao Ziyang practiced expanding the self-management power of enterprises. At that time, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee had not yet been held, the "whatever faction" was struggling desperately, and the decision to reform the economic system had not yet been made. Zhao Ziyang was resolute in carrying out the reform of five selected enterprises including the Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant, Ningjiang Machine Tool Plant, Sichuan Chemical Plant and Xindu County Nitrogenous Fertilizer Plant when the situation was still not clear. Such an act can be considered as pioneering; it also shows how courageous he is.

A Severe Struggle in the Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant

In fact, it was not smooth sailing for Zhao Ziyang to carry out economic reform in Sichuan, because the reforms met with considerable resistance.

The writer has learned about a real event in Sichuan which has not yet been reported in Chinese papers. The Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant was the first in Sichuan to expand its self-management power. The event took place in this plant.

In the autumn of 1978, when all provincial leaders were preoccupied with the so-called reform of production relationships to raise the enthusiasm of the workers, Zhao Ziyang showed his foresight by pointing out: "What should we rely on to promote production? Last year we exposed, criticized and investigated; this year, we are implementing the policy set for us; but next year, we must expand the power (author's note: the self-management power of enterprises). Since enthusiasm has its limits, we must improve the equipment and change the conditions of production in enterprises. We cannot import modernization from abroad; instead, we have to rely on our present enterprises. However, at present, everything is centralized under the state and the enterprise system is too rigid. We must give the enterprises more self-management power so as to enliven the economy. Once the enterprises have their own money, then everything will be easy."

Once the Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant practiced expanding its self-management power, it sold its own steel. In the past, it only sold the steel to the state. However, once it started selling its own steel, pressure was brought to bear on it. The municipal supply bureau wrote a letter accusing it of not selling steel through the state and thus upsetting the state plan. A report was submitted to the provincial authorities. After Du Xingyuan, the secretary of the provincial CCP committee in charge of industry, listened to Li Fengqing, manager of the Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant, he said with a smile: "What you have done is correct. I have already read the report of the supply bureau. It is unreasonable. Some comrades are used to the old ways and handle affairs with old methods. Now we must do something to correct them." The next day, Du Xingyuan and Meng Dongbo, a vice governor, summoned people from the provincial economic committee, the provincial planning committee, the supply bureau and the Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant to a meeting to convince the supply bureau to withdraw its report.

However, this does not mean that there was no other pressure. At a national order placement meeting organized by the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry, one important person from that ministry said to the delegates of the Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant: "You should not sell your own steel. If the state does not purchase it, you can either stop producing it or produce something else. The state will be responsible for the loss."

Such bureaucratic practice enraged everyone in Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant. On the one hand, Wang Yuguang, the deputy manager and concurrently general engineer, telephoned his people who were making deals in various places to carry on as usual; on the other hand, he personally went to Beijing to negotiate. Later on, the ban was lifted. The Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant not only sold out its entire stock of goods but also presold next year's output of steel plates, to the envy of many iron and steel plants.

But one problem followed another. A document from Beijing lodged a complaint against them. Li Fengqing made a report to the provincial CCP committee. After Zhao Ziyang listened to him, he said delightedly: "Self-management power has saved the Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant. It has done a good job. In the past, Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant was the notorious No 1 headache unit. Before the smashing of the gang of four, it had a deficit of 100 million yuan, but within the last 3 years, it has made up for this loss. In particular this year, it has made the greatest contribution to the state.

It is estimated that it will hand over to the state more than 90 million yuan in tax and profits, and still retain 5 to 6 million yuan. If we do not promote expanding self-management power or marketing by ourselves, can we get such good results? The current economic reform is basically very limited in scale. The new enthusiasm and productivity generated after the initial reform will certainly conflict with some irrational rules, old habits and forces. We must take an active attitude in analyzing the new situation and solving the new problems. The reform must be carried on and we must not turn back."

Not long after Zhao Ziyang had given this speech, another document came from the higher levels. This time, not only was the organ that issued the document more powerful, but the document was couched in harsh terms: "All steel contracts will be invalidated if the abovementioned stipulations are violated. If the stipulations are not carried out, enterprises and the relevant departments will have to shoulder the responsibility and face severe punishment."

After Zhao Ziyang learned about it, he specially sent someone to the Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant to pass on his message: "The expansion of self-management power was approved by the party Politburo and the State Council. Only the central authorities have the right to correct any mistakes that may arise, and no other department has the right to interfere."

Model for Economic Reforms in all Localities

Later on, Hua Guofeng also took a stand in Beijing. On New Year's Day, 1980, in his speech on a visit to the Beijing garrison command, he mentioned Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant: "It is impracticable for the state to control and plan everything.... In the future, we should have stipulations such as: After the factories have fulfilled the state quotas, the surplus products can be sold on the market. For example, the 90,000-ton "medium-sized plates" produced by the Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant were originally in great demand. However, once they had been manufactured, nobody wanted them. Finally they were sold after the plant tried its utmost to find customers wherever it could. If they had not been successful, the factory would have had to close down.... It is impossible for the state to take such detailed considerations into account. The state can only indicate the direction, and we must readjust through the market mechanism.

Since the Chongqing Iron and Steel Plant took the lead, other iron and steel plants have also applied for permission to expand self-management power and market their own products.

Practice the "System of Responsibility Tied To Output"

Expanding self-management power of enterprises is only one aspect of Zhao Ziyang's experiments in economic reform. There are two other important ones: Practice the "system of responsibility tied to output" in agriculture and expand the private plots, and set up joint enterprises of agriculture, industry and commerce.

Sichuan was the first to restore "private plots" in name and in practice. In the past, there were "private plots" in China's rural areas. However, peasants had no freedom regarding what to grow because everything was arranged by the communes and the production teams. Peasants in Sichuan are now free to choose what to grow on their private plots. According to the stipulations of the provincial CCP committee, private plots can account for up to 15 percent of the arable land in the province. Sichuan peasants are encouraged to breed as many pigs as they can. The free market in Sichuan is the most active in the whole country. All visitors to Sichuan agree with this. In Beijing, free markets are located in suburban areas and their scale is rather small. But in Chengdu, they are located in the city center and there are many varieties of products on sale. Sichuan peasants are allowed to run their private business during the slack farm seasons. Many get part-time jobs in factories. We should also pay attention to the fact that Sichuan was the first province to practice fixing output quotas at household level in remote areas. The fact that Zhao Ziyang dared to advocate "fixing output quotas at household level" 2 years before Liu Shaoqi was rehabilitated again shows his daring and courage. The reason why Sichuan agriculture has turned around so fast is that it has practiced the agricultural policy which is subsequently being popularized throughout the country.

Agricultural-industrial-commercial joint ventures constitute another bold practice of reform in the Sichuan economic system. These joint ventures are a means to accomplish harmonious cooperation between production and marketing. The rural areas provide raw materials, land or capital, the factories are responsible for production and the commercial sector for marketing. However, all of them are subject to unified quotas and planning. Agricultural-industrial-commercial joint ventures are the first integrated economic bodies in China. The first such joint venture in Sichuan was established in March 1979 and called the "Changjiang Agricultural-Industrial-Commercial Joint Company." The company is a combination of 26 small-scale state agriculture and livestock farms and fisheries with a staff of 9,000. The company produces and processes milk, fruit, fresh water fish and tea leaves. Since its establishment, the company has promoted various lines of production and turned losses into profits. In 1979, the company made a profit of 1.7 million yuan, the income of workers was raised and everybody got an annual bonus of 200 yuan. Certainly, lazy workers were fined. The staff and workers must change their attitude of "paid peasants" and work very hard because their income is closely related to their productivity.

The experience of agricultural-industrial-commercial joint ventures was later popularized throughout the country. Such a practice smashed the past blindness in production and divorcement of production from marketing.

Two Incident Reveals Zhao Ziyang's Sober Mind

In the reforms of the Sichuan economic system, people notice the bold and resolute work style of Zhao Ziyang and his courage in challenging old habits.

The following two incidents best describe the coolheaded Zhao Ziyang. Zhao Ziyang practiced new agricultural techniques in Sichuan, producing only two crops a year. In the past, China tried every way of increasing the number of crops to increase agricultural output. However, Zhao Ziyang had taken into consideration the mountainous characteristics of Sichuan. He deliberately acted contrary to the old practice. He suggested growing two crops a year. He said: "3 times 3 equals 9, but 2 times 5 equals 10." This means if there are 3 crops a year, and the output of one crop is 3, then the gross output equals 9; however, if we use more time to practice meticulous cultivation, then, the output of one crop will be 5 and the gross annual output will equal 10. Another example is that in 1978, the national economic plan called for accomplishing the mechanization of agriculture as its target. Zhao Ziyang acted contrary to such a target at the beginning of 1979. He thought that it was impractical to implement the wholesale mechanization of agriculture taking into account the current technology and labor force in China. Zhao's viewpoint was later endorsed by the agricultural commission, which announced that the 1978 plan would be revised. From the above two incidents, we can see that Zhao Ziyang does not follow blindly, and that he possesses a cool mind and has independent thoughts. After analyzing the work style of Zhao Ziyang in carrying out policies, we can see his talent in reforming the economic system. China is currently devoted to the four modernizations. It is true that each age produces its own hero: an expert in reforming economic systems is in charge of the affairs of the State Council. At present, the economy in China demands that Zhao Ziyang be put in the important position of premier. However, we should also note that the work of reforming the economic system throughout China is a complicated task and the situation varies from one locality to another.

At the same time, the duty of the premier is not merely to reform the economic system but also to find ways of realizing the 1 percent growth rate of population, to find jobs for the 20 million unemployed, to reform the education structure and to guarantee the completion of 400 major scientific research projects. All these will test the premier.

Lack of Diplomatic Experience?

It is undeniable that Zhao Ziyang is head and shoulders above Zhou Enlai, Hua Guofeng or even Deng Xiaoping regarding economics. However, with regard to diplomatic work, he is not as good as Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping or even Hua Guofeng. And diplomacy is an indispensable duty of the premier of the State Council. How Zhao Ziyang manages diplomacy is the concern of the people.

Improve the Living Standard of the People: Zhao Faces a New Challenge

Before Hua Guofeng stepped down from office, he eliminated some obstacles for Zhao Ziyang. The dismissal of the petroleum minister, Song Zhenming, was proposed by Hua Guofeng. Thus, some of the bureaucratic airs were dampened in the National People's Congress before Zhao assumed office. This has facilitated Zhao Ziyang's work.
CSO: 4005

HONG KONG PAPER ON TRIAL OF LIN BIAO, JIANG QING CLIQUES

HK010938 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 29 Sep 80 p 1

[Unattributed "New Talk" column: "Try Only Their Crimes and not Their Mistakes"]

[Excerpts] The trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques is considered a landmark denoting a new era in China, which puts a full stop to extreme "leftism."

Extreme "leftism" is a mistake in the line. However, implementation of ultraleftism, which nearly ruined the country and the people and left heavy blood debts, is a crime--an inexcuseable and great crime. As the supreme people's procuratorate prepares to try the 10 chief criminals of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, it has made a special announcement to the effect that only the criminal offenses will be prosecuted, not mistakes in work and the line. Mistakes are not necessarily crimes, though mistakes sometimes do lead to crimes. If all mistakes in work and the line are to be dealt with according to law, too much will be involved. The blow will be too heavy and it will create big upheavals throughout the country. Thus, we should not treat all mistakes in work and the line as crimes. The announcement is to pacify the people and let them know that those who merely make mistakes will not be prosecuted.

However, it is different with the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, for their mistakes are not merely in work or the line; they carried out a conspiracy. They brought about 10 years of calamity to the country and the nation. Such crimes are inexcusable.

If they are not tried or sentenced severely, according to law, the anger of the people will not be pacified and others cannot be warned against following their example. Although it is the task of the procuratorate to try them, taking into account the magnitude of their crimes, people cannot help but think: their crimes would not be expiated even if they are put to death ten thousand times. At least this is true of the 10 chief criminals.

The CCP Central Committee might have considered leniency after investigating the facts, but they should be even more mindful of the crimes of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques and the feelings of the people throughout the country.

It is all right not to prosecute the dead, but their crimes must be made known.

Among the dead, besides Lin Biao, there are his wife, Ye Qun, and his son Lin Liguo. Apart from the Lin and Jiang cliques, there is Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi. Are Kang and Xie part of one of the two cliques, or do they fall in between the two cliques? People have heard a lot about their crimes. Though they are not to be prosecuted, their crimes must be made known to the public so that they can be accounted for to the country and to history.

Their crimes should be listed in the documents of the 12th NPC in summing up the Cultural Revolution and evaluating Chairman Mao Zedong. It is not enough to try the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, we must also give an honest evaluation of the Cultural Revolution and the achievements and mistakes of Chairman Mao Zedong. Only then can we thoroughly abandon extreme "leftism" and march at a steady pace on the correct path. We should not cover up evils done by the wicked or the respected.

CSO: 4005

'HSIN WAN PAO' TO PUBLISH 'UNOFFICIAL HISTORY OF JIANG QING'

HK020533 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 1 Oct 80 p 1

[Text] The trial of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing clique will take place soon. Jiang Qing is the major culprit of this group of 10 since Lin Biao is already dead. Crowning herself the "empress," Jiang Qing brought great calamity to China. Everybody knows what she has done and is furious with her. However, people may not know about her actual behavior. In light of this, we have decided to publish the "Unofficial History of Jiang Qing" in long series of articles beginning on 6 October in order to inform people about Jiang Qing.

The writer of this series is Madam Zhu Shan [3796 3790] who is a well-known personage in Beijing. She was with Jiang Qing for many years and is familiar with her family background, life, character and behavior. Madam Zhu Shan has used hundreds of thousands of words to unprecedentedly tell how Jiang Qing enjoyed her luxurious life and how she stirred up trouble, bore grudges and manipulated power for personal ends in the past decades. The writing is so vivid that people can see how things developed from their small beginnings; it reads like a secret history of the "imperial court." The book is written according to facts without any exaggeration. We can take it either as a fiction or an unofficial history. This is an extraordinary work and people should not miss it.

We made an advance announcement in the spring that the series would be published soon and this has aroused the attention of a great number of readers. However, the date of publication had to be delayed because we had to wait for the trial of Jiang Qing. Now, the time has come for the series to be published. And we regard this series as one of the highlights marking the 30th anniversary of the publication of this paper.

Here are some of the features to be included in this series: How did Jiang Qing give herself to a young master (this young master was also a "well-known personage")? How was Jiang Qing able to sneak her way into Yanan and seduce Chairman Mao Zedong? How did Jiang qing claim to be a "widow" and that she and Chairman Mao Zedong were just a "political couple"? How did Jiang Qing make her own daughter Li Na mad? How did Jiang Qing torture her attendants and so on.

This series is copyrighted. The reprinting and translation of it is strictly forbidden without permission.

CSO: 4005

'WEN WEI PO' ADVOCATES FREEDOM OF PRESS IN PRC

HK261019 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 25 Sep 80 p 2

[Editorial: "Put an End To 'Seeking Undeserved Reputation While Causing Actual Harm' Through Legislation"]

[Excerpts] When Premier Zhao Ziyang received journalists from Hong Kong, his comment on news reporting in the past was: "Seeking undeserved reputation while causing actual harm."

We think this comment precisely sums up news reporting in the past 2 decades.

Following the popular discussion on democracy and the legal system in recent years, the press has begun to play a more active role and dares to reflect and report the objective truth as it really is. However, it is still unable to break through the "forbidden areas" and completely change its habit of "hemming and hawing." The speeches and inquiries put forward by the deputies at the current NPC and CPPCC sessions were a step toward remedying this state of affairs. The deputies not only realistically assessed their achievements but pointed out the shortcomings and mistakes. The language they used was pungent and sharp, unlike their obsequious and perfunctory style in the past. The press truthfully published their speeches and inquiries and honestly reported the grave accidents caused by bureaucratism. These things are new to the people at home and abroad.

On this occasion, Premier Zhao frankly told journalists from Hong Kong that he hoped the press would report things truthfully, stop "hemming and hawing" and never repeat the mistake of "seeking undeserved reputation while causing actual harm." The new government's new style of renovation is a great inspiration to the press circles of the whole country and of Hong Kong and Macau.

However, after taking a dispassionate look at the present state of the press, we feel that the grave existence of bureaucratism in some places and departments still remains a formidable obstacle to truthful reporting because these officials have power in their hands and can flagrantly interfere. Reporters' rights and freedom of the press still lack legal guarantees. Therefore, we think that the press circles must subjectively surmount all difficulties, courageously fight for democracy and freedom of speech, fulfill their obligations and exercise their constitutional rights. Meanwhile, mapping out the press law has become an urgent matter. With this law, truthful reporting is protected, the press can play its role in supervising the government and those journalists who are responsible for their words can dispense with the fear of being falsely charged. In this way, socialist democracy can be truly carried forward. This is fully to the advantage of the four modernizations and can put an end to the corrupt practice of "seeking undeserved reputation while causing actual harm" once and for all.

We hope that the NPC Standing Committee will comply with the development of things, exercise its power and draw up the press law as quickly as possible.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG MAGAZINE REPORTER COMMENTS ON NPC SESSION

HK261239 Hong Kong TUNGHSIANG in Chinese No 24,16 Sep 80 pp 4-6

[Article by contributing reporter Shih Tien-hui: "A Milestone in the Modernization of the Chinese Political System--On Covering the National People's Congress Session in the Great Hall of the People"]

[Excerpts] After more than 20 years, for the first time, foreign diplomats and Chinese and foreign reporters were allowed to cover the NPC.

Atmosphere of Freedom

The NPC session was scheduled to begin at 1530 on 30 August. Hurried Chinese and foreign correspondents had been waiting outside the door of the visitor's gallery for a long time. On that day, there were more than 300 Chinese and foreign reporters (including those from XINHUA and CHINA NEWS SERVICE) and foreign diplomats.

Thoughts on the National Emblem

As my mind wandered, the NPC deputies and members of the Presidium had entered the session hall simultaneously. With the help of young attendants, Ye Jianying, Soong Ching-ling and Nie Rongzhen walked with great difficulty. Li Xiannian walked in steady paces and did not show any sign of old age. Hua Guofeng, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, all in the prime of life, seemed free and easy and glowing with health and vigor. The general secretary of the session, Peng Zhen and his assistant Peng Chong were talking as they walked in. They were pointing at the press gallery and seemed like saying: Good! Let them come and see.

Presence of Chen Yonggui Raised Eyebrows

"Hey!" A foreign correspondent sitting next to this reporter suddenly pointed at the seats for vice premiers at the rostrum and shouted in surprise: "Chen Yonggui! Cheng Yonggui!" A minor commotion in the press gallery resulted. Looking toward the direction he pointed, Chen Yonggui in his usual peasant-style jacket was indeed seated there, reading documents. Chen Yonggui was still a member of the NPC and was seated on the rostrum. That was indeed a surprise. Since the exposure of the project of "conveying water from the West to the East" in Shanxi, the misrepresentation of grain production figures in Xiyang County and the miscarriages of justice, Chen Yonggui has been under attack in the newspapers under the special code name "the former principal responsible person in Xiyang County." According to previous practice, he should have disappeared into thin air.

The first item on the program after the opening of the NPC was the opening remarks by Ye Jianying delivered in a mixture of one-third Hakka, one-third Mandarin and one-third Cantonese. Immediately following were Yao Yilin's and Wang Bingqian's reports on the national economic plan and the state final accounts and budget.

Looking at the two reports, one could say that they were indicative of the spirit of the new economy policy being implemented by Beijing. In terms of policy, they reported both good news and bad news. In terms of principle, they advocated doing things in accordance with actual capability and developing the economy proportionally and steadily in a planned manner. In terms of concrete measures, they expressed the resolution to further reform the ossified Soviet-style planned economy, decentralize power, expand the decisionmaking power of enterprises, utilize the regulatory function of the market mechanism, protect competition and give impetus to development. Initial reactions showed that the two reports were very well-received.

The Inside Story About the Deficit

In the report given by Finance Minister Wang Bingqian, it was revealed for the first time that last year, China incurred a deficit amounting to 17 billion yuan. The report also pointed out that this deficit can only be gradually eliminated in the next 2 years. This problem entails popular concern.

There is an inside story about this deficit problem. It was alleged that the party Central Committee and the State Council held several rounds of discussions on the question of whether the financial deficit should be reported. Some people held that it should not be reported because this would have a bad influence and create anxiety. Thus, there would be only two choices of what to do: Fabricate statistics and like what was done last year, claim that "income and expenditure were balanced and a little surplus was realized" and cover up the real situation; or avoid revealing the figure of income and expenditure. Either one would be essentially deceptive. Then, the so-called supervision by the people would only be "empty words." For this reason, during the meetings, Zhao Ziyang, Wan Li and others forcefully argued in favor of frankly telling the NPC deputies everything and hiding nothing from them, because the reasons for the deficit were tenable--procurement prices of agricultural and sideline products were raised; income of peasants has been increased; wages of staff and workers have been increased; bonuses were given to workers and the standard of living of the people has indeed improved. They believe that the leaders must have confidence that the people will understand the difficulties of the state. Furthermore, only thus can they really place themselves under the supervision of the NPC deputies.

This short episode demonstrates that the "new economic faction" in Beijing is very strict in self-discipline and conscientious about observing state laws. It also shows that the move to change the NPC's status from a "rubber stamp" and actually realize its authority as the supreme organ of state power is still meeting a lot of opposition. Some vice premiers and ministers who are used to personal authority still feel nervous and uneasy about things like democratic consultation and submitting to the people's supervision.

A New Breakthrough--Queries

During the small group discussions held during the NPC, several surprises occurred. The fourth group of the Beijing delegation which had members who are experts in metallurgy and scientists made the first move. During the panel discussion on 1 September, they demanded that queries be addressed to the minister of metallurgical industry, Tang Ke on the question of money being wasted at the Baoshan Iron and Steel Plant. This demand was transmitted to the NPC secretariat and Deputy General Secretary Peng Chong pointed out that this is a legitimate right stipulated in the constitution to the NPC deputies. Ministers must make themselves available whenever summoned. Peng Chong agreed to the demand right away and the next day, arrangements were made for Tang Ke to appear and answer queries. When the summons was transmitted to the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, the minister and deputy ministers were caught unprepared. They had to ask for postponement until the afternoon of 4 September. They then prepared relevant material in haste and got ready for the confrontation.

This was the first time in the 30 years since the CCP assumed power that a minister has been questioned by NPC deputies. This should be considered a significant breakthrough toward the full exercise of the power of supervision and a great beginning in the transition from rule of man to rule of law. After the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, other organs of the government, including the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Ministry of Chemical Industry and the State Bureau of Supplies, were also summoned to answer queries. If this form of examining officials is used from now on, not only in the NPC but also in people's congresses at the provincial, county and other levels, it would indeed be an effective method of supervising officials at all levels.

The climax of this NPC session was, of course, the speech by Hua Guofeng. On behalf of the CCP Central Committee, he suggested the following to the NPC: that he no longer concurrently hold the position of premier and recommended Zhao Ziyang for that position; that the aged vice premiers Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian and Wang Zhen resign their positions in the government; that Wang Renzhong give up his position in the government and the resignation of Chen Yonggui. These measures realized the principle of separation of party and government, prevents the overconcentration of power and solved the problem of the aging of the highest leadership. This will be beneficial to maintaining the continuity and stability of the present domestic and foreign policy of China, improving administrative efficiency and the building of modernization.

Marshal Ye's Retention of His Post Drew Comments

Actually, the spirit of Hua Guofeng's speech has been repeatedly publicized and stressed by the CCP newspapers and publications recently. However, coming from the mouth of the CCP chairman, it is not quite the same thing. The only perplexing thing is Ye Jianying's retaining the post of chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC at the age of 82. It is not known whether this decision was unanimously made by the CCP Political Bureau which wants him to continue to shoulder this great burden or whether a suitable replacement could not be selected for the time being. Or could it be that the venerable Marshal Ye has decided to "make more contributions to the revolution" and persist in fighting until his last breath?

In any case, this seems very incompatible with the resignation of five vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee and Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and others from government posts and seems ironical in the light of the recent wide publicity on abolishing the system of lifetime tenure and solving the problem of the aging leadership.

However, generally speaking, the democratic atmosphere within the recent NPC was much stronger than previous ones. The deputies spoke without restraint and the boldness of their words were comparable to the views expressed in 1957, on the eve of the anti-rightist campaign. Fortunately, the times have changed. The CCP has learned painful lessons from the past experiences of stifling freedom of expression and refusing to heed constructive criticism. It has decided to allow free expression of opinion and welcome criticism and refrain from "setting traps." Otherwise, many deputies might now have been attacked as "rightists."

Doubts on "Unanimous Support"

One very commendable thing is that in line with the democratic atmosphere within the NPC session hall, starting from 5 September RENMIN RIBAO devoted a full page to printing excerpts of the speeches of NPC deputies in panel discussions. This enabled the people to read about the views expressed by the people's deputies. This method is beneficial for the people's deputies' supervision of the government officials at various levels and the people's supervision of the people's deputies. This decision by editor in chief Hu Jiwei is indeed admirable.

However, in an editor's note in RENMIN RIBAO the opening sentence said that "people's deputies from all over the motherland discussed the opening remarks of Comrade Ye Jianying and the two State Council reports delivered by comrades Yao Yilin and Wang Bingqian during the panel discussions. They expressed their unanimous support...." Here, it seems that use of the words "unanimous support" is questionable. First, the reports of Yao Yilin and Wang Bingqian were submitted to the NPC for review. To talk about "unanimous support" even before the discussions ended seemed illogical. Second, the people's deputies are masters of the country. The reports were presented by officials who are the people's public servants. To use the word "support" to describe the masters' attitude toward the reports of the public servants seemed like placing the position of master and servant upside down.

Although this is only a minor thing, it shows that the establishment of a real democratic system in China is far from easy. People are used to the old way. When they have to switch suddenly, it is unavoidable that they continue old customs and practices.

Some of the rules laid down by the Presidium of the current NPC are not also very acceptable. For example, one rule says that a motion has to be seconded by at least three deputies before it can be accepted. But in reality, a motion presented by a deputy does not only represent the opinion of one individual but also that segment of society he represents. The people's deputy speaks for the people. Motions are a good way to reflect the people's views. This rule undoubtedly puts up obstacles to the expression of popular opinion. It must be revised or abolished.

System of Cabinet Responsibility

Summing up the more than 10 days of meetings, this session can be considered an occasion where the power of the NPC has been restored. From indications, it seems that the Chinese political system might develop into one similar to the Western system of cabinet responsibility. The party will take charge of formulating the line, principles and policies; the NPC will be responsible for legislation and supervising the work of the government, while routine administration will be handled by the State Council. Therefore, looking at it from the angle of democratization and modernization of the state system, this NPC is also an important turning point.

In this meeting, the power of the PRC has been peacefully and smoothly transferred from the first generation to the second generation. In this respect, it is an unprecedented achievement not only in China but also in the international communist movement.

This great success in reforming the Chinese political system is the result of the basic victory of the realistic moderates in the CCP after more than 20 years of tireless battle with the leftist radicals. And during the final stage, it was Deng Xiaoping, the revolutionary, who made use of his prestige and power to hasten the coming of this epochmaking milestone. History will record this glorious episode.

CSO: 4005

'BA YI RADIO' BLAMES PRC LEADERS FOR CHINA'S ECONOMIC FAILURE

OW020427 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Summary from poor reception] "Time flies like an arrow, and the sun and moon move back and forth like a shuttle. Some 31 years have passed since the founding of new China. This is only a very short period when we view it from the historical point of view. However, during these 31 years, the people in China have suffered tremendously. Such suffering is unprecedented in the history of China and the world. Just as many NPC deputies mentioned at the Third Session of the Fifth NPC, countries like China and even countries more backward than it have made rapid progress. But we spent 20 some years in waging struggles and killing each other and in vying with each other for power."

After Mao Zedong died and the gang of four was smashed, our party, at the request of the broad masses of party members and the people throughout the country, preliminarily changed a number of irrational systems and developed to some extent our economic and cultural work. But we must still pay much greater attention to the future and interests of the people and the state.

In the past 31 years, the living standard of workers and cadres has gone down, while black market trade has become rampant. There are a great deal of speculative activities and illegal business transactions.

"Even more serious is the fact that some people advocate the import of machinery and equipment to 'help realize the four modernizations ahead of schedule' after they visit Japan and the United States once or twice. In the past few years many billions of yuan were squandered. Today equipment bought for several billion yuan either becomes a piece of 'real estate' or fails to function at all." The NPC deputies are entirely correct in accusing the party Central Committee and some leading comrades for spending so much moneyon the Baoshan steel complex.

It is regrettable that the leading comrades of the party Central Committee and the State Council have done a lot of foolish things in the past few years and wasted many billions of yuan. However they are not ashamed. They should openly conduct self-criticism before the whole party and the people in the whole country and bear in mind the future of the state and the suffering people in the country.

CSO: 4005

'WEN HUI BAO' READERS RESPOND TO INTELLECTUAL'S EMIGRATION TO U.S.

HK010513 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 14 Sep 80 p 1

[Letters to the editor: "It Is Certainly Necessary To Treasure Talented People and Sweep Aside Bureaucratism--Refrigeration Expert Chen Tingxiang's Emigration Provokes Heated Reaction From Readers"]

[Text] Editor's Note: Since 28 August when we published the news of the departure for the United States by refrigeration expert Chen Tinxiang because the policy concerning intellectuals was not being carried out and his skills were not being used, we have received heated reaction from our readers. In their letters many expressed their discontent with the bureaucratic workstyle of certain departments; they also exposed the phenomenon that some units ignore the party's policy concerning intellectuals. They demand that the relevant leadership departments attach importance to the role played by intellectuals in the four modernizations and be resolute in doing everything realistically.

We Cannot Tolerate Suppression and Waste of Talented People

Letter from Zheng Hongyi of Shanghai Bicycle Wholesale Department: After I read the article in your paper, I was very angry with the indifferent attitude some departments have shown to the party's policy concerning intellectuals and their bureaucratic workstyle of passing the buck. Talented people are urgently needed in developing science and technology in our country. As we know, a talented person cannot be trained in a short period of time. However, some cadres in change of personnel are driving talented people out of the country. The emigration of Chen Tingxiang, the refrigeration expert, is one such example. To avoid the recurrence of such things, I suggest: that a special group in the municipal department concerned be set up to investigate to what extent the party's policy concerning intellectuals has been carried out in all units in the municipality. Comrades whose special talents are not properly being used are welcome to report to the group. We must break away from rigid regulations, properly implement the policy concerning tapping the potentials of talented people, and instruct the special group to supervise all units in handling their affairs responsibly.

Letter from reader Zhou Xindong: At the same time as the report of the refrigeration expert Chen Tingxiang's emigration in WEN HUI BAO, there was a report on the return of a group of Overseas Chinese experts to participate in the four modernizations. In my opinion, those who returned certainly envisage a bright future for our socialist motherland. However Chen Tingxiang, who emigrated, was also a returned Overseas Chinese some years ago, and he left in anger after 30 years of waiting and disappointments. Today, if we are intoxicated with the reasons why Overseas Chinese return and ignore the reasons why people are leaving the country, how can we guarantee that those returning today will not leave sometime later? In this connection, many talented people are still suppressed by their local units. They are "working contentedly" because the systems of the organization prevent them from leaving. If one day we allow "talented people to move within the country," the events that occurred in the No 2 Commercial Bureau will be repeated in other units as well.

We Must End Inefficiency and Passing the Buck

Letter from reader Jie Pai: The news published in your paper under the headline "Talented People Seek Outlets Abroad" and the commentary entitled "Forsake Not the Talented People" have drawn people's attention to the chronic inefficiency of some organs. After more than 20 years, we still failed to arrange work for Chen Tingxiang. Even after the State Council and the municipal CCP committee issued a directive, the document kept travelling from one place to another for 8 to 9 months without anything being done about it. Thus, we can see how serious the problem is. Today, we must resolutely eliminate the malady, and change the malpractice of bureaucratism which exists in some departments. The people are constantly longing for a change from this abominable inefficiency and passing the buck.

Letter from a retired worker Ni Yinggeng: Units like the No 2 Commercial Bureau which indulge in red tape and procrastination are not uncommon, quite a number of cadres are tainted with such bad habits. This has worried people much. The government orders in these organs are not strictly carried out and the higher level departments are excessively accommodating to the lower level department's lack of organization and discipline. This is one of the reasons for the inefficiency. Since organs are part of the state machinery all workers of the state organs must strive for higher efficiency.

Hoping for the Immediate Implementation of the Policy Concerning Intellectuals

Letter from Chen Biwu of Shanghai 7 May Farm: After reading the report concerning Chen Tingxiang, I strongly sympathized with him. I graduated from the Chinese People's University, majoring in basic Marxism-Leninism in 1964. Originally I worked in the municipal academy of social science doing research work on the history of the Marxist-Leninist communist movement. During the Cultural Revolution, I was transferred to work on a farm. When the social science academy reopened after the smashing of the gang of four, I very much wanted to return to it. My request was supported by the CCP committee of the social science academy in its letter of reply to me. However, the department concerned did not allow me to go. I think that if judged by the law of value, my contributions to the party and the people in the research unit would certainly be greater than on the farm. Now, I am a middle aged man. When will I get a job which corresponds to my training?

Letter from Ye Shuhong of Shanghai Sport Shoe Factory: While Chen Tingxiang is an refrigeration expert, my speciality is water heating. I am 52 years old and have been a technician and engineer. During the 3-year period of grave natural disasters in our country, I was dismissed due to illness. Since then, I have become laborer to earn a living. Since 1968, I have been working in the sports shoe factory as a temporary worker. Although I am at present the deputy group leader of the capital construction office, the leading body at a higher level still refuses to employ me as a permanent worker, nor does it involve me in any technological surveys, reform of technical job titles or appraisals of workers.

Letters from Wu Xingshan of a certain PLA unit, Guo Shirong of Shangrao Municipal Construction Committee, Chen Yuan of Shanghai Aquatic Products Procurement Station and others: People usually refer to damage to property and human injury as accidents and deal seriously with the troublemakers and people responsible. Now is the time when we need more talented people for the four modernizations. However, the leaders concerned in the municipal No 2 Commercial Bureau, the foodstuff company and other units ignore the policy concerning intellectuals and the instructions from the higher levels. This has led to a brain drain and has had a bad political influence. Are these not serious accidents? The leading departments concerned should adopt practicable measures to prevent such things from happening again.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

PRC NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION--Hong Kong, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--The Hong Kong branch of the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY gave a reception at noon today to celebrate the 31st anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Among those invited to the reception were Hong Kong Governor Sir MacLehose and his wife, NPC and CPPCC deputies, certain provincial people's congress deputies and provincial CPPCC members residing in Hong Kong, personages of all circles in Hong Kong, diplomatic envoys and commercial attaches of various countries stationed in Hong Kong and foreign friends. Altogether, more than 1,300 people were invited. Wang Guo [3769 0948], first director, and Li Jusheng [2621 5468 3932], second director of the Hong Kong branch of the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY, and other responsible persons were at the reception to honor guests from all circles. Wang Guo and Sir MacLehose proposed toasts at the reception wishing Queen Elizabeth II and Chairman Ye Jianying good health. [Text] [OW020109 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1302 GMT 30 Sep 80]

ZHEJIANG MINORITY CADRES--Wencheng County, Zhejiang Province, has strengthened the training of cadres of She nationality. The county, one of the province's 10 counties with the largest minority-nationality population, has over 11,000 She nationals. Of these nationals, 147 are staff and workers divorced from production work, including 102 cadres and 71 graduates from middle schools, vocational schools and universities. Most of these cadres are assigned to leading posts in the county's party and government and in the financial, trade, educational and public health fields. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Oct 80 OW]

XINJIANG COUNTY-LEVEL ELECTIONS--Since the second half of last year 21 counties, municipalities and municipal districts in Xinjiang region have carried out direct county-level elections. According to statistics from Mori, Yanzi, Bole, Shanshan and Hotan counties, , 61--or 73.5 percent--of the 83 members of standing committees of county people's congresses; 15--or 60 percent--of the 25 chairmen and vice chairmen of standing committees of county people's congresses; and 20--or 64.5 percent of the 31 county heads and deputy heads elected came from minority nationalities. All county people's congress chairmen and county heads elected were minority-nationality persons. [OW020235 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 30 Sep 80]

SHANGHAI JUDICIAL DECISION--Acting in accordance the NPC's recent decision on questions of implementing the law of criminal procedure, the 8th session of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee has discussed reports by the municipal higher people's court, the municipal procuratorial office and the municipal public security bureau on extending the length of time for handling criminal cases, and adopted a resolution on implementing the law of criminal procedure. The resolution points out that in view of the large number of accumulated cases and lack of personnel at present, it is indeed difficult to handle each and every case in the time limit stipulated by the law of criminal procedure. Therefore, the legal time limit for investigation, prosecution, first instance and second instance will be extended appropriately. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 29 Sep 80 OW]

ZHEJIANG CPPCC MEETING--During the 11th enlarged meeting of the fourth provincial CPPCC Standing Committee, some CPPCC members took the floor and urged the departments concerned to stop waste and improve scientific research and education. CPPCC member (Cao Xianling) said that the current educational funds are much too low and that investment on education must be increased. He said many teachers today are highly incompetent and some teachers cannot even understand an academic report about a subject in their own field. CPPCC member (Zhou Hongtian) reported that Zhejiang oil refinery operates only 3 months each year because of insufficient supply of crude oil, and that the (Zhenhai) pier cannot accommodate large vessels because of silting although it was built for vessels of several hundred thousand tons. CPPCC member (Jiang Xiongfei) said that the party and the government must adopt effective measures to stabilize commodity prices. He said the prices of scores--or even hundreds--of commodities have risen. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Sep 80 OW]

ZHEJIANG NPC MEETING--The fifth session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress continued on 27 September. Representatives who took the floor stated that the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress must constantly supervise the work of the law enforcement organs, that scientific research units still have many problems, such as overlapping leadership and overstaffing, that intellectuals' salaries are still low, and that trade unions must serve as workers' spokesmen, reflect their opinions and be concerned with workers' vital interests. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Sep 80 OW]

JILIN CYL DELEGATION--The Jilin provincial young workers friendship delegation headed by Du Changling, secretary of the provincial CYL committee, headed for Pyongyang, the DPRK, on 19 September at the invitation of Yanggang Province. During its stay in Yanggang Province, Yim Su-man, responsible secretary of the Yanggang Province's KWP committee, received all members of the delegation. Kim Chang-yong, vice chairman of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea, received the delegation in Pyongyang. The delegation returned home 25 September. [SK300125 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 27 Sep 80]

SHANDONG STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION--The fourth session of the Standing Committee of the Shandong Provincial People's Congress was held in Jinan Municipality 21 September. Attending as observers were responsible comrades of the provincial people's government, the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate and the provincial level departments and mayors from various municipalities. The session was presided over by Zhao Lin, chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress. Qin Hezhen, secretary of the provincial CCP committee and deputy governor, relayed the NPC guidelines and the main tasks of government work. The ninth Standing Committee meeting of the fourth provincial CPPCC was held at the same time. [SK220600 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 21 Sep 80]

GUANGDONG COUNTY LEVEL ELECTIONS--After conducting tests at selected sites, Guangdong Province has conducted county level direct elections in an all-round way. Except for Dan, Haifeng, Zijin and Longchuan counties which will conduct direct elections a bit later and the Hua County People's Congress will be held a bit later, 25 counties, municipalities and districts, including Haizhu, Huangpu and Yuexiu districts and suburbs under the jurisdiction of the Guangzhou Municipal Government and Longmen, Xinfeng, Dongguan, Heping, Foshan, Zhaoqing and Chaozhou, have held people's congresses to elect the new organs of political power. Thirteen counties and municipalities, including Jiexi, Jiaoling, Haikou, Zhongshan, Kaiping and Sanshui, have elected people's delegates in preparation for the people's congresses. The other 72 counties and municipalities are presently conducting direct elections. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 8 Sep 80 HK]

SHANDONG CPPCC MEETING--The ninth Standing Committee session of the Fourth Shandong Provincial CPPCC Committee successfully concluded 29 September following a 9-day session. The session relayed and implemented the guidelines of the third session of the Fifth NPC and the Fifth National CPPCC Committee, heard a report delivered by the vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, Zhou Xinfu, on the guidelines of third session of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee and studied ways to further improve and strengthen the work of the provincial CPPCC committee. The session adopted a resolution on convening the third session of the fourth provincial CPPCC committee this November. Goa Keting, chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, addressed the session. [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 29 Sep 80 SK]

LIAONING LAWYERS--The various counties and municipalities in Liaoning Province have set up 30 advisory groups on legal affairs composed of by more than 180 lawyers. So far this year, these groups have provided legal advice to 6,000 people and represented 600 defendants in court. They have also helped mediate 30 civil cases. [SK021237 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Sep 80]

YUNNAN PROCURATORIAL CONFERENCE--The Yunnan provincial conference on criminal procuratorial work was recently held in Kunming. The conference stressed that it is necessary to regard strengthening social order as the major task of criminal procuratorial work. The conference was held by the provincial people's procuratorate. Liu Minghui, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and Meng Qi, vice provincial governor, attended and spoke. Procuratorial organs at all levels have handled some 100,000 cases. [HK241419 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Sep 80]

ANHUI PROPAGANDA WORK MEETING--The propaganda department of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee held a provincial propaganda work meeting on 6 September. The meeting, which lasted 7 days, pointed out that the central task in the party's propaganda work was ideological work in economic construction. At the meeting, Lan Ganting, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, relayed the documents of the national propaganda work meeting. (Liu Zhengwen), director of the propaganda department of the provincial party committee, presided over the meeting and presented a summary report on the meeting. (Zhang Chunhan), first deputy director of the provincial propaganda department, presented a work report on behalf of the department. [OW230115 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Sep 80]

CSO: 4005

GUANGDONG MILITARY DISTRICT PARTY CONGRESS CLOSES

HK020059 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Summary] The Sixth Party Congress of the Guangdong Provincial Military District which lasted 5 days closed on the morning of 27 September. The congress was attended by 446 delegates. On behalf of the last party committee, Xiong Fei gave the work report to the congress. On behalf of the party committee and discipline inspection committee of the provincial military district, Deng Xiufang gave the report on discipline inspection work. After serious discussion and examination, the delegates unanimously adopted the two work reports.

The congress elected the sixth CCP committee of the provincial military district and the delegates who will attend the party congress of the Guangzhou PLA units and the Guangdong provincial party congress. The congress summed up the main work, experiences and lessons of the provincial military district since the fifth party congress of the provincial military district in 1969. The congress discussed the tasks of the provincial military district in the new situation and looked into the measures for further strengthening and improving party leadership and speeding up the modernization of units of the provincial military district and building the militia. Before the party congress was held, the party committee of the provincial military district issued circulars, seeking motions from the party committees at and above regimental level of its subordinate units. After repeatedly seeking the opinions of the party members and the masses, all units put forward 405 motions. After summing up and sorting out the motions, the party committee of the provincial military district trimmed them down to 145 motions. The Standing Committee of the provincial military district party committee examined these motions many times.

The congress pointed out: "PLA units must continue to regard education and training as the central task and organize cadres at all levels to study military affairs, politics and culture. They must be prepared against war and improve their ability to cope with an emergency situation. They must strengthen political and ideological work and continue to conduct education on the revolutionary outlook on life. They must help the party members, cadres and fighters strengthen their ability to resist the corrosive influence of all kinds of nonproletarian ideologies. They must seriously improve their leadership style and work methods."

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGZHOU PLA FORUM DISCUSSES ADVANTAGES OF SOCIALISM

HK010913 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 80 p 3

[Report by Rao Xinjian [1031 2450 1696], Zheng Suihua [6774 4482 5478], Cao Guangxiong [2580 0342 7160] and Wang Jining [3769 1015 1380]: "Firmly Believe in the Incomparable Superiority of Socialism and Cherish the Motherland as One's Own Mother"]

[Excerpts] From 23 July to 12 August, the political department of Guangzhou PLA units held a theoretical forum of propaganda section chiefs of subordinate units at or above the divisional level to discuss in-depth the superiority of socialism and other theoretical questions.

Forum participants explored from the theoretical angle the question of how to understand the superiority of socialism. They reached general agreement on the following basic concepts:

1. The realization that socialism symbolizes the triumph of the proletarian revolution and its eventual replacement of capitalism which follows the law governing the development of world history as a whole. Since the appearance of the socialist system in China is not without any reason, it embodies the concrete application in China of the general laws governing the development of world history and represents the inevitable development of Chinese history at a given stage.

2. Since socialist society constitutes the lower phase of communism, socialism in the process of development also consists of two stages: undeveloped and developed socialism. Before the victory of socialist revolution, China was a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Factors such as its very backward productive forces, the predominance of the small peasant economy and the very low level of science and culture were responsible for the protracted, complex and difficult nature of the task of conducting the socialist revolution and construction.

3. Since socialism is based on public ownership of the means of production, there will be no socialism if it is devoid of this basis, let alone the superiority of socialism. However, public ownership should not be viewed

in terms of abstract criteria; only when such a system conforms to the state of productive forces can the advantages of socialism be brought into full play and the development of the productive forces promoted.

4. The socialist principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" must be implemented. Pay according to work involves remunerating people on the basis of the amount and quality of their labor. Only by practicing the principle of payment according to work can the working people care about the results of their labor and thus their enthusiasm for building socialism will be aroused.

5. The fact that a new social system is superior to the old one is fundamentally because the former is able to produce greater labor productivity and thus open up huge possibilities for the accelerated development of the productive forces.

During the discussion, forum participants freely expressed their views, thereby fully airing different opinions. The pros and cons focused on the following issues:

1. What are the characteristics and criteria of a socialist society? Some comrades believed they boil down to public ownership of the means of production and pay according to work, while other comrades added the dictatorship of the proletariat and party leadership. Some comrades also contended that only public ownership integrated with modern large-scale production is characteristic of socialism.

2. What have caused present-day social ills and the appearance of Lin Biao and the gang of four? Some comrades believed that Lin Biao, the gang of four and the like appeared in China's socialist society because of the prevalence of such social drawbacks as bureaucratism, seeking privilege and taking the back door. They noted that these have been engendered from the vestiges of the old system. Other comrades argued that while existing social ills have indeed been caused by the havoc created by Lin Biao and the gang of four and the effects of the old social system, the imperfections of the socialist system are also contributing causes.

3. Will the fundamental socialist system engender drawbacks or not? Some comrades believed the fundamental socialist system such as public ownership and pay according to work will not engender ills. However, due to the shortcomings and imperfections of many specific aspects of socialism, it is possible that certain drawbacks and problems will arise. Some comrades disagreed. They argued that since the socialist society still remains the lower phase of communism, socialist systems including the fundamental type, if compared with the future communist system, are imperfect and may engender maladies. This is unavoidable at the present stage.

CSO: 4005

HEILONGJIANG CRACKS SMUGGLING, PROFITEERING CASE

SK270605 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Excerpts] According to HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, a big smuggling and profiteering case has been cracked in Jiamusi Municipality. The case occurred within a state organization and a state-run enterprise, causing widespread attention among the people. Therefore, it should be handled promptly. This smuggling and profiteering clique is composed of (Wang Dianying), purchasing agent of the sales and exhibitions sections of the supply and marketing department under the Jiamusi Municipal Light Industrial Bureau; (Liu Defu), director of the afforementioned sales and exhibitions sections; (Ye Qingshan), deputy head of the office of the Jiamusi Municipal Light Industrial Bureau; and (Zhao Qifu), secretary of the party branch and head of the supply and marketing department under the Jiamusi Municipal Light Industrial Bureau.

Under the signboard of a state-run enterprise and under the pretext of enlivening the purchasing and marketing of products, they illegally drew on the business funds of the sales and exhibitions section and wantonly indulged in smuggling and profiteering since July 1979. Three times they smuggled products from Guangzhou Municipality, including 493 wrist watches, 387 calculators and 5 tape recorders, and illegally made 13,000 yuan profit. In addition, they planned to resell gold at a profit, but were arrested prior to executing the plan.

At present, the Jiamusi Municipal CCP Committee is investigating to establish responsibility and the municipal people's procuratorate will institute proceedings against the offenders.

CSO: 4009

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANDONG ACHIEVES GOOD RESULTS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION REFORM

SK021215 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Excerpts] According to a report by our contributing correspondent (Ying Jingrong), in order to implement the eight-point policy on improving the national economy and to meet the needs of the four modernizations, our province has carried out secondary education reforms and has achieved initial successes. Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, vocational and technical school education developed quickly in our province. By 1965 the total number of students from vocational and technical schools and agricultural middle schools comprised 41.5 percent of the number of students in secondary schools. During the Great Cultural Revolution, these schools were gravely disrupted.

In order to resolve this issue, our province has enacted planned reforms. In the last 2 years, 293 secondary vocational schools have resumed or been established in our province with 107,000 students, an increase of 45 percent in the number of schools and 1.7 times in the number of students as compared to 1977 figures. Our province has more than 500 agricultural middle schools with an enrollment of some 50,000 students. It has also decided to change one ordinary public middle school in every rural county into an agricultural vocational middle school. We have already changed 30. Student enrollment now stands at 3,200.

Through the cooperation of economic management departments and enterprises, 14 specialized courses and 27 technical courses have been opened on a trial basis in urban middle schools. The number of secondary vocational schools in our province has increased from 8.9 percent in 1977 to 26.3 percent and the number of students from 5.4 percent to 16.3 percent.

Over the past 2 years, the provincial People's Government has allocated 4.8 million yuan from the province's flexible funds to support these schools. The provincial educational department and the educational organs at all levels have held meetings to formulate and issue teaching plans and compile and publish teaching materials for vocational technical classes. They have decided to train a number of teachers to teach in these schools.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON THEATRICAL REFORM

HK030158 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 80 p 5

[Article by commentator: "Sum Up Experience, Be Determined To Institute Reform--On the Present Reform of Theatrical Work"]

[Text] Not long ago, the Chinese Dramatists Association, the Arts Bureau of the Cultural Ministry and the Opera Research Center of the Literature and Arts Research Institute jointly held a forum in Beijing on opera repertoire. Responsible comrades in charge of opera work in the provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional cultural departments, opera workers and theorists gathered together to sum up their experiences in opera repertoire work. They discussed the existing problems in current opera work and the question of how to further develop and popularize operas to better serve the people and socialism. This was an important meeting in the drama and opera circles of our country. It will certainly play an important role in motivating the development of future opera work.

Since the establishment of the new China, the party and government have attached great importance to the cause of opera. Although the reform of opera has followed a tortuous road, it has scored great achievements and gathered rich experiences. Under the correct instructions of the party's policies such as "let a hundred flowers blossom, weed through the old to bring forth the new," and "make the past serve the present," the art of opera, which has a history of thousands of years, still maintains great vitality in the new era and radiates dazzling artistic brilliance. During the 10-year calamity, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and their followers practiced national nihilism and cultural despotism. The frenzied devastation and destructive blows done to Chinese opera put many local operas on the verge of extinction. Since the smashing of the gang of four, and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the great mass of opera workers have emancipated their minds to bring order out of chaos, enhanced their vigor and overcome difficulties and brought about another blooming and prosperous spring to the ancient Chinese opera art. In the past 3 years or so, more than 200 types of operas have been revived throughout the country, and more than 2,000 opera troupes have been reestablished; more than 100,000 destitute and homeless actors are now back on the opera stage and more than 1,000 traditional repertoires have been reintroduced to the audiences. At the same time, there has been progress in the writing of historical and modern plays. The opera stage in our country is unprecedentedly lively, and the art of opera blossoms with radiant splendour once again. The operas which were seriously devastated have been basically revived. The mainstream of the current opera art front is a good and healthy one. We must not underestimate the great achievements of opera work in the past 3 years.

However, on the path of advance and development, at present there are still some problems in opera which demand our close attention. For example: there are few new modern and historical plays; the plays on stage are mostly traditional repertoire; for various subjective and objective reasons, the performances of some troupes are not of high standard; in the wake of the speedy development of television and cinema, there has been a decline of audience attendance at some performances. These things indicate that the current opera repertoire is unable to meet the needs of the new period of socialist construction, nor can it satisfy the masses' increasing demands in cultural life. This also requires that all leading departments concerned and all opera workers seriously sum up experiences, emancipate their minds, establish lofty ideals and be resolute to carry out reforms so that our opera can catch up with the pace of the new era.

To carry out resolute reform, we must first settle the relationship between inheriting tradition, innovation, and creation. The development of opera cannot be separated from the history of our nation and the foundation of traditional art; without that foundation, there will be no innovation or creation. We must implement the party's policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom, weeding through the old to bring forth the new and making the past serve the present when dealing with traditional opera repertoire. Thirty years' experience in opera work has repeatedly proved: there will be prosperity when a hundred flowers are allowed to bloom, but decline when one flower alone is allowed to bloom. Chinese opera has such a long history and contains so many varieties, and the traditional repertoire is rich and complicated; thus, when thousands of repertoires which are of different trends of thought, different artistic characteristics, different sentiments and interests appear on stage, it is certain that there will be great contrasts between the excellent and the poor, the beautiful and the ugly, and the good and the bad. Alongside with fine and healthy repertoire which provides people with spiritual nourishment, there will be some which have poor content and are not artistically outstanding. It is inevitable that a small number of low-grade, or even poisonous plays will appear on stage. We must be serious and careful when handling problems concerning the opera stage. While we are against being crude and vulgar, we are also against conservatism. We must use the Marxist viewpoint and method to arrange the traditional repertoire, and repeatedly revise and refine it so that the old repertoire of the feudal society can revive and become new works with anti-feudalist content and healthy artistic style. As for the examination and approval of traditional repertoire, the criteria set in the "Instructions on the Reform Work of Opera" issued in 1951 by the government administration council of the central People's Government can still help us to distinguish and evaluate traditional repertoire. The instruction says, "The principal duty of opera is to display the new patriotism of the people, and encourage heroism in the revolutionary struggles and productive labor. We must encourage and popularize any opera which propagates resisting aggression and suppression, and love of one's country, freedom and labor, and which praises the uprightness and the good and honest character of the people. On the other hand, any opera which advertises feudal slavish morals or, barbaric or obscene behavior, or which villifies and humiliates the laborers must be opposed." We must use appropriate sense when dealing with some controversial works, we must give correct guidance based on the comments of the masses, the free discussions of opera workers and literary criticisms which are objective and rational. Certain harmful plays, must be censored after strict investigatory procedures. It is harmful to suppress them without analysing them or to use administrative orders without careful thought.

To carry out resolute reform, more new scripts of higher standard and various forms of operas must be used to reflect real life. We must use the viewpoint of historical materialism to write new scripts which reflect historical stories and figures. The new era has assigned a lofty mission to the socialist literature and the arts. Socialist opera has shouldered the important task of training new socialist men, enhancing the spiritual state of the people, promoting the perfection and development of socialist society, and satisfying the increasing demands of cultural life. Therefore, while arranging and rewriting traditional operas, we must actively promote modern drama, write new historical plays and try to create more opera repertoire which reflects real life. We must carry out an unbiased policy and put equal emphasis on traditional plays, new historical plays and modern plays no matter what type of play it is; if opera shows only ancient and not modern life, its development will certainly be confined. Opera should be able to bring into full play its strongpoints and artistic characteristics while reflecting real life. However, we should not stipulate rigid proportions in these three types of repertoire or set modern plays against traditional ones, or put forward slogans like "of key importance," and "of priority." Nevertheless, different types of plays and troupes can put emphasis on different fields so as to bring into full play their strongpoints and avoid their shortcomings in order to serve the purpose of having more varieties of repertoire on stage, raising artistic standards and providing the people with more and better spiritual nourishment, hence, the road of the art of opera will be broader.

Besides being resolute in reforming, we must also seriously investigate and carry out thorough innovations in stage art. We must use appropriate forms to perform new repertoire which reflects new ideology and new content of life. We must further bring new life to old subject matter on the basis of traditional opera art. Opera is a synthetic art. It is not enough to have new repertoire alone; reforms in the style of performance, music and voices, stage art and other aspects are necessary for keeping up with the development of the times and the progress of science and technology. Thus, the performances will become harmonious, unified and complete.

While we are resolute to carry out reform, we must also pay attention to training and improving the opera rank. A key link in developing opera is to train and improve the opera rank. We have many experienced old opera artists, and we have trained many successful opera writers, performers and artists during the past 30 years. However, because of the 10-year calamity during the Cultural Revolution, our opera rank was seriously devastated. At present, there is a problem resembling "the new crop is still in the blade and the old one is all consumed." There is a lack of professional playwrights and directors in most opera troupes, and the actors lack basic training. Therefore, the leading departments concerned must actively adopt effective measures to train and improve talented playwrights and directors, and strengthen training in acting techniques. At the same time, we must carry on implementing the party's policy regarding intellectuals and the opera actors, and stipulate some specific measures to improve their working and living conditions and raise their social status. We must also give them suitable spiritual and material encouragements according to their achievements and contributions.

Incessantly strengthening and improving leadership over opera work is the key guarantee for a prosperous socialist opera stage. We hope that the leading comrades of cultural departments at all levels will actively strengthen and improve leadership over opera work so as to enliven literature and the arts, which include the reform of opera. We must act according to artistic laws. While opposing interference by vulgarity and crudity, we must also avoid laissez-faire liberalism. We do believe: under the leadership of the party Central Committee, if we seriously implement the party's policies and principles regarding opera work and rely on the hard work of the opera workers, we shall score even greater achievements in the art of opera in our country, and can make even greater contributions to the masses and the socialist cause.

CSO: 4005

'XINHUA' ON FEELINGS IN TAIWAN CULTURAL CIRCLES FOR MAINLAND

OW301816 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1136 GMT 30 Sep 80

[Excerpts] Hong Kong, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--According to reports from Taibei, in the past year or so, people of cultural circles in Taiwan have in their talks and articles reviewed the new scenes on mainland China and expressed their yearning for the motherland and their desire to identify themselves with and to rejoin their kinsmen. According to Taiwan press reports, at a Taibei academic meeting in August this year, Taiwan scholars Yan Gengwang and Zhou Fagao remarked that of Per-qin historical relics, "a great deal has been unearthed on the Chinese mainland in the past few years, and their importance is greater than the historical documents." "Recently ancient objects older than the Yin Dynasty ruins have been successively unearthed on mainland China." They asked the Taiwan authorities to "lift the ban on imports or related 'mainland published' purely academic publications" to solve "the lack and limited sources of reference materials."

Taiwan scholar Guo Sifen recently compiled a large picture album entitled "The Long Silk Road," introducing in detail scenes along the ancient road that ran from ancient Changan through the Weishui plain, Xianyang, Xiliang, Lanzhou, the Hexi corridor, the Dunhuang caves, the south and north sides of Tian Shan and the Pamirs. The book also includes selected pictures of the terracotta warriors and horses in the tomb of Qin Shi Huang unearthed a few years ago on the mainland.

Taiwan scholar Jiang Fucong published an article in a newspaper, introducing a display opened in the United States in April this year of historical relics of the bronze age unearthed on mainland China in the past 30 years.

Some people from the cultural circles published articles, noting that in the past few years the mainland has implemented a policy toward the intellectuals to bring into play the role of professional people. "This indeed is something new, something worth celebrating."

Qian Mu and other Taiwan scholars in their articles recalled their past associations on the mainland before liberation with mainland scholars and writers Gu Jiegang, Guo Shaoyu, Ding Ling, Xiao Jun, Kong Luosun, Lao She, Guang Weijan and so forth.

Some Taiwan writers expressed in articles: "How much do I hope for China to be powerful, happy and immortal! ...Like a child longing for the warmth of a mother's love, we wonder when can we throw ourselves into her embrace"? "After all we and the mainland people are compatriots of 5,000 years. Our return to the mainland should be just like wandering children returning to the big family."

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

PRC PUBLISHERS--The Shanghai Literature Publishing House has put out the first volume of a "Precis of Foreign Literary Works." Altogether the book has four volumes. The book, which is the first of its kind in China, covers more than 1,000 works by 600 writers of 70 countries in a dozen languages. The three other volumes will be issued next year. A number of medical books have been published by the Shaanxi Science and Technology Publishing House and have won approval from medical workers in the province. These books include the study of prevention and treatment of cancer using traditional Chinese medicines, a concise book of skin disease by traditional methods, a book on combination of traditional Chinese and Western medicine and a book about the preparation of herbal drugs.--A series of books containing entries selected and translated from the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" and "Encyclopaedia Americana" will be put out by the General Knowledge Press. The press has already issued a number of translations, including "Encyclopaedia," "Space Exploration" and "Pollution Control, Sewage System, Refuse Disposal System." [Beijing XINHUA in English 0745 GMT 2 Oct 80]

MATH HISTORY BOOK PUBLICATION--Beijing, October 2 (XINHUA)--A "Concise Book of History of World Mathematics" has been issued by the Liaoning People's Publishing House. This 380,000-word book records major events in world mathematical history from ancient times to the 1970's. The history of mathematics in China accounts for one third of the book. The book was edited by Professor Liang Zongju, of the mathematics department of Liaoning Teachers' College. He is a council member of the Chinese Mathematical Society. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0745 GMT 2 Oct 80]

BEIJING MEMORIAL SERVICE--Beijing, 29 Sep (XINHUA)--A memorial service was held in Beijing on 29 September for Comrade Ding Zan [0002 3805], a noted psychologist who died on 15 May 1968 at the age of 58 as a victim of persecution by Lin Biao, the gang of four and their factional force in the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Born in Jiangsu's Nantong Municipality, Comrade Ding Zan graduated from the psychology department of Zhongyang University in Nanjing. After his graduation, he engaged in medical psychology research at the Beijing Union Medical College and the Central Health Experimental Institute in Chongqing. He studied at the University of Chicago in 1947 and was assigned as deputy secretary general of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in 1949. After he joined the Chinese Academy of Sciences in

1949, he was assigned to such posts as deputy secretary of the Chinese Academy of Sciences party organization, deputy director of the planning bureau and deputy president of the institute of psychology. [OW020235 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1233 GMT 29 Sep 80]

XINJIANG EDUCATION--Urumqi, 25 Sep (XINHUA)--The state recently appropriated over 14 million yuan to support the development of education for the minority nationalities in the agricultural and pastoral areas in Xinjiang. A considerable portion of the sum will be spent on construction of schools with dormitories in the pastoral areas. In recent years, some 70 primary schools with student dormitories have been built in Xinjiang's pastoral areas. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0110 GMT 25 Sep 80 OW]

XINJIANG GEOLOGICAL MEETING--The second symposium on oil resources in Tarim Basin jointly sponsored by the Chinese Geological Society, Petroleum Society and Geophysics Society was concluded in Urumqi, Xinjiang, on 27 September. Over 100 experts, professors and scientific workers of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, institutes of higher education and 13 provincial and municipal research organs under the ministries of geology and petroleum industry were present to discuss the strategraphic features of the petroleum geology of the Tarim Basin. During the symposium, Vice Chairman of the regional People's Government Yi-min-nuo-fu Ha-mi-ti and Tuo-fu-ti Sha-bi-er, and Vice Chairman of the Xinjiang Scientific Association (A-ba-zi Ba-er-gan) addressed the meeting. Vice Minister of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry (Li Jin) was also present. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1620 GMT 27 Sep 80 OW]

XINJIANG MINORITY COLLEGE ENROLLMENT-Urumqi, 24 Sep (XINHUA)--This year 2,134 students of minority nationalities in Xinjiang have passed college entrance examinations. This has been the largest figure of minority students admitted to colleges since the college entrance examination system was revived. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0111 GMT 24 Sep 80 OW]

XINJIANG LITERARY, ART CONGRESSES--During the Third Xinjiang Regional Congress of Writers and Artists, the regional branch associations of Chinese writers, stage artists, musicians, dancers, film workers, artists, and photographers also held their own congresses to elect new leading bodies. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 28 Sep 80 OW]

HEILONGJIANG JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION--The first session of the Third Council of the Heilongjiang Provincial Journalists Association was held 19-28 September. Attending the session were 67 members of the board of directors. The session discussed and adopted new regulations, formulated plans for future work and elected 88 new members of the board of directors from 46 journalists units. (Jiang Chun) was elected chairman of the association. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Sep 80 SK]

JILIN WORK-STUDY SCHOOLS--The major cities in Jilin Province have established nine work-study schools since last November. These schools were designed to recruit primary and secondary school students who have committed minor offenses but are too young to be punished by law. The schools are mainly run by educational departments with the help of public security departments. Ruthless physical punishment is prohibited in these schools. Students who mend their ways and perform well will be transferred to the schools they formerly attended. [SK250958 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 23 Sep 80]

SICHUAN EDUCATIONAL FUNDS--According to a GUANGMING RIBAO report, Sichuan Province has allocated 2.1 million yuan to help primary and secondary schools run factories and farms. As of the end of August, prefectures and cities such as Daxian, Mianyang, Chengdu, Liangshan, Dukou, Aba and Wanxian have also allocated 1.59 million yuan from their own funds to help primary and secondary schools run factories and farms. [OW291423 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 27 Sep 80]

SICHUAN NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM--Chengdu, 25 Sep (XINHUA)--The first national academic symposium on Su Shi was recently held in Meishan County, Sichuan, the hometown of Su Shi. The society for the study of Su Shi was also founded. Su Shi was a productive and versatile man of letters in the history of Chinese literature, who had distinguished himself in prose, poetry, calligraphy, art and other forms of writing. Attending the symposium were 82 representatives from institutes of higher education, research units, publications and journalistic units as well as from Hangzhou Zhejiang, Huanggang Hubei, Danxian County, Guangdong and Xiaxian, Henan, where Su Shi lived at one time or another. The symposium received more than 40 papers on the study of Su's poetic art and literary thinking. Many papers dealt with Su's esthetic thinking, his contributions to music and his accomplishments in natural sciences, particularly in medicine. [OW291423 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0113 GMT 25 Sep 80]

GUANGXI SONG FESTIVAL REVIVAL--Nanning, 25 Sep (XINHUA)--Songs have resounded throughout Liuzhou City for the past 2 days during a festival of songs of the Zhuang people, the dominant nationality in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. On seven stages erected for the occasion, groups of people sang the style peculiar to the Zhuang involving statement-and-response. Yufengzhan Park, site of the main stage, was swarming with the crowds. People sat on mountain slopes and on steps, and crippled people even came in their wheelchairs. There were over 20,000 participants and listeners in all, of all ages and many nationalities, including the Zhuang, Han, Yao, Miao and Tung. [OW291253 Beijing XINHUA in English 1221 GMT 25 Sep 80]

BEIJING COURTEOUS LANGUAGE FORUM--Beijing, 27 Sep (XINHUA)--The Beijing Municipal Linguistics Society sponsored a forum on 25 September to promote the use of courteous language among the people. Veteran educator Ye Shengtao, now 86, spoke at the forum, stressing the urgency and importance of doing a good job in this respect. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0730 GMT 27 Sep 80]

LIAONING MIDDLE SCHOOLS--Liaoning Province has reorganized the distribution of middle schools. The number of the province's senior and junior high schools has declined to about 600 from more than 3,000 in 1978. The total enrollment in senior high schools is set at about 140,000 students. After the reorganization, the number of schools is reduced, but the quality of high school teachers is greatly improved. While many middle schools were abolished, rural areas throughout the province have established 700 vocational and technical schools and 112 key junior high schools. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Sep 80 SK]

LIAONING SECONDARY EDUCATION--The Liaoning provincial conference on the work of key middle schools concluded on 20 September. The conference said that in developing middle school education, a tendency of placing undue emphasis on students' preparation for going to universities should be corrected. It contended that key middle schools should be run successfully so as to become model schools in training qualified students for universities and in training outstanding laborers for society. Provincial Deputy Governor Zhang Zhiyuan spoke at the conference. He called for efforts to render manpower, financial and material support to key middle schools. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Sep 80 SK]

SHANGHAI MIDDLE SCHOOLS--Shanghai 23 Sep--Beginning with the new school year, 301 schools in Shanghai have extended the duration of senior middle school study from 2 to 3 years. By next fall, all senior middle schools in Shanghai will adopt a 3-year system. This is a concrete step to readjusting and improving primary and secondary school education. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0215 GMT 23 Sep 80 OW]

SHANGHAI COLLEGE ENROLLMENT--According to a JIEFANG RIBAO report, approximately 87,000 students have by now enrolled at 48 higher-learning institutes in Shanghai. With the approval of the municipal party committee and People's Government, 20 institutes this summer enrolled some 3,000 commuting students, who will pay their own tuition. Excluding commuting students, Shanghai has 72,000 students who major in regular and specialized courses, 2,600 graduate students and 8,800 correspondence and night college students. Shanghai's institutes have also sponsored special courses for enterprise management and technical training in order to help local enterprises and factories to raise the level of management and technology. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Sep 80 OW]

SHANGHAI WRITERS', ARTISTS' FORUM--The Shanghai Municipal Federation of Literary and Art Circles on 24 September held a forum on how to uphold and improve the party's leadership over literary and art work and enliven literature and art. The forum participants noted the failure to implement the party policy on letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend on literature and art, criticized the practice of "what I say goes" by some leaders and called for reform in the leadership over literature and art. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 25 Sep 80 OW]

JIANGSU RADIO-TV GUIDE--Additional pages have been added to the JIANGSU GUANGBO DIANSHI JIEMU BAO [JIANGSU RADIO AND TELEVISION GUIDE]. Listeners and viewers are welcome to buy or subscribe to the provincial radio and television guide at local post offices in cities and counties of Jiangsu Province. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Sep 80 OW]

CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 76642

17 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 129

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76642

17 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 129

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' Reports Afghan, Kampuchean Invasions Condemned at UN
((XINHUA, 4 Oct 80) 1

'XINHUA' Reportage on Afghan Issues
(XINHUA, 5, 6 Oct 80) 3

Australia Provides More Aid
'INDIAN EXPRESS' on Rebel Attacks in Kabul
Soviets Kill Defecting Troops
Heavy Soviet Casualties
Islamic Conference To Draft UN Resolution

'XINHUA' Reportage on Iran-Iraq War
(XINHUA, 4, 7 Oct 80) 7

UN Delegates Urge Halt to War
Indian Premier on Conflict

'Radio Ba Yi' Denounces Order of U.S. Police Equipment
(Ba Yi Radio, 4 Oct 80) 9

'XINHUA' Newsletter on Visit to French Mediterranean Fleet
(Yao Yun; XINHUA, 5 Oct 80) 11

Pictorial 'XIZANG' Being Prepared by PRC, Yugoslav Publishers
(Xizang Regional Service, 7 Oct 80) 13

Polish Government, Trade Union Fail To Agree
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 3 Oct 80) 15

Briefs

Pakistan on Soviet Designs in Gulf 17
Egypt, U.S. Military Cooperation Discussions 17
Hubei National Day Cocktail Party 18

PARTY AND STATE

Author Discusses Problems in Party Policy
(Bi Dingtang; DONGXIFANG, 10 May 80) 19

Good Results Seen in Training of Party Members in Shanghai
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 1 Jul 80) 28

Importance of Ideological, Political Work Stressed
(Gao Shihua; XINHUA RIBAO, 2 Aug 80) 32

Example of Emperor Taizong in Hiring Talented People Urged
(Chen Jiantang; QUNZHONG LUNCONG, Jan 80) 34

Chemicals Plant's 'Political Work Regulations' Praised
(XINHUA RIBAO, 2 Aug 80) 37

Elections Go Well in Guangzhou
(NANFANG RIBAO, 4 Jul 80) 40

Large Turnout Reported
Meeting To Discuss Elections

Guangdong Restores Party Traditions, Strengthens Fighting Power
(NANFANG RIBAO, 1 Jul 80) 43

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Tianjin Faces Problem of Population Explosion
(Wang Zhanguo; TIANJIN RIBAO, 11 Jul 80) 46

Average Life Expectancy Passes 70 Years in China
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 11 Jul 80) 48

Error of Not Hiring Moslem Workers Corrected
(Ma Zhenkun, Yin Guangen; MINZU TUANJIE, 15 Jul 80) 49

Riches of Minority Areas Described
(Yang Mu; MINZU TUANJIE, 15 May 80) 52

Eugenics Movement Gains Momentum in China
(Ruan Fangfu; GUANGMING RIBAO, 29 Aug 80) 55

Reform of Higher Education System Urged
(NANFANG RIBAO, 11 Aug 80) 57

Junior Colleges Suggested
Train More Personnel

'XINHUA' REPORTS AFGHAN, KAMPUCHEAN INVASIONS CONDEMNED AT UN

OW040834 Beijing XINHUA in English 0756 GMT 4 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 3 (XINHUA)--More countries have condemned the invasion of Afghanistan and Kampuchea by the Soviet Union and Vietnam and called for the immediate withdrawal of their troops from the two countries during the general debate of the General Assembly in the past two days.

Prince al Sa'ud al-Faysal, minister for foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, said the dangerous situation created by the Soviet invasion and the flagrant military occupation of Afghanistan raised concern and fears among the peoples of the region and posed a threat to regional security and stability. "It is an aggression and an intervention committed by a superpower, which constantly pretended to be pursuing a policy of international peace and friendship and proclaimed itself protector of world peace, against an independent and sovereign state and a full-fledged member of the United Nations organization, the Islamic Conference Organization and the Non-alignment Movement," the prince stressed.

He demanded that Soviet troops withdraw completely and unconditionally from Afghanistan.

Moumine Bahdon Farah, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation of Djibouti, said his government denounced the foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan, the dangerous escalation of tension imposed on an Islamic nation and the violation of the U.N. Charter. "Djibouti demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan in a manner to permit its people to decide their political destiny and exercise the right to have a government of its own choice," he declared.

Moustapha Niasse, minister of foreign affairs of Senegal, emphasized that the war in Kampuchea must be stopped in order to put an end to the suffering of the Kampuchean people. The representative of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Ieng Sary, should enjoy the support of the international community as provided for under the U.N. Charter. The independence and sovereignty of countries must be protected.

There must be an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan, he stated. The foreign occupation of that country menaced neighbouring countries and the region as a whole. Members should take action to ensure a return to peace and tranquillity and ensure the independence and non-alignment of that country.

Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Mubarak al Khalifah, minister of foreign affairs of the state of Bahrain, said Bahrain "condemns the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a Moslem non-aligned country, as being an outrageous violation of all international norms and rules and the principles of the charter."

Yusuf al-Alawi Abdolla, undersecretary for foreign affairs of Oman, pointed out that the intervention of major powers in the affairs of small ones by force of arms was increasing. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was a primary example of this. The Soviet intervention was a threat to regional security; the dimensions of the situation went beyond the borders of Afghanistan.

He noted that the continuing dangerous situation in Kampuchea has also to be considered. Vietnamese forces had to be withdrawn.

M'hamed Boucetta, minister of state in charge of foreign affairs and cooperation of Morocco, stressed that Afghanistan was daily sacrificing the best of its sons to safeguard its freedom and sovereignty. He extended solidarity to the fraternal people of Afghanistan. The United Nations should support the Afghan people's right to determine freely their course of life, he said.

The minister of Morocco stated that the people of Kampuchea were subjected to the will of a "government" imposed on them from outside. The international community should deploy its efforts to help the Kampuchean people in their quest for peace, dignity and free choice.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' REPORTAGE ON AFGHAN ISSUES

Australia Provides More Aid

OW061322 Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 6 Oct 80

[Text] Canberra, October 6 (XINHUA)--The Australian Government will provide a further 10,000 tonnes of wheat and a shipment of nutritional biscuits to help meet the needs of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, announced Australian Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock.

He said that the Australian Government remained gravely concerned about the continued Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan and the plight of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The population of Afghan refugees in Pakistan had now reached one million, most of them women and children.

Peacock continued that the Australian Government's aid totalling 2.2 million Australian dollars (including freight costs) was made in response to an appeal from the United Nations high commissioner for refugees.

Earlier this year, Australia provided 10,000 tonnes of wheat valued at nearly 2 million dollars to help the Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

'INDIAN EXPRESS' on Rebel Attacks in Kabul

OW061524 Beijing XINHUA in English 1511 GMT 6 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 6 (XINHUA)--The rebel activity inside Kabul has increased, said INDIAN EXPRESS correspondent Kuldip Nayar in an article published today on his visit to the Afghan capital, according to a report from New Delhi.

In the article entitled "Afghan Rebels More Determined and Bold," he said, "The city is uneasy but quiet. During the six days I have stayed here, I have heard the sputtering of machineguns and the scurrying of heavy vehicles every night."

Four days ago, he wrote, the Indian ambassador and his wife, living not far from the city, were caught in the cross-fire between the rebels and government soldiers in the middle of the night. "A few days earlier, Logur in the suburbs shook from the explosion of an ammunition depot that the Russian Army protected with tanks." "The other day when a top KGB officer was dragged from his car in a crowded locality and killed, the rebels were able to escape and have not been traced."

He noted, "The Afghans have become introverts and quiet. Their faces reflect sadness and they look like the people who are burdened with all the worries in the world. They were sullen when I was here last, now they are resentful."

"However," he said, "forced enlistment continues. Two days ago, I met a person from a nearby village. He said that the night before, some Afghan and Russian soldiers had visited his house and had insisted on seeing his children who had gone to sleep. Despite his protests, the children were woken up. 'Is there anyone above 14 years?' the soldiers asked. They left the house only when they found that no child was above ten."

Soviets Kill Defecting Troops

OW061318 Beijing XINHUA in English 1208 GMT 6 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 6 (XINHUA)--Soviet tanks and armoured cars opened fire and killed over 100 Afghan soldiers in Kunar Province as they jumped out of a military convoy in an attempt to defect to the attacking freedom fighters, said press reports here today.

The reports said about 90 soldiers sent to repair the Asmar-Birkot road in the province succeeded in running away from the convoy and surrendered to the freedom fighters. The freedom fighters managed to destroy the Soviet tanks during the fray.

It was also reported that most of the Afghan soldiers are kept under constant surveillance by the Afghan Babrak Karmal regime as it is known large numbers of them are looking for any opportunity to defect.

Suspecting the loyalty of its troops, the Afghan Government has restricted their movement and forbidden letter writing even to close relatives. Leave of all types has also been stopped. This has greatly lowered the morale of Afghan troops and led to a prevailing state of uncertainty over the country.

Heavy Soviet Casualties

OW051536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 5 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 5 (XINHUA)--Heavy fighting is reportedly going on between the Soviet occupation troops and Afghan freedom-fighters in Badakhshan Province north of Kabul and near the Soviet border and the Soviet troops have suffered heavy casualties, according to a spokesman of HEZB-I-ISLAMI of Afghanistan in Peshawar today.

Nine-hundred Soviet troops supported by planes attacked the centres of the Afghan freedom-fighters in the province on September 28. Freedom-fighters fought back very bravely. Over a hundred Soviets were reportedly killed or wounded.

According to another source, Afghan freedom-fighters had several encounters with the Soviet troops in Baharak and Argoo areas of this province three weeks ago, killing 39 Soviet troops, shooting down one plane, destroying 8 tanks and seizing a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

The Afghan freedom-fighters made a surprise attack in Armak, capital of the subprovince of Ghazni Province near Kabul on September 29, killing two government officials, the spokesman of HEZB-I-ISLAMI added. A military training school at Armal [as received] was set on fire by freedom-fighters.

Two Russian military convoys on their way to Wardak from Kabul and Ghazni to attack the freedom-fighters were ambushed by freedom-fighters at Hindusayar of Ghazni Province on September 29. The fighting started at seven in the evening and ended at 3:45 o'clock next morning with two Soviet tanks destroyed, 25 Soviet troops killed, 12 wounded, and a lot of weapons and ammunition captured.

According to Afghan Islamic Society in Peshawar today, several battles had taken place in Kunar Province near Afghan-Pakistan border northeast of Kabul from September 23 to 28. In Barikod, Nalai and Azeergul, 37 Soviet troops were killed by freedom-fighters. Several tanks and trucks were destroyed and various kinds of weapons including heavy machineguns and mortars captured.

Islamic Conference To Draft UN Resolution

OW051902 Beijing XINHUA in English 1850 GMT 5 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 4 (XINHUA)--Foreign ministers and representatives of Islamic countries today decided to set up a 10-nation committee to draft a resolution on the Afghanistan issue for submission to the current U.N. General Assembly session.

The decision was made at an extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference held here today.

Pakistan Foreign Minister Agha Shahi, current chairman of the organization who presided over the extraordinary session, issued a communique at a press conference saying the committee was instructed to bear in mind the principles set forth in the resolution made by the Islamic conference of foreign ministers in May this year. The previous resolution demanded among others "the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops stationed on the territory of Afghanistan."

It was announced that the newly established committee comprises Algeria, Bangladesh, Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Kuwait, Morocco, Pakistan, Senegal and Tunisia.

Shahi also announced that the extraordinary meeting decided to enlarge the Standing Committee on the Afghanistan question from three members to five members. The two new members are Guinea and Tunisia.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' REPORTAGE ON IRAN-IRAQ WAR

UN Delegates Urge Halt to War

OW070220 Beijing XINHUA in English 0204 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 6 (XINHUA)--More delegates appealed to Iran and Iraq to end their military conflict at the U.N. General Assembly today.

President A.S.U.A. Shagari of Nigeria said that his government deeply regretted the current tragic conflict between the two non-aligned states and appealed for restraint and peace between the two countries.

Joaquim A. Chissano, foreign minister of Mozambique, was worried that the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq "could become generalized and aggravate the threat to international security and peace, as the region is highly sensible and vulnerable."

He expressed the hope that both Iran and Iraq would observe the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes, non-resort to violence, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

He urged the international community to be vigilant "so that imperialism will not take advantage of the war situation existing between the two countries to interfere in their internal affairs or to reinforce its zones of influence."

Rashid A'Abdallah 'Ali al-nu 'Aymi, minister for state for foreign affairs of the Arab Emirates, hoped that the efforts of the president of Pakistan would be successful in bringing about a ceasefire and leading to a peaceful settlement of the problems between the two Islamic states.

All nations had to refrain from intervening in the Gulf region. "The safety and security of the Gulf are a region responsibility that belongs to the Gulf states alone,"he declared.

The representatives of Libya and Jordan also joined in appealing for a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq.

Indian Premier on Conflict

OW040904 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 4 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 4 (XINHUA)--Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi said in Darjeeling yesterday that the current conflict between Iraq and Iran has not only posed a threat to the economy of India but of all developing countries, according to a New Delhi report quoting INDIAN EXPRESS today.

Addressing a press conference, she said India has to take protectionist measures in view of the recent happenings in West Asia since the oil supply to the country is bound to be affected.

Mrs Gandhi denied that the country was tilting towards the Soviet Union and said: "India had never been and is not presently and will not tilt towards the U.S.S.R. in the future."

CSO: 4020

'RADIO BA YI' DENOUNCES ORDER OF U.S. POLICE EQUIPMENT

OW050525 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 4 Oct 80

[Text] The decision made by China's leadership to purchase a large quantity of U.S. equipment and technical devices for public security use is by no means a correct one. Just imagine, in a socialist country with good traditions like ours, why should we squander people's money to buy such equipment and devices to intimidate and suppress people at a time when we badly need foreign exchange?

It is said that the purchase of modern U.S. equipment such as mobile laboratories for criminal investigation and fingerprint analyzers is aimed at "dealing telling blows to criminal offenders and rapidly identifying and arresting bandits, thieves and those who committed rape and accepted bribes." However, if we examine the list of equipment and technical devices ordered for public security use, we will realize that there are not too many instruments for criminal investigation such as the fingerprint analyzer. Weapons to intimidate and suppress the people make up a large portion of the order. For example, rubber nightsticks, automatic handcuffs, teargas guns and high-pressure firehoses are weapons used by armed policemen, the watchdogs of U.S. imperialists, to suppress demonstrators, to disperse crowds at rallies and to arrest striking workers or democratic personages.

Why must China buy this police equipment and these devices? Are there persons who plot to suppress the Chinese people with these items? Among the so-called devices for security use, the notorious lie detector is a modern psychological weapon for interrogation. In the United States, the lie detector is being used to confuse victims and extort confessions. As for implements for punishment such as those for electrocution, they are totally satanic inventions used to slowly torture and kill people. Does China need such implements of punishment?

All the comrades in the army pay attention to the following fact: The central authorities issue an instruction saying that those items will be available to the PLA security departments directly. For what purpose would the security departments acquire such devilish devices? It must be pointed out that the purchase of U.S. security equipment is a step in implementing Vice Chairman Deng's "Policy of Cooperation" with the United States.

However, the so-called "Special Agency for Technological Cooperation" between the Kuomintang and the United States made the people suffer miserably. The notorious "Sino-U.S. Special Agency for Technological Cooperation" established in 1942 was a special organization formed by U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek bandit clique in opposing the people's struggle for liberation and in butchering China's democratic, patriotic personages. Taught by the policemen of U.S. imperialists, the butchers in the "Agency for Cooperation" used U.S. police devices to ruthlessly torture and interrogate thousands of Chinese. The so-called "Sino-U.S. Special Agency for Technological Cooperation" is the largest prison of the Chinese regime in which people were tortured and imprisoned. It was a devil who killed people without batting an eyelid. Is this fact of "cooperation with the United States" not a bitter lesson?

CSO: 4005

'XINHUA' NEWSLETTER ON VISIT TO FRENCH MEDITERRANEAN FLEET

OW070919 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0759 GMT 5 Oct 80

[Newsletter by Yao Yun, XINHUA correspondent: "A Visit to the French Mediterranean Fleet"]

[Excerpts] Paris, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--At present the Middle East again has become the world's hotspot, and the Mediterranean Sea, so close to the Middle East, has become an even more sensitive region. At a time when the international situation is changing fast, a group of foreign correspondents recently visited the French Mediterranean Fleet and the Toulon Naval Port at the invitation of the French Ministry of National Defense.

The fleet is the main force of the French Navy. It has 21 ships with a full load tonnage of 190,000 tons, about 40 percent of the total tonnage of France's combat vessels. The aircraft carriers "Clemenceau" and "Foch" and guided missile cruiser "(Colbert)," trump cards of the French Navy, are all in this fleet. Supporting the fleet are a flotilla of 18 light vessels and a group of 12 submarines. After the U.S. and Soviet fleets, this is the third major naval force in the Mediterranean.

The correspondents boarded the 30,000-ton aircraft carrier "Clemenceau" and put out to sea to observe the flight training of carrier-borne aircraft. The "Clemenceau" will remain a major ship of the French Navy in the next 10 years.

The next day we visited the guided missile destroyer "(De-gai-si-nei). The 6,090-ton warship was commissioned in 1970. It is characterized by its multiple capabilities, antiaircraft, antisubmarine, combating surface vessels, and so forth.

The correspondents also visited the (Ye-er) Naval Air Base. Various types of naval aircraft were seen at this airbase, about 20 kilometers from Toulon. Toulon Naval Port is important not only because it is the base of the French Mediterranean Fleet but also because there are very large naval shipyards, scientific research institutions and training schools here.

At the end of the visit to Toulon Port, the correspondents were received by Vice Admiral (A-ka-li), commander-in-chief of the French Mediterranean region and concurrently commander of the Third Naval District. Explaining the French Navy's tasks in safeguarding French territory and the safety of sea routes and carrying out the French Government's policies, he emphatically pointed out: "It is very complicated to perform these tasks in the Mediterranean." Warships are crowded here, especially since there are the activities of the fleets of the United States and the Soviet Union, which are not littoral countries of the Mediterranean.

A French naval officer told the correspondents: French naval vessels frequently encounter Soviet warships in the Mediterranean. When French warships are in training exercises, Soviet warships sometimes tail behind. They even get so close that there is danger of collision. Soviet military aircraft also constantly fly over to take photographs. The correspondents asked him: "What measures do the French warships take?" He said: "We take pictures too."

In the face of the ominous international situation, France is constantly strengthening its national defense power. In the naval field, in addition to the decision to build a sixth strategic nuclear submarine, France recently decided to build two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers. In terms of total tonnage, the French Navy ranks fourth in the world, after the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain. The new shipbuilding program will strengthen its deterrent role and fighting capacity.

CSO: 4005

PICTORIAL 'XIZANG' BEING PREPARED BY PRC, YUGOSLAV PUBLISHERS

OW072022 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] A large colored pictorial, XIZANG, depicting the beautiful scene of the Xizang Plateau as well as the long history, fine culture and colorful customs of the people there, is in the making by Chinese and Yugoslav publishers.

Entrusted by the State Publications Bureau, the Shanghai People's Fine Art Publishing House and the Yugoslav Review Publishing House are jointly preparing this large pictorial. The former is responsible for taking pictures and for compiling and editing the text, while the latter undertakes such tasks as the picture layout and the design, printing and distribution of the book.

As early as last July, the Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House sent experienced photographers to Xizang where they spent some 2 months taking pictures. They visited northern Xizang and Shannan and Xigaze prefectures, went deep into the (Motuo) and (Menba) areas and traveled along the Sichuan-Xizang highway. Thus far they have traveled some 6,000 kilometers and have already taken many valuable photographs.

The Yugoslav side has sent its representatives to China on several occasions to consult with the Chinese side on the publication of this pictorial. The Yugoslav side is determined to use the best paper and printing techniques for this project. It has distributed sample pages to publishers of various countries in an effort to solicit orders from them.

To prepare the text, the Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House has asked renowned personages such as Ngapoi Ngawang-jigme, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee; (Dong Zuo), associate professor of the central institute of nationalities; (Jiang-Bai-Chi-ye), living buddha of the (Dewang) temple; and (Xia Pei), vice chairman of the Lhasa Municipal CPPCC Committee, to write articles on Xizang's history, culture and arts, religious rituals, customs and habits.

The colored pictorial is divided into several parts: Routes to Xizang; An Ancient City--Lhasa; Beautiful Xigaze; The Place of Origin of the Tibetan People--Shannan; The Wide Expanse of the Northern Xizang Grassland; and The Mountainous Region of Himalaya. The pictorial will be an octavo-page book containing both photographs and text. Besides a large number of colored pictures, the book will contain articles and explanatory notes on various topics, consisting of 50,000-60,000 words. The book will come off the press early next year.

CSO: 4005

POLISH GOVERNMENT, TRADE UNION FAIL TO AGREE

OW040602 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1605 GMT 3 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--After failing to reach an agreement in the recent talks between their representatives, the independent and self-governing "Unity" trade union in Gdansk, Poland and the Polish government issued a bulletin and a statement respectively to explain their stands. The bulletin issued by the independent and self-governing "Unity" trade union on 1 October said: Deputy Premier Jagielski and representatives of the party and government authorities met with the delegates of the Presidium of the Joint Founding Committee for Independent and Self-governing Trade Unions headed by Walesa in Gdansk. The delegates of the presidium had hoped the government would announce some concrete measures to obviate the difficulties in founding and carrying out the activities of independent and self-governing trade unions by giving them access to mass media and considering their request concerning a basic pay raise.

The bulletin said: However, the plan put forward by the government contained neither any government decision on the questions already discussed nor any promises by the government.

The bulletin continued: The presidium of the joint founding committee is not responsible for the failure to reach an agreement in the talks. The presidium reiterates the independent and self-governing trade union's willingness to work together with the government to overcome the current crisis on the condition that the previously reached agreement is upheld and fulfilled. The independent and self-governing trade union's annoucement on a nationwide 1-hour warning strike is not tantamount to breaking off the agreement; it is a protest against the creation of conditions obstructing the fulfillment of the agreement.

At a press conference held in Warsaw on the afternoon of 2 October, the Polish government press spokesman, (Jay Balayski), read a government statement on the fulfillment of the agreement concerning the resumption of work by the workers. He said: The Polish government has in the past made many decisions toward implementing the agreement. However, some of them have not been carried out because of the following two reasons: First, some decisions which involve laws and decrees, such as the labor law, can be carried out only after the laws and decrees are revised; second, the workers of certain units have put forth a demand which is not included in the agreement.

Concerning the government's policy toward two types of trade unions, (Balayski) said both new and old trade unions are equal and neither one will be discriminated against. It is impossible for the government to consult, in making every decision, with trade union founding committees which represent only a minority of workers.

According to reports, (Balayski) also said at the press conference: "Fulfilling the agreement is one of the fundamental problems that need to be solved by the government." He said the government had already instructed the central and local administrative and economic departments to give due attention to fulfilling the agreement and to regard it as an important task.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

PAKISTAN ON SOVIET DESIGNS IN GULF--Beijing, October 4 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Mohammed Ziaul Haq claims, "The Soviet Union is trying to break down the back door to the Persian Gulf," according to an UPI report received here today. The agency report is based on an interview with the president in yesterday's NEWSWEEK magazine, during which he pointed out that this "back door opens on Pakistan and Iran." He declared, "Pakistan is only one potential target for the Soviet attackers," and warned that, "strategically and militarily the Soviet Union is now physically capable of interfering--if they wish--in Iran." President Zia drew attention to a recent helicopter gunship attack on Pakistan, which is across the border from Afghanistan. He stated that although the helicopter bore Afghan markings, it was actually carried out by a Soviet crew. He said, "It was not only a clear message but real arm-twisting, telling me to be a good boy." He believes the Russians intend to stay in Afghanistan indefinitely and "they want Pakistan to know that if it opposes their designs, they will come in and sort us out." [Text] [OW060752 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 6 Oct 80]

EGYPT, U.S. MILITARY COOPERATION DISCUSSIONS--Cairo, October 3 (XINHUA)--Ways and means of promoting military cooperation between Egypt and the United States are to be the subject of discussions between General David C. Jones, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and Mohamed Abdel Halim Abu Gazallah, chief of staff of the Egyptian Armed Forces, during the former's three-day visit which starts today. The Egyptian newspaper AL AHRAM today reports that U.S. official sources state that the U.S. Government is still studying Egypt's suggestion of using military facilities. General Jones' visit to Egypt is a part of his tour of the Middle East region, which is proceeding in the wake of serious forebodings about the implications of the Soviet expansionist attempt under cover of the conflict between Iraq and Iran in the Gulf region. The U.S. general visited Saudi Arabia and Oman before arriving in Cairo and it is believed that he will subsequently visit Israel and Greece. [Text] [OW040716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 4 Oct 80]

HUBEI NATIONAL DAY COCKTAIL PARTY--On the afternoon of 30 September, the Hubei Provincial People's Government held a cocktail party to mark the 31st anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Participants included French, Canadian, Japanese, U.S. and Dutch experts in culture, education and military affairs who are teaching in institutes of higher education in the province or working in the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company and the Fourth Design Institute of the Ministry of Chemical Industry and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots who are touring the country. Han Ningfu, provincial governor, Li Fuquan, vice provincial governor, Liu Jin, provincial people's congress Standing Committee vice chairman, (Xie Fusheng), provincial CPPCC committee vice chairman, Deng Ken, Wuhan municipal vice mayor, (Shan Yijie), provincial people's government secretary general, (Shi Qun), provincial association for friendship with foreign countries chairman, and (Xie Jinzheng), provincial federation of overseas Chinese chairman, also attended. The tea party was held in (Pingshan) restaurant, Wuchang. Han Ningfu proposed a toast, welcoming and extending greetings to the participants. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Oct 80 HK]

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

AUTHOR DISCUSSES PROBLEMS IN PARTY POLICY

Hong Kong DONGXIFANG [EAST AND WEST] in Chinese No 17, 10 May 80 pp 72-75

[Article by Bi Dingtang [3968 7844 1016]: "From Adoption of Liberalism to Turmoil, to Restriction and then to Prohibition"]

[Excerpts] The Propaganda Department and the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee have demanded that all levels of the party organization "strengthen party member education and invigorate the party's organizational life" and have demanded that rotational training of the whole party be completed in three years.

The vanguard of these activities is the Guangdong Provincial Committee which has determined to strengthen ideological education and rectify party style and party discipline. The Provincial Party Committee held the Third Plenum of the Fourth Congress on April 8th, and resolved that:

In order to implement the spirit of the Fifth National People's Congress, there must be overall, thoroughgoing ideological and political education of all party members and cadres to rectify party style and discipline, firmly grasp collective leadership, oppose arbitrary actions by individuals, promote democracy within the party, welcome and support criticism from cadres and the masses, prohibit attacks of revenge, punish violators of party discipline, overcome aquisition of privileges, overcome the negative tendencies of having only promotions and no demotions, having fears of suffering hardships, seeking only to take one's ease, preferring to stay in the cities, selecting only profitable tasks while avoiding the non-profitable ones, and seeking help from high party officials. There must be special vigilance against corruption by bourgeois ideology and a repression of bourgeois life-style. There must be no delays in making detailed investigations of those who have seriously violated party discipline but have gone unpunished.

The ideology of the "fanshi [0416 2508] faction" has deep, strong roots and in all areas this faction is specially fond of stirring up movements, especially movements which make foolish criticisms of "bourgeois ideology." They ignore the practical faction's central line of not stirring up movements. As soon as any movements starts, the "[fanshi] faction" then has an opportunity, because all political movements more or less have leftist or rightist tendencies, and the hat of "bourgeois ideological" tendencies is then put on your head.

Party Members Are Not Permitted to Hold Differing Political Views

An even clearer example is found in a Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO [LIBERATION DAILY] commentary titled "Party Members May Not Have Political Views Different from Those of the Party."

This commentary indicates that some party members have gradually developed into "people whose views differ" from those of the party. The commentary says that there is such and such a party member who still is a party worker, but who publically and openly holds non-party views. After the Third Plenum, this person turned against the party organization and secretly established connections to put out his own publication. This publication made the accusation that "Our policital system is inferior to those of the Western nations," and villified the socialist system as a "feudal centralized bourgeois society," characterizing the old cadres as "former bureaucrats" and the new cadres as "new bureaucrats." The old workers have a "narrow peasant" manner, and "only depend on the entry of new youths in recent years to manage things by themselves."

The conclusion drawn by this commentary is that the only way to handle these party members who lightly ignore party rules is to severely punish them according to party laws and without leniency.

The stronger Party Central criticism of places such as Guangdong and Shanghai clearly show the long-term, persistent seesaw battle between the Party Central "practical faction" and the local "[fanshi] faction." The two sides are again treading the same old track of that overturned cart -- "from adoption of liberalism to turmoil, to restriction and to prohibition." At the first sign of any disturbance they become indecisive and then reverse their direction.

The party's political movements have followed this pattern and so have its policies in art and literature.

From Adoption of Liberalism to Turmoil, to Restriction and then to Prohibition

There is a rumor that in May the "fishbone antennas" in Guangzhou were dismantled, and word came down many times that reception of Hong Kong television transmission was prohibited ...even to the extent that homes were entered for verification. What they fear is the influence of "bourgeois ideology." Recently, units of the People's Liberation Army have been required to sing "revolutionary songs," and songwriters have been ordered to compose songs which can be appreciated by the masses.

These chaotic conditions are all caused by contradictions within Party policy, and this, moreover, will continue to be the case. For example, can the policy of issuing strong orders against watching Hong Kong television really solve the problem? The fact that neighborhood organizations illegally enter homes to observe and make records is already contrary to the basic spirit of the new legal code, and also violates the constitutional rights of the people for freedom of discussion and ideology. From another viewpoint, China's television is making an intensely publicized change to international channels (UHF), so it is puzzling how the people who now use the national channels (VHF) will be able to purchase amplifiers (UHF conversion sets). The "fishbone antennas" are now dismantled, but in the future there will a conversion to international channels (Hong Kong programs will definitely be received). Isn't this a clear example of the confusion caused by ideological contradictions?

The only sure method is to produce a large quantity of television sets and invest in the modernization of the equipment in the nation's television stations, produce more programs which are more interesting and more suited to what the people want, vigorously struggle to compete with foreign television programs, use "audience ratings" to verify their own superiority, and if they ever succeed in having "the Chinese people watch Chinese television shows" (heaven knows if that day will ever come), then that is the correct path to follow, because depending on dry programming and government orders certainly will never work.

The [Fanshi]Faction Says that Literature and the Arts Are Too Unrestrained

It has already been seven months since the opening of the Fourth Arts and Literature Conference in October of 1978, however, no special edition of the Conference documents has yet appeared, while those of other conferences have long been available in separate editions. The managers of the publishing organs fear [jie/bei huo][1312/6296 7000] because the pronouncements of art and literature circles, especially those of the conferences, have run into the dangers of "playing lordly, arrogant games." Such words and bold manners are allowed by the authorities in the meetings, but are not to be printed and published. The officials in charge of the various areas have long agreed with the viewpoint that "the arts and literature are too unrestrained," so they have always been just a little afraid of art and literature circles. It is not at all strange that the documents of the Fourth Arts and Literature Conference are so late in coming out or that they may never come out.

In the recent mid-April, 1980 Second Guangdong Provincial Literary Conference, the "authorities" on the one hand used their own power to enforce their views and refute the suggestion of some representatives: "Works should attack the bureaucratism of high level cadres and agitate against special privileges." They labeled the opposition by saying: "There are now some people who are trying their hardest to sow discord in the relations between the people and high level cadres." On the other hand, some person in charge took advantage of control over a meeting during elections to use all his efforts in helping "her": "There is no point in discussing this representative's shortcomings, so let's just concentrate on her good points." [Someone countered,] "If we discussed shortcomings, she would be dismissed. Just what is it that you are talking about"? The purpose in not publishing the documents is to prevent the delegates from revealing their own bad points.

This is sufficient explanation of why the Party leadership, expecially middle and lower level cadres, has recently been so afraid of the reckless speech and actions in art and literary circles, so whenever there is an opportunity they use their authority to interfere.

A New Panegyric Literature Opposes Literature of Exposure

On 8 April 1980, the Ministry of Culture held a huge awards ceremony, and selected 200 dramas, traditional operas, musicals, song and dance numbers, and songs from those presented in honor of 30 years of statehood in 1979. These were awarded grand prizes and first, second and third places. Minister Huang Zhen [7806 6966] presented the certificates and prize money.

There were 63 programs which were awarded first places for creativity and 40 which were awarded first place for performance. (Grand prizes were awarded posthumously to Lao She for CHAGUAN [THE TEAHOUSE], to Wu Han for HAI RUI BAGUAN [HAI RUI IS DISMISSED FROM OFFICE], and to Tian Han for [XIE YAOHUAN].

These posthumous awards also were the only ones for works with any bitterness.) No prizes were awarded to works which exposed evil and none were for the literature of the wounded which has been so popular in recent years. On the contrary, some of the works receiving first prize such as CHEN YI CHUSHAN [CHEN YI LEAVES THE MOUNTAINS], SHUGUANG [DAWN LIGHT], BAO TONG THE NEWSPAPER BOY], DANXIN PU [RECOND OF A RED HEART], XI'AN SHIBIAN [THE XI'AN INCIDENT], HONGDENG ZHAO [THE RED LANTERN], SILU HUAYU [4828 6424 5363 7183] and ZHUNAGLIDE HUNLI [A MAGNIFICENT WEDDING] mostly are all "works created in accordance with commands."

The evaluations made for these awards adequately demonstrate that the Party literary policy hasn't made any new breakthroughs, the art and literature leadership departments have worked hard to present an image of peace and harmony and the "panegyric" faction produced works under the urging of the leading cadres (this is well attested to by the list of first prize works). On the other hand, party leadership in art and leadership appears to use commandism, practically using the selection process (such as the Hundred Flowers Movie Award and the Literary Short Story Award) to weaken the influence of the literature of the wounded and the literature of exposure and thereby repress development of any thinly veiled literary criticism of Mao. Obviously, if a work is not of the new "panegyric faction" it will hardly be chosen for presentation in the great hall. Some were labled in "discsssion meetings" as "critical," some were even prohibited form being performed by administrative orders.

All the above are typical examples of "from adoption of liberalism to turmoil, to restriction and then to prohibition." It appears that the springtime of art and literature has not yet reached the stage of a hundred flowers all in bloom.

'China's Bani-Sadr' Becomes a Figurehead

Although Iran's president Bani-Sadr was formally elected by all the people, he is totally without power, lacking even the power to control the few hundred students who occupy the American Embassy, and in all matters great and small he must consult the views of the religious leader Khomeni. Because of this, the name Bani-Sadr is used to refer satirically to those heads of house who have no real authority. In many organizations throughout the world there are weak structures with their Bani-Sadrs, but Iran is the only country having a popularly elected president with no power. (Bani-Sadr has both learning and talent and would be prominent immediately upon the death of Khomeni.) American vice-presidents are usually of average talents but capable of political stability, this is a fact known to all.

Although the English ruler does not hold great powers, the position is held in great respect by the people. Because of a power struggle in recent years, the Soviet Union troika has had ups and downs. Only in the highest leadership of the Chinese party, government and military is there a single person "heading the list," like the "lead role" in the movies. This is to say that Hua Guofeng is "China's Bani-Sadr."

China's Bani-Sadr has his good and bad points and his place in history will be evaluated by others in the future. The authority of Deng Xiaoping, "China's Washington," is gradually spreading, the second fiddle Hu Yaobang has been promoted to general secretary and Zhao Ziyang [6392 4793 7122] has been promoted to vice premier and member of the party standing committee, so Deng can be at ease and not have to worry about secret manuverings. The unfortunate "China's Bani-Sadr" also gained another nickname "China's Malenkov," and he is gradually being stripped of power and made into a figurehead and sooner or later will resign an premier. It is highly likely that the concentration of party, government and military leadership in one person will become a "vacant position."

The Retreat to the Second Line

After the failure of the Great Leap Forward, Mao Zedong resigned the post of State Chairman (this position is still vacant as no one has dared restore it) admitting his responsibility for the failure, but euphemistically calling it a "retreat to the second line." (This also laid the seeds for the Culutral Revolution, and from that very year when he rose to power, Deng Xiaoping never reported to Mao Zedong, just as he now does not report to Hua Guofeng.) The writer remembers an interesting riddle from those years. It goes, "Retreat to the second line," guess a term from physics. The answer is "capilarity." [A pun on "Mao closely controls things."] Unexpectedly, 20 years later the "capilarity" riddle is now current again. No matter whether it is Deng Xiaoping or Hua Guofeng who will "retreat to the second line," in any case it still is "capilarity." Because of the "ten calamitous years of the Cultural Revolution," whether or not Mao intended it so, plus the blind leadership of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there can no longer be any naive faith from an ignorant populace and it is as yet unknown what other damage has been done. It is not possible to rely on "heaven's prestige" for shelter in all matters as the bark has been stripped clean from this great tree. Therefore, it is a matter of "capilarity."

Because of his visits to foreign countries, especially capitalist countries such as France, the United States and Japan, in search of "learning," "China's Washington" Deng Xiaoping has experienced "democracy," so he has a more flexible definition of this term. (Even "China's Bani-Sadr" has visited abroad and has a more lively approach to many problems.) Early on, Deng Xiaoping was somewhat supportive of "democracy wall" and in regard to literary conferences said, "literature and the arts should not suffer untoward interference,"...however, he made premature reference to retreating to the second line, and this writer believes there are a few reasons why.

Deng Looks with Foresight to Retreating to the Second Line

(1) The question of health. At age 76, Deng must attend to numerous matters on a daily basis, and this is specially true of the terrible mess of major and minor affairs the "[fanshi] faction" presses on him, just the same as the "gang of four" wore down Zhou Enlai. Deng wishes to enjoy a few more years of his old age and so has broken the communists unwritten rule of not retiring but working until death.

(2) The question of fulfilling one's promises. On the advent of his third restoration, Deng made a written guarantee of his loyalty to Chairman Hua, but only recently has made him into an empty figurehead. The majority of people support his promotion to a higher position, but he is not as old as Ye Jianying, so he uses retirement as a means of advancing, thus accomplishing two goals with one deed, since he will also unseat Ye Jianying, and then permit others to complete his plan of eliminating Maoism.

(3) The question of being right or wrong. Mao Zedong knew long ago that Deng Xiaoping was skilled at reversing decisions, and so wrote down the wise counsel that "reversing decisions does not win people's hearts," which was a severe restraint. To quickly dispose of this "dead-weight" (the viable options are already disposed of) Deng can only retreat behind the scenes to avoid having someone again trip him up and pull his que to make him confess to being "China's Khrushchev." (Great effort was expended in clearing Liu Shaoqi of this very same false accusation.)

(4) The question of obstructions. Deng Xiaoping wishes to take an early leave of the field of contention over right and wrong as the matter is limitless. At present the "Hua-Deng system" is really the "Deng Xiaoping system" and Hua Guofeng has increasingly stood to one side. Deng, however, has been troubled by the obstructions he has encountered on all sides. For example, even foreign reporters ask direct questions about the discrimination against Hua Guofeng, and Ye Jianying's pleasure trip to the south was a negative comment on Deng's anti-Mao

policy. Although Deng has managed to unseat the core group of the "[fanshi] faction," Wang Dongxing, Chen Xilian, Wu De and Ji Dengkui, and replace them with Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, nonetheless he encountered subtle resistance from those local powers who had benefited from the Cultural Revolution, that is, the middle and lower level cadres. Deng lacks both the spirit of patience and the power to force his views on them. A very clear example is that of the nude female mural of the water splashing festival at the Beijing International Airport. The official in charge at that time was a "cowardly bandit," afraid of [jie/bei huo][1312 6296 7000] and not daring to give permission to show the murals. The artist struggled against official will all the way up to the Party Central Committee and Deng Xiaoping. Deng even made a personal visit to the airport where he observed the mural and commented, "I don't see any problems." This one sentence solved the problem of "official will" which could not be solved through dispute. However, not more than three months later, Deng no longer had enough bite and could not depend on "his teeth as a golden emissary," so this mural of nude women finally was subject to traditional Chinese thought, which actually is the restrictions of dogmatism, and was covered with a "shame covering veil." This shows the many difficulties Deng Xiaoping has encountered in advancing his own policies. Deng is a politician who endures insults and shoulders heavy burdens and makes plans with great foresight, and his retreat from the first line is one stroke that will have many results in reducing the obstacles to his great anti-Mao undertakings.

Western Leaders Should Promptly Extend Invitations to Hu and Zhao

Deng Xiaoping's favorite general, Hu Yaobang, has gradually undertaken Deng's party duties, but he impresses people as a countrified tactician, skilled only in plotting and planning. In speaking to young people he tends to preach, much the same as Mao Zedong laid great guilt on Ma Yinchu [7456 1377 0443] and Liang Shuming [2733 3359 3298]. It is widely known that for 30 years, Ma and Liang were wronged by Mao's "generals." And now, Hu Yaobang speaks the same way: "You should not give any support to starting up any organizations or publications, you should lead youth onto the correct path of serving the people. I have already mentioned Lin Xiling [2651 1585 5044] who 20 years later still has no way out because of such great individual ambitions." (See Hu Yaobang's major internal speech on 17 October 1980, to the party leadership of the Communist Youth League and responsible persons of the ZHONGGUO QINGNIANBAO [THE CHINA YOUTH NEWS and ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN [YOUNG CHINA].)

After 20 years, Hu Yaobang still maintains that the female rightist Lin Xiling is guilty, and that even today she still has no way out. This is really disheartening for those young rightist intellectuals whose cases were reversed. Hu Yaobang as Party General Secretary is full of such official airs, and his grasp of Party policy towards intellectuals still is far behind the effectiveness shown by Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. It appears that Hu Yaobang's future political life still needs considerable polishing and tempering.

Hu Yaobang has only visited other communist nations and this valuable, new Party General Secretary should not be as countrified as Mao Zedong. He should visit a number of western nations and see something of science, technology and democracy. Zhao Ziyang has been promoted to vice premier, but even as a provincial representative he managed to visit western nations. The heads of western nations should make all possible efforts to invite such "leaders" as Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang to visit their countries. Although "bourgeois ideology" will not corrupt these stalwarts, nonetheless it certainly will have subtle though decisive influences on their breadth of vision and learning, on their character and on the fate of future developments in China's policies. All of those great officials "living in a world of their own" who have visited western nations came back more or less changed in their view of life, this is a matter of record. You leaders of western nations, please do not be miserly in extending your invitations .

11582
CSO: 4005

GOOD RESULTS SEEN IN TRAINING OF PARTY MEMBERS IN SHANGHAI

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Party Organizations at All Levels Throughout the City Pay Close Attention to Rotational Training of Party Members Well"]

[Text] Since the beginning of this year, party organizations on all levels in Shanghai have paid close attention to training of Communist Party members by stages and in groups, and after several months of efforts, they have obtained relatively notable results. At present, in accordance with the requirements of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the plans laid down by the municipal party committee, party organizations on all levels are strengthening leadership, continue to pay close attention to and take charge of rotational training for party members, and determinedly build the Shanghai party organization to greet the calling of the 12th Party Congress.

At the end of last year, to suit the shift in emphasis of the work of the whole party and guarantee the thorough implementation of the party line, the propaganda department and organization department of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee sent joint notices to party organizations on all levels requiring the universal training by stages and in groups for all the party members in the city and the development of a single in-depth ideological and political education. The propaganda department and the organizational department took the lead by holding a series of lectures on "Basic Knowledge of the Party," which had trained more than 1,800 instructors for training courses throughout the city by May. Party schools of all prefectures, counties, and divisions also separately held classes to train the mainstay forces and create conditions for rotational training of party members. Party organizations of all systems and all departments separately adopted various forms, such as spare-time training, short training courses, and assembly classes with separate discussions to carry out the rotational training. According to statistics on the eve of 1 July, 2,786 units at the level of an independent general party branch and above, 85 percent of the total number of such units in the city, had developed training programs and provided rotational training to almost 150,000 party members.

The current rotational training for party members takes as its principal content a thorough study of "Several Criteria Concerning Political Life in the Party" and discussion of the draft revision of the party constitution, with the spirit of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the Communist Party Central Committee threaded throughout the course of the training. Many new party members, after participating in the rotational training, said excitedly that this was the first concentrated and systematized party education they had received since entering the party, and that the party organization had provided an important class that they needed. Many old party members said they had been deeply hurt by Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" destruction of the party's fine traditions, but that they felt particularly touched by the resumption of study. "Strive to become a qualified Communist Party member" had already, day by day, become the actual activity of both new and old party members.

Judging by the circumstances in various areas, there were three striking characteristics of the current rotational training:

First, it stressed education in the ideological line and the political line, and further unified the thinking of the broad party membership behind the party line. When analyzing some of the party's present internal problems, party organizations on all levels universally recognize that fundamentally, internal party problems are all produced by departure from or opposition to the party's ideological line, political line, or organizational line. Because of this, in the rotational training of party members, all units have made the uniform understanding of the party's ideological line, political line, and organizational line the fundamental objective of the current ideological and political education, and through conscientious study by the broad party membership of the documents of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important report on "The Present Situation and Mission," further unite the thinking of the party members behind the party line, and raise everyone's determination, activism, and creativity to implement the four modernizations. There are some party members in the Jing'an Ward service company who formerly were very confused about party line and policy; some were affected relatively deeply by the pernicious influence of the ultra-leftist line, their thinking not liberated, erroneously believing that "the party's line has turned to the right, its policies are off center, and the direction is in error." In the party member education, the party committee of the company aimed at this thinking, selected some fundamental questions, organized the party members to study them, and on the basis of this clarification of basic principle, led the party members to integrate it with the reality at their enterprise, making detailed accounts and comparisons, receiving their education from a large amount of facts and recognizing the correctness of the party line and policies. Everyone said that in the future, when they view circumstances, consider problems, or manage affairs, they will certainly uphold seeking truth from facts and will steadfastly implement the party line. One party member at the Shanghai Fourth Construction Engineering Company joined in the activities of the so-called "democratic faction" and "holders of different political opinions" behind the back of the party organization in direct opposition to the four basic principles and the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The company party committee seized on this question and conducted ideological and political education at an internal party assembly, leading the party members to distinguish clearly between liberation of thinking and upholding the four basic principles, between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy, and between respect for the rights of party members and rigorous enforcement of party discipline, these three areas, to make the broad membership of the party understand that the minimum condition for being a qualified party member is to maintain political unity with the Party Central Committee.

Second, they developed criticism and self-criticism and reached a practical solution for the problems of being a qualified party member by employing the methods of a minor rectification. Each unit, on the foundation of its organization of document study by party members and the raising of their awareness, also led everyone, on the basis of the content of the draft revision of the party constitution and the provisions of "Several Criteria Concerning Political Life in the Party," to compare and examine their own work, ideology, and style. The broad membership of the party universally took "Criteria" as a mirror and used the standards for party members as a yardstick in conscientiously measuring whether they themselves were qualified or not, or in what areas they were qualified and in what areas they were still not qualified. At the same time, between comrades they carried on a mild and comradely criticism and self-criticism to praise good points and overcome deficiencies, and to correct all manner of unhealthy tendencies. At the same time as they carried on positive education, the rotational training classes of some companies in the foreign trade system adopted a method of "four observations and four examinations," which is: examine the motives for joining the party, look at faith in communist affairs; examine party-oriented self-cultivation, look at signs of factionalism in oneself; examine concern for the party, look at expressions of disorganization and undisciplined behavior in oneself; examine the role of party members and look at oneself to see in which areas one is unqualified. Aiming at the questions raised by the "four observations and four examinations," they led everyone to develop criticism and self-criticism with respect to "Criteria" and the standards for a party member, helping many party members to raise their awareness. Through the rotational training, there was a striking transformation in 16 out of 18 party members in a foreign trade transportation company who had exhibited relatively conspicuous factionalism.

Third, they stressed "Begin with myself, begin with right now," and fully developed the party members' function as vanguard exemplars. In the rotational training, many units combined the conducting of education for party members with the solution of the principal internal party problems and stressed "Begin with myself, begin with right now." After the rotational training, the party members of these units showed notable progress in developing their function as vanguard exemplars. After going through rotational training, the broad membership of the party at Nanxiang [0589 5046] station in the Shanghai Railway Sub-bureau fully developed their party members' exemplar leading function in the employee promotion work this year. Many party members said, "We don't compete in the area of wages, but in what contribution we can make to the four modernizations." All of the party members at the station have completed more than 600 consecutive days of work without an accident. Many units have also proposed, in the course of the rotational training, "Begin with the rotational training, begin with a single drop," and there have been great changes in the mental attitude of many party members. There were 567 party members from Shanghai Cotton Mill No 31 participating in the rotational training, half action and half study, and within 3 months they had performed more than 2,000 good deeds for the collective and for the people.

All of the party organizations in Shanghai are determined to continue to pay close attention to this work in the second half year and secure even better development of the core leadership of party committees on all levels in the socialist modernization, develop the function of the party branch as a fortress, develop the vanguard exemplar function of Communist Party members, continuously improve the fighting strength of the party, and build the Shanghai party organization really well.

9284
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by Gao Shihua [7559 1102 2901]: "A Gratifying Exploration"]

[Text] Under the new circumstances of the four modernizations, how to advance the good administration of ideological and political work is a new subject requiring study and solution that has been placed before our plants and enterprises.

There are no longer very many people who will say publicly that ideological and political work is not necessary or not important, and everyone says that managing affairs according to economic laws is no substitute for ideological and political work; everyone says that ideological and political work is very important, and should be strengthened, not weakened. However, in the actual work, ideological and political work has still been neglected, or pushed to one side, and political work personnel are "impressed" into other work. The occurrence of these circumstances is evidence that some comrades still do not have sufficient appreciation of the importance of ideological and political work in the new period; on the other hand, judging by most of the units, the problem is that since the breaking up of the so-called ideological and political work done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we still have not found a method or approach to ideological and political work that suits the requirements of the new period, and we don't know, after all, how we should do it. Because of this, we must change the circumstances under which we give lip service to "importance" and in reality say "not wanted," and on the one hand must raise the appreciation of the importance of ideological and political work in the new period, on the other hand study methods of administering the ideological and political work, establish a relevant system for ideological and political work, and give the ideological and political work a procedure to follow, and that can be used effectively in the actual work.

The key here is that we must study how, under the new circumstances of economic construction, to really insert the ideological and political work into the economic work, to conduct the ideological work well within the economic work, and to solve the new problems that occur in economic activities to get public opinion to support, and prepare the public for, the new economic policies and new economic measures. At present there is also the situation, for example, that when a tributary problem arises in the course of work on such-and-such a new economic measure, some comrades will become heavyhearted and will doubt the new economic measure, believing that the solution of problems must still depend on ideological and political work, as though ideological and political work were to correct deviations in economic work. This view deserves study. Problems that occur because the economic work is still not perfect in some areas or still has some deficiency cannot be solved solely through ideological and political work. Ideological and political work is no substitute for economic work. Problems in economic work can only be solved by adopting appropriate economic policies or economic measures on the basis of a clarification of the reasons for the problems. The task of ideological and political work is to clarify, with regard to theory and with regard to ideological perception, what is the nature of the new problems that appear in the economic work. How should they be perceived? How to solve them? This so as to raise people's ideological consciousness and level of perception, adopt correct methods and attitudes, and promote the obtaining of solutions that accord with economic law. In the course of the four modernizations, the economic work may encounter a great many new circumstances and produce many new problems. The study of new circumstances and the solution of new problems must depend on strong and forceful ideological and political work to unify ideological perception and mobilize positive elements on all sides to insure the successful implementation of the four modernizations.

The enterprise "Political Work Regulations" formulated and given a trial implementation by the Yangzhou Agricultural Chemicals Plant are their gratifying exploration into the new theme of how to conduct ideological and political work in the new period. This spirit of courage in putting into practice is what is needed to accumulate and create new experience in the ideological and political work of the new period and is worthy of strong recommendation.

9284
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

EXAMPLE OF EMPEROR TAIZONG IN HIRING TALENTED PEOPLE URGED

Nanjing QUNZHONG LUNCONG [MASS FORUM] in Chinese No 1, Jan 80 pp 150-151

[Article by Chen Jiantang [7115 1696 1016]: "On Emperor Tangtaizong's Ability to Hire Talented People and Accept Their Advice"]

[Text] Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty was very fond of Wei Zheng. When Wei Zheng died "Taizong came personally and wept bitterly." He decreed that "Wei Zheng be buried close to his own, the emperor's, resting place on Mount Zhaoling." "Taizong went up the Yuanxi tower to watch the funeral and cried. He ordered all his court officials to escort Wei's body beyond the city gates. The emperor personally composed funeral dirges and the inscription to be carved on Wei's gravestone." "Wei Zheng has died, the Emperor never ceases to think of him. He went up to the Lingyange gallery to view the portrait and composed a poem to mourn him." The reason why Taizong so grievously mourned Wei Zheng was not that their relationship was an intimate friendship, but rather that with Wei Zheng's death the emperor had lost a mirror. Taizong had repeatedly told his ministers: "A mirror of copper is useful to adjust one's attire and headgear; a mirror of olden times is useful to impart knowledge of the rise and fall of states; a human mirror is useful in reflecting one's merits and demerits. I have had all these three mirrors to help me guard against adversities. Alas, with the death of Wei Zheng I have lost one of the mirrors!"

It truly deserves our admiration that a feudal lord like Taizong attached such great importance to this kind of mirror and used Wei Zheng as such. Wei Zheng was not a minister from among Taizong's old cronies and also not favored with special patronage. Wei Zheng had originally been an underling of Li Mi, a leader of an army of rebellious peasants in the waning years of the Sui dynasty. After defeat and surrender, he became counselor to the crown prince Li Jiancheng who was a political adversary of Taizong. At that time "Wei Zheng had frequently urged crown prince Jiancheng to do away with Prince Qin (i.e. Li Shihmin)." Jiancheng was assassinated in the Xuan-wu Gate incident, and Li Shihmin assumed the position of crown prince. The second year thereafter, when Li Shihmin became emperor, he not only left Wei Zheng unharmed but appointed him to high offices, namely to be remonstrating counselor, secretary of state, inspector general, and imperial minister, all very important positions. The emperor furthermore enobled Wei Zheng with the titles Grand Tutor to the Crown Prince and Duke of Zheng principality.

That Taizong valued Wei Zheng to such an extent was out of the emperor's consideration for the consolidation and preservation of his feudal dynastic rule. Taizong had seen with his own eyes the destruction of the Sui dynasty and had assessed well the experiences of good and bad government throughout the eight centuries since the Qin and Han dynasties. He had become deeply convinced of the importance of two never-to-be-abandoned principles that could consolidate his own feudal rule, namely that it is imperative to pick out and hold on to able men as assistants and that remonstrances must always be heeded. Taizong was an outstanding personality among all the feudal rulers due to his ability to employ capable men and heed their remonstrances.

The important thing in the employment of men is the ability to evaluate men. A man must be correctly analyzed, his qualities clearly discerned and he must then be placed into the very position where he will function most effectively. Taizong had excellent judgement in this respect. He once said: "Officials must be selected without haste or impetuosity. Once a superior man has been installed, he will draw in other superior men. Once an inferior man has been installed, he will draw in other inferior men." He drew another analogy by saying that raising weeds that look like rice is bound to harm the crop. Handing bounties to scoundrels will drive away good and faithful men. It is therefore essential to recognize men and to be able to place them correctly. On the other hand it is also necessary to open wide all avenues, not to stick to one pattern but to employ men only in consideration of their abilities. Taizong said: "Considering how wide the world is, why be anxious to decide on one single person? I measure and select the talents of the world to handle the affairs of the empire, they are installed in their positions and entrusted with responsibilities, each exerting his best efforts, thus conforming with the principle of reason."

Among the men employed by Taizong there were landlords of various clans, generals of rebellious peasant armies, officials that had come over from the Sui dynasty, even people from poor families and of slave origin, as well as many men from fraternal nationalities. Taizong's opinion on Wei Zheng was: "In those past days when he worked with all his heart in the service of the then crown prince, he was truly detestable," but because "Wei Zheng is a genius in handling state affairs and is also of an unflinching upright character," the emperor did not keep alive the grudge against Wei Zheng and employed him in important positions.

To heed remonstrances was another special characteristic of Taizong. As Sima Guang correctly expressed it: "Taizong would not use great talents of the world at his own private will and whim to eliminate the sources of disaster and turmoil; this can really be called farsighted planning!" Wei Zheng regularly redressed improper actions by Taizong and could talk to the emperor's face directly, remonstrating with him. The reason why Wei could do it was that "if an emperor encourages his minister to speak out, he will dare to remonstrate, but if an emperor will not heed remonstrances, would a minister dare to repeatedly offend his majesty?" It is therefore clear that only when remonstrances are heeded with an open mind, will men dare remonstrate, and only then will enlightenment be gained by seeing both sides of a problem.

In 639 Wei Zheng compared the earlier and the later 10 years of the Zhen-guan era and pointed out that Taizong had not been able to maintain probity and prudence throughout his rule, and that the emperor was gradually developing a moral depravity. Wei then advised the emperor in these extreme terms: "Comparing your majesty's administration with that at the beginning of the Zhen-guan era, there are 10 faults." Wei Zheng made no secret in pointing out the series of faults and his memorial was extremely sharp and biting. After he read it, Taizong said: "Today I was told my faults. I want to change and walk to the end of the road of goodness. If I should break my promise, I would have no face to meet you! Your memorial will be inscribed on a screen which I shall see every morning and every evening. It will also be recorded by the historian to show the proper relationship between rulers and ministers for the benefit of future generations."

In the feudal era of China, the emperor wielded the great power over life and death. If Taizong was exceptional in that he heeded advice and criticism for the long duration of 17 years until Wei Zheng's death and all this time entrusted Wei Zheng with high offices, this is a most unusual occurrence. The "good government of the Zhen-guan era," as it appears in history (627-649), is inseparably linked with Taizong's enlightened measures of employing capable men and of taking heed of their advice.

Times have changed. The work style of members of the Communist Party is to maintain close links with the masses, to carry out a system of democratic centralism, of consulting with the masses in case of any new problems, of widely heeding criticism by the masses, and of speaking out on whatever comes to one's knowledge and say it without reserve, to blame not the speaker but be warned by his words. The party has given supervisory power to the revolutionary masses of 1 billion people. The revolutionary masses of 1 billion people are the "remonstrating counselors" of our days, but there are still a great number of impediments and many blocked channels in the way of effectively handling the relationships between cadres and the masses and between upper and lower ranks, also in the way of appropriately instituting organizational lines for the employment of capable men, etc. We fear that unless much energy is expended, success can hardly be achieved. "Take history as a mirror." Taizong and Wei Zheng, important personalities on the historical stage 1,300 years ago, can indeed serve in our days as examples to help us remedy our defects and rectify abuses.

8453
CSO: 4005

CHEMICALS PLANT'S 'POLITICAL WORK REGULATIONS' PRAISED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Explore the Road of Ideological and Political Work in the New Period"]

[Text] The enterprise "Political Work Regulations" formulated by the Yangzhou Agricultural Chemicals Plant, having been passed by a congress of worker's representatives from the whole plant, were put into trial operation throughout the plant on 1 July. Their implementation for about a month since that time has shown a relatively good effect.

After the emphasis of party work was transferred to economic construction, is ideological and political work still needed? How should it be approached? Early this year, the general party branch of the Yangzhou Agricultural Chemicals Plant discussed this question several times, and they came to the conclusion that not only was ideological and political work still needed after the transfer of the emphasis of the work, it ought to be conscientiously strengthened. However, we certainly can no longer use the methods of the "gang of four" in carrying out ideological and political work, and we must adapt to the requirements of the new period. Then, what must we do after all to make the ideological and political work adapt to the requirements of the new period? The enterprise "Political Work Regulations" is one result of their exploration of this area.

Beginning early this year, these "Political Work Regulations" have been formulated, revised, simultaneously revised and practiced, and most recently passed and put into trial operation, all of which has occupied a period of several months. These "regulations" provide rules for ideological and political work in the plant. The broad masses of cadres say in reaction that with the "regulations," there is a system to be followed in the political work. The reaction of the employees is that now the political and ideological work of the plant can be seen and felt, like a stone roller pressing a stone mill--a real "stone" is used to strike a real "stone."

There are a total of nine articles in the enterprise "Political Work Regulations" formulated by the Yangzhou Agricultural Chemicals Plant, and these include the basic mission of enterprise political work, its status, principal content, form, basic method, organizational structure and duties, concerned systems, staff regulations, etc. The article on principal content of enterprise political work provides: 1. Propagandizing of the party line, guiding principles, and policies, and the regular and oriented conduct of education in upholding the four basic principles and current political affairs, etc, constantly raising the workers' ideological consciousness; 2. Cultivate and develop "honest in three ways and strict in four aspects," arduous struggle, and other such good traditions and style among the workers; 3. Mobilize and organize the workers to study technology, study culture, study vocational subjects, and study science; 4. Manage the plant's public security work well; 5. Strengthen the establishment of the party, manage education in party subjects well, and develop the function of the party branch as a fighting force and the function of Communist Party members as vanguard exemplars; 6. Develop democracy and protect the rights and interests of the workers.

The "Political Work Regulations" formulated by the Yangzhou Agricultural Chemicals Plant have the following two characteristics: One is that the guiding ideology is clear and definite, that it should fit in with the reality of the enterprise. The "Regulations" stress that enterprise political and ideological work must be done in combination with productive work, that what must be done is to center things on the central tasks, center them on production, center them on management of the enterprise, and not do the kind of formalist things or use the "air to air" methods that were used formerly.

The clauses in the "Regulations" come principally from the reality of the plant. Early this year, there were some comrades at the plant who felt that in the future, employees' activism could be motivated by means of awards, and there would be no further need for ideological work. The general party branch at the plant organized everyone to study the concerned party and government stipulations and clarify the relationship between the use of material incentives and good ideological and political work, and to raise everyone's recognition that they must pay attention to good ideological and political work in the course of awarding bonuses. A summary of this experience formed a clause and became part of the content of the "Regulations."

The second striking characteristic of the "Regulations" is that it stresses the central things and demands concreteness. The "Regulations" grasp political work as a matter of individual conduct, stressing a central core of educating people, the problem of liberating people's thinking, and raising people's socialist consciousness, making appropriate definite provisions to assure that the enterprise political work will be regular, systematic, and concrete, and will provide a basis and a standard for examining good and bad. So far this year, in accordance with the concerned provisions of the "Regulations," they have combined the reality of the plant's production and the reality of the masses' ideology and achieved relatively good results with consecutive courses in the proper handling of awards and bonuses, the ideals, future prospects, and morals of young people, and increasing production with economy, increasing return with economy of disbursements.

To guarantee the thorough implementation of "Political Work Regulations," the general party branch of the Yangzhou Agricultural Chemicals Plant established a political work system throughout the plant. The general party branch leads political work throughout the plant, the organization and propaganda section is specifically responsible, each shop is the responsibility of that shop's party branch, and the various offices and work sections selected 58 comrades to be political work and propaganda officers, and the labor union and Communist Youth League organized to coordinate with the political work, carry out political education, study, discuss, and analyze ideological tendencies, so there is someone in charge at every level, someone to manage every affair. They also established, in connection with the political work, a study system, a propaganda system, a system of regular meetings, a system of heart-to-heart talks and interviews, and a system of rewards and punishments, to assure that the "Regulations" will be thoroughly implemented.

9284
CSO: 4005

ELECTIONS GO WELL IN GUANGZHOU

Large Turnout Reported

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Does a Good Job of Managing Things in Electing Representatives, Unites as One To Do the Four Modernizations; Vast Numbers of Voters in Guangzhou City Enthusiastically Elect People's Representatives; Provincial Committee and Provincial People's Government Leadership Comrades Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 8113] and Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492] Cast Ballots Along With Voters"]

[Text] Election work for Guangzhou municipal district and county representatives to the National People's Congress was basically completed on 3 July.

Yesterday morning, the responsible comrades Xi Zhongxun, governor of Guangdong and first secretary of the Guangdong Province Communist Party Committee, Li Jianzhen [2621 1017 6287] secretary of the Provincial Committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, and Wu Lengxi [0702 0397 6007] secretary of the Provincial Committee, came to the 137th electoral district in the Dongshan District as ordinary voters and together with the masses listened to the chairman of the electoral district introduce the candidates and amid enthusiastic applause cast their ballots together with the masses.

Yang Shangkun, second secretary of the Guangdong Province Chinese Communist Party Committee, deputy governor of the province, first secretary of the Guangzhou Municipal Chinese Communist Party Committee and chairman of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee, Wang De [3769 1795], secretary of the Provincial Committee and Yin Linping [1438 2651 1627] cast ballots in the electoral districts where they lived.

Election work for representatives to the National People's Congress from Guangzhou city district and county was carried out strictly according to the Election Law. During the deliberations on nominating candidates and voting for representatives, democracy was fully developed and vast numbers of voters exercised their voting rights in accordance with their own will. The voting rate was over 95 percent in the majority of districts and counties. Over 31,960 preliminary candidates were nominated in all electoral districts, which was 11.8 times the number of candidates to be elected, and after going from upper levels to lower levels several times, and through repeated discussions, differential balloting was carried out and 2,713 district and county people's representatives were elected.

On election day in all districts and counties, the red flags were flying, there was a deafening sound of drums and gongs and the masses were jubilant. The municipal power company had over 30 people patrolling the lines in Yingde and Qinguan. On orders to guarantee quality, they intensified work and on the day before the election hurried back to Guangzhou so they could vote on time. Over 50 persons in the Municipal Cantonese Opera Troup were performing in Hong Kong and Macau. They treasure their voting rights and each of them had a relative or colleague vote for them. Some persons who are deaf, dumb and blind and some old people in their eighties and nineties participated in the election. A 75-year-old returned overseas Chinese from Xiaogang Street put on his new holiday clothing and went to the polling place to cast his ballot. Monks from the Municipal Buddhist Association dressed in their kasaya for the first time in over 10 years went to North Chaoyang Street to cast their votes. Many voters who gained their voting rights as a result of policy implementation before this election were even more excited, and participated in the election.

Among the district and county representatives to the people's congress from the districts and counties there were persons from all fronts as well as from all areas of society, and were very representative of all walks of life. The 452 representatives to the Haizhu District People's Congress include 30.97 percent workers, 26.9 percent cadres, 14.4 percent intellectuals, 19.2 percent other laboring peoples and minorities, returned overseas Chinese, relatives of nationals living abroad, former businessmen and religious figures were proportionally represented.

At present, the Longmen, Zengcheng and suburban districts have already convened representative assemblies and established standing committees of the people's congress as well as people's governments. The Haizhu district is currently convening a people's congress and the seven other districts and counties are actively carrying out work preparatory to convening a people's congress.

Meeting To Discuss Elections

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Counties and Municipalities (Districts) in Guangdong Complete Election Work; Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Convenes Meeting To Exchange Experience in Election Work"]

[Text] In the first 6 months of this year, a number of counties and municipalities (districts) in Guangdong Province completed county level direct election work. The standing committee of the Provincial People's Congress convened a meeting in Guangzhou from 27 June to 1 July to exchange experience in election work and the counties and municipalities (districts) which had completed election work told of their experiences.

In the last 6 months of last year, after the Election Law and Organizational Law were made public by the standing committee of the National People's Congress, Guangdong Province conducted tests of direct elections at the county level in the three counties and municipalities of Gaoyao, Fany and Jiangmen. In the first 6 months of this year, some counties and muncipalities (districts) began election work. By the end of June, the following had already completed elections and convened people's congresses: the counties and cities of Chaozhou, Nanhai, Doumen, Donghuang, Longmen, Wenchang, Qiongzhong, Deqing, Huaiji, Zengcheng, and the Huangpu and suburban districts of Guangzhou city. Those which have already elected representatives and prepared to convene a people's congress are: the counties and cities of Zhaoqing, Qionghai, Jiaoling, Yingde, Gaozhou, Conghua, Huaxian, Xinfeng, Jiexi, Gaojiao, Shunde, Kaiping, Enping, Yunfu. Guangning, and the Guangzhou City districts of Haizhu, Liwan, Yuexiu and Congshan as well as the three test sites of Gaoyao, Fanu and Jiangmen. There are now 29 counties and municipalities and 6 districts of Guangzhou City that have completed election work and convened or are ready to convene people's congresses. With the exception of individual counties, the rate of voter participation in the counties and municipalities (districts) which have already completed election was over 90 percent. Counties and municipalities (districts) have convened people's congresses, chairmen and deputy chairmen of county and municipality (district) standing committees of people's congresses have been elected, people's congress standing committees of counties and municipalities (districts) have been established, county chairmen and deputy chairmen and municipal (district) chairmen and deputy chairmen have been elected, and county and municipality (district) people's governments have been established.

When discussing their experiences at the meeting, counties and municipalities (districts) which had completed election work emphasized that to do a good job of election work, first of all the party committee must place election work on the agenda and conscientiously strengthen leadership, and as soon as election work begins, they should provide adequate leadership effort and administrative personnel to establish strong administrative agencies. Next, they should pay attention to establishing a capable election work rank, and have them grasp the basic spirit of the Election Law and understand the important significance of the election work and the specific regulations and methods of election work. Third, they should conscientiously do a careful job of disseminating information on mobilization so that everyone can develop the spirit of being master in his own house and actively participate in the election process.

The conference felt that over the next half year, Guangdong Province county level direct election work should be fully under way, and that this is an important matter for the political life of all the people in the province. Democracy should be fully developed, and things done strictly according to the Election Law and Organizational Law, respecting the will of the people, upholding overcoming the work style of the feudal household head and the work method of running things without consulting others. Party committees and people's organizations can recommend candidates to the voters and guide the masses to regard and measure cadres in accordance with the party's cadre policy, but definitely cannot use administrative orders and other means to force the voters to elect certain individuals, as Concerns choice of persons for leadership teams, we should uphold those who support the party's line, have correct work style and the confidence of the masses, and those who are in their prime and can lead the masses to engage in the four modernizations.

8226
CSO: 4005

GUANGDONG RESTORES PARTY TRADITIONS, STRENGTHENS FIGHTING POWER

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Restore the Party's Excellent Traditions, Strengthen the Party's Fighting Power; For the Past 3 Months Guangdong Province's Party Organizations at All Levels Have Concentrated on the Topic of Strengthening and Improving Party Leadership, Have Carried Out Education Among the Broad Party Membership on the Revised Draft of the Party Constitution and the Guiding Principles With Definite Results"]

[Excerpt] Since April of this year, Guangdong Province party organizations at all levels have started ideological and political education among the party membership on the topic of strengthening and improving party leadership using as the main materials the revised draft of the party constitution and the Guiding Principles with definite results. The party's organizational life has been strengthened, the party's fine traditions are gradually being restored, and the party's fighting power has been greatly strengthened. Now, party organizations at all levels are summarizing experience and resolve to spread party member education even more widely and deeply.

Leadership cadres have taken the lead in studying and giving guidance, and this is an important characteristic of carrying out party member education at this time. In carrying out the education movement, the Guangzhou Municipal Committee leaders took charge, and took charge of leadership, classified responsibility and started classes at all levels. The municipal committee was responsible for training section committees and the leadership cadres of district, county and bureau, and district, county, bureau, company, commune and plant party committees operated training classes for party members of all kinds who belonged to these units. Several important responsible comrades of the municipal committee took the lead in studying basic theory and knowledge of the party and took the lead in giving party classes in district, county and bureau leadership cadre study classes. Leadership comrades from the Shaoguan Municipal Committee individually participated in cadre study classes above the bureau level, and together with the students studied the revised draft of the Party Constitution and the Guiding Principles, together they compared and inspected, helping each other and improving together. Kou Qingyan [1379 1987 1693] of the provincial standing committee participated in the study classes run by the provincial political-legal committee for cadres of office level and above. At the study classes, he was just an ordinary student and ate and slept together with the others, took the lead in discussing knowledge, conscientiously examined the gaps in his own understanding of the party line, direction and policy after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, was thorough about the questions in implementation and weaknesses in upholding the principles of collective leadership, and proposed directions for future efforts.

Party committees at all levels conducted an analysis of the situation with regard to party members before they organized study classes for party members and cadres. Because of the disruption and destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," for a long time there has been laxity about party member education, and some old party members are deficient as far as party concepts are concerned, and there are a rather large number of areas of basic party knowledge which new party members who have joined the party since the Great Cultural Revolution do not understand. Thus, when conducting this education, attention is paid to guiding party members paragraph by paragraph to understand the general outline of the draft revision of the party Constitution and the first article of the Guiding Principles. In the rotational study classes run by Foshan City for party members and cadres, party members were led to learn well three special topics: one was that knowing the content and essence of the party's political and ideological line raises the self-consciousness of implementing the party line, direction and policy; second is that knowing the importance of upholding the democratic centralism of the party and observing strictly party law and discipline overcomes fragmentationalism and anarchism, and raises the party's fighting power; third is that strengthening the cultivation of party members and making a Communist Party member who is up to standard. Party members who participated in study compared the revised draft of the party constitution and the Guiding Principles, self-consciously sought gaps and made corrections and strived to make themselves capable of playing a role as model vanguards.

In focusing on the idea of insufficient faith in correcting party style which exists among some party members, party committees at all levels, in holding party member study classes, upheld positive education, summarized experience, both positive and negative, concerning political life within the party, raised high party members' knowledge and strengthened everyone's confidence. Even party training classes run by counties and their subordinate agencies emphasized combining theory and practice to help students get three viewpoints clear: first, historically, for some time our party has had a revolutionary spirit of struggling with incorrect work styles. For example, the rectification of the three styles of the Yan'an period, in 1958 opposed the style of pompous exaggeration, gongchang [0364 3934] style, and blind commandism and throughout won great victories. Second, from the evidence of the past 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four" one can see that in this regard the Party Central Committee has done a great deal of work, and committees for the inspection of discipline at all levels of the party have dealt severely with cases of violations of the law and discipline. The facts show completely that our party style is fundamentally different from that of the time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was running rampant. Third, it can be seen from the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee that the Fifth Plenary Session chose a new Central Standing Committee, and the party's leadership is even more powerful. At the same time, the Fifth Plenary Session also formulated strict party laws and regulations, and if only the leadership and the rank and file are of one mind, make a collective effort, then certainly we can have a good party style and party discipline and improve party fighting power. From looking back at history and summarizing experience both positive and negative within the party, we can further make party members increase their confidence and improve self-consciousness of doing a good job of party style and party discipline. When the Huishan Commune of Huidong County was conducting their rotational training of party members, they emphasized staring with me, starting from now, demanding high standards and strictness of oneself, and not dumping problems on lower levels, but actively launching campaigns of criticism and self-criticism.

8226
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TIANJIN FACES PROBLEM OF POPULATION EXPLOSION

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by Wang Zhanguo [3769 2069 2654] of the Tianjin Municipal Planning Committee: "It Is Necessary To Strictly Control the Urban Population"]

[Text] Since the PRC's founding, Tianjin's population has grown too fast. By the end of 1978, the size of the population in Tianjin was 7,394,000, which represents an increase of 3,399,000 over 1949's 3,995,000. This means that Tianjin's average population growth rate was 2.1 percent a year, passing the nation's average mark of 2 percent. By the end of 1979, the number of people who lived in Hedong and Hangu districts was 3,314,000, a net gain of 1,418,000 over 1949's 1,896,000; from the end of 1949 to the end of 1979, the number of people on the outskirts of Tianjin rose from 536,000 to 1,533,000, registering a net gain of 997,000. During the same period, counties under the jurisdiction of Tianjin Muncipality registered an increase of 984,000 in population from 1949's 1,563,000 to 1979's 2,547,000. The population in the downtown Tianjin area was 2,956,000 by the end of 1979, compared with 1.79 million by the end of 1949, indicating a net gain of 1,166,000.

This rate of population increase in Tianjin, which seems to be too high, was reportedly caused by the rapid growth of production, economic prosperity in the urban area of Tianjin, the people's improved standard of living, improvements in medical care, hygiene and sanitation and a drastic decline in the death rate, since Liberation. Other causes for this increase were said to be stemming from Tianjin's failure in the 1960's to undertake the planned parenthood program and to control the population growth. During this period, anarchism led a to a serious baby boom. From 1950 to 1953, an average of 167,600 new babies were born in Tianjin each year; from 1964 to 1979, the new born babies averaged 110,100 a year. Migrations have also been blamed for Tianjin's population explosion. From 1949 to 1979, migrations into Tianjin from other parts of the country exceeded the exodus of local population by 467,000. In 1979 alone, the former exceeded the latter by 139,000.

This population explosion has caused a series of problems for the Tianjin municipal departments in charge of urban development, industrial zoning, and residential housing projects. Today, an average Tianjin resident occupies much less floor space than in the early days of Liberation. Each day, there are approximately 210,000 walkers from their homes to offices within the city limits. City buses are overcrowded with commuters. This reminds us of the urgent need to control Tianjin's population.

It is necessary to strictly control the population in the downtown Tianjin area, which should not be allowed to exceed 3 million. This is really a difficult task to perform. How can we achieve this?

First, our primary task must be to further slow down the birthrate through the implementation of a planned parenthood program under which each couple is encouraged to bear only one child. Further efforts must be made to gradually increase the proportion of families with each raising one child and reduce the number of families each of which wants to bear two children or more. This is the only alternative open for us to cut Tianjin's population, and a fundamental guarantee to maintain the rate to Tianjin's population increase at the present level by the end of this century. In implementing the planned parenthood program, we must back up an ideological education program with an economic incentive measure to commend those couples who limit their family size to one child and punish others who swell their family size to two children or more.

Second, efforts must be made to strictly control migrations into Tianjin Municipality. The past record shows only entries without exodus in the movement of Tianjin's population. This situation should be stopped by all means at our disposal. In order to strictly control migrations into this city, a stringent measure should be adopted to process the mandatory transfer of workers to Tianjin.

Third, in the future, measures must be adopted to ban the building of new factories in the downtown Tianjin area and to move some existing factories and enterprises which pollute the urban environment out of the city. New satellite towns or communities should be built around the metropolitan area in addition to those now under construction in Tanggu, Hangu and Dagang. In the future, all new industrial projects should be located in these towns to be built. Effective measures should be taken to evacuate some residents from the densely populated downtown Tianjin area. A related policy of economic incentives should be adopted to induce residents to move out of there.

9574
CSO: 4005

AVERAGE LIFE EXPECTANCY PASSES 70 YEARS IN CHINA

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 80 p 1

[News report: "Life Expectancy Exceeds 70 Years in Most of China"]

[Text] Average life expectancy in most of China has passed the mark of 70 years and has reached the world's advanced levels. According to the incomplete statistics released before Liberation, the average life expectancy in urban and rural China was nearly 40 years. This conclusion was drawn from essays read at the First National Conference of Health Statisticians and Academicians sponsored by the All-China Medical Society.

A total of nearly 50 essays which reflect a marked improvement in the level of China's health statistical work were read at that academic conference recently held in Harbin. Many of these essays resulted from a profound analysis and study of the health conditions of people in urban and rural China. Major subjects of discussion at the conference were how to forecast the future trends of population growth and how to study the health conditions of residents and workers.

Health statistics is a branch of science applying statistical principles and methods to studying the social health conditions and laws governing their changes. Representatives attending the conference also discussed at great length research work to be conducted by the health statisticians in relation to other branches of science. Most of the representatives advocated including medical statistical methods, statistics of the health conditions of residents, and of health institutes in the branch of health statistics. In addition to urging the medical researchers to attach importance to the statistical work, they suggested that conscientious efforts be made by departments concerned with statistical work to carry out the State Council's decision on strengthening the statistical work, and increasing the number of statisticians and on widely disseminating health statistical knowledge among the people.

The conference concluded by adopting a resolution to establish a health statistical group under the All-China Medical Society.

9574
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ERROR OF NOT HIRING MOSLEM WORKERS CORRECTED

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITY UNITY] in Chinese No 1,15 Jul 80 pp 38-39

[Report by Ma Zhenkun [7456 2182 0981] and Yin Guangen [1438 1684 1869]: "North China Oil Field Corrects Error of Not Hiring Moslems During Worker Recruitment"]

[Text] Editor's Note: With the assistance of concerned departments of Hebei Province, North China Oil Field corrected in time the error of not hiring Moslems during its worker recruitment; this solemn and serious attitude of knowing one's mistake and rectifying it immediately is commendable.

Today, practices of discriminating against minority nationalities or violating the Party's nationality policy in student recruitment, worker recruitment, cadre promotion, admission into the army and work of the like still occur from time to time, and some cases have even been rather serious. Will it be possible for leaders of these localities or departments to adopt effective measures and make quick corrections just like the North China Oil Field? We hope that this report can serve the purpose of enlightening them. We think this is a question which touches on nationality equality and nationality unity. So long as we perceive fully the urgency and importance of this question, many problems are not difficult to solve.

From October to December 1979, survey and exploration department No 6 of North China Oil Field dispatched a worker recruitment team to Bozhen township, Jiaohe County, Hebei Province to recruit workers. The target for worker recruitment this time was 160 men, and the qualifications for candidates were that they must have a junior middle school cultural level, good health, and be of 17-25 years in age. At the time, there were altogether 330 youths registered for employment in the whole township; among them 84 were Moslems, and after examination 33 of these Moslems were found to be qualified. Just as these Moslems were about to go through the procedures and start out toward their working posts, the worker recruitment team suddenly threw in a monkey wrench by declaring that the oil field work was located in the wilderness, where conditions were hard and there were no cooking facilities for Moslems; hence Moslems were not going to be hired.

Although local departments concerned expressed pertinent opinions and negotiated with them, the worker recruitment team simply ignored the Party's nationality policy and persisted in refusing the Moslems. In the name of home visits and adopting means of fault-finding and deception, members of the worker recruitment team also went to the concerned streets to pass on the word: "Life at the oil field is hard, and there is no way to take care of Moslems; if they want to go, they must eat in the same way as the Hans do...," etc. After this kind of propagandizing on their part, heads of more than 20 households indicated that their candidates would no longer wish to go. Some said: "In any case, we cannot change our living habits just for the sake of going to the oil field to work." In the case of some who still pleaded repeatedly to go to the oil field to work, the worker recruitment team demanded that each of them must sign a presentable "guarantee" to pledge that "after his arrival in the unit he is going to renege on his Moslem habits and make sure to eat from the same pot as the Hans." In the case of 19 Moslem youths who failed to sign any "guarantee," the team simply openly left them outside of the worker recruitment operation, thereby depriving them of their right to participate in the oil field construction.

After this question became known, strong dissatisfaction was aroused among the local Moslem people. For this reason, the nationality committees of Cangzhou Region and Jiaohe County organized a joint work team and went to Bozhen township to conduct the investigation; an investigation report was also submitted to the provincial nationality committee. When North China Oil Field received the investigation report transmitted to them by the province and also the comments by leading comrades of the provincial party committee, the core group of the Party there immediately convened a meeting to study the matter and thereby decided that the deputy commander in charge of personnel work, Comrade Mao Huahe [3029 5478 7729], should preside and establish a special group to take the responsibility of disposing of the question. After it was found to be true through forum discussion and visits, they attempted neither to shift their responsibility, nor to drag their feet, but immediately adopted decisive measures to solve the question and rectify the situation.

First of all, they proceeded to criticize and educate the personnel of the Bozhen township worker recruitment team, pointing out that their approach violated both worker recruitment policy and nationality policy, encroached upon the equal right of minority nationalities, and sabotaged nationality unity. On the basis of elevating their ideological enlightenment, comrades involved all consciously examined their errors and sincerely accepted relevant criticism. Meanwhile, the commanding headquarters also charged survey and exploration department No 6 with the responsibility of submitting a written self-examination report. In the case of Moslem staff and workers already recruited, they were asked to respect and take care of them as regards their living habits; and all those who were not given the Moslem food subsidies must now be given such make-up amounts according to specifications by the superior level.

Secondly, a four-man group headed by Fan Peilie [2868 1014 3525], deputy director of the production office at the oil field's joint battle commanding headquarters, and Comrade Mai Feng [7769 1496], deputy director of the political department, took a special trip to Bozhen township together with the nationality committee of the Cangzhou Region and held a Moslem representatives forum particpated in by more than 40 people there. At the forum, people on the side of the oil field examined their errors in violating the nationality policy during the worker recruitment and tendered their apology to the Moslem people. All the "guarantees" submitted were returned to their original signatories. Responsible people of Bozhen township also made statements in praise of the conduct on the part of the oil field in learning about and correcting their errors. This made the forum a forum of unity.

In order to win people's confidence, the matter was submitted to the provincial planning commission for approval so that, in the case of the 19 Moslem youths not hired, reviews were carried out respectively. Except in the case of one who was already married and hence unqualified, and who also no longer wished to go elsewhere, all the rest (18) were now hired and they have now already taken up their posts.

Thirdly, seizing this typical example, the oil fied seriously organized the cadres to study the party's nationality policy. In the division-level cadres meeting and basic-level party branch secretaries training class respectively convened, and taking the errors in the worker recruitment as example, the oil field required leading cadres at all levels to take the lead in carrying out the nationality policy and in preventing strictly any recurrence of similar problems. At the same time, they also printed and distributed propaganda outlines concerning the nationality policy, and organized cadres and workers to study and widely propagate them. In order to absorb the relevant lessons, the North China Oil Field's joint battle commanding headquarters wrote an "Examination Report Concerning the Situation of Our Headquarters' Violation of Nationality Policy During Worker Recruitment at Bozhen Township, Jiaohe County" and submitted it to the Petroleum Ministry and the provincial People's Government respectively.

The fact that North China Oil Field learned about and corrected its errors and disposed in time the question of its violation of the nationality policy during worker recruitment aroused vigorous reaction among the minority nationalities and greatly heartened people in general. The mother of new Moslem worker Yang Ruichen [2799 3843 5256], the elderly matron Wang Zhongyun [3769 0022 0061], was deeply moved and said: "In the old society and when the 'gang of four' swashbuckled across the country, we Moslems could hardly express our resentments or raise our heads. Today, because of our efforts to solve our children's employment problems, leaders at the provincial, regional, county and township levels are all prompted to come here personally to proffer the solution, and leaders of the oil field, in particular, even come to our door to extend their apologies; this is all because Chairman Hua of the Party Central Committee has led the country well and because of the superiority of socialism. We must educate our children to devote their strength actively to petroleum exploitation in return for the party's care of the Moslem people."

9255
CSO: 4005

RICHES OF MINORITY AREAS DESCRIBED

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITY UNITY] in Chinese No 5, 15 May 80 p 12

[Article by Yang Mu [5017 2606]: "The Abundant Resources and Vast Territory of Our Country's Minority Nationality Areas"]

[Text] Although the population of our country's minority nationalities make up only 6 per cent of the country's total population, the areas of their distribution make up 50-60 percent of the country's total area. Speaking from the point of view of the four modernizations work, the contribution that can be made by the minority nationality areas to the motherland will become increasingly great. People often say: the minority nationality areas urgently need the four modernizations, and the country's four modernizations work absolutely cannot be accomplished without the minority nationality areas; these are by no means empty words, indeed.

The nationality areas have rich water resources; the famous Changjiang River, Yellow River, and Pearl River, and Heilong River, Songhua River, Tarim River, Yalucangbo River, Lu River, Yu River and Ili River, etc., all originate or flow through minority nationality areas. Many famous lakes such as the Qinghai Lake, Lobu Lake, Hulunbir Lake, Namu Lake and Erhhai Lake, etc., are also scattered in the nationality areas. The areas of fresh waters in various autonomous regions and various provincial nationality autonomous districts total more than 46 million MU; deposits of water resources total more than 300 million DU. Power generation capacity in 1978 was more than 17 billion kilowatt-hours, and its utilization rate was about 2 percent.

Nationality autonomous districts have vast and fertile fields. Land areas already planted amount to roughly 300 million MU, and more than 700 million MU of virgin land can still be reclaimed. Some places are important bases of our food crops, such as the Yellow River Loop plain in Inner Mongolia and Ningxia. Among the food crops of these nationality autonomous districts are rice, wheat, rye, soybean, etc.; their yearly yield has already reached more than 30 billion JIN. These places also grow plenty of economic crops; for instance, in 1978 the annual production of cotton amounted to 1.19 million DAN, and the long-wadding variety of cotton is grown mainly in

Xinjiang. Yearly production of sugar cane amounts to more than 100 million DAN, providing more than 360,000 tons of sugar for the state. Besides, the varieties of fruit are numerous; among them are plenty of organes, bananas, pineapples, cocoanuts, apples, pears, grapes, and Hami watermelon.

The nationality areas have large tracts of thick forests totaling more than 45 million hectares and making up 37 percent of the country's forest area; their water-holding capacity amounts to 4.3 billion cubic meters, making up 49.7 percent of the country's total capacity. Over the years, lumber production has been increasing by large margins, with that of 1978 amounting to more than 12 million cubic meters. There are also large tracts of economic forests such as rubber, oil camellia, tong, walnut, etc.

Our country's five major pastoral areas are all located in the minority nationaltiy areas. Total heads of cattle (large animals) in 1978 amounted to more than 166 million, of which there were more than 29 million cows, more than 4.9 million horses, 680,000 mules, 970,000 donkeys, more than 530,000 camels, more than 32 million pigs, and more than 95 million goats. In the same year, the state purchased more than 7.5 million fattened pigs, more than 600,000 vegetable-eating cows, more than 5.2 million vegetable-eating goats, more than 2.1 million cow hides, more than 1.1 million goat hides, and more than 107.9 million JIN of wool. Vegetable-eating goats sold to the state by Xinjiang alone numbered more than 1.79 million, and those by Inner Mongolia, more than 1.39 million. Precious birds and rare animals also abound; the panda bears, Asiatic elephants, dotted deer, Northeastern tigers, golden-haired monkeys, etc., which are known all over the world, are mostly products of the minority nationality areas.

Mineral resources of the nationality areas are even more abundant; their varieties are diverse, their grades rank high, and they have long been well known domestically and internationally. Among those already surveyed today, there are more than 8.4 billion tons of iron ore deposits, more than 41.8 billion tons of coal deposits, and more than 500 million tons of petroleum deposits. In 1978, steel production amounted to more than 1 million tons; coal, more than 60 million tons; and crude oil, more than 5.7 million tons. Nei Monggal has sufficient iron ore deposits. The jasper-iron [4258 4294 6897 4349] mine in Guangdong's Nanhai district is our largest rich iron base today. Oil fields in Guangxi's Baise, Ningxia's Majiatan and Qinghai's Caidamu are all very well known. In 1978, Xinjiang's crude oil production alone amounted to more than 3.5 million tons. Tibet's earth heat resources are already being utilized. There is a complete array of non-ferrous and rare metals with an exploitation value; for example, Guangxi has plenty of tin and its deposits rank first in the whole country, and its bauxite also holds an important position. The Gejiu Municipality in the Hani-Yi nationality autonomous zhou of Honghe, Yunnan has always been called "the tin capital." Resources of mercury in southeastern Guizhou and western Hunan and gold in Xinjiang's Altay are relatively abundant. The deposits of Tibetan copper are plentiful. Mineral deposits such as Inner Mongolia's aluminum, zinc and copper occupy an important position in North China.

Bayan Obo's iron ores also contain rare earth elements; the deposits there rank first in the whole country. As for non-metal mineral resources, Xinjiang's mica, Ningxia's gypsum, Inner Mongolia's alkaloid, iron-alum ores and phosphorous ores, and Tibet's tin calconite all hold important ranks in the country. Apart from these, Yunnan's marble and Liaoning's cavern jade are all sold far away within and without the country.

In a word, our minority nationality areas accommodate a vast territory and diverse products, and hold abundant resources; they constitute an important material foundation for the state to realize its four modernizations. Further exploitation and utilization of these resources are playing a gigantic role in the acceleration of the process of the country's socialist modernization, in the improvement and elevation of the material and cultural life of the country's various nationalities, and in the development and flowering of the economy in the minority nationality areas.

9255
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EUGENICS MOVEMENT GAINS MOMENTUM IN CHINA

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Ruan Fangfu [7086 5364 6346]: "Promote Eugenics"]

[Text] Eugenics is not a new branch of science. The eugenics movement was founded in 1883, or nearly a century ago, by Britain's outstanding scientist Sir Francis Galton under the influence of his cousin Charles Darwin's great book "On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection." In this way, he laid the groundwork for this branch of science.

Frankly speaking, why should we promote eugenics today?

The primary reason is that eugenics is a branch of science aimed at improving the human race. Its primary objective is to limit and eliminate the propagation of human breeds judged to have serious hereditary diseases. Another objective is to promote the development of a superior human race by means of mating physically healthy and highly intelligent individuals. The former is called the "negative aspect of eugenics," and the latter the "positive aspect of eugenics." On the negative side of the eugenics movement is a measure to discourage marriage between males and females related by blood, for fear of producing mentally and physically defective children and hence heavy economic burdens on their families and society. Since we have tried to produce fine species of animals and plants by crossbreeding, why can't we promote eugenics with the aim of improving the human breed?

Biological experiments conducted over 10 or 20 years revealed 3,000 or more hereditary diseases, concluding that the genes have undergone changes as a result of the nuclear fallout that has taken place in the postwar period. It can be said that the modern science of medicine has progressed to the point where it can help a child with hereditary disease live until the age of puberty. For this reason, negative eugenic measures should be developed and put into effect to deal with cases of this nature. Today, new ways have been devised to effectively control hereditary and congenital diseases. Among them are "counseling about potential hereditary defects" and prenatal diagnosis." Through "counseling about potential hereditary defects," which includes investigations of families, chromosome tests, and statistical analysis, scientists can guide individuals so as to avoid the propagation of hereditary diseases. "Prenatal diagnosis," or "diagnosis before the birth of a baby" or "diagnosis of the developing child in the mother's womb," is aimed at determining whether the fetus in the mother's womb is male or female, whether its growth is normal, and whether there are any symptoms or manifestations of hereditary or congenital diseases in this child. Through testing, decisions can be made as to whether to let the pregnancy continue or induce an abortion by artificial means. Techniques for prenatal diagnosis include tests of the mother's blood and urine, which will determine whether her baby has contracted hemophilia or albinism; direct observation of the baby in the womb by means of radiation screening and supersonic beam scanning, and by the application of the "fetus mirror" (a kind of optical fiberglass); and laboratory analysis of chromosomes taken from the bag of waters in the womb. Thus far, over 40 structural defects and physical deformities such as babies without a brain and babies with protruding tongue and cracked spine have been discovered as a result of prenatal diagnosis. Other biological laboratory experiments that have been conducted in foreign countries with the aim of improving the human race include the preservation of human sperm and eggs at frozen temperatures, artificial insemination, fetus transplantation, incubation of the fetus in the tubes, and other forms of genetic engineering.

Promoting eugenics also has a significant effect on China's efforts to control its population. We have shifted the focus of the planned parenthood program to persuade each couple to bear only one child. This shift requires us to pay attention to the qualities of population and the health condition of every newborn infant in our country.

Biological experimentation with the aim of improving the human race in our country remains in the infant stage of development. Comprehensive laws governing the study of hereditary characteristics remain to be enacted. Also lacking are programs to systematically and extensively educate the people in eugenics. For the time being, eugenic counseling and prenatal diagnosis are being provided only on a small scale in a few major cities in China, and therefore these services still fall far short of the people's demands. Vigorous efforts must be made to expand these services. Eugenics was a subject of discussion at a forum held in Nanking recently. The forum was attended by medical doctors and specialists, professors, and students of the national prenatal diagnosis study class from 16 provinces. Participants in the forum pointed out" Eugenics is a branch of science which covers a wide range of subjects, including medical science, law, moral beliefs, traditional customs and habits, and family structure. In other words, the study of hereditary characteristics with the aim of improving the human species must be expanded to include sociology, codes of ethics, education, obstetrics, pediatrics, psychiatry, embryology, studies in deformities, and many other related branches of science. To brighten the future of our nation, our entire society must attach importance to eugenics as a subject of study.

9574
CSO: 4005

REFORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM URGED

Junior Colleges Suggested

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by NANFANG RIBAO correspondent: "Broaden the Avenue of Education Train Personnel to the Maximum"]

[Text] It appears that our present 4-year system of higher education in Guangdong Province is too inflexible and too obsolete to be able to meet the needs of the four modernizations. For this reason, efforts must be made quickly to broaden the avenue of education and to train personnel in various ways. At present, the institutions of higher education must consider it absolutely necessary to develop short-term training programs and correspondence education, and to enroll students who do not live on the campus. This statement was made by professor Luo Xiongcai [5012 7160 2088], assistant dean of the Huanan Institute of Technology, and professors Zhu Fuxi [2612 4395 3556], Wang Mengzhong [3769 1322 6945], and Ceng Jinyi [2582 6602 5030] of the Huanan Institute of Technology and the Huanan Normal College in a recent interview with NANFANG RIBAO's correspondent. They also hoped that the leading organs and leading comrades in charge of higher education will pay attention to this matter.

Generally speaking, there are three different systems of higher education adopted by western countries, as follows:

First, 4-year formal university education offering post-graduation courses which is comparable to education provided by China's major universities mainly concerned with the training of creative scholars and researchers; second, colleges concerned with the specialized training in a general way, which are comparable to our regular 4-year colleges; third, 2-year junior colleges mainly aimed at training technical workers. These professors said: we are in urgent and great need of the aforementioned third category of personnel or junior college graduates who can play a great role in production. More of such short-term colleges should be built in order to provide the quickest solution to the current shortage of technical workers in our country. During the last few years, the world's developed countries have owed their fast progress in the economic field, in science and technology to the successful training of the aforementioned first and third categories of personnel. In the United States, junior colleges account for almost half of the total number of the institutions of higher learning; in Japan, 2-year education has also been greatly emphasized. The three professors considered it not only absolutely necessary but also advisable to build more 2-year short-term colleges in our country while calling on our colleges to do a good job of training the first and second categories of personnel.

Professor Zhu Fuxi said: in the early 1950's, to meet the urgent needs of our First Five-Year Plan for technical workers, the Huanan College of Technology provided 2-year training in civil engineering with emphasis on surveying, industrial and residential construction, and arcitectural structures for industry and homes. The civil engineering department of the Huanan College of Technology succeeded in training over 200 students in 2 years with the same size of cadres and faculty members it had always had. These graduates later formed the backbone of a technical force serving various construction units. Given its present manpower and material resources and with support to be provided by capital construction units, the institutions of higher learning in Guangdong undoubtedly can train similar students in the future. Professor Zhu Fuxi suggested that a comprehensive 2-year junior college be established in Guangdong in the near future as the best answer to the current shortage of needed technical workers.

Professors Luo Xiongcai, Wang Mengzhong, and Ceng Jinyi said unanimously: the institutions of higher learning in Guangdong should pool their resources in offering youths correspondence courses and in enrolling students who do not live on the campus. During the past 3 years or more, following the downfall of the "gang of four," the Huanan Normal College has graduated over 3,000 students who took correspondence courses as compared with 2,900 graduates who lived on the campus. These graduates who took correspondence courses have ever since played an active role in economic construction and on the educational front. With the exception of the Huanan Normal College, correspondence education has yet to be resumed in other colleges. Two years ago, some colleges admitted some students who did not live on the campus. But these students are now required to live on the campus because our leading organs have failed to offer aid in solving their transportation and lunch problems.

The three professors said: an assessment of the present status of the institutions of higher learning in Guandong and their long experiences in education have led them to believe that the prospect of opening many other types of colleges (including evening and spare-time colleges and colleges which charge tuition) in Guangdong Province is bright. But to tap this potential, efforts must be made to resolve a series of problems. For example, the contingent of teachers must be reasonably reorganized in order to put them to good use. Further efforts must be made to implement the policy toward the intellectuals, and to uphold the principles of to each according to his work, and of more pay for more work done by teachers in order to encourage them to work harder than ever. Plans must be adopted to mobilize all social forces and to rally them behind a common endeavor to broaden the avenue of education and to help both schools and students solve their transportation and lunch problems. More important, authorities concerned with education must seriously consider solving the problems of placement of students following their graduation from colleges and how much they should be paid once employed.

Train More Personnel

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by NANFANG RIBAO correspondnet: "Institutions of Higher Learning Are Urged To Pool Resources To Train More Personnel"]

[Text] Chinese language professors Wu Hongcong [0207 1347 5115] and Pan Yunzhong [3382 0336 0022], and philosphy professor Ding Baolan [0002 1405 5695] of the Zhongshan University unanimously urged the insitutions of higher learning to tap and pool their resources to broaden the avenue of education and to develop education in many ways in order to train more personnel to serve the needs of the four modernizations.

In an interview with NANFANG RIBAO correspondent, these professors said: the system of higher education must be revitalized and the avenue of education must be further broadened to serve the needs of the four modernizations and the public interest. At present, institutions of higher learning in Guangdong Province must tap their potentials for broadening the avenue of education. For example, the Zhongshan University now has 1,300 teachers and nearly 5,000 students, a figure which means that its approximate ratio of teachers to students is 1 to 4 compared with its ratio of 1 to 6 during the Great Cultural Revolution, and the ratio of 1 to 10 or more in foreign colleges and universities. Furthermore, its classrooms are used only 3 to 4 hours a day and therefore, reasonable arrangments can be made to increase their utilization to the maximum. The three professors recommended three measures to broaden the avenue of education as follows:

First, quick efforts should be made to improve the quality of teachers and bring their role into full play in education. At present, effective measures must be taken to accelerate the training of teachers who are still incapable of giving classroom lectures and who thus far account for a considerable percentage of college faculty members. Training them to be fully qualified teachers is a key to success in broadening the avenue of education. In this connection, professor Pan Yunzhong said: college teachers should be encouraged to participate in the on-the-job training program on a rotational basis with pay, just as college graduates or professional workers are allowed to take leave of their jobs to receive advanced training. At the same time, qualified teachers should be encouraged to teach as many classes as possible. Nevertheless, many of them have been unwilling to do so because they could receive no extra pay for extra jobs done. It must be noted that many middle-aged teachers overloaded with teaching assignments have found themselves unable to make ends meet with their present incomes. As long as problems of thisnature remain unsolved, the prospect of education will not be encouraging. In 1956, thanks to the efforts of some retired professors, hundreds of students graduated from the Evening College of Literature and

History jointly sponsored by the Guangdong Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Guangdong Provincial Historical Museum. Today, it seems that no difficulties are expected in opening some evening colleges, especially those offering courses in literature and art, because we can count on the support of both active and retired professors in carrying out such training programs. In Guangzhou, there are many retired but capable experts or professors who are deeply concerned with the education of the younger generation. If well organized, they will form a contingent of experienced teachers to alleviate the shortage of teachers for the proposed evening colleges.

Second, socialization of the logistic support for college education is necessary. At present, all full-time colleges and universities in our country have considered it necessary to "monopolize" every student activity on the campus. As the policy now stands, they provide students with not only room and board but also medical care. As a result, a huge contingent of logistic supporters like a "small society within a larger community" has emerged in each college, thus deviating the attention of its leadership away from the more urgent business of broadening the avenue of education. In foreign countries, room and board students account for only a small percentage of student population in every college, and the remainder are students who are bused from their homes to schools every day. Before Liberation, many college students were walkers from their homes to schools in China. Since Liberation, college students have been required to live on the campus. Enormous efforts must be made to change this regulation, which has been in force for 30 years. Some ways must be found to resolve the problems that block the implementation of the plan to broaden the avenue of higher education. For example, colleges can cooperate with urban development and housing administration departments in building dormitories for students on a contract basis in the neighborhood of the colleges; students who cannot live on the campus may feel free to rent these dormitories; the mess halls on the campus should become part of the business operated by the state or commercial enterprises of collective ownership, as has been the case of groceries and candy shops on the campus.

Third, it is necessary to reform the educational structure and the cadre system simultaneously. The reform in the cadre system must be accompanied by a measure to ward degrees and jobs to cadres who have achieved successes through self-education and who have proven their academic achievements comparable to college graduates as a result of examinations. The contingent of cadres usually can be reinforced by drawing fresh blood from among college and middle vocational school graduates under the unified cadre recruiting program. In addition, the personnel employment units should also be authorized to recruit cadres from society. Only in this way can all well-educated people enjoy equal opportunity of employment and all educational systems will flourish in our socialist society.

9574
CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76664

21 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 130

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76664

21 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 130

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Lusaka Conference Criticizes USSR, SRV
(XINHUA, 6 Oct 80) 1

Polish Official Urges Miners To Cease Strike Action
(XINHUA, 4 Oct 80) 3

Polish Workers Stage Warning Strike
(XINHUA, 4 Oct 80) 4

'XINHUA' Cites Reaction at UN General Assembly Against South Africa
(XINHUA, 8 Oct 80) 5

'XINHUA' Views Celebration of Vanuatu's Independence
(XINHUA, 7 Oct 80) 7

British Labor Party Ends Annual Conference
(XINHUA, 3 Oct 80) 9

Strike in Ireland Causing Fuel Shortage
(XINHUA, 7 Oct 80) 10

New President Appointed in Argentina
(XINHUA, 4 Oct 80) 11

Briefs

Dutch Women's Delegation 12
New York Art Exhibit 12
New York Products Exhibit 12
Ties With Philippine City 13
Acrobatic Troupe in Trinidad, Tobago 13
Shaanxi Acrobats to Kenya 13
Ugandan Leader Visits Cuba 13

Japan's Merchant Fleet to Gulf Reduced 14
India on Persian Gulf Naval Patrol 14
El Salvador Extends State of Seige 14
SRV Attacks on Thai Fishing Boats 15
Japan Freezes Aid to SRV 15
Soviet Beef Purchase From Colombia 15

PARTY AND STATE

CCP Leaders Prepare Major Reevaluation of Mao
(Jan Jian; ZHENGMING, 1 Sep 80) 16

Deng Xiaoping Reported in Vigorous Health
(Yu Wen; ZHENGMING, 1 Sep 80) 21

'AFP' Cites Shanghai Paper on Sentencing of Gang Follower
(Francis Deron; AFP, 6 Oct 80) 25

'TA KUNG PAO' Comments on Upcoming Trial of Lin, Jiang Cliques
(Kung Yao-wen; TA KUNG PAO, 28 Sep 80) 27

'CHENG MING' Carries 'Internal Reports' on Trial of 'Gang of Four'
(CHENG MING, 1 Oct 80) 31

Feudal Bureaucracy During Qing Dynasty Scrutinized
(Wang Sizhi, Jin Chegji; LISHI YANJIU, No 1, 1980). 37

Shanghai Paper Discusses Roles of Emperors' In-Laws, Eunuchs
(Sha Lu; WEN HUI BAO, 22 Sep 80) 45

'CHENG MING' Article Details Situation in Shanghai
(Chin Ku; CHENG MING, 1 Oct 80) 50

'LIAONING RIBAO' Urges Reformation of Institutions
(Liaoning Provincial Service, 3 Oct 80) 56

Jilin Issues Circular on Checking Lavish Entertainment
(Jilin Provincial Service, 5 Oct 80) 58

Nei Monggol CCP Committee Congratulates Restoration of Xingan League
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 3 Oct 80) 60

'Ba Yi Radio' Accuses Deng Xiaoping of Leaking State Secrets
(Ba Yi Radio, 5 Oct 80) 62

'Ba Yi Radio' Comments on Trial of 10 Principal Accused
(Ba Yi Radio, 6 Oct 80) 64

Briefs
- Publication of Hua Speech 66
- Liu Shaoqi Speech 66
- Guizhou Report Meeting 66
- Hubei New Work Style 67

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'Ba Yi Radio' Comments on PLA Spending Reduction, Possible Purge
(Ba Yi Radio, 7 Oct 80) 68

'JIEFANGJUN BAO' Reports Guangdong Department Commended
(Beijing Domestic Service, 5 Oct 80) 70

Briefs
- Navy Cadre's Resignation Request 71

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NANFANG RIBAO' Airs Planned Parenthood Problems
(Editorial; Guangdong Provincial Service, 5 Oct 80) 72

Activities Noted at Beijing National Minorities Art Festival
(XINHUA, 7 Oct 80) 74

Minority Artists Perform
First Hui Opera Presented

Briefs
- Encyclopedia Publication Plans 76
- China Yearbook 76
- Contraceptives Supply 76
- Ancient Minority Languages Exhibit 77
- 'BEIJING RIBAO' Suburban Edition 77
- Historical Atlas 77
- Middle School Teachers 77
- Postgraduate Student Enrollment 78
- Ancient Chinese Scholars Forums 78
- Academy Matriculation 78
- Literary Periodical 79
- Minority Library 79
- Soong Ching Ling Inscription 79
- Beijing History Study 79
- Beijing Publishing House 80
- Beijing Philosophy Symposium 80
- Guangzhou Education Work Conference 80
- Jiangsu Planned Parenthood 81
- Nei Monggol Religious Forum 81
- Shanghai Modern Drama 81

LUSAKA CONFERENCE CRITICIZES USSR, SRV

OW060121 Beijing XINHUA in English 0102 GMT 6 Oct 80

[Text] Lusaka, October 5 (XINHUA)--The Soviet aggression against Afghanistan and the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea were condemned at the 26th Conference of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) which ended here yesterday, according to a press release.

The conference, officially opened by Zambian President Kaunda on September 27, was attended by 148 speakers or parliamentarians from 44 countries and regions. "Current threats to international peace and security" and other subjects were debated at the conference.

Speaking as the Southeast Asia regional representative, Lau Teik Soon, MP of Singapore, said "In both cases (Afghanistan and Kampuchea) the aggressors invaded a country, installed a puppet regime and established a large military presence to consolidate its occupation of the country."

"All governments who believe in peace should continue to oppose the new imperialism of the Soviet Union and Vietnam and refuse to recognise the puppet regimes of Karmal and Heng," he stressed.

He pointed out that to seek just and peaceful solutions to the Afghan and Kampuchean problems, "the withdrawal of aggressors" and "the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Afghans and Kampucheans" must be effected.

Malaysian MP Liong Sik Ling said Afghanistan and Kampuchea were "clear examples of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of another." Noting that Malaysia recognised the government of Democratic Kampuchea, he said to do otherwise "would be supporting a regime sustained by a massive foreign military presence." "There is no stability and no popularity of the puppet regime of Heng Samrin," he stressed.

C.S. Chan, MP of Singapore, said Singapore as a small country having an abiding interest in the maintenance of world peace, would not remain mute in face of open Soviet and Vietnamese aggression against small nations.

Australian MP and leader of the Australian delegation J. Corbett said that the strong worldwide condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was supported by the fact that so many Afghans were "making tremendous efforts against overwhelming odds for so long to resist this invasion."

M. Mtine of Zambia said, "We are threatened by the tension and arms race between the two superpowers who claim to be the world policemen." "Lacking reliable allies in the wealthy Gulf area, the Soviet Union suggested to invade Afghanistan," he noted.

Delegates also condemned the South African racist regime for the recent killings of innocent demonstrators and the wanton raids on Zambia and Angola as well as the creation of Bantustans.

Other subjects discussed at the conference included transference of technology from the developed to the developing countries, control of drug trade and race relations in Commonwealth countries.

The next conference will be held in Fiji in 1981, it was decided.

CSO: 4020

POLISH OFFICIAL URGES MINERS TO CEASE STRIKE ACTION

OW040751 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 4 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, October 3 (XINHUA)--Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, called on the coal miners to understand the country's difficulties and not stage any more strikes, because such action, "would aggravate the situation."

He issued the call yesterday during a meeting with coal miners from Katowice, after stating that coal output was four million tons below the target and that it might be 8-10 million tons below by the end of the year.

Over the past few years, the country's pace of industrial development has been markedly on the down grade, and coal mining was the only sector which was able to fulfil its planned targets. The strikes in August seriously affected Poland's biggest national economic sector.

Premier Pinkowski described the domestic political and economic situation as extremely serious and difficult. He claimed that the root cause of this situation was not in the system itself, but in its distortion, and said there were some dishonest persons in the country and the government "put forward unsuccessful ideas and made mistakes." For example, failure to pay enough attention to agricultural development, borrowing too much money from foreign countries, overextended capital construction projects, improper investment structure, ignoring the need to strike an overall balance in planning and so forth.

He said that "the government, the economic leadership at central level, and those who had the final say on the development policies and financial aspect" should bear responsibility for those mistakes.

The premier said that the government was now basing its efforts on three issues: to guarantee the materialization of the agreements reached with the strikers; to grasp production and put the economy back to normal; and to formulate a long-term program for the country's development.

CSO: 4020

POLISH WORKERS STAGE WARNING STRIKE

OW040123 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 4 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, October 3 (XINHUA)--Polish workers today held a one-hour nationwide warning strike from 12:00 to 13:00 (Warsaw time) demanding that the government fulfill the agreement reached with the workers on schedule.

In Gdansk, a strike announcement at the headquarters of the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union said the workers want the government to fulfill as scheduled its promises to increase wages, give workers the freedom to set up independent and self-governing trade unions, and give them access to mass media. In the streets leading trade unionists distributed leaflets bearing the slogan "Sympathy today, success tomorrow." Public transport and large stores came to a stop. Strike notices and national flags, symbol of national solidarity during the August movement, were visible everywhere. More policemen patrolled the streets to keep order.

In Warsaw, workers in the Ursus tractor plant, the Zeran automobile plant, the Warsaw steelworks and other large-scale enterprises downed tools. Buses ground to a halt and a number of shops closed. University students declared their support for the strike.

In Poznan, Lodz and other regions, plant workers, shop employees and drivers also went on strike.

On 13:00 sharp, all sirens blew in unison to declare the end of the walk-out and the return of normal life.

The warning strike today was called by the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union headquartered in Gdansk. On the eve of the strike, Polish Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski had held talks with Lech Walesa, chairman of the consultative committee of the union. But the two sides failed to reach any agreement.

Observers here noted that the strike was a symbolic action taken by the new trade union to demonstrate the strength and sense of organization and discipline of the Polish workers.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' CITES REACTION AT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

OW080758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0742 GMT 8 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 7 (XINHUA)--The South African racist regime and its policy of racism and apartheid has been under vehement condemnation by the overwhelming majority of countries during the debate of the General Assembly over the past fortnight. The African states have been particularly vociferous in their condemnation.

The speakers have firmly supported the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa and endorsed the United Nations' efforts for the independence of Namibia.

Wilson M. Chakulya, Zambian foreign minister, stated that "the illegal South African regime has intensified its manoeuvres aimed at the consolidation of a puppet regime in Namibia." He declared that South Africa has stepped up its unprovoked acts of aggression against independent African states of Angola and Zambia.

He also drew attention to the fact that the implementation of the United Nations plan in respect to Namibia had not yet begun, saying that the delay was directly due to the negative attitude of South Africa.

He pointed out that the situation in Namibia was but an extension of the apartheid system in South Africa itself.

Siaka Stevens, president of the Republic of Sierra Leone, speaking as chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), stated "Far from withdrawing from Namibia the regime of South Africa has resorted to tricks and manoeuvres, designed to entrench itself deeper in territory to which it has not the slightest legal right."

He noted that "the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a negotiated settlement has led to nothing but frustration because of the chicanery and delaying tactics of South Africa." He hoped that further negotiations would speedily be held and result in success.

The president went on to say, in South Africa itself apartheid remains the cornerstone of the racist regime's policy, and declared that OAU expressed its total commitment to the struggle against apartheid. He said, "We intend to press strongly for total economic sanctions, including an oil embargo."

Simon Muzenda, deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs of Zimbabwe, said that Zimbabwe would vigorously fight to end apartheid within the framework of the OAU, adding "We pledge our assistance to the legitimate liberation movements of South Africa in their just struggle to end apartheid and create a non-racial society in that troubled country."

He stressed, "We salute the efforts of SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people, to liberate Namibia and we pledge our militant solidarity with the people of Namibia."

Tanzanian Foreign Minister Benjamin W. Mkapa reiterated Tanzania's continued support to the armed liberation struggle waged by SWAPO.

Lesotho Foreign Minister Charles Dube Moalpo said that South Africa continued to constitute another major area of world tension and stated that Lesotho registered its support for the struggle of the Namibian people for freedom.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' VIEWS CELEBRATION OF VANUATU'S INDEPENDENCE

OW070750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] Port Vila, October 6 (XINHUA correspondent)--Today is a day of jubilation for the Vanuatu people, who are warmly celebrating the first constitutional day since they achieved independence on July 30 this year.

National flags were fluttering over government buildings, shops and banks. The tropical landscape looks more beautiful after rain. In the early morning, people, young and old, started to gather in front of the government office building. A few have their shirts printed with the national flag or the words "Vanuatu independence." This is their pride, no more will be the name "New Hebrides," given by the socalled "discoverer" British Captain James Cook in 1774.

A guard of honour in new white-top black-trousers uniform stood at attention, with rifles in hands. At 8 a.m. sharp, President of the Republic George Sokomanu, Prime Minister Walter Hadye Lini, government ministers, representative assembly members and the diplomatic corps mounted the rostrum, followed by the singing of the national anthem by a group of girls in red blouses and white skirts.

In his remarks at the ceremony, President Sokomanu briefly reviewed the hard-won struggle against colonial rule, as early as the Rongofuro disturbance in 1914. Amidst warm applause the president designated the government office square "the constitutional place."

Prime Minister Lini stressed the importance of the constitution, which ended the 74 years' colonial condominium by Britain and France.

What makes the Vanuatu people particularly happy is the quick and smooth solution of the rebellion in the country's biggest island Espiritu Santo started by separatist Jimmy Stevens and supported by French-speaking land owners.

In an interview at the Presidential House later today with a group of foreign journalists including this correspondent, President said Stevens and a handful of his followers have been arrested and put in jail, waiting for trial later this month. He called for national unity to build the country.

In his interview given after the ceremony, Prime Minister Lini noted that his government is working on a ten-year economic development program to realize economic independence and self-sufficiency. In foreign relations, he said, Vanuatu will have stronger links and cooperation with Asian countries, those of the South Pacific in particular. "We need a lot of hard work to get the country economically viable," he said.

The newly-independent country, Vanuatu, is situated in the south-western Pacific Ocean and has a population of some 112,000. It is rich in coconut, with a production of 49,000 tons of copra last year. Other resources for exports are beef, fish, cocoa, timber and manganese.

CSO: 4020

BRITISH LABOR PARTY ENDS ANNUAL CONFERENCE

OW031614 Beijing XINHUA in English 1600 GMT 3 Oct 80

[Text] Blackpool, Britain, October 3 (XINHUA)--Britain's opposition Labour Party ended its five-day annual conference here today.

The conference was featured by a bitter debate within the party over the reform of its constitution and policies on the EEC and defence.

After a series of heated arguments inside and outside the conference, it adopted a resolution that the party leader would be elected by the party as a whole, not by members of the Labour parliamentary group as before. Another resolution passed holds that every sitting Labour member of Parliament should seek re-selection as a candidate at his constituency party committee before fighting a general election. Up to now, all MPs have been automatically renominated before each general election.

The annual conference also approved a resolution demanding Britain's withdrawal from the European Economic Community (the EEC) and a resolution asking for Britain's unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The conference also strongly attacked the current conservative government for its economic and social policies.

Many papers here held that the annual conference showed that the struggle for power between the left-wing and moderate-wing within the party has escalated.

The Labour Party is one of Britain's two largest parties, which has over seven million members and has strong support from the trade union. The Labour Party lost the general election last year.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

STRIKE IN IRELAND CAUSING FUEL SHORTAGE

OW070742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] London, October 6 (XINHUA)--Troops have been brought in to deliver petrol in Ireland to replace the striking tank drivers so as to ease the fuel crisis caused by their four-week long unofficial strike, according to reports from Dublin.

The strike was triggered off by an industrial dispute with the employers of an oil company who delayed talks with the tank drivers over a new productivity deal. The strike has brought about a severe petrol shortage throughout the country, with the capital worst hit. Because of the oil supply suspension, a number of filling stations have to close down. And some factories have to reduce working hours.

As many as 1,000 tanker drivers are now on strike. They put forward a number of demands including a pay increase of about 40 per cent, a shorter working week and an increase in shift premium.

Recent reports indicated that army operation has so far been successful and, as a result, oil supply has returned to normal. The labour court has put forward one proposal after another to bring the strike to an early end.

The Irish Republic has been in economic difficulties since the beginning of this year. Latest statistics show that unemployment has hit an all time high since 1977 and inflation is running at an annual rate of 20.2 per cent.

CSO: 4020

NEW PRESIDENT APPOINTED IN ARGENTINA

OW041302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1241 GMT 4 Oct 80

[Text] Buenos Aires, October 3 (XINHUA)--Argentina's ruling junta today officially appointed retired Army General Roberto Eduardo Viola as president for 1981-1984 to replace the present president, Jorge Videla.

Viola, considered to share the same political stand with President Videla, will take office next March.

A communique issued by the junta, formed by the army, navy and air force commanders, said that the three had exchanged views on the designation of the president, which involved mainly the interpretation of the formalities of the designation. They "unanimously agreed that despite the existence of different interpretations, the prime consideration should be given to the supreme interest concerning the institutional future of the country and the maintenance of the indispensable unity among the armed forces so as to effectively obtain the objectives and aims of the national reorganization process."

Viola's designation came four days later than the deadline set by the junta. Official sources ascribed the delay to technical reasons. But observers here believed that the armed forces had differed on the issue.

The selection of a retired high-ranking military officer as the next president was based on the relevant documents issued by the military at the end of last year and in August, 1980. During this period, the armed forces had had heated discussions on the issue and various political parties in the country had voiced criticisms, demands and proposals on the government work.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

DUTCH WOMEN'S DELEGATION--Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--A women's delegation from the Netherlands had a cordial meeting here this evening with Kang Keqing, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and president of the All-China Women's Federation. The delegation is led by Mrs. G.J. Kraaijeveld-Wouters, secretary of state of culture, recreation and social welfare. After the meeting, Kang Keqing hosted a banquet in honor of the Netherlands guests. The delegation arrived here yesterday on a friendly visit at the invitation of the All-China Women's Federation. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 30 Sep 80 OW]

NEW YORK ART EXHIBIT--New York, 1 Oct (XINHUA)--Noted Chinese painter Han Meilin's ink and brush stroke watercolors go on view in New York at a week-long exhibition at the World Trade Center. Introducing Han Meilin's collection, U.S. professor of art history Philip Gould wrote: "The first American exhibition of paintings by Han Meilin is welcomed as the beginning of a new era of East-West cultural exchanges for contemporary artists." Andrew Stein, president of the borough of Manhattan, said that "the exhibition of Han Meilin's work, which is a combination of stylized traditions which date to the 10th century and are influenced by the impressionists, will serve to invigorate the cultural vitality of the borough of Manhattan and help to foster a spirit of international appreciation of the arts." He proclaimed October 1, 1980 as Han Meilin's day in the borough of Manhattan and extended to Han and his wife a warm welcome on behalf of the more than 1,500,000 citizens of the borough. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 1 Oct 80 OW]

NEW YORK PRODUCTS EXHIBIT--New York, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--More than 500 American friends and Chinese Americans visited the exhibition center of the China Resource Products (U.S.A.) Ltd which opened in New York this afternoon. The company is the agent in the United States for the Beijing branch of China National Arts and Crafts Import and Export Corporation and the Beijing Jewelry Branch. In the 16,000 square foot showroom in midtown Manhattan of New York City, the visitors showed great interest in the beautiful and skillful articles, including artistically wrought gold and silver jewelry, jade and semiprecious stone carvings and embroidery, carpets, lacquer-furniture, cloisonneware and antiques. All the articles on show are distinctive in style and design, exquisitely executed, widely diverse in kind, lifelike, attractively colored and pleasing to the eye. [OW051345 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 3 Oct 80 OW]

TIES WITH PHILIPPINE CITY--Manila, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--The city council of Baguio of the Philippines has approved the draft agreement for a permanent sister city relationship between Baguio and Hangzhou of China, according to a PNA dispatch from that city today. The draft agreement was delivered to the city government by Fan Lian, permanent council member of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries who is now leading the Chinese broadcasting national music ensenble in a performing tour in the Philippines. Baguio is the most picturesque city in the Philippines. A delegation from Baguio which visited China last year laid the groundwork for the sister city agreement. [Text] [OW051345 Beijing XINHUA in English 1633 GMT 4 Oct 80 OW]

ACROBATIC TROUPE IN TRINIDAD, TOBAGO--Georgetown, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--The Chongqing acrobatic troupe of China arrived here this afternoon on a performance tour after its 12-day visit to Trinidad and Tobago. The troupe gave seven performances in five cities of Trinidad and Tobago and drew about 25,000 acrobatic fans. President of Trinidad and Tobago Ellis Clarke and his wife saw the Chinese acrobatic show in an indoor stadium in Port of Spain, capital of the country, on September 28. The president gave a reception for the Chinese troupe which is the first Chinese, and also the first foreign acrobatic troupe to visit this island country in the Caribbean. [Text] [OW041228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 4 Oct 80]

SHAANXI ACROBATS TO KENYA--Nairobi, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi this morning received China's Shaanxi acrobatic troupe in the State House here and had a cordial and friendly conversation with the guests. President Moi said, "I am very happy indeed to have so many Chinese friends visiting Kenya. Your visit almost coincides with my return from my visit to China. This shows the daily developing friendship between the people of our two countries." President Moi and cabinet ministers watched the excellent performances of the Shaanxi acrobatic troupe on October 2. [Text] [OW041252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1236 GMT 4 Oct 80]

UGANDAN LEADER VISITS CUBA--Kampala, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--Paulo Muwanga, chairman of the Ruling Military Commission of Uganda, returned home yesterday after a one-week official visit to Cuba, according to UGANDA TIMES today. During his stay in Havana, Muwanga held private talks with Cuban President Fidel Castro and discussions with Cuban Vice-President and Minister of Defence Raul Castro. The two sides signed an economic and technical agreement, but no details of the agreement were disclosed. An earlier report said that Cuba has promised to send doctors to Uganda and help Uganda to rehabilitate its sugar industry. Senior government officials revealed that Cuba has committed itself to the training of Ugandan military personnel. Commenting on his current visit to Cuba, Muwanga said that the two countries "have much in common and their aspirations were similar." He also described his visit to Cuba as the "start of a new era" in relations between the two countries. [Text] [OW041258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1246 GMT 4 Oct 80]

JAPAN'S MERCHANT FLEET TO GULF REDUCED--Tokyo, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--The Japanese merchant fleet going to the Persian Gulf has been reduced to half of its former size because of the war between Iraq and Iran, disclosed sources of transport and shipping circles. Usually, some 60 Japanese merchant ships set out for the Persian Gulf every month to send cars, steel and building materials and other Japanese products to the littoral countries of the Gulf. If the Iraq-Iran war drags on or expands, Japan's foreign trade would be badly hit. [Text] [OW040758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 4 Oct 80]

INDIA ON PERSIAN GULF NAVAL PATROL--Beijing, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--India yesterday described as dangerous the move to introduce an international naval force for patrolling the Persian Gulf area and hoped that the countries planning to do so would desist from their move, according to a report from New Delhi quoting today's TIMES OF INDIA. A spokesman of the Indian External Affairs Ministry said in a statement that certain countries, not belonging to our region, are trying to constitute an international naval force for patrolling the Gulf area, ostensibly to ensure that the Strait of Hormuz is kept open for normal commercial shipping. "However," the spokesman said, "we feel that the armada idea could achieve the very reverse of what their declared objectives are." "In our view any internationalisation of the unfortunate situation caused by the present conflict between two non-aligned countries, by introducing an international naval force into our region, would be a dangerous move carrying with it the risk of further escalation of the conflict," the spokesman added. [Text] [OW040856 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 4 Oct 80]

EL SALVADOR EXTENDS STATE OF SEIGE--Beijing, 5 Oct (XINHUA)--The Salvadoran Government yesterday declared that the state of seige in El Salvador would be extended for another month, according to a report from San Salvador. This is the seventh extension of the seige since the government enforced it last March. Official sources said that the suspension of constitutional guarantees was still necessary in the present circumstances. The state of seige rendered ineffectual the freedom of speech, the freedom of passage and the inviolability of correspondence and privacy of domicile. On the night of October 3, anti-government guerrillas clashed with government troops near the headquarters of the National Guards in the capital. A dozen of people were reportedly killed or wounded in the three-hour gun battle. [Text] [OW050843 Beijing XINHUA in English 0839 GMT 5 Oct 80]

SRV ATTACK ON THAI FISHING BOATS--Bangkok, 6 Oct (XINHUA)--Vietnamese gunboats recently attacked and seized Thai fishing boats which were operating in international or Thai territorial waters. Such attacks have taken place on many occasions and seriously jeopardized the life and property of Thai fishermen. THAI RAT reported today that on October 4 a Vietnamese gunboat intruded into the fishing ground where a number of Thai trawlers from Samut Sakhon Province were operating in the international waters south of Kut Island, Trat Province and seized one Thai boat with 12 fishermen on board. On September 14 and 18, Vietnamese gunboats twice intruded into Thai territorial waters off Trat Province. They sank a Thai fishing boat, wounded five fishermen, and seized another fishing boat and over 30 Thai fishermen. [Text] [OW060844 Beijing XINHUA in English 0824 GMT 6 Oct 80]

JAPAN FREEZES AID TO SRV--Tokyo, 6 Oct (XINHUA)--The Japanese Government has no intention of resuming economic aid to Viet Nam so long as the Vietnamese authorities maintain their troops in Kampuchea, Japanese Foreign Ministry sources said today. They said the Japanese position reflects the wishes of the five ASEAN member nations--Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and the Philippines. The Japanese Government has frozen about 1.4 billion yen ($68 million) in its economic aid to Viet Nam in protest against the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. The aid agreement was signed before the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea in January last year. [Text] [OW061908 Beijing XINHUA in English 1849 GMT 6 Oct 80]

SOVIET BEEF PURCHASE FROM COLOMBIA--Bogota, 5 Oct (XINHUA)--Colombian official sources today confirmed that the Soviet Union had recently bought 7,300 tons of beef from Colombia and the first 2,200 tons of frozen beef worth of 5.2 million U.S. dollars would be shipped to the Soviet Union from Barranquilla. This is the first Soviet beef purchase from Colombia. It is reported that the Soviet meat production this year will drop by 5 per cent and the Soviet Union will have to import more meat to meet its domestic demand. [Text] [OW061236 Beijing XINHUA in English 1225 GMT 6 Oct 80]

CSO: 4020

CCP LEADERS PREPARE MAJOR REEVALUATION OF MAO

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 pp 34-35, 69

[Article by Jan Jian [0917 1696]: "Hu Yaobang's Comment on Mao Within the Party"]

[Text] Changes in Tiananmen Square

On 23 August, I went to Tiananmen Square and discovered to my surprise that the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin that had always hung in the square had vanished.

I believe that there were many other people who, like me, discovered this change in the square at the same time. Noticing the men and women in the square, however, I could not see on their faces the slightest reaction to the removal of these gigantic colored portraits.

I thought: Just a little over 20 days before, when a crane had lifted down from a height of about 20 meters the portrait of Mao Zedong that was hanging in front of the Great Hall of the People, the people in the square did not show the slightest bit of surprise.

Why did the people apparently not react in the slightest to these changes?

CCP officials, in their present raising of the question of "less publicity to the individual," have proposed some concrete measures, the main thrust of them being to oppose the worship and the cult of the individual. This seems to be being done vigorously and speedily. It is said that the CCP Central Committee has issued a directive to the entire party on "less publicity to the individual," one sentence of which is very interesting and has not been seen in the press: "Arrangements already made by each place to commemorate Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, and Deng Xiaoping must be abandoned without exception." But, among the broad masses, the cult and the worship of the individual had long ago ceased to exist.

A youth in the square told me that the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin that had been displayed there were only ornamental items. This sentence is worth deep thought. I immediately made this connection in my mind: the scene in 1978 in Tiananmen Square of Han Zhixiong, hero of the "5 April" incident, and others. Pointing to the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, Han said: Many people opposed to the tyranny of the "gang of four" on 5 April 1976 were beaten and arrested under the likenesses of these teachers of the international communist movement. On that day Han Zhixiong had pasted-up in the square a satirical prose work he had written. Just when he was preparing to collect his bicycle in order to return home, thugs hired to suppress the masses alleged that he was stealing the bicycle and arrested him on the spot. And this crime by the fascist rulers and their hired thugs was committed right under the portrait of Stalin. At that time when I heard what Han Zhixiong had said I thought that this was truly the greatest irony.

In 1978, there was an upsurge of big-character posters in Beijing, and in Tiananmen Square one big-character poster demanded that Mao Zedong be evaluated. At that time to suggest that Mao be appraised was considered treason and heresy. However, ever since Ye Jianjing's National Day speech last year, comments on Mao had been made on the quiet inside and outside the party and among the broad masses of people. Especially in recent times, the CCP leaders have one by one evaluated Mao Zedong's merits and demerits, rights and wrongs, and the idol of Mao has already been toppled. Thus, it is no wonder that the people in Tiananmen Square showed not the slightest surprise at the removal of Mao's portrait (the only portrait of Mao left is the one on the Tiananmen rostrum).

Comments on Mao By the Three Top CCP Members

During June and July, several CCP leaders publicly evaluated Mao's merits and demerits, rights and wrongs. Recently, there was Hu Yaobang's statement to the Yugoslav news agency (TANJUG released this statement on 21 June). Following this, there was Li Xiannian's statement when receiving Salisbury, deputy chief editor of the NEW YORK TIMES, on 25 July. And finally, there was Hua Guofeng's written replies, which included a comment on Mao, on 26 July to the Yugoslav newspaper VJESNIK. The statements by the three CCP leaders were not completely identical and their stress was not completely the same, but their main theme, which was almost identical, was: while affirming Mao Zedong's great contributions, we must also admit that he made mistakes.

So that the readers of ZHENGMING will believe that these important CCP members commented on Mao in speeches that can be read in the press, we will report here the basic content of Hu Yaobang's discussion of the Mao question in his recent speech within the party. Hu Yaobang's report was made at the national conference on propaganda work convened by the CCP Central Committee in Beijing. The date was 14 July.

Hu Yaobang's Discussion of Mao's Contributions

Hu Yaobang thinks that there should be a correct understanding of Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. He said: We should pay sufficient attention to his merits while clearly recognizing his demerits. Comrade Mao Zedong's merits were the greatest of all the revolutionaries of the older generation. Without Comrade Mao Zedong, the success of the Chinese revolution would have been delayed and would have been attained at a heavier cost. Hu Yaobang said that Stalin made a seven-point evaluation of Lenin, Mao Zedong made a six-point evaluation of Stalin, and we should make several points in evaluating Mao Zedong. These points are:

1. How to find the path for the revolution in colonial and semicolonial China.

2. Building of the party.

3. How to build socialism and transform China.

4. Mao's contributions to revolutionary military theory were even higher than Stalin's.

5. Mao Zedong contributed to the constant replenishment of the treasure house of Marx and Lenin and to the big and small parties in the world. He also added new things to this treasure house (of course, there was a big difference in the creative and comprehensive development of Marxism-Leninism in the past).

Changes in the Way of Describing Mao's Mistakes

After the gang of four was overthrown, there were diffferences in the way Mao Zedong's mistakes were described. At first they were called "shortcomings and mistakes" and later "faults" (last year's National Day speech by Ye Jianying). The Fifth Plenary Session of the [11th] Party Central Committee said that he committed serious mistakes in the Cultural Revolution period. How are they described most recently? Deng Xiaoping instructed the conference on propaganda work that the way of describing Mao Zedong's mistakes should be that in his old age he brought great misfortune to the party and state. Deng Xiaoping said that in Mao Zedong's old age his faults were that, subjectively, he was divorced from the masses, from reality, and from the collective, and that, objectively, he had the final and only say, especially the final say, and no one could change his mind once it had been made up.

Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping

When speaking of Mao Zedong Thought, Hu Yaobang said that there are both similarities and differences between Mao Zedong Thought and Mao Zedong, and that Mao Zedong Thought includes the ideas of Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, and Deng Xiaoping, the revolutionaries of the older generation. The author remembers that in the past when it was said that Mao Zedong was the crystallization of collective wisdom, this meant that it included only the ideas of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation or only the ideas of Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi. Deng Xiaoping is a new addition.

Why have the CCP leaders one after another publicly or privately commented on Mao and discussed the problem of evaluating him? The author reckons that this is in order to prepare public opinion for a comprehensive and systematic evaluation of Mao. It is said that the 12th CCP Congress, to be held at the end of this year or in the spring of next year, will pass a resolution on certain historical questions and that the question of Mao Zedong will be the core of this resolution.

In academic circles and theoretical circles, all sorts of judgmental evaluations of Mao Zedong have already become a common practice.

In Beijing the author came into contact with several professors (some who had come to the capital from outlying areas) who, starting with the research on and teaching of the history of the CCP, brought up the question of a new evaluation of Mao Zedong's writings.

They thought that if the problem of the position of Mao's writings in the history of the party was not solved, there would be no way to write a comprehensive, correct history of the CCP. And, in making this point, they said it was necessary to solve the problem of appraising Mao Zedong's writings.

Mao's Writings Should Not Be Revised at Will

An overall new appraisal and a correct treatment of Mao's writings is important and necessary and is also a process of development. The professors think that it should be done, under the present historical conditions, by an overall analysis in the spirit of seeking truth from facts. To say of Mao's writings that "every sentence is true" is unscientific.

Kang Sheng's Revisions Were the Most Abominable

The professors think that it is best not to revise historical documents and that the author himself should not revise them but should preserve their original historical appearance. If one later discovers parts in the document that are not appropriate, one can learn from the attitude of Marx and Engels toward the "Communist Manifesto," i.e., write a foreword or add explanatory notes and clarifications. Marx and Engels in the "Foreword to the 1820 German Edition of the Communist Manifesto," wrote: "Certain parts of the original work could have been revised... but the 'Manifesto' is an historical document and we do not have the right to revise it." This is a scientific attitude that rigorously respects history.

During the 10 years of catastrophe without precedent in history, Kang Sheng's revisions in the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" was the most abominable example. Kang Sheng cut out from Mao's writings all references to Liu Shaoqi. The result was that the Central Military Commission's order appointing leading cadres of the New Fourth Army after the Southern Anhui Incident only named the acting commander, the deputy commander, the chief of staff, and the director of the political department and did not name the political commissar (at that time Liu Shaoqi was the political commissar); in 1947 the Central Work Committee formed after the withdrawal to Yan'an had no secretary. In order to denigrate Liu, he completely excised from the appendix of "Study and the Current Political Situation" the "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions."

Moreover, on the question of drawing support from foreign capital, after the promulgation in 1979 of the decree on foreign countries investing in jointly run enterprises, many people felt that this was a problem and some people even attacked it as a slavish comprador philosophy, national betrayal, and a violation of Mao Zedong Thought. Actually, the political report drafted and reviewed by Mao Zedong himself at the CCP Seventh Congress clearly affirmed that investment by foreign countries was welcome. The report, when speaking of the question of China's industrialization, contained this passage: "In order to develop industry, we need a large amount of capital, and where is this capital to come from? There are only two possibilities: we will depend mainly on the capital accumulated by the Chinese people themselves. At the same time we will draw support from foreign aid. With the provisos that the investment is in accord with the laws of China and benefits China's economy, we welcome investment by foreign countries, and this investment will benefit both the people of China and the people of foreign countries." From today's perspective we see that this passage was without fault and has stood the test of history. But when the third volume of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" was officially published, all passages concerning this question were cut out. The experience of history proves that the arbitrary revision of historical documents does much harm and little good.

Coverups Cannot Last Long

The professors said: "We should adopt the attitude of historical materialism in correctly analyzing and dealing with Mao's writings. Truth exists objectively, and shortcomings and mistakes also exist objectively. Coverups cannot last long."

Their views are convincing. We also hope to see the true features of Mao Zedong's writings restored.

9727
CSO: 4005

DENG XIAOPING REPORTED IN VIGOROUS HEALTH

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 pp 36-37

[Article by Yu Wen [0060 2429]: "The State of Deng Xiaoping's Health"]

[Text] In recent years, certain people have discussed and observed Deng Xiaoping. Some people worry that when Deng Xiaoping one day succumbs to the natural law of birth, age, illness and death, the state will be thrown into great disorder. These people hope "His Excellency Deng," an old man with heavy party and governmental duties, can live a longer life. No matter what happens, the state of Deng Xiaoping's health is everyone's concern. Recently a friend of the author, who had an opportunity to learn about recent developments in Deng Xiaoping's life, told me in a letter some interesting things. Enclosed in the letter was an article clipped from a mainland publication concerning Mr Deng. I will summarize these materials below.

Why Does He Love To Play Bridge?

In speaking of Deng Xiaoping's life, many people think of bridge. During the "Cultural Revolution," Beijing's "Red Guard tabloids" described Deng Xiaoping's bridge playing as "decadent." These tabloids said: "No matter where Deng Xiaoping goes to inspect, no matter where he goes by aircraft, train, or ship, he plays bridge.... In the sky and on the earth, at sea and on land, at home and outside the home, at the center and in the localities, he plays bridge." The 25 February 1967 issue of NEW BEIJING UNIVERSITY contained a passage "exposing" Deng Xiaoping's bridge playing. It said that, in the summer of 1964, Deng, Yang Shangkun, Bo Yibo, and others went to the northeast on an inspection. On the way, he thought about playing bridge but unfortunately had no opponents. He sent an urgent cable to Wan Li and Wu Han in Beijing, telling them to come. Owing to his involvement in busy government affairs, Wan Li could not get away, so he let Wu Han take two other persons on Yang Shangkun's private plane and fly straight to Harbin in order to make up a bridge foursome for Deng Xiaoping. The truth of the news and the versions of events put out by Red Guard newspapers leave much room for doubt. But, since Deng Xiaoping began playing bridge at the Sichuan Institute in the 1950's, bridge has been his hobby and he has become a "bridge addict." Why does he like to play bridge so much?

There is a secret here.

Originally, Deng Xiaoping looked upon bridge as a true physical sport that helped dispel fatigue and relax the brain.

Wan Li, Peng Zhen Are "Old Bridge Cronies"

In that case, does he still play a lot of bridge? Yes.

In the past 3 or 4 years, owing to his work keeping him very busy, he has been compelled to reduce the time for the walks he loves to take. Also, while strolling, he usually ponders over some problems and cannot get sufficiently rested. In order to regulate his life, he continues to play bridge. He once said: "Only when playing bridge can I stop thinking about other things. When concentrating on the cards, my mind is fully rested." His "old bridge cronies" Wan Li and Peng Zhen, as before, sometimes play bridge with him.

Deng Xiaoping's interest in recreation and sport is not limited to bridge. For example, he likes to play billiards and is quite good at it, being able to make a run of over 100 points.

He has been interested in recreation and sport since he was a youngster.

As a student he loved soccer. When in France on a work-study program, he did all kinds of work, mainly hard work--boiler tending, waiting on tables.... After intensive study and work, he and his fellow students liked to take part in sports and watch matches. Once he pawned his coat to buy a ticket to see an exciting Olympic soccer match. He was very fond of soccer and continued to be fond of it after liberation. In the 1950's, he was a frequent spectator at playing fields. Afterward he more often watched soccer matches on television. His physical exercise in his youth and his trekking across battlefields in later years toughened his feet.

In 1958, he fractured a leg which, after it had healed, was weak. At his doctor's suggestion, he conscientiously underwent therapy and developed the habit of taking a daily walk.

Attacked by the "Cultural Revolution"

In the first 2 years of the "Cultural Revolution," Deng Xiaoping was a target of attack. His sons, daughters, and other family members were all driven out of his house, and he and his wife, Zhuolin, dwelt alone in a small secluded compound in Zhongnanhai. They swept the floor, did the cooking, and managed the household affairs themselves. At this time, although the political currents were constantly changing, he stuck to his long-formed habit of taking walks. Every day, early in the morning, he walked a fixed number--several tens--of circuits around two old locust trees in the compound, and on each circuit he took a fixed number of steps--conscientiously sticking to this regimen.

His Work in a Nanchang Factory

In 1969, Deng Xiaoping and Zhuolin were hurriedly moved from Beijing to a small solitary compound in the suburbs of Nanchang, Jiangxi. Surrounding their house was a bamboo fence higher than a man and there was little room for activity. Besides sticking to his 40-circuit walk around the courtyard, he and Zhuolin cultivated a vegetable plot and raised a flock of chickens. The tap water frequently didn't reach the second story in which they lived. Deng Xiaoping, who was then over 60 years old, often brought the water upstairs himself.

During the time he lived in seclusion in the Nanchang suburb, the upper levels ordered Deng Xiaoping to work at a nearby factory every day. He walked to the factory and back home--a half hour's journey each way. At first he was given light work, but he said he wanted to do heavy work. He then did the strenuous work of filing down screws and gave himself a daily production quota. Even though Deng Xiaoping at this time was doing "penal labor," he was interested in the job he was doing; the workers around him said behind his back: "Deng Xiaoping puts all his strength into the job!"

Unemployed After the Tiananmen Incident

In 1976, Deng Xiaoping was fired from his job and forced to lead a quiet life in an old Beijing-style courtyard. From childhood he had liked to swim and had formed the habit of taking cold baths. For several decades he had stuck to this habit, and only that year, because of old age, did he stop taking cold baths. But, still hale and hearty, he continued to take daily walks and did simple gymnastic exercises that he himself had devised. When summer arrived, the grass under the trees in the courtyard had grown about a foot high. Deng Xiaoping, observing this with interest, told his daughter to buy a sickle, and he then cut the grass in the courtyard every day.

Making the 60-Li Ascent of Mount Huang on Foot

After the gang of four was smashed and Deng Xiaoping had made his comeback, owing to "mountainous problems" he had to attend to numerous affairs of state every day and cut back on his recreational and sports activities. In order to preserve his vigor and health, at the urging of his old colleagues and family, Deng Xiaoping decided to make an ascent of Mount Huang in July of last year.

Mount Huang, 1,800 meters above sea level, is the most scenic of the Five Sacred Mountains. The year that Chen Yi ascended Mount Huang he wrote on an honorary tablet, "This is the number one mountain in the world."

Early in the morning on 12 July, Deng Xiaoping set out from a waterfall-viewing lodge at the foot of the mountain. Facing the morning sun, he began the walk up the mountain on a 60-kilometer trail. Although he had reached the advanced age of 75, he led the way. With good strength in his legs, he climbed 30 precipitous steps without a break, leaving behind his relatives who were accompanying him.... When he reached the Ciguang Pavilion, the face of Deng Xiaoping, who was wearing a short-sleeved shirt, was red and he was dripping with sweat, but he was still enthusiastic. He took a short rest and then, bending down to roll up his trouser legs, took hold of his walking stick and said in a loud and clear voice full of energy: "Let's go!" This gave everybody new strength. Whenever he came to a dangerously steep place, he turned his head back and told everybody to be careful. By noon the party had reached the ancient Banshan Monastery and, after eating lunch and taking a short rest there, resumed its journey, starting out for Yuping Peak. Deng Xiaoping spent the night at the Yuping Lodge.

On the 2nd day, Deng Xiaoping and his party climbed Guangmi peak by a 100-step scaling ladder.

On the third day, Deng Xiaoping and his party began to climb toward steep places from where they could get a magnificent view of the vast, mist-shrouded Western Sea. The mountain trail was precipitous and the members of his party wanted to assist him, but with a smile he rejected their help. Like a youth, he clambered up, holding onto the chain at the side of the steps.... By coming this far, Deng Xiaoping had proved that he had a strong constitution. For 3 days he ascended by the rugged mountain path the peaks of Mount Huang. After drinking in the wonderful scenery of Tiandu Peak and Lianhua Peak, he said with feeling: "After Mount Huang, the other famous mountains would be a cinch to climb."

After descending from Mount Huang, Deng Xiaoping's enthusiasm was not exhausted and he went for a swim at the Qingdao seashore.

From this one can see that the state of Deng Xiaoping's health is very good.

9727
CSO: 4005

'AFP' CITES SHANGHAI PAPER ON SENTENCING OF GANG FOLLOWER

OW061452 Hong Kong AFP in English 1406 GMT 6 Oct 80

[Article by Francis Deron]

[Text] Beijing, Oct 6 (AFP)--On the eve of the fourth anniversary of the arrest on October 7, 1976 of the gang of four radicals led by Mao Zedong's widow Jiang Qing, the Chinese authorities today announced the death sentencing of one of the leaders of the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai.

The passing of the death sentence suspended for two years on Hu Yongnian has come as a curtain raiser both to the forthcoming trial in Beijing of Jiang Qing and her main associates and to future trials of other Cultural Revolution leaders.

The Shanghai WEN HUI BAO newspaper described the sentence as a "serious warning to the remnants of the counterrevolutionary cliques" of the time, implying such leaders.

Commenting on the sentence passed Saturday, the newspaper said Hu was "only a small fry who became a hooligan" and that his rise to power "was not an isolated phenomenon."

Becoming a member of the revolutionary committee in China's largest city and director of the municipal sports commission Hu was found guilty of acts of "maltreatment, vandalism and looting" and of serious physical abuse sometimes resulting in death against scores of people.

In finding Hu guilty the Shanghai court focused particularly on his relations with then Mayor Zhang Chunqiao, one of the members of the gang of four.

Jiang Qing and the three radical leaders from Shanghai, the cradle of the Cultural Revolution, were arrested less than a month after Mao's death.

The operation was led by then Premier Hua Guofeng, who subsequently succeeded Mao as chairman of the Communist Party, and carried out with the consent of Marshal Ye Jianying, a Long March veteran of great influence in the army.

The arrests were made by the elite units commanded by Mao's bodyguard Wang Dongxing, who was recently relieved of his positions. Now four years later, the leadership set up by Communist Party Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping, the highest ranking Cultural Revolution victim still alive, is going through the final formalities preceding the trial of Jiang Qing and nine other former top leaders.

The possibility that death sentences will be passed at the trial has not been ruled out.

On trial with Jiang Qing will be her fellow gang of four members Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan, Mao's former secretary Chen Boda and five other figures accused of attempting to assassinate Mao in 1971.

The prosecution brief built up by the Supreme People's Procuratorate is shortly to be handed over to a special procuratorate which it was announced last week has been set up to handle the case.

The procuratorate will put the case before a special court of 35 judges which will begin hearings one week after the 10 accused have been notified of the charges against them.

The authorities have announced that other trials will be held of former associates of Jiang Qing and of former Defence Minister Lin Biao who disappeared in 1971 in mysterious circumstances.

The WEN HUI BAO indicated that investigations were underway at the moment and stressed that justice should not "show magnanimity to those who should be tried for their criminal responsibility" for the disturbances of the Cultural Revolution period.

CSO: 4020

'TA KUNG PAO' COMMENTS ON UPCOMING TRIAL OF LIN, JIANG CLIQUES

HK040636 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 28 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Kung Yao-wen: "Ten Views on the Trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing Counterrevolutionary Cliques"]

[Text] The date for the trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques will soon arrive. People throughout China and the whole world have been looking forward to this for a long time.

What should have occurred has finally arrived at long last although 9 years have elapsed since Lin Biao's ignominious death in Wen-du-er-han [3306 6757 3643 3352] and 4 years have elapsed since the arrest of Jiang Qing and other criminals.

Judging from yesterday's announcement from Beijing, the following are some points worth noting:

Two Combine Into One--Jiang Qing Is the Leader

First, the two counterrevolutionary cliques will be prosecuted in one case. This is because during the first 5 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," they acted in collusion, usurped party leadership and state power together and plunged the country and people into calamities together. Even after the death of Lin Biao, the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique still recruited Lin Biao's followers and carried on counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities.

Second, although the "gang of four" is still called the second antiparty clique, the names of this clique's leaders are now arranged in a different order. In the past, the name of former CCP Central Committee Vice Chairman Wang Hongwen was always placed before others, thus labeling them as Wang-Zhang-Jiang-Yao. Now the name of Jiang Qing is placed before the others, thus conforming to the actual situation. In his important speech delivered at the recent NPC session, Chairman Hua Guofeng placed the name of Jiang Qing before other members of the gang.

Ten Principal Defendents--Kang Sheng Has Not Been Mentioned

Third, in addition to the four principal defendants, six other principal defendants will also be brought to trial. These are: Chen Boda, a self-styled "very common person" who actually is a big scoundrel; Lin Biao's "four great warrior attendants," namely, Huang Yongsheng who once controlled the General Staff Headquarters, Wu Faxian who once controlled the air force, Li Zuopeng who once controlled the navy and Qiu Huizuo who once controlled the General Logistics Department; and Jiang Tengjiao, a former commander of the East China Air Force, who was involved in the nationally known incident of sending military planes to pursue and attack a special train in an attempt to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong.

Fourth, no prosecution will be instituted against those others who are deceased. Of course, the deceased include the Lin Biao family, namely, Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguo who died during a crash which occurred beyong the Great Wall. It seems that Kang Sheng is among those others who are deceased.

The latest announcement has apparently failed to explain the relationship between Kang Sheng and these two counterrevolutionary cliques. Was he an insider or an outsider of the two cliques? Was he a member or a senior commanding general of the two cliques?

According to a report, the case of Kang Sheng was investigated some time ago as a special case and the results of this investigation will be announced. His counterrevolutionary crimes which violated the criminal law are too numerous to list.

The Others Accused in the Case of the Two Cliques--The So-called "Cultural Revolution"

Fifth, in addition to the 10 principal defendants, the others accused in the case will be tried separately. It is said originally that due to a reduction in the scope, the others accused in the case of the "gang of four" only amount to some 200 people. In addition to the others accused in this case, there are also the others accused in the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao. It seems that the others accused in the case of the two cliques amount to several hundred people. It seems that the others accused in the case of Lin Biao include Zhou Yuchi, a former department head of the air force, who ordered a helicopter to fly to Mongolia and later shot dead a pilot who disobeyed his order; and Ding Sheng who directly assisted the rebel Lin Biao and his son in establishing a base within the southern gate of China. The hands of Jiang Qing and her trusted followers are also stained with a lot of blood. Jiang Qing used as her model "The Count of Monte Cristo" to actively take her revenge. Prior to the execution of a young Liaoning woman, Zhang Zhixin, her larynx was cut off. Her execution was of course carried out under the orders of some people.

Sixth, quotation marks have been added to the term the Great Cultural Revolution which appeared in the report made yesterday by Huang Huoqing, chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, at a session of the NPC Standing Committee. It seems that the quotation marks are not used for handling a special term but are used for negating this term's literal meaning. In his recent meeting with that noted Italian woman correspondent, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping said that the Great Cultural Revolution brought no benefit whatsoever. The current use of the quotation marks in this terms shows that it is now regarded as the "so-called Great Cultural Revolution."

The Prosecution Against Them Centers Only on Their Crimes and Does Not Deal With Their Political Line

Seventh, in answering questions raised by that noted woman correspondent, Deng Xiaoping said: The prosecution against the "gang of four" centers only their criminal offenses and does not deal with their political line. The latest report made by Huang Huoqing gave more details about the prosecution.

Huang Huoqing said: The 10 principal accused from the two counterrevolutionary cliques will be prosecuted on four criminal counts; simply put, their crimes were those of usurping party leadership and state power and bringing calamity to the country and the people. He added: "The prosecution against Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company involves only their counterrevolutionary crimes which violated the criminal law and does not deal with their errors in work, including those related to political line."

In his talk with that Italian correspondent, Deng Xiaoping said: The prosecution of them for their criminal offenses is quite sufficient for arriving at a verdict of guilty. However, because of this trial, people cannot very well avoid raising the following questions: Can these criminal offenses be really separated from things related to political line? Is it true that errors related to political line encouraged these criminal offenses?

The Trial--The Appraisal of Mao--The 12th Party Congress

Eighth, that woman correspondent raised this question: Will the trial examine issues concerning Mao? Deng Xiaoping replied: "I can assure you that the trial of the 'gang of four' will in no way damage the image of Chairman Mao. Of course, it will show that he should bear some responsibilities such as assigning the 'gang of four' to some posts."

Judging from the arrangements made by Beijing, we can see that Beijing will also carry out a comprehensive appraisal of Chairman Mao Zedong's contributions and errors so as to promote the criticism of the leftist line and steadily quicken the pace of construction. However, this work will be carried out after the trial of the "gang of four" and during the 12th National CCP Congress. This point was stressed in Chairman Hua Guofeng's talk with a Yugoslav correspondent. It is said that a document concerning the appraisal of Chairman Mao has already been passed around within a certain level for perusal and deliberation.

Oppose Left Deviation and the Pernicious Influence of Feudalism

Ninth, the two counterrevolutionary cliques had two vice chairmen of the CCP Central Committee, namely, Lin Biao and Wang Hongwen. These two vice chairmen were also the "successors" designated by the man who instituted the lifelong appointment system. If Kang Sheng who has not been mentioned is added to the list, the two cliques had a total of three vice chairmen. Moreover, Jiang Qing, head of the clique, had a special status.

These conditions show that since the founding of new China some 30 years ago, there are still many vestiges of feudalism. Therefore, the mainland is not only exerting all its strength to expose the pernicious influence of the leftist line but is also sparing no effort to criticize the pernicious influence of feudalism. This is completely necessary.

Tenth, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary [cliques' trial] will be handled by a special court set up by the NPC Standing Committee. This is another Chinese measure to strengthen the country's legal system. The fate of the 10 principal counterrevolutionary criminals is of course noteworthy. However, the more important thing is the lessons people throughout the country may draw from this case.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'CHENG MING' CARRIES 'INTERNAL REPORTS' ON TRIAL OF 'GANG OF FOUR'

HK040751 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 50-52

[Report: "Explanations on the Trial of the 'Gang of Four' Contained in Internal CCP Reports"]

[Text] Deng Liqun and Liao Gailong, who occupy high positions in party affairs and theoretical research in the CCP, explained and analyzed the question of trying the "gang of four" in internal reports delivered several months ago. We now record the relevant parts of their speeches.

Liao Gailong's Internal Report Given in Tianjin (Partial)

"We must clearly distinguish the nature of the problem of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and the question of its connection with the extreme 'left' line. What is the problem of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four'? The nature of the activity they wanted to pursue was that of counterrevolutionary restoration. Hence, the struggle between us and them is a question of revolution and counterrevolution. The nature of the problem of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' was that of carrying out counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities to usurp party and state power and plot a coup.

"In future we must put them on trial for their crimes. They committed counterrevolutionary crimes. We will soon put on trial 10 bad people: the five confederates of Lin Biao--Huang, Wu, Li, Qui, and Chen Boda--the 'gang of four'--Wang Zhang, Jiang and Yao--and also Mao Yuanxin. We must sentence them for their crimes. Comrade Hua Guofeng has said in his report that we should not sentence them to death but they must be sentenced and put on trial. Some people say, will there be a public trial? I am afraid that would not be easy. How could these people be put on public trial, since they shirk the responsibility for their crimes and pin onto Chairman Mao the counterrevolutionary crimes they committed themselves? However, the result of the trial will be publicly announced. That is probably the way it will be. This is the problem of their counterrevolutionary crimes; this is their counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique.

"However, they also took advantage of the mistakes made by the party, meaning the errors of certain 'leftist' lines committed by our party's leaders. They took advantage of this error, pushed it to extremes, and pushed 'leftist' things to extremes, that is, the extreme 'left.' They created and carried out an extreme 'left' line. What is the relationship between these two things? The 'leftist' erroneous line constituted a problem of mistakes made by good people and by our party. However, the extreme 'left' line of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' was an extreme 'left' line created by a counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique in making use of our errors. The nature of this extreme 'left' line was counterrevolutionary.

"Some people say, how could they be extreme rightists one moment and extreme 'leftists' the next? This is because Chairman Mao said that the problem of Lin Biao was not extreme 'leftism' but extreme rightism. People could not understand how if Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were extreme 'leftists' he was described as rightist, which would make them more 'leftist' than him. Where then had 'leftism' gone? Again, if he was reckoned to be an extreme rightist, he should have joined up with the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists and with the capitalist roaders, so how could he have toppled the capitalist roaders? Does calling him a rightist mean that if he did not join up with the capitalist roaders he was rightist? This point cannot be explained. When we say that he was counterrevolutionary, in general we do not speak of him as 'left' or right; we distinguish between left and right when speaking of the line. It is called rightist to surrender to imperialism and the ruling class. 'Down with everything' is 'leftist'! He precisely pursued 'down with everything.' For instance some people say, why did he overthrow Peng Zhen? Would he say, Peng Zhen is a revolutionary, so I will overthrow him? No. He would say, Peng Zhen is a capitalist roader, he opposes Chairman Mao and has turned Beijing into an 'impenetrable' 'independent kingdom.' He therefore disguised himself as most, most revolutionary. This is how he deceived people.

"If we say that he was counterrevolutionary, how is it that we were unable to see that? Could none of us see it? Quite large numbers of the masses were led astray and deceived by them. When giving his explanation on 25 September, Comrade Hu Qiaomu said, I was led astray at the time and thought that Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were revolutionary. Comrade Hu Yaobang said, I too was led astray. That was the case with all of us. Who could see things clearly when the business had just started? Lin Biao claimed to be revolutionary, to support Chairman Mao the most, and to be most, most revolutionary. I thought so too. However very soon very many people saw the truth. The older generation of revolutionaries saw it first; they had political experience and analytical ability. They struggled against them right from the start. Did not the older generation of revolutionaries launch a 'February adverse current'? This was a resolute struggle that the older generation of revolutionaries waged against them after realizing their true features. Secondary, the cadres and masses suspected them right from the start, and then boycotted them. The party and CYL members and the masses did not agree with toppling all old cadres and branding people as conservatives. Some people understood the truth and became aware earlier than others. For example Zhang Zhixin understood the truth after taking part in rebellion for less than 1 year. She formed a viewpoint in a systematic way. She formed a complete viewpoint in 1966 and held that Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were bad, she also realized that certain slogans put forward by Chairman Mao such as 'bombard the headquarters' and his criticisms of Liu Shaoqi were erroneous. She held that our party was pushing a 'leftist' line. She boldly raised the question in this way. There are still many comrades who do not understand that our party has made 'leftist' mistakes and carried out a 'leftist' line. But Comrade Zhang Zhixin formed her viewpoint 11 years ago. She was truly a great trailblazer in our movement to emancipate the mind, and a heroic martyr. She was very wise. Like me, many comrades did not understand the truth after 1972 and 1973, after the fall of Lin Biao, and only gradually came to see through the 'gang of four' after observing the way they were opposing Premier Zhou. That was already very late. Certain comrades cannot understand the truth even now, and are unable to distinguish between right and wrong. Some people still hold that Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were leftists. Probably they were too 'leftist'! They still do not understand that our party made mistakes. Thus they were deceived by them. So what has criticizing their extreme 'leftist' line and bringing them to trial for their counterrevolutionary crimes to do with us? However, in criticizing their extreme 'leftist' line we should think about ourselves and see whether we have any lingering poison of extreme 'leftism.' We should carry out a good examination of ourselves and wash away the remnant poison. That will be beneficial for everyone."

Deng Liqun's Internal Report Given in the Central Party School (Partial)

"Comrade Peng Zhen holds that we cannot try Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' for their line but only for their crimes. The problem of line is an internal party matter, and problems of line in the party can only be solved within the party, not in court. We should therefore clearly proclaim that Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were a counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique; this point should be affirmed first. As for the ultraleftist line, this will not be mentioned at all in court; they will be arraigned and sentenced for their counterrevolutionary crimes.

"Our party has made mistakes. Proceeding from their counterrevolutionary aims, the conspirators and careerists Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' made use of our mistakes and pushed them to extremes. They created and pushed an ultraleftist line, went in for 'toppling everything' and 'fighting all-round civil war,' usurped party and state power and plotted a coup. These counterrevolutionary conspiratorial crimes were totally different in nature from the mistakes made by the party. They are the most ferocious enemies of the people of the whole country. Their problem cannot be solved by applying the method of inner-party struggle.

"Comrade Peng Zhen has said: He is in charge of political and legal work, and the central authorities have assigned him the task of trying and sentencing the counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.' What should they be tried for? They cannot be tried for the problem of line; they can only be criticized for that.

"They are counterrevolutionary and we are revolutionary; we want to seize power and they want to counterseize power; they want a restoration and we want to oppose restoration; this is a struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, and so, if we are said to have made mistakes in line, and Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' pursued an ultraleftist line, where does the distinction lie? They camouflaged themselves, waved the banner of 'revolution,' and deliberately created and pushed an ultraleftist line. Those of us who made mistakes in line did not conceal their political viewpoints. People who pursue counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities want to conceal their political viewpoints and their true features. No matter what mistakes Chairman Mao made during the Great Cultural Revolution, he never concealed his ideas and theories from the party. He opposed Liu Shaoqi and even talked to Snow about what time he would start to topple Liu Shaoqi. Was the big-character poster 'bombard the headquarters' concealed? Although he did not name names, was it not as clear as daylight that he was aiming at Comrade Liu Shaoqi when he mentioned the rightist tendency of 1962 and the 'left' in form but right in essence of 1964? At that time I was regarded as an agent of Liu Shaoqi in the magazine RED FLAG. When I saw this, I became an agent in 'bombarding the headquarters.' (Editor's note: Deng Liqun was Liu Shaoqi's secretary before the Cultural Revolution) The matter became clear as soon as I looked at it. As for the things that Chairman Mao said and did, the things that Lin Biao said and did, and the things that the 'gang of four' said and did, it is necessary to carry out meticulous work and analysis with regard to what problems to deal with and how to draw distinctions... Was there any difference between the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and the mistakes made by Chairman Mao during the Great Cultural Revolution? The comrades will be able to draw the distinctions so long as they contrast things in a truth-seeking and cool and sober way. This distinction is very important. It is not only a question of whether or not to conceal one's political viewpoint; in addition, what Chairman Mao said and wrote differed on many points from the utterances of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,' and the distinctions should be made. The chairman also seriously criticized Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' on many issues. Lin Biao talked of and acted for turning the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a target to be completely smashed. As soon as the chairman saw this, he said: It is inappropriate to completely smash this, we can only talk of improving the dictatorship of the proletariat, not of completely smashing it. On the question of factionalism, the chairman pointed out at an early stage: Within the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class cannot split into two irreconcilable factions, they must unite. However Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' regarded factional activities and factionalism as a legal thing in the party and army. At the time we could not draw clear distinctions; it was very difficult to draw clear distinctions on certain matters at the time. Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' waved banners and said that this was the chairman's instruction and that was the chairman's instruction... Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were counterrevolutionary double-dealers; they used counterrevolutionary double-dealing methods against the party and people. This is one of the reasons why their ultraleftist line was able to run wild. They adopted a 'most, most revolutionary' pose and made use of the prestige of the revolutionary leader to stir up religious-style fanaticism while describing themselves as 'holding highest,' 'following closest,' 'always loyal to the leader,' and 'always acting according to the principles laid down.' Since they held legal positions in the Central Committee at the time, and also because they used these methods, they indeed led astray for a time quite large numbers of cadres and masses who lacked political experience and analytical ability. Speaking of myself, I never had any doubts about Lin Biao right up to the time of the Lushan conference. Although I felt that certain of his ways of putting things were inappropriate, I believed that he supported Chairman Mao, and I held that it was very good to select him as successor. I also talked to others and cited historical experience to show that a great figure needs to be supported by another great figure. Marx needed the support of Engels, Lenin needed the support of Stalin, and Chairman Mao needed the support of Lin Biao. That was the way I looked at it. After the liberation of the northeast, I thought in my mind, and I also exchanged this view with certain comrades: The chairman originally intended to let Liu Shaoqi be his successor, but after the northeast had been completely liberated, I held that it would be better if Lin Biao rather than Liu Shaoqi became the successor. This was because Liu Shaoqi was politically strong but did not know how to fight a war, and to be politically strong without knowing how to fight a war was a great defect for a successor in China. Lin Biao was both politically strong and also knew how to fight a war; in my view, he would be the most suitable successor. In talking of the 'three great helpers,' I indeed held that Lin Biao was the third great helper. However, no matter how well counterrevolution is camouflaged, it cannot completely camouflage its true features but will always expose them. Certain old revolutionaries boycotted Lin Biao the moment he rose to power. As his features became ever more exposed and his crimes became ever greater, more and more people understood what kind of person he was, and we cannot say that Chairman Mao also deceived us. He openly made his viewpoints and opinions known to the party and people. When he wanted to do something he told everyone about it; he talked within the party about toppling Liu Shaoqi and about his dissatisfaction with the premier. He did not go in for concealment and deception with regard to Comrade Xiaoping. As soon as he saw the letter from the wife of Comrade Liu Jianzhang, Chairman Mao issued a criticism: Who is carrying out these fascist methods in our prisons? In short, we must distinguish between Chairman Mao's errors in line and the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,' drawing strict distinctions; this is indeed a very important issue."

"We must truly understand that if the chairman had not called them the 'gang of four' and said that their problem must be solved, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua would have lacked a legal basis for solving their problem. That would have been much more difficult."

CSO: 4005

FEUDAL BUREAUCRACY DURING QING DYNASTY SCRUTINIZED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESERACH] in Chinese No 1, 1980 pp 135-144

[Article by Wang Sizhi [3769 1835 3112] and Jin Chengji [6855 2052 1015]: "The Feudal Bureaucracy in the Early Qing Dynasty, as Seen from the Civilian Covernment at the Time"]

[Excerpts] Bureaucratic politics is an extremely important component of feudal autocracy. It was precisely through such a multilayered pyramid of various levels of bureaucratic organs that the feudal ruling class in China's successive dynasties realized its rule and control over the people of the whole country. This model of bureaucratic rule was called "civil government."

Differentiation between the rich and the noble, the lofty and the lowly, in a strict hierarchy of classes; rampant avarice and random disregard of the law, with bribery publicly practiced; the following of precedent and sticking to convention; corruption and ineptitude--these were several of the outstanding characteristics of feudal bureaucratic politics. In history, such rotten bureaucracy not only played a gigantic negative role in the development of our economy and the advancement of our society, but it also was often the fountainhead of disturbances in society.

Although, as China's feudal ruling class, they were fundamentally incapable of understanding such profound principles as the upper structure and the economic base, in their own ruling practice they felt deeply that whether their civilian government was good or bad, kind or cruel, and honest or corrupt was directly related to whether their rule was to be safe or endangered, happy or sad. They knew that if they should mishandle it, the result would often be a case of "people revolting because of governmental oppression." Consequently, certain emperors in history who wanted to put forth meritorious performance always attempted to begin by rectifying the civil government so as to consolidate the order of their feudal rule. They demanded that bureaucrats at various levels "be loyal and devote themselves to the public well-being, be honest and diligent in their administrative duties, and do their best at their various professions and trades" so as to attain the ideal condition of "the state budget being blessed with increasing surpluses, the citizenry living in households undisturbed, and the country spontaneously achieving universal peace." For this purpose, they either promulgated various strict and cruel laws, rewarded honesty, and eliminated the corrupt, so that treachery would be precluded and workstyles would be rectified, or else they would formulate various rules and systems to exalt the good and punish the evil, in the hope of inspiring the beneficial and uprooting the harmful. But the results of their efforts were often less than expected. This should not simply be blamed on their ineptitude but should be explored from the standpoint of the shortcomings and maladies of such feudal bureaucracy in order to find its causes. In reality, the corruption of civil government was the sure product and tumor of feudal autocracy; it was an incurable chronic ailment and a social, historical phenomenon of the feudal system itself that could never be uprooted. The history of the early Qing Dynasty has provided us with a lively example of this.

I

After they crossed the border and entered China proper, rulers of the early Qing Dynasty, taking into consideration the fact that civil government corruption was one of the reasons for the preceding Ming Dynasty's passing into oblivion, did a great deal of thinking about rectifying the civil government, obviously for the purpose of consolidating their own rule. Emperor Shunzhi said: "Officials of the Ming period usurped eminence, coveted goods, fostered cronies, and resorted to mutual sparring; they took deception and hoodwinking as natural, and treachery and doubledealing as gainful.... In the employment of personnel and the running of the administration, measures were turned upside down in great confusion, so that bandits rose in the country and the people drifted away" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shizhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 18). He regarded this as something to be "profoundly warned against." Several dozen years later, Emperor Kangxi still remembered this without fail, and likewise he took it as a warning while he attempted his own approach to advancement and governance. He said: "Insofar as the evils of slander, misrepresentation, envy, and jealousy are concerned, all dynasties have had their share, but they were especially excruciating at the end of the Ming period. Public affairs were set aside as if they were nobody's business, but no day passed without some partisans banding together to frame, spar against, or accuse others. Thus, after a due period of such cumulative evil practices, ruling authorities of the state themselves also became affected. As I read past histories, I have developed a deep hatred toward such pests who turned their back on the public and misgoverned their country" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shengzhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 153). Through the disturbance and chaos at the end of the Ming Dynasty they came to the conclusion that "the safety of the common people depends on the civil government." Hence, rulers of the early Qing Dynasty formulated a series of regulations on observation, reward and punishment, and promotion and downgrading of bureaucrats, in the hope of setting forth relevant examples and achieving the goal of "total peace within the four seas." For this reason, in certain ways the civil government of the early Qing Dynasty was relatively more honest than the end of Ming. For example, in the middle and late periods of Ming, there were about 100,000 civilian and military officials, more than 100,000 eunuchs, more than 100,000 palace guards and personnel of other special agencies or the like, plus another 100,000 or so members of the royal clan: all of these made up a gigantic, clumsy, aristocratic, bureaucratic apparatus. This situation became considerably altered in the early Qing period. As for the dark politics resulting from the usurpation of power by outside relatives and eunuchs of the royal household and from factionalist struggles, some of it (such as usurpation of power by external relatives and eunuchs of the royal household) was perhaps no longer seen, and some (such as factionalist struggles) definitely were suppressed. Therefore, an analysis of the civil government of the early Qing period, when the feudal rulers vigorously attempted their new approach to advancement and governing, has a more typical meaning in respect to our understanding of the various failings of the feudal bureaucracy.

The most fundamental symptom of feudal bureaucracy was that those who served as officials automatically took promotions in their official ranks and getting rich as their duty, and thereby they "remained oblivious of their public responsibilities." This was also a stubborn disease of the big and small bureaucrats of the early Qing period. Once their ambition for high office and generous remuneration was satisfied, it became a case wherein "from the grand secretary downward and any official with a specified duty upward, none diligently attended to their offices, but all knew only how to get out earlier so as to enjoy some extra leisure and private convenience" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shengzhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 133). Since their minds were not on their daily affairs, they adopted a perfunctory attitude toward their responsibilities, all the while keeping an eye on ways and means to nurture their dignity and superiority and to enliven their status as magistrates and overlords. Very few of them would volunteer to shoulder any responsibility, while all of them took nonchalant attitudes and behavior as the natural approach. Hence, "great officials passed the buck at random, while small officials imitated them and played a waiting game" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shizhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 64). They passed the buck to one another, while those within waited for those outside, thus turning such practices into a habit. There was no efficiency to speak of....

III

Although an attempt was made in the early Qing Dynasty to rectify civilian government, the chronic disease of feudal bureaucracy remained the same, and its various failings were not and could not be precluded. The ultimate cause of this, of course, was determined by the nature of the exploitive class. In the case of the feudal state as an instance of class oppression, its fundamental function was nothing more than the exploitation and oppression of the vast ranks of the people and the maintenance of the rule of the landlord class over the peasants. In such a feudal bureaucratic regime made up of political representatives of the landlord class, its failings in the final analysis were nothing more than the concentrated reflection of the corrupt, muddleheaded, avaricious class nature of the landlord class itself. However, the feudal political system was also an important contributing cause of these failings.

Autocracy was the political system of our long period of feudal society, and it became more and more reinforced in later days. Under the feudal autocratic system, officials of the various levels were all appointed. Great officials were directly employed by the emperor, and lower level officials were appointed by the Board of Civil Service. Control of the various powers of the feudal state was in the hands of none other than such officials, installed one layer after another by appointment from above, who turned it into a bureaucratic system prescribed according to strict gradation of ranks, and who thus made up a pyramidal bureaucratic apparatus, with the one standing at the apex of the pyramid being the emperor himself as ruler of the whole country. The emperor not only "made decisions alone on matters of state" in exercising all major powers of the state but, with regard to his officials and subjects, also wielded incontestable authority over their lives and their possessions. Hence, feudal autocracy was both reflected in the graded powers conferred from above and demonstrated ultimately in the form of the ruler's absolute authority. This feudal autocratic system, reflected in the ruler's absolute authority, naturally gave rise to the concept of "I am the state," so that the "family state" also became the political principle of the time. As a result, the relationship between ruler and ruled became equivalent to the relationship between "master" and "slave." In accordance with such a realistic relationship, "being loyal to the ruler" thus came to be propagated by thinkers of the landlord class as an "axiom" based on "heavenly principles."

The bureaucratic system of feudal autocracy gave rise to problems in the following two facets:

First, the existence of the ruler's absolute authority and the feudal "master-slave" relationship inevitably made it necessary for big and small subjects and workers to do things only in accordance with "His Majesty's will." In officialdom, the practice, by inference, was for everyone to do things by watching the facial expression of his superior, in accordance with the relevant powers of rank they were entitled to exercise respectively. Being responsible to the superior for everything and doing everything one could to please the superior thus became the supreme principle upheld without fail by the bureaucrats. An official at any given level would answer in the affirmative readily in the face of his superior and bow and pay respect to him in the meantime. "Prostrate often, speak little" thus became the secret of serving as an official at the time. Under this system, where officials exercised their powers according to their hierarchical rank, everything was done according to established rules and everybody "took his ancestors' laws" as his ultimate basis. Nobody should dare to take any responsibility upon himself in any venture or resort to renovation and creativity. This therefore also became the orthodox course to follow in feudal officialdom. For this reason, low administrative efficiency was inevitably a great characteristic of bureaucratic politics.

The prevailing of graded powers in the feudal autocracy made it inevitable that the promotion or downgrading, the glory or shame, of subordinate officials depended entirely on their superiors, and not on the merits or demerits of individual officials themselves. In order to butter up their superiors, they would thus "devote only 30 percent of their energy to actual work, and 70 percent to the placating of their superiors. Consequently, even though welcoming or seeing a superior off might ordinarily seem trivial matters, some would somehow be abused because of negligence in this regard. Even though the paying of pure courtesy calls was repeatedly proscribed, some would be exiled far away because of the gradual distance that resulted due to the absence of such calls. The presentation of gifts, too, was strictly warned against, but good or bad appraisals of official performances were somehow determined sometimes according to how often or how rarely the parties involved made such presentations and such attendant strivings. The energy of an otherwise busy official would thus hardly have enough ingenuity to plug up possible loopholes in his superior's direction, so how was he to have any leisure left to devote to his administrative duties!?" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shizhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 118). For the sake of protecting his salary and his job, he would hardly have enough time to fawn to his superior, so how was he to have any thought left to look after his duties? Between bureaucrats, the relationship of a subordinate toward his superior was maintained through nothing more than such welcoming and seeing-off activities, such courtesy calls, and such presentations of gifts. Meanwhile, superior officials also needed the support of some people so that coordinated actions could be taken at their respective levels; in "their attempts to garner goods and bribes and to earn private benefits," they too also needed lateral assistance from their peers. As a result, the ones above and the ones below, plus those in equivalent positions, all came to help one another and strike up pertinent relations with one another, so that they could accommodate the intimate, protect the sensitive, and form a small group on the basis of a community of interests. This was called fraternalization (factionalism). They "all help and work through their respective partisans in order to deceive their superiors" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shengzhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 194). Or they "plot against each other, fight those who differ and patronize those who agree, revenge private grievances against each other, and drag in others in extended chains of vengeance. In some cases, they themselves would harbor a certain grudge against someone but would ask others to avenge it for them, and stay in the background as the instigators; in other cases, they would hint at what they wanted to say but would refrain from directly pointing out the matter in question, thereby entrapping people in their intrigues." Consequently, in the ups and downs of officialdom, such a predilection to resorting to political machinations in order to form or dismantle alliances between friends and foes, and thereby bring factionalism into play and gain advantages deviously, actually became a guarantee for the security and growth of those bureaucrats. An isolated bureaucrat was bound to be shortlived in the rough going of officialdom. In the realistic political life of the time, there were precisely such groups of partisans banding together to "frame, spar against, or accuse" each other, and "even after some suffered dismissals and became pigeonholed, others would continue to find fault with them, have their clansmen implicated, or wreak havoc on their family fortunes and their very lives" (ibid., Vol 153). All of the foregoing [practices] made the existence of factional fights coterminous with the prevalence of feudal bureaucratic politics. In order to prove the rationality of the existence of such a relationship, some in history maintained through blatant words that "a gentleman makes friends but does not recruit partisans." Even under the political pressure of the Qing rulers, who energetically cracked down on factionalists, not only "have the Han banded together to form parties and cliques since the days of antiquity," but, "those of Manchuria, who have always been simplistic, sincere, loyal, and genuine, people of the various Banners as we see them today, are also banding together to form parties" (ibid., Vol 194). And there were even those who openly advocated the organization of parties. For example, Yin Jiachuan, secretary of the Grand Court of Appeals, in the Qianlong period, was of the opinion that "when the theory of factionalism became dominant, the instruction of fathers and teachers was weakened; how can even the ruler enjoy his superior position all by himself?" ("Files on Literary Litigations of the Qing Period," Vol 6). Factionalism was the tumor of feudal bureaucratic politics. It was based on the common status of disciples, former subordinates, participants in imperial civil service examinations of the same year, natives of the same locality, and members of the same class. It was the shelter under which all sorts of ill practices prevailed--practices such as people resorting to corruption and bribery, sparring at and plotting against one another, and fawning and seeking favors from those above.

Second, in accordance with the ruler's absolute authority under autocracy, and the "master-slave" relationship between ruler and ruled in the "family" state, there needed to be, from the emperor's point of view, officials who were docile and obedient and loyal to the ruling house under the given family name; hence "rule by man" was stressed. It was argued that "there can be only man who rules, but no law can do so by itself," and "to have good government therefore depends basically on having good men." Kangxi said: "It is hard to know people, but it is even harder to use them. The way to govern lies precisely in this. I could not help devoting my whole mind to it, even if I wanted to" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shengzhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 41). As for the so-called "having good men," even though many high-sounding criteria were postulated, such as "be loyal and devote yourselves to the public well-being," "people with a selfless and forthright mind," etc, since the point of departure was that "there can be only man who rules, but no law can do so by itself," the use or nonuse and the promotion or downgarding of officials inevitably depended on the emperor's and the superior's likes and dislikes. Once he had ingratiated himself and thus fallen into favor of the emperor or the superior, an official would be emboldened to do whatever he pleased, in disregard of the law or lesser authority in general. Therefore, it became almost routine through history for confidants and favorites of the powerful and the noble to commit all sorts of evil deeds. Using people on the basis of affinity thus also became a criterion for "personnel administration" under feudal bureaucracy. The usurpation of power by external relatives and eunuchs of the royal household originated precisely from this, and the fact that the Qing House put great powers into the hands of Manchu nobles was no exception. The results of officials being used or not used and promoted or downgraded on the basis of the emperor's or the superior's likes and dislikes, and the use of people on the basis of affinity, were just as some pointed out: "The superior would not bother to look into the affairs of the civil government at all. He did what he liked or disliked entirely according to his personal whims. Consequently, his recommendations became less than fair, and officials' appraisals were thrown into confusion" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shizhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 106). Some also daringly pointed out: "today's ills lie with the Six Boards; the ills of the Six Boards rest primarily with the presidents of these boards; the ills of these presidents lie in their passing the buck; the ills of their passing the buck rest in the emperor's failure to select the right people" (ibid., Vol 89). "Failure to select the right people" led to the random use of officials and to all the failings of the bureaucratic system. For this reason, even though Kangxi repeatedly issued strict orders to officials of various levels that "from now on, you must forgo personal activities and impeach and rectify cases of wrongdoing and incompetence on the basis of facts so as to conform to my intention to use good people and achieve governance" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shengzhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 27), these orders turned out to be nothing more than formalistic papers.

To sum up, the political system of feudal autocracy was also a cause of all sorts of chronic diseases in bureaucratic politics. To wish to uproot such diverse ill practices in bureaucratic politics under the prevailing feudal autocracy was not unlike trying to negotiate with the tiger for his hide. "To lover Liu, the fairy-imposed mountain was already far, but now [the goal] is found to be separated from him by even more mountains." Rulers of the early Qing Dynasty continuously groaned about the state of bureaucratic politics under them; This was a reflection precisely of such feelings of helplessness on their part.

(Regarding the authors of this article: Wang Sizhi was born in 1929; he is now a member of the research staff at the Qing History Research Institute at the China People's University, and the author of "A Brief Discourse on the Literary Litigations of the Qing Period" and similar works. Jin Chengji was born in 1936; he is now a member of the research staff at the Qing History Research Institute at the China People's University, and the author of "On the Ultimate Emperor" and works of the like.)

9255
CSO: 4005

SHANGHAI PAPER DISCUSSES ROLES OF EMPERORS' IN-LAWS, EUNUCHS

HK061230 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 22 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Sha Lu [3097 6424]: "Emperors, Their In-laws and Eunuchs--My Feelings After Reading 'Biography of Liang Ji' in 'Annals of the Later Han'"]

[Text] There were 14 emperors during the Eastern Han dynasty. The first two, that was, Emperors Guangwu and Ming, lived more than 40 years. Emperor Xian, the last, was 39 when he abdicated. He died a natural death. The other emperors died before reaching middle age. A table for easy reference follows:

Name of emperor	Age when mounting the throne	Duration of reign	Age at time of death
Zhang	19	14 years	33
He	10	17 years	27
Shang	100 days	9 months	1
An	13	19 years	32
Shao	Unknown	8 months	Unknown
Shun	11	19 years	30
Chong	2	5 months	3
Zhi	8	7 months	9
Huan	15	21 years	36
Ling	12	22 years	34
Fei	17	5 months	17
Xian	9	30 years	39 (abdication)

Why was it that most of the emperors during the Eastern Han dynasty mounted the throne when they were very young and died before they were of age? Was it because there only were young successors? Was it because the lives of the emperors during the Eastern Han dynasty were extraordinarily short? No. It was because the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs held dictatorial power. To directly manipulate the government, the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs intentionally put the young and innocent emperors to the throne. They would kill the emperors by both open and secret tactics when the emperors grew up and became disobedient. The in-laws played a major role in this regard. Take Liang Ji for example. In the 6th year of the Yonghe period (141 A.D.), he succeeded his father Liang Shang as minister of war when the latter died. Two years later, Emperor Shun died at the age of 30 when he was capable of great achievements. Historical records did not say that he was murdered by Liang Ji. However, there was something fishy about it. After that, Liang Ji insisted on enthroning 2-year-old Emperor Chong, who died 5 months later. Then, Liang Ji again insisted on enthroning 8-year-old Emperor Zhi, who was poisoned 7 months later for calling Liang Ji a "domineering general." Liang Ji put two boys to the throne, who died in less than a year. Who was the third emperor enthroned by him? When Emperor Chong died, Army Chief Li Gu and other officials "recommended Liu Suan, who was prince of Qinghe, to the throne because he was of age and was known for his moral character." Their recommendation was unsuccessful because of Liang Ji's objection. This time, Li Gu again recommended Liu Suan to the throne, but Liang Ji wanted to enthrone 15-year-old Liu Zhi, who was marquis of Liwu and was to marry his younger sister. Liang Ji's intention was self-evident. What Senior Chamberlain Cao Teng said revealed the heart of the matter. One night, Cao Teng called on Liang Ji and told him: "You are the emperor's in-law and are in charge of all important government affairs. You have to deal with so many people. Inevitably, you may have offended some of them. The prince of Qinghe is strict and impartial. A misfortune will befall you if he mounts the throne. It is better to enthrone the marquis of Liwu so that you can keep your eminent position." ("Biography of Li Gu" in the "Annals of the Later Han") Cao Teng pointed out the reason why Liang Ji and the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs wanted to put little boys to the throne and did not like emperors who were of age. Fan Hua, a historian, made a comment on the dictatorial power held by the emperors' in-laws during the Eastern Han dynasty: They "liked boys to be emperors so that they could remain at their posts." He hit the mark with this comment.

In the feudal society, the emperor is the sole agent of the landlord class and represented order in the midst of disorder. Proceeding from the interests of their class, the landlords hoped that the emperor was young, vigorous, wise and capable because this was advantageous to the maintenance of the feudal rule and social order. However, the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs held dictatorial power by weakening imperial power. Weakening of imperial power meant that the feudal rule and social order were in chaos. For this reason, feudal historians generally took the stand of condemning the dictatorial power held by the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs and speaking in favor of imperial power. They saw that the dictatorial power held by the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs was an opposite to the strengthening of imperial power. Their writings therefore showed irrepressible "indignation," which influenced many people through the ages.

Here, a question provides food for thought. Was the dictatorial power held by emperors' in-laws and eunuchs just an opposite to imperial power? In my opinion, we should not let our understanding remain unchanged at this stage. Of course, we should see the opposition between the emperors on one side and their in-laws and eunuchs on the other side. What is more important, we should see the unity of the two sides.

The emperors' in-laws and eunuchs were dependent on imperial power like two melons growing on the same vine. Without imperial power, there was no room for the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs to take roots. Therefore, on the one hand, the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs based their dictatorial power on the weakening of imperial power; on the other hand, they based their existence on imperial power. The former base concerned the question of strength and the latter concerned the question of existence. For this reason, the latter is fundamental.

Liang Ji was the most influential of the emperors' in-laws during the Eastern Han dynasty. He dominated the government for more than 20 years. "He held supreme power. His orders were obeyed throughout the country." "All other officials held him in awe and none dared to disobey him." Even the emperor "showed the highest respect for him and dared not meddle in his work." Did Liang Ji hold sway because he was a man of great ability? In fact, he was neither a capable nor an honorable man. He was a profligate son of the rich. A historical book carried this passage on him: "He had hunched shoulders, wolfish eyes and a glib tongue. A crafty man and a relative of the imperial family, he indulged in pleasure-seeking and drinking when he was young. He was good in archery, chess games, gambling, and playing the shuttlecock. He was also interested in hunting and cockfighting." He was an out-and-out hooligan. What did Liang Ji who was so ugly and incapable rely on to seize power of the Eastern Han dynasty? His only means was that he was the emperor's in-law.

Liang Tong, Liang Ji's great grandfather, rendered outstanding service in founding the Eastern Han dynasty. He became an in-law of the imperial family. So, the Liang family was influential during the Eastern Han dynasty. Liu Xiu, the emperor, married his eldest daughter, Princess Wuyin, to Liang Tong's son, Liang Song, and "had boundless confidence in him." Liang Song's niece was chosen by Emperor Zhang to be a concubine and gave birth to a son who later became Emperor He. She was honored with the title "Empress Dowager Konghuai" after Empress Dowager Dou died. Thereafter, the Liang family won the emperors' favor and trust and became the most influential of the imperial in-laws. The daughter of Liang Shang, Liang Song's nephew, became empress in the first year of the Yangjia period during the reign of Emperor Shun (132 A.D.). Historian Fan Hua said: "Winning the emperor's favor was the essential way to seize power. When a woman won the emperor's favor, whatever she did, she had his blessing. When she was out of the emperor's favor, whatever she did to please him, he would find her ugly. So, when winning the emperor's favor, she had more virtues than the whole world could hold. But, once she was out of his favor, she could find no shelter for herself." What an important access to the emperor the empress meant! Liang Shang grasped this access, became the minister of war and held sway. After his death, his son Liang Ji, who was the empress' elder brother, succeeded as minister of war and monopolized everything. In the feudal society, marital relations meant political relations. To monopolize the government, the Liang family monopolized the right to choose the empress and insured that the empresses came exclusively from the Liang family. Once it lost this right, it would "find no shelter for itself." In a few words, the empress served the lifeline to the emperor's in-laws. This line was important because one end was linked with the emperor. Otherwise, it would have no social value to the emperor's in-laws.

The emperor was separated from the outside world by his in-laws in order that they might hold dictatorial power. Therefore, he could only contact three kinds of people: the first were the women for him to dally with; the second were his in-laws who were in power; the third were the eunuchs who waited on him. If he did not want to be treated as a puppet, the eunuchs were the only people from whom he could seek help. Almost all emperors during the Eastern Han dynasty used the eunuchs to get rid of the dictatorial power of their in-laws. For example, eunuch Zheng Zhong killed the emperor's in-law Yan Xian; eunuch Shan Chao and others killed the emperor's in-law Liang Ji. The "Biographies of Eunuchs" in the "Annals of the Later Han" carried a detailed account of how the eunuchs killed Liang Ji. This was how it happened: Emperor Huan could not bear the pressure which Liang Ji and the empress applied on him. He "resented this" and wanted very much to remove the Liang family's influence. However, he "was afraid that the secret would be divulged, so he did not make an attempt." In the second year of the Yanxi period (159 A.D.), Empress Liang died. He thought that the time was ripe. So, boosting his courage, he summoned eunuch Tang Heng alone, had a secret talk with him in the washroom and bade him time and again to keep the secret. An emperor had to hide in his washroom to talk with his eunuch. What a pity! This showed that the only people the emperor could use were the eunuchs around him. However, how could an emperor who got help from the eunuchs escape the destiny of being manipulated by the eunuchs? After Liang Ji had been killed, Emperor Huan was forced to grant the titles of marquis to Shan Chao and four other eunuchs. Power was shifted from Liang Ji's hands to the hands of Shan Chao and other eunuchs. Thereupon, the dictatorial power of the emperor's in-laws was replaced by the dictatorial power of the eunuchs.

History of the Eastern Han dynasty showed that the dictatorial power of eunuchs was a product of the emperor's use of eunuchs to get rid of the dictatorial power of his in-laws and that the dictatorial power of the emperor's in-laws would give rise to the dictatorial power of eunuchs and these two powers prevailed alternately. In the final analysis, the emperor, the object of support, fell victim to either of these two powers. These two powers "were both opposite and complementary to each other." We shall be confused by the historical phenomena if we only see that "they are opposite to each other" and do not see that "they are complementary to each other." This should be the historical conclusion: To exterminate the dictatorial powers of the eunuchs and the emperors' in-laws, it was necessary to get rid of the emperors and the feudal autocracy on which they based their existence.

CSO: 4005

'CHENG MING' ARTICLE DETAILS SITUATION IN SHANGHAI

HK060858 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 54-57

[Article by Chin Ku: "Raise the Heavy Curtain Over Shanghai"]

> [Excerpts] After Su Zhenhua, Ni Zhifu and Peng Chong entered Shanghai, they did not eliminate the pernicious influence of the four pests, implement the principles of the Central Committee and carry out policies. The Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee took an ambiguous attitude toward the discussion on the criterion of truth. Peng Chong cannot be considered a pragmatist. In Autumn 1977, Shanghai executed a Zhang Zhixin-type young man—Wang Shengeng, a student in the school of physics of Huadong Normal University.

While watching the spectacular "double program" consisting of the NPC and the CPPCC in Beijing, I happened to meet an elder whom I have always respected. He is not a controversial person nor a sycophant. He was appointed as a member of the CPPCC because of his position and prestige as a scientist.

He was very happy and said: "Your magazine is very superficial when talking about the situation in Shanghai. You failed to see the great secret of this abysmal sea."

I asked hastily which reports he was talking about. He smiled and said: "You compared Peng Chong to Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li and called him a pragmatist. That is 'missing the larger picture.'"

"Then, can you tell me about the real situation in Shanghai?"

He said: "It is a long story. I am not used to talking about politics and there are things that I cannot explain, but I have a good friend. He is also an 'outsider' but he has always paid close attention to inside stories. Maybe you can go to Shanghai and interview him. He will give you the details."

The next day, I took a Boeing 707 to Shanghai. After unpacking, I immediately hired a car and went to the Jiangwan district. With the address given by my scientist friend and after great efforts, I found Mr C.

He is a political commentator who had been famous decades ago. In the past 20 years or so, he seemed to have become "mellowed" and dissociated himself from the world.

I paid my respects to Mr C and without much ado, went straight to my question. I asked him to solve the puzzle about the "larger picture."

"The 'spring thunder' in October 1976 smashed the 'gang of four' and Ma, Xu and Wang in Shanghai. The people of Shanghai were so pleased and had hoped that order would be restored. However, the new leadership headed by the 'troika' (Su Zhenhua, Ni Zhifu and Peng Chong) has been overcautious, stressing that there must be stability and not upheaval. What kind of 'stability'? Only 4 of the 'gang of four's' 3 chieftains, 8 'lord protectors' and 13 hoodlums in Shanghai who had committed numerous serious crimes were arrested. Even the villainous adviser of the villainous adviser Zhang Chunqiao, Xu Jingxian and Zhu Yongjia, the 'No 1 pen' in the 'gang of four's' principal writing group remain at large. They allegedly made good confessions. As to the close associates and main supporters of the gang which were spread out all over the country, they were basically untouched. Supposedly, they need only 'tell the whole truth.' Actually, what happened was they just put on a show. Some did not tell the whole truth and some did not even confess. They are still occupying their positions, controlling their territories, in charge of important state affairs and personnel departments and persecuting the masses and those who dare to complain.

"The discussion on 'practice as the sole criterion of truth' was a key battle in bringing order out of chaos and reversing the course of history. Shanghai was not only late in coming out with its stand and hesitant in voicing out its view, Che Wenyi, the then director of the Propaganda Department, also repeatedly prohibited discussion on this subject. It was only after the fourth plenary session of the Central Committee, when the trend had become very clear that 'Che' was discarded to protect the 'shuai' [referring to the pieces in Chinese chess] 'that wheels of the Che were made to roll.'

"Some people who are not acquainted with the truth of the matter regard Peng Chong as a pragmatist. He himself also seems to regard himself as such. It is not surprising that the venerable D (referring to the scientist) said you 'have missed the larger picture.' Let me ask you: Judging from his actions, what does he have in common with Zhao Ziyang and the others?"

I asked: "It is not true that Shanghai's economy was not plunged into chaos and has recovered quite rapidly?"

Mr C took a sip of tea and then smirking, he said: "They do not deserve the credit. The industrial base of Shanghai has always been good and its financial income constitute one-eighth of total national revenue income. Under the control of the 'gang of four,' the policy was 'create chaos in the whole country but maintain stability in Shanghai.' Therefore, in this respect, things continued on their normal course in Shanghai and there was really no chaos. So, the 'troika' used this as their capital to show off their achievement to the central authorities and to show that their policy of 'three nots' (not eliminating the pernicious influence of the gang, not implementing party principles and not carrying out policies) is a 'secret formula.'

"They are so lenient toward the 'gang of four' and their remnant followers yet so ferocious toward young people who dare to pursue and uphold truth and ordered the execution of one such young man. To use the word of the 'gang of four': Is this not monstrous absurdity!"

I was surprised and asked: "Was there such a thing?"

Mr C answered without any hesitation: "Yes! This news has been secretly spreading among the people of Shanghai!"

"Please, Venerable Sir, tell me the details."

"I do not know the full details of the story. According to my friend, what happened was:

"There was a student in the school of physics of the Huadong Normal University who was very good in his studies. He was dragged out to be criticized and struggled against by the workers' propaganda team as an example of 'white and expert.' They prohibited him from reading books on physics and ordered him to read only works on Marxism-Leninism.

"This student had a certain doggedness and took everything seriously. He thought that if they went me to study Marxism-Leninism well, then I will do that and have a look at what Marxism-Leninism has to offer. From then on, he studied hard day and night and read through almost all works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. He also almost memorized the whole of 'Capital' and carefully read the works of Mao Zedong. He compared Mao's work with his predecessors' and with his own words and deeds during his old age. The conclusion he arrived at was: Chairman Mao's words and deeds during his old age has nothing in common with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In a group study session, he quietly presented this view. Naturally, this immediately entailed great disaster. The lackeys of the 'gang of four' and the workers' propaganda team accused him of 'launching a vicious attack' and being an active counterrevolutionary.

He refused to admit this 'crime' and was therefore thrown into prison. After the smashing of the 'gang of four,' he was released as a result of the 'leniency' of the new leadership. But still, he was considered to have reactionary viewpoints and was isolated for interrogation. One day, he wrote a letter to his fiancee saying that he did not want to hide his views and had written them down in detail for her to see as soon as it was opportune. He also declared solemnly that: The marriage of two individuals has to have a common ideological basis. If she agreed to his views, they could prepare to get married after he obtained his freedom, if not, she was requested to look for another partner in order not to waste their time.

"This letter fell into the hands of the powerholders. That very night, several husky men broke into his room. He immediately tore the draft of his essay into small pieces and intended to swallow them. The intruders choked him and forced him to spit them out. However, the small bits of paper could not be put together again. They then beat him up and ordered him to rewrite the piece. He wrote his views down in detail. Aside from the point I mentioned a while ago, he also held that Chairman Mao despised and hated intellectuals. This was first manifested during the antirightist campaign in 1957 wherein he tried to punish one to serve as a warning to a hundred and suppressed a large number of intellectuals. This made other intellectuals afraid to think independently and 'to say careless things and make careless moves.' At that time, Chairman Mao noticed that there were also people in the party who were disobedient and who disagreed with his method. He then persecuted Peng Dehuai and launched the antirightist campaign. After he succeeded he made further step-by-step preparations and finally, launched the Great Cultural Revolution.

"He also said that the proletariat ought to be open and aboveboard and ought not to engage in conspiracies. As to political trickery, that was a political degeneration.

"Naturally, the powerholders at the Normal University at that time thought that these views constituted unpardonable heresy. They immediately ordered the arrest of this student and he was thrown back into prison. This case was reported to the municipal CCP committee which was headed by the 'troika.' The municipal CCP committee reported to the central authorities. It was alleged that Wang Dongxing, who was then in charge of personnel, judged this to be a serious case of counterrevolution and 'ordered' the execution of the offender. Thus, this firm and uncompromising young man lost his life!"

I immediately asked for the name of the young man.

"The professor who told me the story spoke with a Ningbo accent. I did not hear clearly. The name is Wang Shengeng or maybe Wang Xinggang."

"When did this happen?"

"Autumn of 1977."

"That is shocking! Zhang Zhixin was persecuted to death by the 'gang of four' and their diehard followers in Liaoning. How could this lawless thing happen nearly 1 year after the smashing of the 'gang of four'!"

Mr C said coldly: "What is so strange about that? Later, they stubbornly opposed and resisted the discussion on practice as the sole criterion of truth. Therefore, it is not surprising if at that time, they thought that this violated the forbidden zone of the god and--that his case demonstrated a counterrevolutionary act punishable by death."

Mr C also sighed and said: "At least with regard to ideological framework, three leadership groups belong to one family. They are against stability and unity and mobilizing all forces that can be mobilized to build the four modernizations. They hate the so-called pragmatists. The past few years have been eventful in Shanghai. At one instance, the tag of 'son of the general' was put on a municipal CCP committee member who did not toe their line. At another, various rumors about His Excellency, Mr Deng, were cooked up. This could not be accidental."

I brought up the subject of Wang Shengeng (or Wang Xinggang) again. I asked him what has happened to this case.

Mr C said: "After the fifth plenary session, the Central Committee hastened the pace of rehabilitating cases of miscarriage of justice. This case was considered a case of injustice and was rehabilitated. The present party committee of the Normal University seems to be daring and resolute. It firmly believes that Wang's case was unjustly handled and has brought the complete files of this case to the Central Committee to ask for full rehabilitation.

"Since Chen Guodong assumed the post of first secretary of the Shanghai party committee, he seems to have resolved to effect a thorough overhaul in Shanghai. Wang Daohan, a veteran cadre who really knows about industry has been appointed as the third secretary. I have heard that the second secretary is Hu Lijiao (present second secretary of Henan) who used to be the director of the organizational department of the South China Bureau. From these indications, I think an organizational house cleaning is on the way.

"Of the remnant followers of the 'gang of four,' 18 have been arrested, including Xu Jingxian and Zhu Yongjia. Recently, three cases were exposed in Shanghai. First, the Baoshan Iron and Steel Works used construction capital to buy luxurious cars. Second, warehouses have allowed a large quantity of wool to be used as raw material to pile up and rot. Third, an expert on refrigeration left for the United States in disgust because the units concerned have refused to follow orders from the central authorities to employ him. All this, taken alongside the central authorities' repeated exposes on Dazhai, the Bohai No 2 incident and the dismissal of Minister of Petroleum Industry Song Zhenming, indicates that the Central Committee is very serious about a thoroughgoing house cleaning in Shanghai. However, we will also have to wait and see how the case of Wang Shengeng (Wang Xinggang) will be handled."

CSO: 4005

'LIAONING RIBAO' URGES REFORMATION OF INSTITUTIONS

SK041200 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT
3 Oct 80

[Excerpts from LIAONING RIBAO 4 October commentator's article: "Popularize the Vigorous Mood of Reformation on All Fronts"]

[Excerpts] The article states: Reformation is a top priority task of crucial importance in our efforts to achieve the four modernizations. Our task is clear: positively and systematically carrying out reformations in all fields--from the economy and politics to ideology and culture--by constantly reviewing past experiences, conducting intensive research and investigations and summing up correct ideas.

Is not the socialist system incomparably superior? Why should we bother to carry out reformations? To such a question we should answer: When we refer to the superiority of socialist system, we are referring to the fundamental system of socialism. This superiority can only be manifested through various specific institutions. Among the institutions currently in effect, many were modeled on foreign methods. Some were handed down from the revolutionary war period in which the historical conditions were exceptional. Moreover, some distinct feudal remnants remain in our current institutions. Most important of all, because of the left-leaning ideology over the past 20 years, we were occupied by class struggle and ignored institutional reforms. This led to great losses. The superiority of the socialist system was restrained by unreasonable economic management systems and the systems of state leadership. This is one of the important reasons our country's productive forces developed so slowly and the people's livelihood failed to improve for so many years.

Some people are concerned that reforming institutions will hamper the upholding of the four basic principles. These worries are totally unfounded; for reforming the malpractices in the institutions meets the requirements for upholding the four basic principles. Nothing is inconsistent between reform and upholding, and it is groundless to put the former in contention with the latter. Upholding the four basic principles while evading the reform of current malpractices can be nothing but a manifestation of ossified or semiossified thinking--a sham upholding. Nevertheless, some people argue that since institutions are formulated and practiced by men, we had first better solve the problem in man's ideology and work style. Such an idea is one-sided and incorrect. It admits man's influence over institutions but ignores the limits institutions impose on men. Experience has shown that the various mistakes we made in the past were admittedly related to the work style of some leaders, but the more crucial factors in these mistakes lay in the shortcomings of organizational and working systems. A good institution serves to restrain evildoers from running amuck, while a bad institution frustrates good people or even drives them to become evildoers. We are not saying that individuals are free from responsibilities; what we are saying is that problems in the institutions have a more fundamental and long-standing effect on the overall situation. If we do not firmly reform the malpractices in the institutions, our past mistakes will reappear. The problems in the institutions affect the destiny of the party and the country. We must not treat them lightly.

The article concludes: No reforms have enjoyed smooth sailing. All kinds of outmoded conventions, bad customs and traditional and conservative ideas could become obstacles to reformation. Ideological struggles are inevitable. They reflect the struggle between the advanced and backward tendencies in the people. Our Communist Party members are vanguards who are supposed to be determined in carrying out and promoting reformations through concrete actions. The conditions and the times are now ripe for us to embark on the task of reforming and perfecting the systems of the party and state leadership and bringing them in line with the requirements of the four modernizations. We are confident that we can achieve our goals if we firmly follow the party's leadership, rely firmly on the masses and advance resolutely and steadily.

CSO: 4005

JILIN ISSUES CIRCULAR ON CHECKING LAVISH ENTERTAINMENT

SK061128 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 5 Oct 80

[Excerpts] According to a JILIN RIBAO report, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee issued a circular on 12 September to the party organizations at all levels throughout the province on the case of (Zhong Changshan), who indulged in lavish wining and dining.

Comrade (Zhong Changshan), deputy chief of a production section under the provincial Medicines Administrative Bureau, was dismissed from his post for ignoring party discipline and indulging in lavish wining and dining when he led an inspection group to check various pharmaceutical factories in the Changchun district.

While inspecting five county pharmaceutical factories and three factories in the urban areas in Changchun Municipality, (Zhong Changshan) spent more than 700 yuan of public funds in wining and dining. He also received some 90 yuan worth of gifts, including cups, cases of tea and medicine.

On the morning of 22 May, (Zhong Changshan) led a 17-person inspection group to check the (Hongyu) Pharmaceutical Factory in Changchun Municipality. (Wang Zhizhong), responsible person of the factory and deputy chief of the Jilin Provincial Medicine Company, arbitrarily decided to give the inspection group a warm reception. They ate a ten-course dinner, drank three bottles of Maotai and smoked five packs of China filter cigarettes, spending some 80 yuan in all. In order to account for the money, (Wang Zhizhong) violated the financial and economic disciplines. He made a false report on the sale of four cases of medicine and did not keep proper accounts.

In order to respect the party discipline, rehabilitate the reputation of the company and educate the offenders, departments concerned decided to dismiss Comrade (Zhong Changshan) from his post as deputy chief of the production section under the provincial Medicines Administrative Bureau in line with the proposal of the provincial CCP committee's Discipline Inspection Commission. The provincial Medicines Administrative Bureau had already ordered (Wang Zhizhong) to stop working and to examine and give an account of his mistakes. His case will be handled after further investigations. He will be given appropriate punishment. It also decided that all comrades who had participated in lavish wining and dining should compensate in full with money or grain coupons according to the local regulations and standards. Those who incited people to violate disciplines should be held responsible. All gifts received by the inspection group should be returned to the owner without exception.

In this connection, the JILIN RIBAO published a short commentary today: "Those Who Deliberately Break the Laws Should Be Severely Punished." The short commentary states: It is actually not a hard job for Communist Party members and state cadres to give up lavish wining and dining and to forget about giving banquets and sending gifts. However, this unhealthy trend has not been thoroughly checked even after the issuance of the guiding principles. Some people continue to disregard the guidelines. Their tricks are more heinous than before. The main reason for this is that they ignored the party disciplines and acted recklessly on the pretext of serving the public. Furthermore, some leading comrades failed to make a decision to check this unhealthy trend and were too lenient in handling these cases. They even helped offenders to shirk their responsibilities. This is one of the keys to the emergence of such offenders.

Our party has decided to rectify the party work style. This aim will certainly be fulfilled. Anyone who ignores the repeated orders and instructions of the party and deliberately breaks and defies the law is making a mistake. (Zhong Changshan) is an example.

CSO: 4005

NEI MONGGOL CCP COMMITTEE CONGRATULATES RESTORATION OF XINGAN LEAGUE

SK050558 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Oct 80

[Text] The Nei Monggol Regional CCP Committee, the Standing Committee of the regional People's Congress and the regional People's Government recently sent a message to the Xingan League CCP Committee and the Xingan League administrative office warmly congratulating them on the restoration of the league's organizational system.

The message noted that the State Council's approval of the restoration of the Xingan League's organizational system is another major policy decision affecting the administrative divisions of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region. With its honorable revolutionary traditions, the Xingan League made great contributions to the founding of Nei Monggol region. Since the founding of the Nei Monggol region, and particularly during the 30 years following the founding of the People's Republic of China, the cadres and masses of various nationalities in Xingan League have nurtured the revolutionary tradition, done arduous pioneering work, worked hard for the prosperity of the country and made great efforts to establish a new socialist life. Therefore, industry, agriculture, animal husbandry as well as cultural and educational undertakings have been well developed in the league, contributing to the region's development and prosperity.

In conclusion, the message called on the leaders and people at all levels in Xingan League to further criticize the ultraleft trend of thought under the accurate guidance of the party Central Committee's lines, penetratingly implement the party's policy toward nationalities, conscientiously carry out the eight-point policy on readjusting the national economy, consolidate and develop political stability and unity, emancipate minds and work arduously in unison to achieve still greater successes in various fields of work to build Nei Monggol region into a place characterized by prosperity and unity and new contributions to the four modernizations of China.

Xingan League is a vast territory with abundant natural resources situated in the eastern sector of Nei Monggol region. In the east, it adjoins Nenjiang Prefecture of Heilongjiang Province, and in the west, it neighbors the People's Republic of Mongolia. The total length of its borders is 122.5 kilometers. In the south, it adjoins Baicheng Prefecture in Jilin Province and Jirem League in Nei Monggol region and, in the north, it neighbors the Hulun Buir League. Its total area is 59,450 square kilometers, including Horqin Youyi Qian Banner, Horqin Youyi Zhong Banner, Jalaid Banner, Tuquan County and Ulan Hot Municipality. The capital of Xingan League is located in Ulan Hot Municipality.

The main economy of Xingan League is animal husbandry. Its grasslands account for 77.3 percent of the league's total area. Therefore, it has great potential for developing animal husbandry. At present, it has some 1,888,000 head of livestock, 5 times what it had in 1979. As for the league's industry, it has grown large from nothing. Now there are iron and steel, machinery, building materials, textile, fur, meat, dairy, sugar and wine industries. Its industrial products not only supply the league, but are also marketed in other provinces and municipalities of the country. Its hand-woven carpets, [words indistinct] and paintings are welcomed on the international markets.

Xingan League is inhabited by minority nationalities, with Mongols making up the majority of its population. It has a total of 1,307,000 people, including Mongolian, Han, Man, Hui, Korean and 13 other nationalities. Among them, 444,000 are minority nationalities, accounting for 34.3 percent of the league's total population, and 424,000 are Mongols, or 32.4 percent. It is one of the places whose political, cultural and educational undertakings are relatively well developed. It has some 2,000 primary and middle schools and some 300,000 students.

CSO: 4005

'BA YI RADIO' ACCUSES DENG XIAOPING OF LEAKING STATE SECRETS

OW052010 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 5 Oct 80

[Text] At a group meeting of the third session of the Fifth NPC, some deputies from the PLA proposed that a new set of regulations suiting the present situation be formulated to replace the "Temporary Regulations About Safeguarding State Secrets" promulgated in 1951. This is a timely proposal. No doubt, a new set of regulations in this regard will help to improve work on safeguarding state secrets and correct the situation of serious leaking of secrets because of some comrades' vague concept about keeping secrets secret.

Once a state law is promulgated, everybody in the country must abide by it and there should be no exception.

However, a certain central leader placed himself above the law, abused his power and prestige to trample on the state law and reveal vital state economic and military secrets. Not long ago, another incident of leaking top secret military information occurred, this time involving Comrade Deng Xiaoping. On the basis of the six-point agreement reached between Vice Chairman Deng and U.S. Secretary of Defense Brown, U.S. military experts wrote up a so-called analytical report on the present condition of the Chinese armed forces. Information contained in this report is supplied by organizations concerned on Comrade Deng Xiaoping's personal instruction. This information includes table of organization, deployment and technical equipment of our armed forces and the production situation of our defense industry as well as a quantity of top-secret information. At the same time, Americans also have obtained a detailed table of items of technical equipment urgently needed by our armed forces. After concocting the so-called analytical report on the basis of these top secret documents, the Americans solemnly assured Vice Chairman Deng that they would never diverge the contents of this report. American leaders never respect other countries' sovereignty and national dignity. How can they be expected to respect our military secrets?

Lately, President Carter and Republican presidential candidate Reagan in their election campaign make a vote-getting point out of how to handle the U.S. relations with China and Taiwan. In their campaign activities that are not without ill intentions, Americans have revealed the aforementioned information. News media of the United States and other countries published large portions of the top secret information contained in the analytical report on the present condition of the Chinese armed forces. Comrade Deng Xiaoping should have learned a lesson from this experience and should no longer admire and love his so-called American friends. Yet, it appears that Vice Chairman Deng does not want to heed the warning from this serious mistake. When our representatives negotiated with the U.S. military technical delegation headed by Under Secretary of Defense Perry, Comrade Deng Xiaoping insisted that our military representatives reveal our secret military information to the U.S. representatives although Comrade Zhang Aiping and other leaders had repeatedly warned against supplying our military secrets to the United States. Deng wanted to show sincere friendship to the United States.

Facts show that Vice Chairman Deng's policy of firmly developing Sino-American military cooperation at all costs is quite wrong. Do we have to present our military secrets on a silver platter to the United States just for friendship? Leaking military secrets to foreigners not only impairs our sovereignty and insults the dignity of the Chinese nation but causes very serious damage to our armed forces.

CSO: 4005

'RADIO BA YI' COMMENTS ON TRIAL OF 10 PRINCIPAL ACCUSED

OW070430 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 6 Oct 80

[Text] The "gang of four" were arrested on 6 October 1976, thus dealing a telling blow to their feudal, fascist dictatorship. The whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country were elated and exultant. The people were full of hope. It was an unusual day in the history of our party.

Four years have elapsed since then, but many of the people's hopes have not been fulfilled. Following the death of Chairman Mao and the arrest of the "gang of four" according to law, there should have been a radical change in the life of the whole party, the entire army and people throughout the country. At that time, if the erroneous line had been immediately and completely cast aside and the correct line had been readopted, there should have been a basic turn for the better in the livelihood of the people and in the building of the party, the state and the army, and concrete achievements should have been made over the past 4 years.

It is too bad that such a change has not taken place. It can be said that much time has been wasted in many fields over the past 4 years, mainly because the pernicious influence of the erroneous line has not been eliminated. It is precisely because old ideas and the erroneous line have been clung to that policies and principles on how to solve the major problems facing the country have not yet been laid down. At the same time, the extremely acute problems left over from the past have not been thoroughly handled.

In handling problems left from the past, it is essential first to affirm Chairman Mao's mistakes and their nature and then, on this basis, to determine the mistakes of other leaders who implemented Chairman Mao's orders and instructions. This is probably the only feasible way of solving problems.

As everyone knows, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao, high-ranking general officers of our army have been listed among the 10 principal accused, who will soon be tried by a special court as members of the notorious Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Some people say that the special court will be able to officially determine what the accused should be held responsible for during the 10 catastrophic years and to pass fair judgment on them. The issue is that the above-mentioned general officers and other leaders of our army in the past consistently and faithfully carried out the orders and instructions of Mao Zedong, chairman of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee. As a soldier, one obeys orders as his bound duty. It is, therefore, entirely proper for them to have obeyed the orders and instructions of the chairman of the party Central Committee Military Commission and the supreme commander in chief of the country. However, they are now accused of committing grave crimes.

People may ask: Since those who carried out wrong orders are to be severely punished and the one who issued wrong orders and instructions is exceptionally absolved from his criminal responsibility, how can such a trial be said to be fair and just?

In view of the above situation, we demand: First, what Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao did as soldiers by absolutely obeying Chairman Mao's orders and instructions during that period is irreproachable, so they should be dealt with differently from the case of the principal accused of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. In trying and sentencing them, consideration should be given to the special characteristics of our army, the feudalist and patriarchal traditions of our party and army and the objective conditions prevailing at that time.

Second, the files of orders, instructions and documents issued by Chairman Mao himself or transmitted by Deputy Commander in Chief Lin should be attached to the file of the special case of Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao. These documents will undoubtedly help distinguish right from wrong so that these comrades can be impartially dealt with.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

PUBLICATION OF HUA SPEECH--Beijing, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--Hua Guofeng's speech at the third session of the Fifth NPC has been published in a single edition by the People's Publishing House for sale in Beijing and other parts of the country beginning 21 September. All documents of the NPC session will also be compiled and published. These two books will be published in Mongolian, Tibetan, Uygur, Kazak and Korean languages by the Nationalities Publishing House. [OW261007 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1311 GMT 22 Sep 80 OW]

LIU SHAOQI SPEECH--Beijing, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Issue No 1, 1980, of the journal WEN XIAN [DOCUMENTS], edited and published by the Beijing Library, contains a "speech to the students of the first class of the Marxism-Leninism Institute" delivered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi on 14 December 1948. At that time Comrade Liu Shaoqi was the president of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, which was the precursor of the present senior party school of the CCP Central Committee. Along with this precious historical document, the journal publishes articles by Lin Hao, Fan Ruoyu and 10 others who previously studied in that class. The articles present their experience in studying Marxist-Leninist theory. They say that Comrade Liu Shaoqi's speech is still of importance today, as a guidance in carrying out the four modernizations. [OW030201 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0136 GMT 2 Oct 80]

GUIZHOU REPORT MEETING--The Guizhou Provincial Discipline Inspection Committee and provincial party committee held a report meeting on 13 September on studying the "guiding principles." The meeting introduced some advanced units and individuals who did well in implementing the "guiding principles." The meeting was presided over by member of the Standing Committee of the Guizhou provincial CCP and party committees secretary (Song Sugong), and deputy secretary of the provincial CCP committee and secretary of the Guizhou Provincial Discipline Inspection Committee Chen Xinggeng spoke at the meeting. The meeting demanded that all party organizations grasp the following: 1) To popularize the "guiding principles" among the people and work in accordance with the "guiding principles"; 2) to study the "guiding principles" in connection with local conditions and mobilize the people's activism to promote the four modernizations; 3) to make use of advanced models in educating the masses; and 4) to strengthen discipline inspection. [HK060714 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 13 Sep 80 HK]

HUBEI NEW WORK STYLE--The Yingshan County Revolutionary Committee in Hubei Province has implemented a new work style and overcome the phenomenon of replacing the government with the party. As a result, it solved many problems which required government solutions. In the past, the Yingshan County CCP Committee had to decide on all important and trivial matters. In order to overcome the phenomenon of replacing the government with the party and uphold the principle of collective leadership and division of labor, the Yingshan County Revolutionary Committee has established a collective office of chairmen of the county revolutionary committee. This collective office holds a meeting monthly to discuss great issues and designate subordinate organizations to implement the decisions. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Sep 80 HK]

CSO: 4005

'BA YI RADIO' COMMENTS ON PLA SPENDING REDUCTION, POSSIBLE PURGE

OW080136 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] The 13 percent reduction in military spending for 1980 has caused comment among military cadres. The primary views of the cadres of the Lanzhou PLA units, the Fuzhou PLA units, the naval air force and some military schools can be summarized as follows:

1. The reduction of military spending is designed to compensate for financial deficits caused by erroneous economic policies and by military actions against Vietnam.

2. The shift of stress in national construction has pushed defense construction down to third place in precedence. Therefore, military spending must be reduced.

3. In the past the "gang of four" and their backstage boss needed to increase military spending by a large amount when they spread such examples of war hysteria as "the Soviet revisionists are bent on subjugating our country" and "world war is unavoidable" in order to divert attention from chaos and feudal fascist atrocities at home. Since our slogans have changed now, we no longer need such high military expenditures.

4. The reduction of military spending is just a tactic. China's military spending is never limited to a military budget as its only source. Some machine building ministries and scientific research units directly serve the armed forces.

Besides the aforesaid four general views, many cadres of the Beijing PLA units, the Guangzhou PLA units and the navy hold: One important reason for the reduction of military spending is to provide an excuse for conducting a third purge of PLA cadres. The appeal for further reducing personnel and for using manpower and finances primarily for improving and manufacturing new weapons is designed to create an opportunity for further striking at and discharging those cadres who had indirect relations with Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo.

Some naval cadres even openly said: Someone in the Central Committee hates the PLA because he suffered heavy blows when the PLA participated in supporting the leftists during the Cultural Revolution. Since being put in charge of the State Council for the first time in 1974, he has successively purged seven groups of military cadres. He recently resigned from his State Council post while retaining his power in the party Central Committee in order to personally supervise the purge of military cadres.

In short, the reduction of military spending has caused an anxious state of mind among military cadres. The propaganda materials issued by the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee and the General Political Department are poor in content and full of empty words and high-sounding political slogans. They are not convincing at all. This shows that our political work and propaganda work lag behind the current situation. The political and cultural level and the analytical ability of the PLA commanders and fighters are quite different from 20 years or even a dozen years ago. The use of old working methods and false propaganda cannot solve the ideological question of commanders and fighters.

CSO: 4005

'JIEFANGJUN BAO' REPORTS GUANGDONG DEPARTMENT COMMENDED

OW060248 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 5 Oct 80

[Text] According to a JIEFANGJUN BAO report, the cadres, fighters and staff members of the People's Armed Forces Department of Huidong County in Guangdong and their families have conscientiously adhered to the policies and regulations of the party and the government and have committed no law or discipline violations in the past 2 years. Because of this record, they have been commended by the Discipline Inspection Committee of the next higher organization.

Huidong County is situated near the South China Sea coast and adjoins Hong Kong. It is frequently visited by Overseas Chinese from Hong Kong and Macao, as well as by foreign guests in the past few years. Imported wristwatches, television sets, radio receiver-recorders and other high-grade commodities were often found on sale in the country and even in the area where the county People's Armed Forces Department is located.

To cope with this situation, the party committee of the department has constantly educated the cadres, fighters and staff members of the department and their families to carry forward our army's fine tradition of plain living and hard struggle and be models in adhering to government policies. The department party committee has announced explicit rules for them to follow.

The seven leaders of the county People's Armed Forces Department have conscientiously adhered to the policies and regulations of the party and the government. None of them has violated the law banning the purchase of television sets, radio receiver-recorders, wristwatches or other imported merchandise items. With their leaders as examples, the comrades of the county People's Armed Forces have conscientiously adhered to law and discipline.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

NAVY CADRE'S RESIGNATION REQUEST--Beijing, 19 Sep (XINHUA)--Recently Luo Rongjiang, 61-year-old deputy of the Fifth NPC, wrote a report to the PLA Navy party committee requesting that he be relieved of his post as deputy commandant of the Navy Submarine School and be replaced by a younger and more capable cadre. Luo Rongjiang called on veteran cadres to make room for talented younger cadres instead of picking on them and telling them they are unable to shoulder responsibilities. [OW240341 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1414 GMT 19 Sep 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

'NANFANG RIBAO' AIRS PLANNED PARENTHOOD PROBLEMS

HK060147 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2345 GMT
5 Oct 80

[Report on NANFANG RIBAO 6 October editorial: "There Should Be No Wavering in Ideology, No Reversals of Policy and No Relaxation in Work--Some Hopes Concerning the Province's Planned Parenthood Work"]

[Text] The editorial says: Guangdong has made progress in planned parenthood work this year and initially reversed the passive situation of continued rise in population growth in the previous 2 years. The birth rate is again tending to decline. However, it is estimated that the province's natural population growth rate this year will be about 14 per 1,000. Thus the province is still unable to meet the state target of reducing the figure to below 10 per 1,000. The percentage of couples having only one child is 12.7, far lower than the national average of 56. These figures prove that we must continue to make very great efforts in order to reduce the province's natural population growth rate to below 10 per 1,000 and control the province's population below 70 million before the end of the century.

The editorial says: In the light of the actual situation in the province, in carrying out planned parenthood work in future, we first hope that the leaders at all levels will continue to implement with unwavering ideology the planned parenthood targets set by the Central Committee and State Council. In particular, they must unwaveringly advocate that each couple should have only one child. At present, there are various reactions in society to the notion of having only one child. Some people hold that having only one child is too leftist a measure and the masses will not accept it. Others hold that it is the general trend of the times but does not conform to the common aspiration of the people, and so on and so forth. Unless these ideological problems are solved, they are bound to hinder the launching of planned parenthood work. We must help them to eliminate misunderstandings and worries, understand the situation, advance with firm step, unite as one and make common efforts to bring about a new situation in the province's planned parenthood work.

Secondly, we hope that the leaders at all levels will firmly carry out the existing principles, policies and regulations on planned parenthood. There should be no reversals of policy.

Next, we hope that the leaders at all levels will grasp this work still more tightly and avoid the slightest ideological tendency to relax.

At present, planned parenthood work is facing certain new situations and problems. For instance, some changes have occurred in the rural economic management system and some administrative and other units take full responsibility for their own expenditure, while the new marriage law has laid down new regulations with regard to the age of marriage, and so on and so forth. However, so long as we use our brains, we can devise specific measures and work methods suited to these new situations.

The editorial says in conclusion: The party and people sincerely hope that there will be no wavering in ideology, no reversals of policy and no relaxation in work in the province's planned parenthood work. So long as we can succeed in this, the province will be able to make still greater progress in planned parenthood work and make still greater contributions to building the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005

ACTIVITIES NOTED AT BEIJING NATIONAL MINORITIES ART FESTIVAL

Minority Artists Perform

OW070712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, Oct 7 (XINHUA)--With more than 2,000 performers in Beijing for a festival of national minority art, theatre and culture experts in the capital are acquainting themselves with the artists and the cultural achievements of China's 55 national minorities.

The one-month festival, which is scheduled to close on October 20, is running simultaneous performances in four Beijing theatres each night.

The vice-president of the Chinese Dancers' Association, Jia Zuoguang, said today that the standard of performances by the singers, dancers and musicians "far exceeds" the presentations at the first national minority festival held in the early 1960's.

A teacher of dance for nearly 30 years, and an expert in minority dances, Jia Zuoguang commended the strongly "natural" flavor of the dances and songs now being presented in Beijing.

He marked particularly the vibrant performances of the Inner Mongolian "Wulanmuqi" (performers on horseback) who spend eight months a year among the herdsmen of their region; the ancient dances of the Zhuang people of south China who, with 12 million people, are the biggest of China's national minorities; the fishing dance of the Hezhe people of northeast China, only 800 strong and the smallest minority; and the music and dances of the Uygur people of northwest China and China's Korean community.

Jia Zuoguang also noted a highly developed artistry among the musicians of the Jinuo people who live in the bamboo groves of southwest China. The Jinuos are the latest to be officially recognized as a distinct nationality. Their music group performed on instruments all made of bamboo.

First Hui Opera Presented

OW070802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, Oct 7 (XINHUA)--The first Hui opera was staged in Beijing this week to represent the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region at the national minorities art festival.

"Mansur," based on a centuries-old legend of the Hui people, is about Mansur the brave shepherd who overcomes all dangers and tests to win the hand of a princess whom he has saved.

Twenty-eight Hui singers and dancers appeared in this opera developed from "Hua Er (Flower)," a form of folk singing popular among the Hui people which has a strict tonal pattern and rhyme patterns, and is rich in metaphor.

Gudratullah Ma Tengai, vice president of the China Islamic Association, who is a senior imam, acted as adviser to the opera.

Critics here acclaimed the presentation as "a remarkable advance in Hui musical art."

The opera was authored by 35-year-old Zhang Zongcan, a Beijing student who went to Ningxia at 20 in 1965 and has collected and studied the folk music of the local people.

Singing the role of the princess is 23-year-old Wang Cunqin of Hui nationality who started her career as an amateur and later joined a local art troupe.

When "Mansur" was given its premiere in Ningxia, it was warmly received by the Hui audience as "our own opera."

At a discussion to invite opinions in Yinchuan, capital of the autonomous region, "Mansur" won the approval of local Islamic leaders. "It doesn't jar with our religion," an imam said. "It's good that the life of the Hui nationality be presented in art and be introduced to the whole country. We approve of it," another imam said.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

ENCYCLOPEDIA PUBLICATION PLANS--Beijing, 29 Sep (XINHUA)--The first of the 80 volumes that will make up the "China Greater Encyclopedia"--a 10-year project undertaken by several publishing houses--will be printed by the end of this year, the publishers said today. The first volume, on astronomy, deals with the latest discoveries as well as China's long history of research in this field. More than 200 astronomers worked on the book for over 2 years. Volumes on archeology, law, history, literature, philosophy, religion, economics, military science, mathematics and geography are now being prepared. The complete encyclopedia will have 100,000 entries. [Text] [OW290251 Beijing XINHUA in English 0145 GMT 29 Sep 80 OW]

CHINA YEARBOOK--Beijing, 27 Sep (XINHUA)--"The 1980 Yearbook of the Greater Encyclopedia of China," China's first will be put on sale soon. The book covers international politics, military affairs, diplomacy, economics, science and technology, philosophy, literature and art, education, medicine and social life. It gives an account of the major events in China before May 1980. The 740-page book comes in a de luxe and a paperback edition and has 433 color and black-and-white pictures. Among the contributors to the book which has 1,700 entries are more than 800 specialists, scholars and public figures. The yearbook was edited and published by the Shanghai branch of the Greater Encyclopedia of China Publishing House. A new yearbook will be published each year in the future. [Text] [OW281653 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 27 Sep 80 OW]

CONTRACEPTIVES SUPPLY--Beijing, 18 Sep (XINHUA)--China now produces 30 kinds of medicine and 14 kinds of appliances for contraceptive purposes and supplies them free of charge, according to today's "Health News." China started to supply contraceptives free of charge in 1974 to promote family planning. Over 50 factories scattered all over the country produce oral, injection and external use medicines or appliances. Interuterine rings, which are welcomed in the rural areas, are produced by most of these factories. [Text] [OW201135 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 18 Sep 80 OW]

ANCIENT MINORITY LANGUAGES EXHIBIT--Beijing, 1 Oct (XINHUA)--An exhibition of ancient written languages of China's national minorities, the first of its kind since the founding of new China, opens to the public here today in the Nationalities Palace of Culture. On display are 16 ancient written languages, showing when and where they were used. The exhibits include orders by kings, sutras written on tree leaves, tablet inscriptions, hand scrolls, memorials to the throne, inscribed wooden and bamboo slips, official seals, ancient coins and mirrors, xylographic books and typed books. The ancient minority languages include: Tujue (Turk), Huigu (Ouigour), ancient Tibetan, ancient Mongolian, and Man (Manchu). The exhibition is jointly sponsored by the Nationalities Palace of Culture, the Cultural Department under the State Nationalities Affairs Commission and the China National Ancient Written Languages Research Society. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0149 GMT 1 Oct 80 OW]

'BEIJING RIBAO' SUBURBAN EDITION--Beijing, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--The Beijing daily paper BEIJING DAILY [BEIJING RIBAO] launched a suburban edition today to cater for rural readers on the outskirts of the Chinese capital. A successor to the BEIJING PEASANT PAPER published before the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), the 4-page paper said in its first editorial that it will publicize Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the policies of the Chinese Communist Party and scientific and cultural knowledge. It said it also aims to give a voice to the suburban people. The suburban paper will be published every Tuesday and Friday. [Text] [OW051255 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 3 Oct 80 OW]

HISTORICAL ATLAS--Beijing, 21 Sep (XINHUA)--An atlas of the general history of China is to be published here shortly by the Cartographic Publishing House. It is the first such atlas since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. The atlas, a companion volume to the "General History of China" compiled by the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, covers several thousand years from primitive society to the Opium War of 1840. It bears an inscription by the late historian Guo Moruo, who oversaw the production of the "General History of China." Presented in two volumes, the atlas contains 113 maps, including the sites of primitive societies, political and administrative changes under various dynasties, distribution and migrations of Chinese nationalities, and ancient wars. Maps showing contacts with foreign countries in ancient times are also included. The atlas is compiled by the Institute of History, Fudan University, the People's Publishing House and the Cartographic Publishing House under the supervision of Yin Da, deputy director of the Institute of History. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 21 Sep 80 OW]

MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHERS--Lhasa, 21 Sep (XINHUA)--More than 500 middle school teachers from different parts of China have come to Tibet, the "roof of the world," and have already started working in the local schools. This is a further step to speed up the development of education in this region. The teachers came from the provinces of Sichuan, Jiangsu, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Shandong, Liaoning and the municipality of Shanghai, in accordance with a directive of the State Council. These provinces and Shanghai had dispatched three groups of middle school teachers with a total of 1,100 to Tibet in the past. The teachers formed the mainstay of the teaching staff in the local schools. This year, 45 teachers from Henan Province entered the Ngari area (?at) an altitude of 4,500 meters above sea level in northwestern Tibet where teachers from inland have never reached before. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 21 Sep 80 OW]

POSTGRADUATE STUDENT ENROLLMENT--Beijing, 26 Sep (XINHUA)--This year's postgraduate enrollment in China is 3,600. More than 90 percent are in 257 universities and colleges. The rest are in various research institutes under the Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences and research institutes attached to government ministries or under provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Some new specialties have been set up this year in order to meet the needs of the country's four modernizations. The Institute of Technological Economics under the Academy of Social Sciences has set up new specialties in the economics of energy and the world economy. Postgraduate training was resumed in China in 1978 after a lapse of 12 years. China altogether enrolled 19,000 postgraduate students in 1978 and 1979. The postgraduates normally take 3-year courses. The drop in the number of postgraduates this year was due to the dwindling number of college graduates and lowering of college standards during the "Cultural Revolution." [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 26 Sep 80 OW]

ANCIENT CHINESE SCHOLARS FORUMS--Beijing, 26 Sep (XINHUA)--Forums on two ancient Chinese scholars--Su Dongpo and Pu Songling—were held recently in their native counties. Su Dongpo, also called Su Shi, was one of eight noted scholars of the Tang and Song dynasties. He was a prolific writer of essays and poems, and accomplished in calligraphy, painting and music. More than 80 people from all parts of China met in Meishan County, Sichuan Province in mid September to discuss Su Dongpo's literary thinking and contributions to aesthetics and music. They also set up a society to study his works. A Qing dynasty writer, Pu Songling is known for his "Liao Zhai Zhi Yi" (Strange Stories From a Chinese Studio). It has been translated into 13 languages in the past 200 years. Some 70 people attended the forum on Pu Songling, held in Zibo County, Shandong Province also in mid September. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 26 Sep 80 OW]

ACADEMY MATRICULATION--Beijing, 23 Sep (XINHUA)--The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and its branches and institutes in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions recently matriculated two research fellows, 39 associate research fellows, and 319 assistant researchers and research trainees through stringent examinations, examination of papers and interviews. Most of the matriculated research personnel, who were chosen from more than 4,300 candidates throughout the country, are middle-aged and young people. Among them 7.9 percent are students returned from abroad and graduate school students, over 84 percent are college graduates or college students, and some are self-made high school students. Many of the matriculated have already had their books and academic papers published. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0818 GMT 25 Sep 80 OW]

LITERARY PERIODICAL—Beijing, 26 Sep (XINHUA)--A new literary monthly called XIAOSHUO XUANKAN (MAGAZINE OF SELECTED FICTION) has been recently published in Beijing. The new periodical is edited by the editorial department of RENMIN WENXUE (PEOPLE'S LITERATURE). The initial issue contains a preface written by Mao Dun. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0115 GMT 26 Sep 80 OW]

MINORITY LIBRARY--Beijing, 27 Sep (XINHUA)--The Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities was recently opened to the public. Established in 1959, the library has a floor space of 2,485 square meters and a collection of 380,000 volumes. The books include those written in various minority and foreign languages. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1211 GMT 27 Sep 80 OW]

SOONG CHING LING INSCRIPTION--Starting in its October issue, CHINA RECONSTRUCTS, a journal of the China Welfare Institute headed by Soong Ching Ling, will publish its new Chinese-language edition. Founded in 1952, the monthly is now available in English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese and Arabic editions in 140 countries. The first issue of the Chinese-language edition, which will be published in unsimplified Chinese characters to suit the reading habits of readers residing abroad and in Taiwan, will carry the inscription of Soong Ching Ling, who underscores Overseas Chinese concern and support for the motherland's modernization program and reunification and hopes the new Chinese-language edition will promote understanding and an interflow of affection between the people on the mainland on the one hand and Overseas Chinese and compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao on the other hand, so that they may coordinate their efforts to build a prosperous, powerful and unified motherland. [Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Taiwan 0400 GMT 18 Sep 80 OW]

BEIJING HISTORY STUDY--Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--The first academic discussion meeting on Beijing's history, which was also a meeting for the formation of the Society for the Study of Beijing's History, concluded on 29 September after 3 days in session. The meeting was attended by more than 120 professional and amateur scholars of Beijing's history. It adopted a proposal calling for vigorously carrying out the work of studying and publishing Beijing's history. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1420 GMT 30 Sep 80 OW]

BEIJING PUBLISHING HOUSE--Beijing, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--The Current Affairs Publishing House, a newly established publishing house in Beijing, has systematically begun publishing books concerning the international situation and the political, economic, military, cultural, educational, historical and geographical situation in various countries of the world as well as in China's Taiwan Province. Among books soon to be published are "The Shedding of Pak Chong-hui's Blood at Kungjong-tong--an Actual Account of South Korea's Chaotic Political Situation," "Selected Patriotic and Nostalgic Poems of Taiwan," "Our Motherland's Taiwan" and others. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0119 GMT 3 Oct 80 OW]

BEIJING PHILOSOPHY SYMPOSIUM--Beijing, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--A symposium on the history of philosophy was held on 18 and 19 September in Beijing under the sponsorship of ZHONGGUO ZHEXIE (CHINESE PHILOSOPHY), WAIGUO ZHEXIE (FOREIGN PHILOSOPHY) and the editorial department of the "Philosophy" supplement of GUANGMING RIBAO. Attending the symposium were mostly graduate students majoring in philosophy history from various institutions of higher learning, including Beijing University, the graduate school of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Chinese People's University, Shandong University, Wuhan University, Zhongshan University and Xian Teachers University. They called for further efforts to study the history of philosophy, saying that creative study in this regard should be encouraged. According to opinions expressed at the symposium, although the study of philosophy history should be guided by Marxism, it should be based on the objective facts in the history of philosophy. Also, Chinese philosophical history, because of its peculiar social background, cannot be mechanically explained by the struggle between materialism and idealism. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1135 GMT 22 Sep 80 OW]

GUANGZHOU EDUCATION WORK CONFERENCE--From 12 to 16 September, the Guangzhou municipal CCP and revolutionary committees held an education work conference to look into the problems of reforming the educational structure of the middle schools, adult education and popularization of primary education. The conference resolved to improve the backwardness of education and to strive to greatly develop the municipality's education cause in the 1980's. Ou Chu and Luo Peiyuan, leading comrades of the municipal CCP and revolutionary committees, attended. Luo Peiyuan also gave a report at the conference, calling on the municipality to actively reform, readjust and develop the education cause and train more qualified people for the four modernizations. He said that of the 81 middle schools in the urban areas of the municipality, 31 should remain as complete middle schools, 20 should be changed to junior middle schools and the other 30 should be gradually changed to middle vocational schools and technical schools or to middle schools with vocational courses. He also said that in 1981, the municipality will run 57 vocational courses and enroll 2,000 students. In 1981, every county and suburban area will run 2 to 4 agriculture, forestry and fishery schools. The municipal CCP committee has decided to set up a secondary education leadership group. Ou Chu, municipal CCP committee secretary, also spoke on 16 September. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 17 Sep 80 HK]

JIANGSU PLANNED PARENTHOOD--On 4 October the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee held a telephone conference, urging all party organizations to vigorously publicize and implement the guidelines contained in the letter from the CCP Central Committee [to] CCP and CYL members on population control. Attending the conference were responsible comrades from all prefectures, municipalities, counties and provincial-level departments concerned. Wang Haisu, member of the provincial CCP committee Standing Committee, addressed the conference. He said that the province's birthrate has steadily declined. From 1970 to 1979, there were 5 million fewer newborn babies than originally expected. As of the end of June 75 percent of the province's 1.6 million couples with one child promised not to have a second child. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 4 Oct 80 OW]

NEI MONGGOL RELIGIOUS FORUM--Forums of representatives of Buddhism, Taoism and Lamaism have been held recently in Hohhot Municipality, Nei Monggol Autonomous Region. Personages from religious circles discussed matters concerning religious activities and the resumption of boards of management of Buddhism, Taoism and Lamaism. Forum participants vowed that they would assist the party and government in implementing the party's policy on religion, carry out rational religious activities and contribute to the four modernizations. [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Oct 80 SK]

SHANGHAI MODERN DRAMA--Shanghai, 1 Oct (XINHUA)--A new modern drama, "Welcome You Back," is being shown in Shanghai. The drama depicts the return of former Kuomintang acting president Li Zongren to the motherland in 1965. In the drama's last scene, a huge picture showing Premier Zhou shaking hands with Li Zongren is projected in the background and the following remark of Premier Zhou is heard: "There have been two instances of cooperation in the history of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. Why can't there be a third cooperation?" The drama is being staged by the Shanghai youth modern drama troupe. [0020159 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0111 GMT 1 Oct 80 OW]

CSO: 4020 END

JPRS 76672

22 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 131

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76672

22 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 131

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Iran To Send Delegation to Parley on Iran-Iraq War (XINHUA, 9 Oct 80) 1

Iraq Seeks India's Aid in Ending Conflict With Iran (XINHUA, 10 Oct 80) 2

Japan's Papers on U.S., USSR Roles in Iran-Iraq War (XINHUA, 8 Oct 80) 3

Islamic UN Group on Israeli Delegation Credentials (XINHUA, 9 Oct 80) 4

Israel's Isolation at UN Viewed (XINHUA, 10 Oct 80) 5

Former UK Prime Minister Cited on USSR Threat (XINHUA, 9 Oct 80) 7

FRG's Bundestag Elections Reviewed (XINHUA, 9 Oct 80) 8

Helmut Schmidt Nominated as FRG's Chancellor (XINHUA, 9 Oct 80) 10

Pakistan's Ziaul Haq Visits FRG's Schmidt (XINHUA, 10 Oct 80) 11

U.S. Papers on Soviet-Syrian Treaty (XINHUA, 10 Oct 80) 12

Czechoslovakia CP Holds 18th Plenary Session (XINHUA, 10 Oct 80) 13

[III - CC - 80]

Former Polish Radio, TV Heads Expelled From Party
(XINHUA, 8 Oct 80) 14

Shenyang Court Sentences Syrian Student
(XINHUA, 6 Oct 80) 15

Chinese, FRG Scientists Collect Fossils in Nei Monggol
(XINHUA, 9 Oct 80) 16

Minority Song, Dance Troupe To Tour Europe
(XINHUA, 11 Oct 80) 17

Briefs

Jiangxi Economic Friendship Delegation 18
Beijing Joint Venture 18
Beijing English Training Center 18
Tianjin Delegation to Japan 18
Tianjin German Medical Exhibition 18
Korean Delegation in Guangzhou 19
Chen Muhua Meets Outgoing Envoys 19
Postponement of OPEC Summit 19
Swedish Honorary Degree 19
Portuguese Orchestra Premiere 19
Grenadians Protest Cuban Presence 20
French Foreign Minister Cited 20
SFRY Concern Over Conflict 20
Iran-Iraq War Viewed 21
Iraqi Forces Launch Missiles 21
Blankets Sent to Afghan Refugees 21
Radio Riyadh Asks for Settlement 21
Jordan Continues To Support Iraq 22
Iraq Seeks Ceasefire 22
Guangdong Banquet for Danish Delegation 22
Romanian Editor in Nanjing 22
Canadian Delegation in Heilongjiang 22

PARTY AND STATE

Pre-Trial of Lin Biao Clique, 'Gang of Four' Discussed
(Lin Nan; CHENG MING, 1 Oct 80) 23

'CHENG MING' Article on Beijing Gossip About Zhao, Ye
(Lo Ping; CHENG MING, 1 Oct 80) 26

'HSIN WAN PAO' Demands Chen Yonggui 'Be Brought to Justice'
(HSIN WAN PAO, 7 Oct 80) 31

'HSIN WAN PAO' on Jiang's 'Unofficial History,'
Upcoming Trial
(HSIN WAN PAO, 6 Oct 80) 33

Ye Jinnying Speeches Discussed at Hubei Committee Meeting
(Hebei Provincial Service, 27 Sep 80) 35

Tendency of Some Cadres To Attack Talented People Scored
(Si Quan, Xiao Mei; BEIJING RIBAO, 23 Jul 80) 36

Nei Monggol Forum on Promoting Young, Middle-Aged Cadres
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 8 Oct 80) 38

Xinjiang Official Stresses Unity at Meeting of Cadres
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 9 Oct 80) 39

Henan Forum Stresses Improving Party Discipline
(Henan Provincial Service, 9 Oct 80) 41

Workers Remove Northeast Forestry Farm Leader From Post
(XINHUA, 14 Oct 80) 43

Shanghai Store Integrates Ideological Work, Production
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 26 Jul 80) 44

Briefs
Liaoning Nationalities Delegation 47
Heilongjiang Islamic Congress 47
Yunnan Nationalities Affairs Committee 47
Liaoning Trade 47
Hunan People's Congress Session 48
Guizhou People's Government Meeting 48
Guangzhou Propaganda Work Conference 48
Hainan CCP Committee Meeting 48
Hainan Island Tours 49
Hainan Visiting Group 49
Hebei Autonomous County Anniversary 49
Gansu Dongxiang County Celebration 50
Gansu Report Meeting 50
Anhui Crime Fighting 50
Changzhou Municipal Party Congress 50
Liaoning Delegation Visits Xinjiang 50
Beijing Rural Work Conference 51
Liaoning Trial 51
Beijing Radio Praised 52

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Discussion on Former Deputy Commander Zhou Changsheng
(Chen Guanbai, Jiang Ping; ZHEJIANG RIBAO,
21 Sep 80) 53

Three Convicted for Gun Thefts
(Xing Baohuan; HAINAN RIBAO, 18 Sep 80) 56

Briefs
Hubei Militia Building Meeting 58
Beijing Police Activities 58
Shanghai Official Attends Performance 58

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Heilongjiang Issues Circular on Family Planning
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 11 Oct 80) 59

Zhejiang Issues Circular on Planned Parenthood
(Zhejiang Provincial Service, 10 Oct 80) 61

Heilongjiang Holds Telephone Conference on Family Planning
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 8 Oct 80) 63

Official Discusses Child Care
(XINHUA, 10 Oct 80) 65

People Warned of Gold, Silver Speculators
(Jiang Baolin, Liu Fengyi; TIANJIN RIBAO, 9 Jul 80). 67

Guangdong Cracks Down on Smugglers, Profiteers
(NANFANG RIBAO, 25 Jul 80) 68

Two Books by PRC's Late Leading Movie Star Published
(XINHUA, 10 Oct 80) 71

Reappraising Literature, Art Policy Advocated
(Lin Wei; WEN WEI PO, 7 Oct 80) 73

Beijing Linguistics Association Holds Forum on Polite Speech
(Beijing City Service, 25 Sep 80) 75

'RENMIN RIBAO' Commentator's Article on Educational Funds
(RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Oct 80) 76

Article Discusses Education in Atheism
(Lei Zhenchang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 25 Aug 80) 78

In-Service Training of Technicians Must Be Promoted
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 18 Aug 80) 81

First Group of New Students for Shanghai Schools of Higher Learning
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 18 Aug 80) 83

Shanghai Takes Steps To Improve Secondary Education
(Zhang Yifu; GUANGMING RIBAO, 28 Aug 80) 85

Comments on Personnel Training at Institutions of Higher Learning
(Yang Deguang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 13 Aug 80) 87

Training of Technical Personnel of Zang Nationality
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 14 Aug 80) 92

Relationship Among Minority Nationalities in China
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 15 Aug 80) 94

Briefs

Northeast Health Workers Training 96
Sichuan Workers Education 96
Peasants Move to Towns 96
Shandong Workers Schools 97
Fujian Planned Parenthood Work 97
Guangdong Planned Parenthood 97
Guangzhou Mid-Autumn Festival Soiree 98
Guizhou Graduates to Xizang 98
Guizhou Education Meeting 98
Qinghai Tibetan Books 99
Revised Language Dictionary 99
New Lexica Publication 99
Lu Xun Letter Preservation 99
China Library Society Meeting 99
Sichuan Literature, Art Meeting 100
Jiangxi German Classes 100
Liaoning New Universities 100
Ningxhia Prehistorical Quake Site 100
Ningxhia Literary Collection 101
Fujian Forum on Education 101
Hubei Newspaper Work Forum 101
Shandong Cadre School 101
Xinjiang History Publication 102
Shaanxi Archeology Journal 102
Education for Gansu Minority 102

IRAN TO SEND DELEGATION TO PARLEY ON IRAN-IRAQ WAR

OW091244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 9 Oct 80

[Text] Tehran, 9 October (XINHUA)--Iran will send a 17-member delegation to participate in a UN parley on the conflict between Iran and Iraq, announced Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Jamshid Haqgou here yesterday in an interview with KEYHAN.

Referring to the delegation's position, Haqgou reiterated that it was Iraq that started the war, and it will not end until Iraq withdraws its troops from Iranian territory. He complained that Iran finds itself isolated because of the absence of a coordinated foreign policy and its long non-participation in international politics.

Meanwhile, both countries announced plans to send delegations abroad to explain their respective positions on the conflict. Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i said last night that Iran will send a high-ranking delegation to some "revolutionary" countries. He did not name the countries.

A report from Baghdad said that five Iraqi envoys left Baghdad yesterday with messages from President Saddam Husayn to kings and presidents of 27 European, African and Asian countries. The messages dealt with the latest developments of the fighting with Iran and the dangers resulting from "the war on Iraq and the Arab nation," the report noted.

CSO: 4020

IRAQ SEEKS INDIA'S AID IN ENDING CONFLICT WITH IRAN

OW100822 Beijing XINHUA in English 0745 GMT 10 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, 10 October (XINHUA)--Iraq has sought India's initiative in bringing to an end its conflict with Iran, according to a New Delhi report quoting "Times of India" today.

This was conveyed yesterday to Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi by Jasim Muhammad al-Khalaf, special envoy of President Saddam Husayn of Iraq, who had an hour-long meeting with her, the paper said.

Al-Khalaf, who handed over a message from the Iraqi president to Mrs Gandhi, told her that in view of India's close friendship with both Iran and Iraq, his country would welcome India taking an initiative in ending the fighting, the paper reported.

Mrs Gandhi responded by saying that India would be glad to be of any help. But she pointed out that any such offer would require agreement of both parties to the conflict.

Expressing concern and distress at the prolonged conflict, the prime minister hoped that it would not escalate and lead to involvement of other countries, especially the superpowers.

Mrs Gandhi reiterated India's hope that the conflict would be resolved peacefully at the earliest.

CSO: 4020

JAPAN'S PAPERS ON U.S., USSR ROLES IN IRAN-IRAQ WAR

OW081220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 8 Oct 80

[Text] Tokyo, 8 October (XINHUA)--Japanese papers fear that the Soviet Union and the U.S. might get involved in the war between Iraq and Iran and that this would prolong that war.

MAINICHI SHIMBUN says today: "The Soviet Union, which has concluded a friendship and cooperation treaty with Iraq, offers to provide Iran with arms assistance. This fact, coming as a great shock to the parties concerned in the Middle East, shows that the Soviet Middle East strategy is: 'Iran--the next target after Afghanistan.' To counter this, the United States has sent to Saudi Arabia early warning system aircraft and in the name of defending the Gulf, intends to reestablish its military footholds in the Persian Gulf region from which the U.S. became estranged." This would prolong the Iraq-Iran war.

NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN notes today: "Syrian President Assad and Jordan King Husayn will visit Moscow this week and in the coming week." It is likely that the Soviet Union "will sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation with Syria." "This is a new Soviet strategic plan in the Middle East," the paper points out.

CSO: 4020

ISLAMIC UN GROUP ON ISRAELI DELEGATION CREDENTIALS

OW090324 Beijing XINHUA in English 0226 GMT 9 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, 8 October (XINHUA)--Forty member states of the Islamic Conference have formally expressed their "reservation" on the credentials of the Israeli delegation to the 35th session of the UN General Assembly.

A letter to this effect adopted at the meeting of the Islamic group held yesterday afternoon was handed over last night to Baron Rudigar von Wechmar, president of the current General Assembly, by Pakistani Ambassador Niaz A. Naik in his capacity as the chairman of the Islamic group at the UN.

The letter says, "The participation of the delegation of Israel in the work of the General Assembly in any form shall be without prejudice to the specific status of the holy city of Jerusalem and to any such measures as may be taken by the United Nations General Assembly or the Security Council towards seeking the implementation of their resolutions on the question of Palestine and Jerusalem."

Naik requested the assembly president to circulate the letter as an official document of the General Assembly under the agenda item "Report of the Credentials Committee."

He conveyed to the assembly president "our reservation on the credentials of the delegation of Israel to the 35th regular session of the General Assembly for it represents a government that has, in flagrant violation of international law and in total defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly the Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980), declared the holy city of Jerusalem as its capital."

Sources said that the letter marked the beginning of a process that could include a formal challenge to the credentials of the Israeli delegation and other actions against Zionist Israel.

CSO: 4020

ISRAEL'S ISOLATION AT UN VIEWED

OW101538 Beijing XINHUA in English 1520 GMT 10 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, 9 October (XINHUA)--At a recent UN session, when the representative of Israel finished his speech and left the podium, no one came up to shake hands with him. This vividly shows how isolated Israel is today in the international community.

Israel's isolation stems from its policies of aggression and expansion. In the past year, the Middle East region witnessed a series of acts of aggression committed by Israel against Palestine and other Arab states. Israel repeatedly carried out barbaric aggression against southern Lebanon; it subjected the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestine land to cruel forms of oppression; it unilaterally changed the status of Eastern Jerusalem and illegally proclaimed the city its capital; and it persistently set up settlements in these Arab territories occupied by force.

To deal with the situation in the Middle East, the General Assembly has adopted dozens of resolutions and the Security Council has also adopted several resolutions. It is worth mentioning that within this year, 9 out of 18 debates conducted by the Security Council were devoted to the issue of the Middle East and Palestine, and on the same problem, the General Assembly convened an emergency special session.

However, all these efforts are futile due to Israel's intransigence. Foreign minister of Saudi Arabia Prince al-Faysal resentfully pointed out: "The Security Council has been rendered powerless and unable to adopt a resolution to deter Israel; and every resolution adopted by the General Assembly denouncing and warning Israel is ignored and goes unheeded by Israel."

The arrogance and intransigence of Israel were condemned or criticised by almost all the nations in the world.

Recently, the Islamic group of 40 countries, expressed to the assembly's president their reservations on the credentials of the Israeli representation in the United Nations, serving a serious warning to Israel.

Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, one of the founding members of the non-aligned movement, lashed at Israel for its persistent violation of the principles of the UN charter and the decisions of the United Nations "by its permanent aggression and usurpation of the rights of Arab peoples, by the annexation of Jerusalem, as well as by constant attacks on the independence of Lebanon."

Moustapha Niasse, foreign minister of Senegal, current chairman of the OAU, stressed that "Israel must understand that it cannot indefinitely deny on the pretext of preserving the security of the Zionist state the fact of Palestine, the Palestinians' right to self-determination, their right to existence as an independent state or, finally, their right of return to their homeland."

EEC representative Caston Thorn reiterated, among other things, that the Palestinian problem "is not a mere refugee problem" and the Palestinian people "must be enabled to exercise fully its right to self-determination." He accused Israel of "creating a serious obstacle to the peace process" by illegally pursuing settlement policy in the occupied Arab land and unilaterally changing the status of Jerusalem. He stressed that the Palestinian people and the PLO "should be associated" in the Middle East peace negotiations.

However, abetted and connived by the two superpowers, Israel's obstinacy remains unchanged. Israeli representative in his address to the General Assembly neither said a word about the Palestinian rights, nor mentioned the withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories. On the contrary, he slandered the PLO, the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people, as a "murder organization," and termed "self-determination" as "nothing more than a euphemism for the destruction of Israel." All of this once again shows that Israel is bent on pursuing its policy of aggression and expansion.

But, it can be said with certainty, the more intransigent Israel becomes, the more isolated it will be.

CSO: 4020

FORMER UK PRIME MINISTER CITED ON USSR THREAT

OW090738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 9 Oct 80

[Text] Brighton, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--"The security of everyone of us is threatened by the restless Soviet giant to the East. And the dangers of stumbling into a world war by miscalculation are closer than at any time since 1945," declared former British Prime Minister Edward Heath in a statement here today. The statement was released at a reception held by the Conservative Group for Europe. Heath is attending the Conservative Party's annual conference which began here yesterday.

In his statement, Heath pointed out: "Seldom in the history of Europe has the need for unity been so great. But seldom in the history of the community has the potential for progress in European unity also been so great. Many of its internal disputes have been solved. We have a growing convergence of views between the EEC countries on some of the great international problems of the day."

Commenting on the demand for Britain's withdrawal from the EEC, he indicated: "The British people must know that the community takes well over 40 percent of all British exports; that in 1979 our non-oil export to the EEC rose four times more than to the rest of the world; that 7 out of 10 of Britain's largest export markets are other members of the community; and that our trade performance with the EEC has consistently improved since we joined, and is now better than with the rest of the world as a whole."

"But we must not stop there," Heath stressed, "we must show that by taking a strong lead to create a united Europe, Britain can become once again the master of her destiny rather than the helpless servant of international events."

CSO: 4020

FRG'S BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS REVIEWED

OW091340 Beijing XINHUA in English 1219 GMT 9 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, 9 October (XINHUA correspondents Hu Yongzhen, Du Yunxie and People's Daily correspondent Weng Zuyao)--The Social Democratic-Free Democratic coalition came out the winners in the just-concluded, once-in-four-year Bundestag (Federal Assembly) elections. The general view of the people on the elections was that there had not been any fundamental change in the balance of strength between different parties, but the increased votes for the Free Democratic Party turned out to be a surprise.

As correspondents invited to cover the general elections among 150 newsmen from 60 countries, we toured some polling stations. At a polling station where 650 voters were to cast their ballots, the responsible personnel told us that 81 percent of the voters had cast their ballots by 03:30 in the afternoon.

The balloting wound up by six in the afternoon, official election returns were announced at two o'clock the next morning: the Social Democrats gained 42.9 percent of the total votes, up 0.3 percent over the previous election; the Free Democrats mustered 10.6 percent of votes, showing a 2.7 percent increase, and the Christian Democratic-Christian Social Alliance obtained 44.5 percent of votes, down 4.1 percent.

The Social Democratic-Free Democratic coalition will continue to be in power. To this, even the opposition leader Franz Josef Strauss did not have any doubt when he was picked as candidate for the chancellorship in July last year. He indicated at the time that it was unlikely for the opposition to gain an absolute majority of votes in general elections, a view shared by public opinion in June and July this year.

However, the Free Democratic Party was viewed in the press as the biggest winner, gaining 10.6 percent of votes from only 7.9 percent in the previous electi-ns in 1976, the best result in the past 20 years which took everybody by surprise. In reply to our question, general secretary of the Free Democratic Party Verheugen said: "This is something unexpected even within the Free Democratic Party." In the past 2 years, the Free

Democratic Party has been in a difficult situation, losing three state elections on the eve of the general elections, and, on top of that, it again lost in the North Rhine-Westphalia state last May.

In regard to the Free Democratic Party's unexpected victory, commentaries by various papers here all inclined to see it as a case in which "the fisherman profits when the snipe and the clam grapple." Both in the initial stage of the election campaign between June and July and the last stage in mid and late September, the Social Democratic Party and the opposition party were locked in charges and counter-charges which made the voters sick. The Free Democratic Party acted differently from these two parties. It took great pains to explain that at stake in the elections was the question whether a three-party system or a bipartisan system should be observed in the Federal Assembly (Bundestag). While the campaign was going on, the party refrained from making accusations but dealt with practical problems. This was vividly demonstrated over the TV debate among the four parties on 2 October which was watched by 30 million viewers. During the debate which lasted for three and a half hours, Hans-Dietrich Genscher avoided getting involved in the mutual recrimination among the other three people but centered his talk on substantial issues. All press comments regarded Genscher's approach as the most successful.

The sharp increase of the votes for the Free Democratic Party was deeply rooted in the mentality of most voters who desire stability and fear chaos. In the crises-ridden 1980's, it is the hope of the majority of voters that there will not be any big changes in the domestic and foreign policies. Therefore, they have no desire to see the current ruling party replaced by the opposition party or the Social Democratic Party in the reins of government alone which would make the "left wing" forces within the Social Democratic Party free from the containing force of the Free Democratic Party. Commenting on this, a paper noted that the Free Democratic Party is an indispensable third force to play a coordinating role at the present stage. It is the status of a third force that has helped the party win more votes.

According to the agenda presented by Helmut Schmidt at a news conference on the eve of the election campaign a new government is to be formed a month or so after the general elections. It is predicted that the new government is not likely to make any change in its internal and external policies. Schmidt said later on that both domestic and foreign policies would be carried on uninterruptedly.

CSO: 4020

HELMUT SCHMIDT NOMINATED AS FRG'S CHANCELLOR

OW091346 Beijing XINHUA in English 1255 GMT 9 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, 9 October (XINHUA)--Leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party, at their first meeting on 7 October after winning the Bundestag (Federal Assembly) elections on 5 October, agreed on broad guidelines for future government policies and endorsed the nomination of Helmut Schmidt as chancellor for another four-year term, according to reports from Bonn.

A statement issued after the meeting said that the two-party ruling alliance will take disarmament, detente and improvement of relations with East Germany as the cornerstone of their policies. The statement also put emphasis on the need to solve unemployment and other economic problems and curbing violence and terrorism.

The statement promised to continue the "clear and dependable foreign and security policies which had earned solid trust throughout the world" and the "policy of military balance, of arms limitation at the lowest possible level, of strengthening the alliance and the European common market, and of being a reliable partner."

The statement was viewed by observers as having put greater emphasis on relations with the Western alliance. This showed that the Free Democratic Party, which has won an unexpectedly sizable victory in the elections, is now exercising greater influence with its leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher hoping to play a greater role in the country's external policy, pressing ahead more forcefully with his own line.

The statement indicated that Genscher and Willy Brandt, leaders of the two parties, had submitted Schmidt to President Karl Carstens as head of the future government.

It is reported that the newly-elected Bundestag will meet on 4 November to elect the new chancellor.

CSO: 4020

PAKISTAN'S ZIAUL HAQ VISITS FRG'S SCHMIDT

OW100836 Beijing XINHUA in English 0820 GMT 10 Oct 80

[Text] Bonn, 9 October (XINHUA)--Pakistani President Ziaul Haq and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt agreed today that no third country should interfere in the Iraq-Iran conflict and that the two sides of the conflict should enter into negotiations as soon as possible to solve their dispute.

The Pakistani leader stopped over here for a one-day working visit after attending the UN General Assembly and visiting London and Vienna. He left here for home tonight.

A bulletin issued by the press and information office of the federal government said that after a deep-going exchange of views between Ziaul Haq and Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher, the two sides maintained that the free passage of the Hormuz Strait is of vital importance to the supply of oil to the world's economy. Meanwhile, the two sides also called for a political solution to the Afghan issue under the supervision of the United Nations, the key to its solution being the withdrawal of all Soviet troops, respect for the independence and non-alignment of Afghanistan and self-determination for its people.

At a news conference he gave today, the Pakistani leader sternly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, saying that subjugation of the 15 million Afghan people by one superpower is something not to be tolerated. He also appealed to world conscience not to ignore the sufferings of Afghanistan under the occupation of the Soviet Union. "If today it is Afghanistan, tomorrow it may be Poland," he noted.

The Pakistani leader had talks with West German President Karl Carstens earlier today.

CSO: 4020

U.S. PAPERS ON SOVIET-SYRIAN TREATY

OW100252 Beijing XINHUA in English 0236 GMT 10 Oct 80

[Text] Washington, 9 October (XINHUA)--Major U.S. newspapers today termed the Soviet-Syrian cooperation treaty as a Soviet attempt to "reassert influence in the Middle East."

The 20-year treaty was signed in Moscow last night. It calls for continued "cooperation in the military field" between the two parties and asserts that they will "develop and broaden" their consultation "above all on the problem of the Middle East."

The new treaty with Syria, said an article in the NEW YORK TIMES today, "was regarded as a major advance for the Kremlin. In the short term, it enhances the Soviet political and military presence in the Middle East. In the longer view, it takes the Soviet Union a step further toward its goal of having a role in the area."

THE WASHINGTON POST called the treaty "a major attempt to reassert Soviet influence in the Middle East." "The Soviets appear to have decided to exploit current uncertainties in the Middle East to establish a solid footing in the region," said THE POST. The Syrians, it continued, "seem to have entered into a formal alliance with Moscow to protect their interests should the regional situation deteriorates farther."

The military and mutual security clauses of the pact, THE POST said, have "proven most potent in the volatile Middle East and Gulf region." The Soviets cited the "mutual security clause" in its treaty with Afghanistan when intervening there last December, it noted.

Commenting on the Soviet-Syrian treaty today, a State Department spokesman said the treaty, which seems to be built on a long-standing Soviet-Syrian relationship, "is not likely to have a dramatic impact on current events in the Iran-Iraq war" or have "a really dramatic impact on the general Middle East situation." But the spokesman noted that the Soviet Union has signed a number of such treaties with Third World states and that Egypt and Somalia have abrogated treaties of the same type.

CSO: 4020

CZECHOSLOVAK CP HOLDS 18TH PLENARY SESSION

OW101216 Beijing XINUUA in English 1208 GMT 10 Oct 80

[Text] Prague, 10 October (XINHUA)--The 18th plenary session of the 15th Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was held here from 7 to 9 October to pave the way for the convening of the party's 16th congress and work out the country's 7th five-year plan.

The plenary session passed the report on the convocation of the 16th congress delivered by General Secretary Gustav Husak and decided that the 16th congress will be held on 6 April 1981.

The session also approved the report on the progress of the preparatory work and main points of the 7th five-year plan (1981-1985) which was given by Lubomir Strougal, member of the presidium of the party's Central Committee.

The session proposed to the Federal Assembly and the Central Committee of the National Front that general elections be conducted in June of 1981.

Strougal said in his report that some of the fixed tasks for the 6th five-year plan would not be met completely. The national income will show a rise of 20 percent as against the planned 27 to 29 percent, industrial production 25 percent as against the planned 32 to 34 percent, agricultural production 9 percent as against 14 to 15 percent and real per capita income by 10 percent as against 23 to 25 percent.

In the coming period of the 7th five-year plan, Strougal said, the country will meet with still tougher conditions at home and abroad, affecting the growth rate of the needed raw materials and energy sources.

CSO: 4020

FORMER POLISH RADIO, TV HEADS EXPELLED FROM PARTY

OW081850 Beijing XINHUA in English 1836 GMT 8 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, 8 October (XINHUA)--The ousted chairman of the Polish Radio and Television Committee Maciej Szczepanski and First Deputy Chairman Eugeniusz Patyk have been expelled from the party for abuse of power, embezzlement and corruption.

A decision to that effect was made on 6 October by the United Workers' Party Organization in the Polish Radio and Television Committee after investigations ascertained a host of facts about their violation of the law and discipline.

Earlier, at the suggestion of this party organization, the two men were relieved of their posts as member and alternate member of the Party Central Committee respectively.

A PAP report pointed out that M. Szczepanski and Eugeniusz Patyk had by their deeds "violated the basic principles governing life within the party, tarnished the honour of a communist and injured the prestige of the party." They had abused their powers, sought personal gains at public expense, behaved peremtorily in their work and muzzled criticism.

It was revealed that Szczepanski possessed seven private cars, a yacht, a 16-hectare pastureland and a luxurious villa in addition to three airplanes placed at his disposal. He had bought a house in Nairobi, capital of Kenya, and deposited 400,000 U.S. dollars in a foreign bank.

The supreme procuratorate recently decided to bring an action against the two men on the basis of people's reports supported by conclusive evidence.

CSO: 4020

SHENYANG COURT SENTENCES SYRIAN STUDENT

OW061412 Beijing XINHUA in English 1358 GMT 6 Oct 80

[Text] Shenyang, 6 October (XINHUA)--The Shenyang Intermediate People's Court today sentenced Syrian student Kamal Fadlah Nofal to 15 years imprisonment for causing the death of Congolese student Ondongo-Gambomy Marice as a result of a knife wound.

The trial was held before 800 people.

Kamal was accused of striking Ondongo-Gambomy in the upper abdomen with a knife during a fight that broke out on the early evening of 10 June this year among some foreign students attending the China Medical College here. Ondongo-Gambomy, who was promptly taken to the hospital for treatment, died at 4:25 pm the following day as a result of the knife wound in his liver.

The Shenyang City People's Procuratorate instituted legal proceedings against Kamal. The court heard the defence by lawyer Guo Zonghan who was provided by the Municipal Legal Aid Society.

Kamal, who delivered his defence in Chinese rather than in his own language, although the court offered to provide him with an official translator, acknowledged the facts and evidence presented by the prosecutor and testimony by witnesses. The court decision was that the defendant was guilty as charged and sentenced him under Article 134 of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China which reads: "Whoever intentionally causes injury to another shall be sentenced to...imprisonment for not less than 7 years, or to life imprisonment, if death ensues...."

According to law, the defendant may submit an appeal to a higher court within 10 days after receiving the written verdict. In a final statement to the court, Kamal declared that he accepted the verdict and would not appeal.

CSO: 4020

CHINESE, FRG SCIENTISTS COLLECT FOSSILS IN NEI MONGGOL

OW090218 Beijing XINHUA in English 0159 GMT 9 Oct 80

[Text] Hohhot, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--Many small mammal fossils including teeth, jaws and skeletons were collected by five West German and six Chinese paleontologists in a 12-day expedition in Huade County, Inner Mongolia. The activities concluded at the end of this September.

Scientists of the two countries are selecting, reconstructing and studying these fossils in Beijing. German Professor H. Tobien of Mainz University and Professor Zhou Mingzhen, Chinese paleontologist, told XINHUA that they had gone to observe in detail the strata of the fossil-yielding area at Tuchengzi, Guangweizi, Shisangudi and Erdengtu in Huade County in central-south Inner Mongolia. The fossils include three families of rodents, two of rabbits and three of insectivores, which are fairly rare. These animals lived in the late pliocene epoch approximately 5-6 million years ago. Scientists believe that the fossil area had a much warmer climate several million years ago than today. At that time there were many lakes where animals thrived.

Scientists taking part in this field investigation say that the new discoveries furnish data for studying the origin, development and evolution of the mammals in the late tertiary period in Asia and understanding the species, morphology and structure of animals of the pliocene epoch. They are also significant for studying the migration and exchange of prehistoric animals and the history of the separation and joining of the Eurasia. The scientists also discovered a number of fossils of carnivorous mammals, hoofed mammals with an even-toed foot and hoofed mammals with an odd-toed foot. Fossils of some amphibians, reptiles and birds were also found.

In the 1920's German Professor Max Schlosser studied in Germany fossils collected from this country. During his student days in Germany Yang Zhongjian worked under his guidance. Yang Zhongjian became a renowned paleontologist later and died early last year. This field investigation is the first between Chinese and German paleontologists in new China.

CSO: 4020

MINORITY SONG, DANCE TROUPE TO TOUR EUROPE

OW111432 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 11 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, 11 October (XINHUA)--A 32-member song and dance troupe representing nine of China's separate nationalities will start an eight-week tour of Yugoslavia, Malta and Romania next Monday.

This is the first such troupe to perform outside China since the "cultural revolution," although since 1952, when the China National Song and Dance Ensemble was formed, its artists have performed in a dozen countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America. The whole ensemble is composed of 280 artists of 30 nationalities.

The troupe leaving on Monday includes Mongolians, Hans, Uygurs, Huis, Bais, Koreans, Tais, Manchus and Tungs.

One of the highlights of their repertoire is a silk dance entitled "Rainbow," especially prepared "to show our best wishes for a bridge of friendship between Chinese and European peoples," according to their leader and art director, the famous Mongolian dancer, Baoyinbatu. The programme will also include pipe and flute music from China's minority nationalities.

Baoyinbatu, 51, who is also a National Committee member of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, said today: "We are not unfamiliar with the cultures of our host countries, but we look upon this visit as a good opportunity to understand more about European musical art."

Baoyinbatu's personal life is typical of some of China's best-known minority artists of the older generation. A child beggar who roved the Mongolian grasslands, Baoyinbatu joined the Chinese revolution at 16. Later, he graduated from the first class of research students at the Central Drama Institute, became the deputy director when China set up its first minority art troupe, the Inner Mongolia Song and Dance Ensemble, and matured into a leading figure in China's minority arts.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

JIANGXI ECONOMIC FRIENDSHIP DELEGATION--The Jiangxi provincial economic friendship delegation headed by Bai Dongcai, (Hu Ping) and (Wang Fuheng) departed Beijing on 11 September for official visits to West Germany and the United Kingdom. Wang Shixian and Xu Qin, Jiangxi vice provincial governors, Hu Benyao, deputy director of the West European Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and (Xiao Feng), deputy director of the State Aquatic Products Bureau saw them off at the airport. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Sep 80 HK]

BEIJING JOINT VENTURE--The Beijing (Xunde) light manufacturing factory, the first joint venture of Chinese and foreign capital in the machine building industry in China, held an inaugural meeting on 14 September in Beijing. According to mutual agreement on Chinese and foreign joint ventures, the total investment of the (Xunde) Light Manufacturing Company Limited is to be U.S.$16 million and the period of cooperation would be 20 years but could be extended for a longer period. The company began operations in July 1980. [Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Sep 80 HK]

BEIJING ENGLISH TRAINING CENTER--The graduate school of the Chinese Science, Technology University will run an English training center jointly with UCLA. The training center opened on 14 September. The training center is mainly for cadres in the sciences and technological fields. Professors from UCLA and Yan Jici, deputy director of the Chinese Science and Technology University, attended the opening ceremony. [Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Sep 80 HK]

TIANJIN DELEGATION TO JAPAN--The academic delegation of Tianjin University left for Japan 7 October. The nine members, led by Zhao Jinsheng, will visit Kobe University, conduct academic exchanges and sign a memorandum on friendly cooperation and academic exchanges between Tianjin and Kobe universities. [SK091422 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 8 Oct 80 SK]

TIANJIN GERMAN MEDICAL EXHIBITION--The first exhibition of West German medical apparatus and instruments was held 8 October at the industrial exhibition hall in Tianjin Municipality. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 9 Oct 80 SK]

KOREAN DELEGATION IN GUANGZHOU--Accompanied by Zhang Xiangshan, director of the Central Broadcasting Administration, the Korean broadcasting and television delegation, comprising six persons, arrived in Guangzhou from Shanghai by plane on 20 September. On the following day, Yang Kanghua, vice governor of Guangdong Province, met with and hosted a luncheon for the delegation. The delegation left for Beijing on the evening of 21 September. When the delegation arrived and left Guangzhou, Zhang Yueqiang, director of the provincial broadcasting bureau, welcomed them and saw them off at the airport. [HK091516 Guangzhou City Service in Cantonese 0430 GMT 22 Sep 80]

CHEN MUHUA MEETS OUTGOING ENVOYS--Beijing, 7 October (XINHUA)--Chinese Vice-Premier Chen Muhua this afternoon met with outgoing Turkish Ambassador to China Oktay Cankardes and Ganaian Ambassador to China Kofi Baah Aidoo. [Text] [OW071226 Beijing XINHUA in English 1219 GMT 7 Oct 80]

POSTPONEMENT OF OPEC SUMMIT--Beijing, 9 October (XINHUA)--With Iran and Iraq at war, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) yesterday postponed a summit meeting scheduled on 4 November in Baghdad, according to Western news agency reports. The Gulf News Agency reported that Iraq yesterday notified the OPEC Vienna headquarters of its agreement to postpone the meeting. The OPEC headquarters said that a preparatory meeting of oil ministers, set for 14 October, was also postponed. OPEC sources stated that Caracas, Venezuela, had been suggested as alternative site for the meeting, although no date has been set. [Text] [OW090752 Beijing XINHUA in English 0734 GMT 9 Oct 80]

SWEDISH HONORARY DEGREE--Stockholm, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--The Swedish Royal Institute of Technology today granted an honorary doctorate of technology to Guo Kexin, deputy head of the Shenyang branch of the Cinese Academy of Sciences and a research fellow of the Metal Research Institute of the academy. Meanwhile, honorary doctorates were also conferred on seven Swedish scientists and a West German scientist by the institute. A ceremony was held in the city hall here before more than 1,000 scientists and prominent figures. Chinese Ambassador Cao Keqiang attended the ceremony, which was followed by a banquet in honor of the recipients. Guo Kexin was also invited to be a foreign member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Engineering Science last January. [Text] [OW051345 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 3 Oct 80]

PORTUGUESE ORCHESTRA PREMIERE--Beijing, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--The first Portuguese art group to visit China since the establishment of diplomatic relations with Portugal last year received a spirited welcome at their premiere here this evening. The group, led by Jose Blanco, comprises more than 40 musicians from the Gulbenkian orchestra. Under the baton of the celebrated 29-year-old conductor Arthur Howard Fagen, this evening the group presented Mozart's abertura "As Bodas de Figaro" (Marriage of Figaro), Beethoven's piano concerto No 1 in C major, with Jose Carlos Sequeira Costa as pianist, and Schubert's symphony No 5 in E flat major. During the intermission, Vice-Minister of Culture Zhou Erfu and Vice-Mayor of Beijing Bai Jiefu had a cordial meeting with Mr Blanco, the Portuguese ambassador, Mr Antonio Ressano Garcia and Mrs Garcia. At the same time China's leading conductor Li Delun and noted pianist Liu Shikun chatted with the visiting conductor, Mr Fagen and pianist, Mr Costa. The Portuguese musicians arrived in Beijing yesterday. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1641 GMT 4 Oct 80]

GRENADIANS PROTEST CUBAN PRESENCE--Gorgetown, 8 October (XINHUA)--A group of Grenadians have threatened "war" in Grenada for the continued presence of over 200 Cubans in the country, the GUYANA CHRONICLE reported today. In a despatch from St George's, capital of Grenada, the paper said Grenadian Prime Minister Bishop revealed in his weekend broadcast that a note left at the scene of a recent bomb explosion warned that unless all Cubans in Grenada were sent back within 3 days, there would be "war" there. A 250-man Cuban work force is reportedly helping the Grenada Government build a 50 million U.S. dollars international airport and another 17 Cubans are working in Grenada's health services under a bilateral programme. The Bishop government came into power last year after overthrowing the former government of Eric Gairy in a bloodless coup staged by the New Jewel Movement led by Bishop. The new government has maintained close relations with Cuba. [Text] [OW090754 Beijing XINHUA in English 0740 GMT 9 Oct 80]

FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER CITED--Paris, 9 October (XINHUA)--French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet reiterated today that his government stands for a political solution to the Iraq-Iran conflict. According to a communique issued by the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly, the foreign minister said at a meeting of the commission that the French Government appreciated the attitude of restraint maintained continuously by other countries, especially the big powers, in preventing the conflict between Iraq and Iran from expanding. Turning to the issue of Afghanistan, he pointed out that the incident of Afghanistan has been all along exerting a grave effect on the international situation, adding that "there has not been any marked change in the degree of Soviet intervention and the expanding people's resistance it encounters." "There are no prospects of progress for the political solution of the (Afghan) crisis," "which remains deadlocked," he noted. [Text] [OW100728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 10 Oct 80]

SFRY CONCERNED OVER CONFLICT--Belgrade, 8 October (XINHUA)--The presidency of the republic today expressed concern over the continuation of the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, according to TANJUG. At a session presided over by President of the Presidency Ovijetin Mijatovic, the presidency stressed in particular the necessity of ending the conflict which was inflicting human and material losses to both sides. It pointed out that the consequences of the conflict had an important bearing on peace and security in this sensitive region. The presidency considered it necessary to create conditions and an atmosphere for the solution of the conflict by peaceful means and negotiations on the basis of the principles of the UN charter, non-alignment, international law and justice. [Text] [OW092005 Beijing XINHUA in English 1937 GMT 9 Oct 80]

IRAN-IRAQ WAR VIEWED--Beijing, 9 October (XINHUA)--Iranian forces pushed back Iraqi troops 20 kilometers from Ahvaz, the capital of Iran's Khuzistan Province in yesterday's fighting, according to reports reaching here. UPI reported Iranian F-4 phantom jets struck Baghdad last night, setting huge fires in the north of the capital and plunging parts of the city into darkness. The Iranian PARS News Agency said that Iraqi forces rocketted and bombarded Dezful and Ahvaz yesterday. The Iraqi News Agency (INA) said that Iraqi air force yesterday destroyed the Iranian radar stations over the border in Lorestan Province, put a missile base in southern Iran out of action and destroyed 27 Iranian tanks and an oil storage tank. [Text] [OW091519 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 9 Oct 80]

IRAQI FORCES LAUNCH MISSILES--Tehran, 9 October (XINHUA)--Iraqi forces launched from inside of Iraq four missiles to Dezful last night killing some 100 Iranian civilians, the joint staff of the Iranian armed forces announced earlier today. Iraqi artillery today continued to bombard Ahwaz, capital of Khuzestan Province and the Ahwaz railway station, causing heavy casualties. According to a communique of the joint staff of the Iranian armed forces, Iranian air-borne force destroyed 35 Iraqi tanks, 6 army vehicles and killed 103 Iraqi soldiers in Khuzestan Province on 5, 7 and 8 October. [Text] [OW100300 Beijing XINHUA in English 0251 GMT 10 Oct 80]

BLANKETS SENT TO AFGHAN REFUGEES--Beijing, 10 October (XINHUA)--The "Friends of Afghanistan Association," formed in New Dehli after the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, has decided to send one lakh blankets to the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, according to a report carried in an advanced issue of the Indian weekly magazine, "Organizer" dated 12 October. This decision was made following a visit to the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan by a three-man delegation headed by Shri Ram Jethamalani, a member of the Indian parliament. The delegation noted after the visit that the Afghan refugees have no rugs, quilts or blankets with which to tide over the forthcoming severe winter. [Text] [OW100722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 10 Oct 80]

RADIO RIYADH ASKS FOR SETTLEMENT--Cairo, 7 October (XINHUA)--Radio Riyadh today expressed the hope that Iran and Iraq would respond positively to the international calls for a ceasefire and eliminate their differences without foreign intervention, according to a report of Qatar News Agency from Riyadh. The radio said that the forces hostile to the Arab nation are playing a dangerous role of igniting the conflict in the area and pushing it to destruction. It is the major powers and Israel which are getting benefits from the exhaustion of the two countries, it added. The radio warned Iran and Iraq against escalating the war. [Text] [OW080714 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 8 Oct 80]

JORDAN CONTINUES TO SUPPORT IRAQ--Beijing, 8 October (XINHUA)--Jordanian Prime Minister Mudar Badran on 6 October placed all civilian transport vehicles under the government's command, apparently to make them available to ship supplies to Iraq, according to Western News Agency reports. The prime minister made this announcement less than 24 hours after King Husayn returned from a brief visit to Baghdad where he pledged full support for Iraq's war effort against Iran. The Kuwaiti newspaper AL-QABAS reported yesterday that Jordan had massed 40,000 troops with heavy tanks and ground-to-air hawk missiles on the Iraqi border in readiness to join the war against Iran if asked by Baghdad. The paper said that Jordan had recently allowed an unspecified number of Soviet ships to unload arms and ammunition for Iraq at the Jordanian port of Aqaba. [Text] [OW080738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0740 GMT 8 Oct 80]

IRAQ SEEKS CEASEFIRE--Baghdad, 10 October (XINHUA)--The Iraqi National Assembly appealed to parliaments of Arab and other countries to urge Iran to accept the offer of a ceasefire and recognize Iraq's rights in its territory and national waters, the Iraqi press reported today. In a message sent yesterday to these parliaments, the speaker of the Iraqi National Assembly, Na'aim Haddad, said that the Iranian rulers' refusal of ceasefire would escalate the conflict in the region. He stressed that Iraq is keen on maintaining world peace through a just settlement which safeguards its sovereignty and the security of its territory. [Text] [OW101220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 10 Oct 80]

GUANGDONG BANQUET FOR DANISH DELEGATION--At noon on 17 September, Vice Guangdong Provincial Governor Liang Weilin met with and hosted a banquet for the Danish delegation. Attending were provincial culture bureau director (Li Xueguang) and the Danish ambassador to China. The Danish delegation arrived in Guangzhou from Hangzhou by plane on the evening of 16 September. This morning, the delegation visited No 1 subordinate hospital of the Zhongshan Medical College. [Guangzhou City Service in Cantonese 0430 GMT 17 Sep 80 HK]

ROMANIAN EDITOR IN NANJING--(Ke-si-ma Ma-li-ya), chief editor of the Romanian PARTY WORK journal, visited Nanjing from 4 to 6 October. On the evening of 4 October, (Fan Fayuan), deputy director of the propaganda department of the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee and editor in chief of the XINHUA RIBAO, gave a banquet in honor of (Ke-si-ma Ma-li-ya). [OW071131 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 6 Oct 80 OW]

CANADIAN DELEGATION IN HEILONGJIANG--A Canadian Government delegation from Alberta Province arrived in Harbin on 3 October by plane. The delegation is expected to hold talks on establishing a sistership between the two provinces and to make preparations for the signing of a sistership pact by Peter Louheed, premier of Alberta Province, next year. Wang Jun, deputy provincial governor and vice president of the Heilongjiang branch of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, traveled to Beijing 1 October to welcome the delegation. Li Jianbai, president of the Heilongjiang branch of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, greeted the delegation at Harbin airport. [SK061150 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 3 Oct 80]

CSO: 4005

PRE-TRIAL OF LIN BIAO CLIQUE, 'GANG OF FOUR' DISCUSSED

HK080731 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 28-29

[Article by Lin Nan: "A Record of the Pre-trial of the Lin Biao and the 'Gang of Four' Cliques"]

[Text] Early this summer Beijing held a pre-trial of the "gang of four" and the Lin Biao clique. Of course, this pre-trial was conducted in secret. However, some CCP cadres, including reporters of party newspapers and magazines, were allowed to attend the pre-trial as observers.

Jiang Qing was the most conspicuous personality in the pre-trial. She adopted an arrogant attitude of an "empress" and was extremely haughty. She demanded that the presiding judge return to her all the documents taken away from her so that she could use this as evidence to defend herself. While talking about the "Tiananmen Square Incident," Jiang Qing said: "I was not the chief instigator who suppressed this incident. You can ask the then minister of public security to prove this." The minister then was Hua Guofeng. During the pre-trial, Jiang Qing also used Mao Zedong as her umbrella. She repeatedly shouted: "When you want to beat a dog, you must be careful who its master is."

Zhang Chunqiao's attitude was also not good. However, he has acted differently from Jiang Qing who repeatedly screamed out. He just kept silent.

The attitude of Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen was better. Both of them confessed some crimes. In the past, the names of the "gang of four" were arranged in the order of Wang, Zhang, Jiang and Yao. Since Huang Kecheng's speech on the handling of the cases of the Lin Biao clique and the "gang of four" at the central discipline inspection commission, the order of their names has been rearranged to: Jiang, Zhang, Yao and Wang. Besides these four persons, this counterrevolutionary gang also included Wang Li, Guan Feng and Qi Benyu.

Kang Sheng was regarded as a member of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique. According to Huang Kecheng, the Lin Biao clique included Lin Biao, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Xie Fuzhi.

Huang Kecheng's speech was made on behalf of the central discipline inspection commission. This speech was said to have been conveyed to the lower levels as a document of the central authorities (No 17, 1980).

In the pre-trial held early this summer, members of the Lin Biao clique also appeared.

The "four great god protectors" (Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo) no longer looked powerful. They all claimed ignorance of the "outline of project '571'"--Lin Biao's plot for a military coup d'etat.

However, some minor members of the Lin Biao clique admitted their knowledge of the "outline of project '571.'" These members belonged to Lin Biao's "flotilla."

This "flotilla" was composed primarily of young military officers such as Yu Xinye (deputy chief of the general office of staff headquarters of the air force), Zhou Yuchi (deputy director of the general office of staff headquarters of the air force) and Li Weixin (deputy chief of the secretariat of the political department of the 4th Air Force). As soon as Lin Biao's plot was aborted, Yu Xinye, Zhou Yuchi and Chen Liyun, another co-conspirator of Lin Biao, fled in two helicopters. However, they were forced to land and surrender near the border region. Yu Xinye and Zhou Yuchi shot the pilot to death and then committed suicide. Chen Liyun was shot and severely wounded becausehe resisted arrest. Li Weixin of the "flotilla" also attempted to flee. Since he was a coward, he did not have the courage to pull the trigger when he took up a pistol to shoot himself on the plane. He was finally caught when the plane landed and became the only survivor of the "flotilla."

The "outline of project '571'" was a conspiracy for a coup de 'etat. Li Weixin revealed how this plan was drawn up: Lin Liguo, Lin Biao, and Ye Qun went to Suzhou in February 1971. Lin Liguo then went to Hangzhou to join Yu Xinye. They then went to Shanghai on 18 March. That night, Lin Liguo spoke to me and Yu Xinye in his bedroom. He said the situation demanded that we draw up a plan for a coup d'etat. He also said that he was going to ask Zhou Yuchi who was then in Beijing to join the discussion in Shanghai. He asked Yu Xinye not to return to Beijing for the time being but to take charge of the matter. Lin Liguo added that he had told the "Viscount" (Ye Qun's code name) about what we discussed in Hangzhou and that Ye Qun suggested we pay attention to security and stay hidden in Shanghai. Zhou Yuchi arrived in Shanghai on 20 March. That night, Lin Liguo and and Zhou Yuchi had a secret meeting and then they summoned Yu Xinye. On the following day, the three of them held a discussion. Later, they summoned me. Lin Liguo said: "The power of various districts shows that the words of the leader (Lin Biao) are still effective. I have talked about this matter with the leader. He has asked me to 'draw up a plan.'"

This plan was the famous "Outline of Project '571.'" The full text contained nine parts. The first part was: "Since the 'second plenary session of the Ninth CCP Central Committee,' the political situation has been unstable.... The economy has remained stagnant...discontent has been growing. Some people are furious but dare not show their anger. Others even dare not be angry. The ruling clique is corrupt, muddleheaded, incapable and utterly isolated.... A political crisis is brewing.... China is undergoing a coup d'etat in a gradual and peaceful way. This form of coup d'etat is a usual method adopted by B52 (referring to Mao Zedong). Therefore, we must make an abrupt change by means of violence and revolution to stop this counterrevolutionary gradual change. If we cannot stop the peaceful change by the 'outline of project "571,"' their plot will succeed. How many people will be killed then? For how many years will the Chinese revolution be delayed? What attitude should our 'flotilla' adopt in the future political revolution. Once we become leaders in the revolution, we will be able to achieve political power in the future. History has entrusted to the flotilla the leadership of revolution. Comparing 'project "571"' to similar schemes in foreign countries we are better prepared and have more power. Thus, we stand a better chance of success. We are no weaker than the Soviets during the October revolution. Geographically, we have much more room to maneuver. The air force has great mobility. Comparatively speaking, the best way for carrying out 'project 571' is for the air force to seize state power. Military regions would only set up separatist regimes. There are two possibilities: seize the state or create a separatist rule." While talking about "strategic opportunity and methods," the plan read: "B52 is in our hands, the enemies' chief warships (the chief political leaders of the central authority) are in our hands. They have hurled themselves into the net. We can make use of a meeting of the higher levels and catch the whole lot in a dragnet. We can kill the lackeys first and present a 'fait accompli.' We can force B52 to submit and to abdicate. We can use special methods such as poisonous gas, bacteriological weapons, bombing, '543,' car accidents, assassination, kidnapping and urban guerrilla units."

Who had knowledge of this plan? Li Weixin said: "Lin Liguo said that knowledge of the 'outline of project "571"' and the training unit should be confined to the 'flotilla,' Jiang Tengjiao, Wang Weiguo and Chen Liyun only. The Shanghai group could be given some information.... I did not see the 'outline of project "571"' again after it was written. On 11 September 1971 (2 days before Lin Biao died in a plane crash--the writer), Yu Xinye boasted: Lin Liguo left behind the plan and a book on past armed uprisings compiled by Yu Xinye in the hands of "the chief," "the director" (Ye Qun) in Beidaihe.

It seems that the "four great god protectors" were really ignorant of the "outline of project '571.'" Whether they knew it or not will be found out in the formal trial in future.

CSO: 4005

'CHENG MING' ARTICLE ON BEIJING GOSSIP ABOUT ZHAO, YE

HK080847 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 6-9

[Article by Lo Ping [5012 0393]: "The Whole City Is Talking About Ye and Zhao"]

[Excerpts] In Beijing over the last few days, this writer heard talk about Zhao Ziyang in particular. Some people questioned Zhao's ability. A friend of mine from Guangdong who was attending the NPC session told me: "When Zhao Ziyang was in Guangdong, he was just so so." He meant that Zhao's record there was not particularly impressive. Others believed that Zhao was relatively trustworthy. As far as I know, the "support Zhao faction" is in the "majority" among the people.

In the first place let me tell an amusing episode. Wu Chu-fan, a veteran in Hong Kong's film circles, told me 3 months ago that after meeting Tao Zhu and Zhao at a presentation of central-south China stage performances before the "Cultural Revolution" that from the angle of "fortune-telling," some day Zhao would become a premier. The facts have now proved that what he said was true (3 months ago Zhao became executive vice premier). At that time I was wondering whether "fortune-telling" was so effective. However, I said nothing about that because I thought it would be disrespectful to the fortune-tellers.

Seven Reasons Given by the 'Support Zhao Faction'

In determining Zhao's candidacy for the premiership, naturally the "support Zhao faction" does not follow a fortune-teller's point of view. The faction bases its assessment on the following factors:

1. Zhao Ziyang was very firm in opposing the "gang of four." When he was branded by them as Deng Xiaoping's man, he simply ignored their charges. Ostensibly complying but secretly disobeying, he "hit back at the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts" which was then blowing. After the "gang of four" collapsed, he ordered the arrest of Zhang Xiting and his wife, the "gang of four's" pawns who were responsible for suppressing the masses in Sichuan.

2. Zhao was strongly against the viewpoint of the "whatever faction." Along with Hu Yaobang, Wan Li, Feng Wenping and so forth at the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, he stopped the "leftist" whirlwind whipped up by the "whateverists" like Wang Dongxing and Ji Denggui and vigorously repelled it.

3. Zhao energetically implemented the line, guiding principles and policies laid down at the 3d, 4th and 5th plenary sessions of the 11th Central Committee. He also firmly upheld in Sichuan the spirit of the two documents on agriculture adopted by the third plenary session. In agricultural work, he advocated and carried out a liberal policy in Sichuan with the help of Li Ziyuan, former Standing Committee member of the Guangdong provincial party committee and director of its rural work department, whom Zhao brought to Sichuan from Guangdong. In Sichuan Li became provincial party committee secretary in charge of agriculture. As a result of the policy of encouraging the development of the privately owned economy alongside the collective economy, the economic prospects in Sichuan brightened.

4. Zhao is more or less practical-minded. At a national conference on farm machines he attended, some people were critical of the use of tractors in Sichuan in transporting goods. However, Zhao believed that it was more urgent for the peasants to use tractors to transport goods than using them for farming purposes (due to various causes, many peasants were reluctant to use tractors to plow fields). This shows that Zhao is a "pragmatist."

5. Zhao has courage. When the CCP Central Committee asked a number of ministries to selectively go ahead with expanding the decisionmaking power of enterprises, they failed to straighten out their thinking and were afraid of encountering difficulties. However, Zhao took the lead in drumming for this cause and did the job in a big way. Other industrial, agricultural and commercial affiliated operations in Sichuan also conducted experiments in select areas.

6. Zhao is fairly down-to-earth in his workstyle and is willing to conduct in-depth investigations and studies. A friend from Nei Monggol told me that although Zhao was Nei Monggol party secretary for a rather short period, he went to many places in that region. A deputy from Sichuan told everybody he met that Zhao had traveled all over Sichuan. He also urged people to read an article by Liu Binyan carried in the July issue of the Shanghai WEN HUI BAO supplement entitled "Calling All Career-minded People--Random Notes on a Trip to Sichuan." The article mentioned how Zhao's jeep "traveled to every part of the province, often stopping at the fields and at rural homes. As first secretary of the Sichuan provincial party committee, Comrade Zhao untiringly listened to the views, aspirations and suggestions of many peasants. Talking to peasants working in the fields and in their homes and pondering problems in his jeep no doubt centered on a subject of vital importance: how to

sum up lessons and find a way of developing agriculture (and maybe not only agriculture) that conforms to popular wishes and meets practical needs.

7. Zhao pays close attention to rectifying cadre workstyle. It is said that when Zhao's jeep stopped at the office of a certain county party committee during office hours, the party committee secretary and his colleagues were having a good time playing cards. The next day, all these people were dismissed from office. This story demonstrates how Zhao attached importance to observing party workstyle and strengthening party discipline and paying close attention to cadre workstyle.

Talk About Ye Staying on in His Job

People generally approve of the courage of the CCP Central Committee over the last 3 or 4 years in promoting reforms and doing away with outmoded systems. However, one view prevails that the CCP's handling of certain problems has not been sufficiently drastic and thorough. For example, on the question of fostering younger leaders, many people believe that aging and fragile leading cadres have not retired as early as possible.

Beijing residents talk a great deal about Ye Jianying. Marshal Ye has contributed significantly to the founding and consolidation of the country. His role in the campaign to overthrow the "gang of four" is also known to all. However, there have been various views in recent years on certain aspects of Marshal Ye. Since this is of little revelance to the main subject discussed in this article, it will be skipped. What should be noted is Beijing residents' views on 84-year-old Ye Jianying and why he still keeps the NPC chairmanship after five other NPC vice chairmen have resigned.

Opinions are widely divided. What follows is a record of the pros and cons taken down by this writer at a gathering.

A Sampling of Arguments

"Ye Jianying has tendered his resignation but it has not been accepted. Therefore, to say that he wishes to hold his job is unfounded."

"When did he tender his resignation and to whom? The NPC Standing Committee chairman is elected by the NPC (Chairman Ye was elected at the Fifth NPC). Has the current NPC session received Ye's resignation?"

"XINHUA News Agency has merely reported that the recent NPC session received letters from Nei Rongzhen, Liu Bocheng, Zhang Dingchen, Cai Chang and Zhou Jianren requesting their resignation as NPC vice chairmen. The texts of the five letters were also made public."

"Should we seriously ponder the five letters of resignation that have been published? Why have the letters of resignation of the five vice premiers not been published?"

"It is possible that the letters of resignation from five NPC vice chairmen and their publication aim at somebody and not just one person. Nevertheless, I believe the Sixth NPC will probably be convened next year. Will it not be much better for Marshal Ye to extend his chairmanship for 1 or 2 years until the 6th NPC when reelection will take place?"

"The problem lies not in that but in one's attitude toward the abolition of lifetime tenure for cadres. Such a feudal system must be brought to an end, and the sooner the better for the country. The older generation of revolutionaries should take the lead in the movement to eliminate the system of lifetime tenure. It is said that after the fifth plenary session of the party Central Committee decided to abolish lifetime tenure, Li Xiannian and Nei Rongzhen approached Marshal Ye in the hope that he would set an example. However, Ye did not utter a word and left angrily..."

"This is merely hearsay and not to be believed."

"After Ye left in anger, he made an inspection trip to various parts of the country abstaining from attending Central Committee meetings and the memorial meeting for Liu Shaoqi. Was he unhappy about these things?

"I believe we should look at the facts and not play guessing games."

"In short, those who want to keep power in their hands are emotionally opposed to the abolition of lifetime tenure. I heard that the venerable Ye proposed to build a railway in Guangdong linking Shaoguan with Meixian (Marshal Ye's birthplace). He wanted to have the proposed project given the green light without the prior approval of the central authorities..."

"This is also hearsay and should not be considered as the basis for discussing problems."

"A friend told me something reliable, saying that some people in the Central Committee do indeed hope that Marshal Ye will stay on as NPC chairman so that under his protection they will be able to keep their right to remain as senior officials."

"Has RENMIN RIBAO published this news or not?"

"Of course not."

"If it has not been published, then it is not reliable. I think we should be a little more scientific in discussing problems because the scientific approach in the first place gives consideration to the facts."

It was an inconclusive "discussion session." I found it very difficult to accurately determine who was right and who was wrong. I just hold that now is the time for the CCP to terminate lifetime tenure. This is in fact the general trend of events and accords with the will of the people. This trend is irresistible.

CSO: 4005

'HSIN WAN PAO' DEMANDS CHEN YONGGUI 'BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE'

HK091108 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 7 Oct 80 p 4

["New Talk" column: "From Hu Yongnian to Chen Yonggui"]

[Excerpts] A principal criminal guilty of "beating, smashing and looting" during the "Cultural Revolution" has been sentenced to death in Shanghai. This seems to be the first time that fellows of this kind have been subjected to such punishment.

This man, named Hu Yongnian, was a former member of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee and chairman of the Shanghai Physical Culture and Sports Committee. It was reported that "he actively participated in the criminal activities of Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen and other counterrevolutionaries in usurping party and government leadership in Shanghai Municipality." He was not called a member of the "gang of four." What was the reason?

This reminds us of an announcement made in an NPC decision to set up a special court to try the 10 principal criminals of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing group: "Other criminals will be tried separately according to the differing circumstances, and proceedings will be instituted with the supreme people's court and the military court respectively." This case must fall within this category--to be "tried separately."

Hu Yongnian was tried by the Shanghai Municipal Intermediate People's Court. After the imposition of the death sentence, a 2-year reprieve was announced. This has made people wonder if leniency has been carried to excess. Those persecuted by him numbered nearly 1,000, 2 of whom died as a result. Many more principal criminals like him guilty of "beating, smashing and looting" can be found in the country. Perhaps, out of the desire not to execute too many people, "the death sentence" was subsequently "suspended."

Cases like this cannot be regarded as acts of factional revenge for the "Cultural Revolution." The actual crime involved should be noted and cannot go unpunished.

The trial of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing cliques is a big step forward on the road to rule by law. The trial of people such as Hi Yongnian is only a relatively small step.

Chen Yonggui's son, Chen Mingzhu, usually known as "young master Chen," was also dismissed from his post. He is to be tried on such charges as raping a number of women, throwing his weight around, and doing evil. On the sheer strength of his father's influence, Chen Mingzhu was made a director of the propaganda department of the Xiyang County CCP Committee. What did he know about publicity? What propaganda was like under his control could be easily imagined. The mention of things like this really breaks one's heart!

What people are expectantly waiting for is the trial of Chen Mingzhu. What would be the charge against Chen Yonggui for aiding and abetting his son's wrongdoing? Also, when would Chen Yonggui be brought to justice for his own various evil deeds. After the collapse of the "gang of four," he was still able to continue doing evil and clung to office for a long time. Who was behind him? Should his backstage boss not be held responsible for shielding and conniving with him?

As far as Chen Yonggui's case is concerned, it now seems that things are slowly beginning to unfold. His lesser associates will be handled first and his turn will come later. May he get his just deserts soon!

CSO: 4005

'HSIN WAN PAO' ON JIANG'S 'UNOFFICIAL HISTORY,' UPCOMING TRIAL

HK071224 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 6 Oct 80 p 4

["New Talk" column: "Talking of Trying Jiang Qing From Writings on Her Story"]

[Text] Our newspaper today began publishing the "unofficial history of Jiang Qing" in installments. The author wrote from good information this narrative of events not recorded in history. The author took part in the organizational activities together with Jiang Qing during the Yanan era and also had quite a few contacts with her while living in Yanan. Although they were not together from morning to night, the author knew Jiang Qing well. Since the author is also a woman, she is very familiar with the trivial details of Jiang Qing's everyday life including her state of mind. Later in Beijing, the author also had opportunities to be in contact with Jiang Qing. This author not only has firsthand material but also observed the trivial details of everyday life. Judging from small matters concerning Jiang Qing's personal life, we can understand important matters.

Jiang Qing will be brought to trial together with Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen and Chen Boda. Since Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu and Jiang Tengjiao were armymen, they will be tired by the No 2 special court. Since the crimes committed by the Jiang Qing clique and the Lin Biao clique are intertwined, the two cliques will be prosecuted in one case. However, there will be two special courts to try the accused in the case. The No 2 court, which has Wu Xiuquan, a high-ranking military official, as its presiding judge, will try the armymen involved.

The 10 provincial defendants' crimes are piled mountain-high. The prosecution against the 10 principal defendants involves only their counterrevolutionary crimes which violated the criminal law and does not deal with their general errors in work. Errors can become crimes; crimes are also errors and are great and even unforgivable errors. However, when common errors are corrected, everything is fine. With regard to the people who made the extremely big errors such as the errors of endangering the nation's existence and causing the death of tens of thousands of people, it is imperative to denounce them publicly for their serious errors and to properly try and sentence them.

General errors and those of counterrevolutionary crimes are of different nature. The two must not be confused. With regard to the people who made general errors, we can leniently handle them in order to cure the sickness to save the patients. We should show no mercy to those people who committed counterrevolutionary crimes. If we do not inflict capital punishment on them, we will not be able to apologize to the whole world and pacify the people's wrath.

The trial of the 10 people is the first big case since Beijing's stress on rule by law. The trial can be regarded as a major step to strengthen the legal system.

Although the trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques will not be a trial of their "ultraleftist" line (although an erroneous line may bring about crimes, the line itself is not a crime), people further feel that this is saying good-bye to things "ultraleftist," is really seeking truth from facts and is not being contained by "ultraleftist" and ultrarightist lines.

CSO: 4005

YE JIANYING SPEECHES DISCUSSED AT HUBEI COMMITTEE MEETING

Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0430 GMT 27 Sep 80

[Excerpts] The fourth meeting of the Fifth Hebei Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee which lasted 4 days satisfactorily fulfilled its tasks on schedule and concluded on 26 September. During the meeting, the committee members seriously studied and discussed the opening and closing speeches of Ye Jianying, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, made at the third session of the Fifth NPC and the speech of Comrade Hua Guofeng, as well as the report of Comrade Peng Zhen and other relevant documents. Under the inspiration of the spirit of the third session of the Fifth NPC, all of them emancipated their minds and sought truth from facts. While affirming the achievements scored, they frankly made many criticisms and suggestions concerning political life in the province and the work style of the government.

The committee members expressed their concern over the incidents of rotting chestnuts in the Qinhuandao foreign trade warehouse and the damage done to Tangshan export pottery. At the same time, they severely criticized the bureaucratic work style of the provincial financial committee, which caused great losses to the state. The concern of the committee members clearly reflected their responsibilities to carry out the rights given to them by the people. The people's congress Standing Committee will inform the provincial government and departments concerned to strictly handle the incidents. The departments concerned should report the procedure and results of the investigation to the committee members and should address inquiries to the next people's congress Standing Committee meeting.

At the plenary meeting yesterday afternoon, they unanimously adopted a resolution on doing well in election work at county level and a decision to establish a Hebei provincial election committee. They approved election regulations for the people's congresses at county and commune levels in Hebei Province and a decision concerning prolonging the time limit of some criminal cases in 1980, and also approved appointments.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

TENDENCY OF SOME CADRES TO ATTACK TALENTED PEOPLE SCORED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by Si Quan [1835 3172] and Xiao Mei [2556 2734]: "Don't 'Cut Down' Middle-Age and Young Cadres Who 'Stand Out a Little'"]

[Text] Currently, some units are quickly promoting into leadership positions middle-age and young cadres who follow the socialist road and who possess specialized knowledge and abilities. Nevertheless, some comrades do not think the same way. A leader in one unit expressed his opinion pulbicly, saying: "Those who have specialized knowledge may not follow the socialist road!"

This comrade's emphasis on the socialist road is certainly correct. Politica considerations are necessary in selecting cadres. However, he does not seem to pay much attention to the importance of selecting leadership cadres with a relatively high level of professional competence and ability in building a socialist economy.

The party has once again made it clear to us that we must discover, train, and promote talented people. But some of our leadership cadres, using the pretext that "those people may not follow the socialist road," are not [attempting] to not discover, train, or promote talented people, or at least they are slow in doing so. Although there are not many people who openly express such an opinion, such people may not be few.

Why should some of our comrades think this way even now?

Some comrades do not look squarely at history and the present situation. We wrongly cut down some comrades in 1957. The fact is that many such comrades did follow the socialist road and had special skills. During the Cultural Revolution, intellectuals were branded as bourgeois elements, "old rotten eggs," though the reality was that they were part of the proletariat. The facts have shown us that among the various occupations and professions, there are not just a few but thousands and tens of thousands of middle-age and young cadres who follow the socialist road and are experts in their fields. Regrettably, some of our comrades overlook or refuse to recognize this fact, and they use the pretext that "those people may not follow the socialist road" to affect the coordination and execution of the party's policies.

Some leadership cadres have long neglected the need to learn specialized knowledge. They only know how to perform abstract leadership tasks but not specific revolutionary tasks. Owing to a lack of such knowledge, they often do not see eye to eye with comrades who have such knowledge. Also, since they have long been in leadership positions, they think that their viewpoints (however biased and erroneous) represent those of the party and socialism, while the viewpoints of comrades with specialized knowledge (no matter how relatively comprehensive and correct they may be) may not "follow the socialist road," even though the viewpoints are obviously not antiparty. These biases are deeply ingrained in those individuals. It is no wonder that they are surprised at the party's current policies.

There also are comrades who realize that middle-age and young cadres around them are indeed talented people, and they will "self-effacingly" say: "We are amateurs, aging and physically weak, and we are not as good as you." Yet when it comes to a critical moment, they consider their power and pride more important than the party's tasks. Though this behavior is found in individual cases, it has hindered the promotion of talented people.

As Lu Xun said: "Sometimes I think China is a nation that adores equity. He who makes his mark will invite attacks from various quarters." Of course, it is old China that Lu Xun was mocking. Currently, we do have a number of middle-age and young cadres who have made their mark, and we have to promote these people for the sake of the four modernizations. We wish leadership cadres at all levels would select and promote talented people but not cut them down.

9471
CSO: 4005

NEI MONGGOL FORUM ON PROMOTING YOUNG, MIDDLE-AGED CADRES

SK091143 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Oct 80

[Excerpts] According to NEI MONGGOL RIBAO, the regional CCP committee's organizational department recently held a forum on selecting and promoting young and middle-aged cadres. Over 70 cadres from the organizational and personnel departments of the various leagues and municipalities, the various major mines and plants, higher educational institutions and regional-level organs attending the forum, after a 7-day session, reached following agreements:

1. The fundamental task for the new period is to steadfastly achieve the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. Also, we should reform and perfect the socialist political system in step with the reformation of the socialist economic system. We must reform the cadre system and structure to suit this new task.

2. We must reform the cadre structure. We should select and promote a large number of cadres who adhere to party's line and are in the prime of life, and are professionally competent in order to speed up the formation of leading bodies composed of younger, more educated and professionally more competent cadres. Efforts should be made to intensify the professional training of cadres.

3. Veteran cadres should conscientiously enhance their sense of urgency and take the training and promotion of young successors as a major event bearing on the destiny of the party and the country.

4. Of late, some leading comrades in our region have voluntarily stepped aside in favor of competent and virtuous cadres. What they did is in the interest of the overall situation and reflects their sense of responsibility to the cause of the party. They deserve our respect.

Ting Mao, second secretary of the regional CCP committee, attended and spoke at the forum.

CSO: 4005

XINJIANG OFFICIAL STRESSES UNITY AT MEETING OF CADRES

OW100158 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 9 Oct 80

[Text] Conveying the guidelines of the third sesson of the Fifth NPC, Tomur Dawamat, secretary of the Xinjiang Autonomous Regional CCP Committee and chairman of the autonomous regional people's congress Standing Committee, said: Unity is the lifeline of the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang. It is where our common interests lie. It is the key to the defense of our frontier regions. At present, the first thing the party committees and the governments at all levels in Xinjiang should do is to mobilize the broad masses of cadres, PLA commanders and fighters and people to fully discuss the significance of unity among the people of all nationalities and to consolidate and enhance the political situation of stability and unity in Xinjiang.

On 8 October morning, the Standing Committee of the Xinjiang Autonomous Regional People's Congress held a cadre meeting in Urumqi to convey the guidelines of the third session of the Fifth NPC. Wang Zhenwen and Yi-er-ha-li, vice chairmen of the autonomous regional people's congress Standing Committee, presided over the meeting. Tomur Dawamat, secretary of the autonomous regional CCP committee and chairman of the autonomous regional people's congress Standing Committee, delivered a report on the NPC guidelines.

After giving a general account of the third session of the Fifth NPC and its principal guidelines, Tomur Dawamat said: In light of reality in Xinjiang, we must combine the implementation of the NPC guidelines with the implementation of directives issued by the party Central Committee concerning minority nationality affairs. The party Central Committee's directives are correct and conform to the actual situation in Xinjiang. Xinjiang has a population of many nationalities, a vast land and an abundance of natural resources. Moreover, it is situated on the forefront of opposing Soviet hegemonism. The people of all nationalities in Xinjiang have personal experience of the fact that unity is their lifeline, unity is where their common interests lie and unity is the key to the defense of the frontier regions and the key to building a prosperous and cultured Xinjiang. At present, the first thing the party committees and the governments at all levels in

Xinjiang should do is to mobilize the broad masses of cadres, PLA commanders and fighters and people to fully discuss the significance of unity among the people of all nationalities. The cadres, PLA men and people should seriously sum up the benefits that unity can give the people as well as the losses and calamities that disunity can cause. We should make joint efforts to uphold the great cause of unity. We should proceed from unity--our major principle--to solve our problems. All minor principles should be subordinated to the major one. The communists and the cadres at all levels must neither do nor say anything that harms unity. Whoever promotes unity should be commended. Whoever has done anything harmful to unity should voluntarily make self-criticism. We should sternly deal with the few persons who instigate dissension and undermine unity. We should isolate those few bad persons.

Comrade Tomur said: The unity among all nationalities and the unity between the armymen and the people in Xinjiang are basically good. This hard-earned unity has been tested over the past 30 years. It is achieved by the joint efforts of our veteran revolutionary fighters and comrades and the cadres and people of all nationalities under the guidance of the party's correct policies concerning nationalities. We must treasure this unity and protect it as we do our eyes. Not long ago, something harmful to unity among nationalities and harmful to unity between armymen and people happened and caused adverse effects. We should pay special attention to those events and guard against any recurrence. At present, we should particularly emphasize mutual respect, understanding and support between the cadres and the people of all nationalities. Cadres of Han nationality should respect the minority nationalities. The minority nationalities should respect and support the cadres and workers of Han Nationality. The people of all nationalities should work hard with one heart and one mind to build a socialist Xinjiang.

CSO: 4005

HENAN FORUM STRESSES IMPROVING PARTY DISCIPLINE

HK100418 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 9 Oct 80

[Excerpts] The preparatory group of the Henan Provincial CCP Committee's discipline inspection committee recently held a forum on discipline inspection work in all prefectures, municipalities and provincial fronts, which pointed out: to further implement in depth the guiding principles on inner-party political life, the leadership must take the lead, take action, eliminate feudal remnant influences, criticize bourgeois extreme individualism, get a good grasp of positive and negative typical examples, form systems and ceaselessly promote them.

The situation reported by the participants showed: although all places have scored certain successes in implementing the guiding principles, some units still lack sufficient understanding of the importance of implementing them and have failed to take specific measures to this effect, with the result that unhealthy work styles have not been properly curbed. Some leading cadres even ignore the guiding principles and continue to violate law and discipline. This situation shows that to continue to implement the guiding principles [word indistinct] depth and fully revive the party's fine traditions and work style constitute a long-term task for the whole party. We certainly cannot just grasp it for a time and then relax it.

In implementing the guiding principles, it is necessary to pay attention to eliminating feudal remnant influences, such as the system of lifetime tenure for cadres, the concept of the patriarchal clan system, "one person alone having the say," the patriarchal work style, personality cult, bureaucratism, factional activities, pursuit of special privileges, and so on. These are all feudal things or else bear a feudal tinge. For instance, some leading cadres violate the relations of equality between comrades in the party and want others to be absolutely obedient to them and even to become dependent on them. Some people pursue special privileges and make use of their political and economic powers and their powers outside the law and the system to illegally pursue private interests for themselves and their families and relatives. Some take the advantage of promoting middle-aged and young cadres to carry out factional activities. We must by no means treat lightly these unhealthy trends.

While eliminating feudal remnant influences, we must by no means relax or neglect criticism of the influences of extreme individualist thought such as the bourgeois idea of being totally intent on profit and benefitting oneself at the expense of others. The party organizations and discipline inspection departments must teach the party members and cadres to spontaneously resist the corruption of bourgeois thought.

In implementing the guiding principles, it is necessary to pay attention to waging struggle against bureaucratism on the economic front. Bureaucratism does extremely great harm to the building of the four modernizations. Shocking losses have been caused in some units in this respect. Such cases must be promptly investigated and handled with great fanfare.

CSO: 4005

WORKERS REMOVE NORTHEAST FORESTRY FARM LEADER FROM POST

OW141238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1229 GMT 14 Oct 80

[Text] Harbin, 14 October (XINHUA)--The leader of a Northeast China forestry farm has been removed from his post for misconduct by a decision of the workers with the approval of higher authorities.

The Workers Congress at the Fenggou Forestry Farm in Heilongjiang Province proposed the removal of Wei Quan, the farm director, after he falsified accounts to conceal the amount of timber the farm had produced in excess of its production plan and used it to make up for losses caused by mismanagement.

Wei Quan also violated financial discipline by authorizing the purchase of furniture while recording purchases of straw.

Fenggou Farm is under the Dafeng Forestry Bureau where the Workers Congress has just elected by secret ballot a bureau director for a term of 3 years. Elections were also carried out in 11 principal units under the bureau.

The workers have the right to propose the removal of leading cadres at any time when they prove unqualified.

The elections are part of China's current economic reform in which decision-making power of enterprises is being extended. This power will ultimately rest with the Workers Congress, and not just with the director or manager of an enterprise.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI STORE INTEGRATES IDEOLOGICAL WORK, PRODUCTION

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Make Political Thought Work Permeate Professional Work"]

[Text] As the party's tasks focus on the four modernizations, how do we handle our ideological work? The answer from the party branch at the Chunqiu Clothing Store is: Political thought work should be integrated with the practical tasks of production. They have outlined three concrete steps.

The busier the production, the more refined the ideological work should be. Located on Nanjing Road, the Chunqiu Clothing Store deals with thousands of customers every day. The workload is heavy, and business is brisk. As a result, some employees say: "We are busy all day and we are overworked. Why should we care about the quality of our service?" Some say: "Customers come to our store to make purchases. There is no point in raising the quality of our service if the quantity and quality of our clothing are not acceptable" At one point, employees had various viewpoints on the subject.

In April, the party branch convened a seminar on "What If I Were a Customer," dealing with this type of work attitude in the store. The discussion revolved around the subject of "treating other people as yourself." At the same time, they discussed the experience of three distinguished salespersons (including Ye Miaomiao [0673 8693 8693] and their efforts to "serve customers." In this way, the employees learned a good lesson and they all wanted to emulate the advanced workers.

As the enthusiasm of employees was heightened, the party branch raised the question of "how cadres can serve employees while the latter serve customers," demanding that all cadres look after employees. After talking with employees in the import department, the secretary of the party branch committee and the store manager realized the tasks of that deparmtnet and its current labor shortage. They immediately strengthened technical work in that department in order to accelerate the pace of work and tackle the difficulties in "apparel production." Two of the branch committee members who were trained as tailores succeeded in fixing the department's air conditioning. In making apparel from new products, the cadres met with the workers to oversee quality control, for the technical difficulties encountered were manifold, easily resulting in the production of low-quality products. As the cadres have cared for the workers, the two have become closer and their enthusiasm has heightened.

The reater the reputation, the deeper the ideological work should be. As the service attitude of the store has improved, many customers from outside the province as well as local customers have commended the staff for being "good advisors for customers."

The party branch considers that ideological work must be managed well in the midst of such applause and good reputation. A group of people from the party branch met with individual salespersons and advanced workers and visited them at their homes. The latter were encouraged to adopt a correct attitude toward reputation and to further develop their exemplary role. At the same time, they were also requested to actively develop ideological work and to integrate daily work with political ideology. Owing to the variety of products and fashions handled at the department for medium-length synthetic fiber jackets, and because most of its customers are young people, service is more hectic and the number of transactions fewer. Accordingly, the salespersons in the department felt very uncomfortable. Older department manager Gong [7895] made use of holidays and his own time to visit the workers, families and discuss with them ways to improve their service, resulting in significant success. Seeing that the manager was busy, young salesperson Hu [7579] at the jacket and shirt department volunteered to handle customers' letters, oversee the department's product line, and enthusiastically help out-of-town customers resolve their problems. In this way, new progress was made and the store received 618 encouraging letters from customers in May.

The larger the number of young people, the more flexible the ideological work should be. There are 26 young workers out of a total of 34 workers at the store. When they first started working at the store, some of these young workers held back popular products for their relatives and friends; others liked to do business in a big way; some others wanted to look fashionable and wear strange clothing; still others had their hearts elsewhere and could not concentrate on their work. They all disliked janitorial work. In view of the situation, the party branch has promoted a campaign since the beginning of this year to organize discussion groups in which retired salesperson and elderly tailors talk to the young workers about hard times in their past, and the young workers are encouraged to become "model workers on Nanjing Road." Through a variety of methods of ideological persuasion, the young workers have become convinced of the meaning and significance of being a service person in their profession, and they all want to do a good job.

In order to train young workers as professionals, the party branch has organized seminars and discussion sessions and invited skilled workers to relate their work experience. Through such discussions, the young workers have changed their apathetic attitude toward their job and realized the importance of learning and self-motivation.

The party branch has further organized the young workers to help one another to fully develop their political thinking, their daily life, and their professional goals. The new products department is generally busier, and work is harder, but the young salespersons Shao [6730], He [0149], and Wang [3769] emulate one another. They have developed a service style emphasizing quick deliveries (variety, demonstration, and turnover), precision (knowledge of customer taste and physical types), and clarity (measurements); this has gained good comments from customers.

9471
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

LIAONING NATIONALITIES DELEGATION--The Liaoning provincial nationalities work study tour delegation composed of responsible persons from the provincial CCP committee, the provincial people's government and from a number of departments, commissions, bureaus and offices, as well as cadres in charge of nationalities work from grassroots level units, left Shenyang by train 7 October. The delegation will go to Xinjiang Autonomous Region, Gansu and Shanxi provinces to learn from the experiences gained in the nationalities work so as to further improve our province's nationalities work. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 7 Oct 80 SK]

HEILONGJIANG ISLAMIC CONGRESS--The second Heilongjiang provincial Islamic congress was held in Harbin Municipality 4-10 October with the participation of 36 Mullahs and 38 Muslim representatives throughout the province. At the congress, the second committee of the provincial Muslim association, 33 members of the committee and 13 permanent committee members were elected. (Zheng Luhui) was elected chairman of the committee. The congress urged the Islamic circle to further carry forward the patriotic spirit and make positive contributions to the grand cause of maintaining peace and unity throughout the motherland, promoting economic construction, returning Taiwan to the motherland and combating hegemonism in order to safeguard world peace. [SK130012 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 10 Oct 80]

YUNNAN NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS COMMITTEE--The Yunnan Provincial Nationalities Affairs Committee held a tea party on 29 September to mark the national day. Responsible comrades of the Yunnan provincial committee, provincial people's congress Standing Committee, provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC Sun Yuting, [name indistinct], Li Hecai, Yang Kecheng, Long Zehui, Ma Huiting attended the tea party. [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Sep 80 HK]

LIAONING TRADE--The 64 trade stations under the authority of county-level organs that have been restored and established in our province have been playing an increasingly important role in regulating the market. The total volume of business of our province's trade stations for the first 8 months of 1980 reached 190 million yuan. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Oct 80 SK]

HUNAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SESSION--The fifth session of the Fifth Hunan Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee closed on 28 September. The session adopted a resolution that the third session of the Fifth Hunan Provincial People's Congress would be held in December in Changsha. Qi Shouliang, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Hunan Provincial People's Congress, gave the summation speech, saying that: We must prepare well for the third session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress. Members of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress will carry out investigations throughout the province and people's deputies must gather people's opinions and air them at the coming session. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Sep 80 HK]

GUIZHOU PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT MEETING--The Guizhou provincial people's government held a work conference from 14 to 20 September in Guiyang on commune and brigade enterprises. The meeting pointed out: Guizhou Province must act in light of local conditions and proceed from these to develop commune and brigade enterprises. We must develop items which need less investment and bring better economic results. Commune and brigade enterprises must improve management and strive to speed up production. Leaders must respect the self-management rights of commune and brigade enterprises, and allow them to retain their profits and products produced in excess of the state's quota for private business. Thus, the communes and brigades will be enriched. [Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 24 Sep 80 HK]

GUANGZHOU PROPAGANDA WORK CONFERENCE--The Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee recently held a conference on propaganda work. (Wang Sangping), municipal CCP committee Standing Committee member and propaganda department director, gave a speech on strengthening ideological and political work. Ou Chu, municipal CCP committee secretary, also spoke at the conference. [HK081046 Guangzhou City Service in Cantonese 0430 GMT 18 Sep 80 HK]

HAINAN CCP COMMITTEE MEETING--The Hainan CCP committee recently held a meeting of Han district county CCP committee secretaries to study and discuss the State Council's decision and the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee's instructions. The meeting formulated measures to promote production and speed up the building of Hainan. The participants of the meeting held: we must work in accordance with the State Council's decision and the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee's instructions to speed up the production of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery and enrich all communes and brigades. We must first grasp management of tropical crops which occupy an area of over 1 million mu, and develop sugarcane production. We must also increase the per unit area yield of grain. We must respect the self-management rights of production teams and allow them to participate in joint ventures with other units. The Hainan regional CCP committee demands that leaders concerned do their best in settling disputes and consolidate the political situation of stability and unity in order to speed up the building of Hainan. It is also necessary to pay attention to minority nationalities affairs and respect their self-management rights. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 18 Sep 80 HK]

HAINAN ISLAND TOURS--The united front work department of the Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Prefectural CCP Committee recently organized non-party personages into a visiting group, which visited various places on Hainan Island. The group consisted of 32 people including non-party intellectuals and professional backbone elements of science, technology, education, public health and agriculture departments of all counties in the autonomous prefecture. The united front work department invited them to a forum in the Haikou overseas Chinese building. Luo Tian, Liang Cheng, (Zhao Guangju), (Chen Yuan) and (Huang Dafang), leading party and government comrades of the Hainan administrative region, and responsible comrades of the culture office, education office, civil affairs committee, science committee, regional women's federation and the united front work department of the Haikou Municipal CCP Committee warmly received them and participated in the forum with them. Luo Tian encouraged them to unite the people of all nationalities, work at their own posts and contribute toward exploiting Hainan and building Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Prefecture into a prosperous and rich autonomous prefecture. [Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 18 Sep 80 HK]

HAINAN VISITING GROUP--The Hainan minority nationality national day visiting group left for Guangzhou on 20 September by plane. The visiting group was organized by the Guangdong provincial nationality affairs committee. The group consisted of 19 people and is headed by (Hu Guoshan), vice chairman of the united front department of the Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Prefectural CCP Committee. Before departure, the visiting group was greeted by Zhao Guangju, member of the Hainan regional CCP committee, and other responsible comrades. [Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 21 Sep 80 HK]

HEBEI AUTONOMOUS COUNTY ANNIVERSARY--Mengcun Hui Autonomous County in Hebei Province held its 25th establishment anniversary on 10 September. The NPC Nationality Affairs Committee, the State Nationality Affairs Committee, the Hebei Provincial CCP Committee, the Hebei Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and the Hebei Provincial People's Government sent congratulatory cables on 9 September. In short, the congratulatory cables said: Mengcun Hui Autonomous County has done well in socialist building over the past 25 years under the leadership of Hebei provincial authorities. Its future tasks are to work harder in readjusting the national economy, speed up production, improve the scientific and technological levels and improve the living standard of the people. The cables also praised the Mengcun Hui Autonomous County for eliminating discrimination and misunderstanding between Han and Hui nationalities and for having done a good job in eliminating remnant poison of the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." [Shijiangzhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0430 GMT 9 Sep 80 HK]

GANSU DONGXIANG COUNTY CELEBRATION--Some 3,000 people of various nationalities in Dongxiang Autonomous County held a rally 1 October to mark the 30th founding anniversary of the county. Wu Zhiguo, deputy leader of the Gansu provincial delegation, and (Yan Yun), deputy leader of the Linxia Hui autonomous prefectural delegation, read contratulatory messages from the nationalities committee of the NPC and the state nationalities affairs commission and from the provincial and the Linxia prefectural party and government organs. (Ma Jingfu), secretary of the Dongxiang Autonomous County, addressed the rally. (Ma Ying), representative of the NPC nationalities committee and the state nationalities affairs commission, and (Yang Dexiang), leader of the Gansu provincial delegation and deputy governor of the Gansu provincial people's government, also spoke at the rally. [Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 2 Oct 80 SK]

GANSU REPORT MEETING--The Gansu Provincial People's Government and the Standing Committee of the provincial People's Congress held a joint meeting at the provincial People's Government auditorium to relay the guidelines of the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress on 23 September. Attending the meeting were some 1,200 cadres of provincial level organs. Wang Shitai, chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, chaired the meeting. Feng Jixin, provincial governor, made a report relaying the NPC session guidelines and calling on all provincial organ cadres to follow them accordingly. [Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 24 Sep 80 SK]

ANHUI CRIME FIGHTING--Hefei, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--People in Anhui Province assist the public security department in stopping crimes. Statistics show that in the first half of 1980, the people of Hefei, Bengbu, Anqing, Wuhu, Huainan, Huaibei, Tongling and Maanshan municipalities seized more than 700 criminals and turned them over to public security organs. More than 800 criminals surrendered themselves to the public security authorities during the period. [OW090521 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0256 GMT 8 Oct 80 OW]

CHANGZHOU MUNICIPAL PARTY CONGRESS--The Changzhou municipal CCP committee held its 5th congress from 22-27 September. The congress listened to and examined work reports made by the 4th Changzhou Municipal CCP Committee and the municipal party committee's discipline inspection committee. It elected the 5th Changzhou Municipal CCP Committee and the delegates to provincial party congress. A total of 590 delegates attended the municipal party congress. On 29 September, the 5th Changzhou Municipal CCP Committee held its 1st plenary session and elected its Standing Committee and its discipline inspection committee. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Oct 80 OW]

LIAONING DELEGATION VISITS XINJIANG--A provincial nationalities work study tour group from Liaoning arrived in Urumqi 8 October on a visit to Xinjiang. The group is led by Zhang Yan, vice chairman of the

Liaoning Provincial CPPCC Committee and director of the united front work department of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee. The group was warmly welcomed by Tian Zhong, vice chairman of the Xinjiang Autonomous Regional People's Government, (Sai-bo-an-fu), vice chairman of the autonomous regional CPPCC committee, and responsible persons of departments concerned. The 42-member group is composed of responsible comrades of various provincial departments concerned, the principal responsible comrades of Fuxin Mongol Autonomous County and Harqin Zuoyi Mongol Autonomous County and representatives of some minority nationalities. They are of Manchu, Mongolian, Korean, Hui, Sibo and Han nationalities. They will visit factories, rural and pastoral areas in Ili, Shihezi, Turpan and Urumqi and exchange experiences in regional national autonomy with the departments concerned in Xinjiang. The arrival of the Liaoning visiting group will further strengthen the friendship between Xinjiang and fraternal provinces and regions and promote unity among all nationalities. [Text] [OW090200 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 8 Oct 80]

BEIJING RURAL WORK CONFERENCE--The Beijing Municipal CCP Committee held a meeting on rural work, stressing the need to enrich rural areas as soon as possible. At this meeting, the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee aimed at eliminating the remnant poison of the ultraleftist line and correcting the wrong concept that richness means capitalism. The meeting pointed out that it is necessary to bring the superiority of the municipality into play in order to enrich the people, and implement the party's policy on agriculture. The meeting stressed the following tasks: 1) to develop the responsibility system of production in close connection with the principle of remuneration according to labor; 2) to assist the poor production teams to become rich; 3) to experiment with the production of grain and oil by contract; 4) to respect the self-management right of production teams; and 5) to help the communes and brigades develop sideline production. The meeting also discussed how to fight drought and promote current production tasks. [HK091442 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Sep 80 HK]

LIAONING TRIAL--The Huanren county people's procuratorate began proceedings against (Cui Longxin), a public security policeman, on charges of torturing suspects to gain confessions. In handling a larceny case last November, the policeman ruthlessly beat a suspect. He sent for the suspect's wife and tied her up to gain a confession. She was detained for 24 hours and had a miscarriage after she was released. The county people's court sentenced (Cui Longxin) to 1 year on probation. [SK061133 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Oct 80 SK]

BEIJING RADIO PRAISED--This station has recently received numerous letters from Comrade Cui Yueli, vice minister of public health, expressing concern and encouragement for certain propaganda contents of the city news and the programs for the rural outskirts. He also put forward specific proposals on improving certain items of work in the city. Comrade Cui Yueli is extremely concerned for this station's news broadcasts reported that the municipal motor horn plant had started to manufacture a low-toned horn. Comrade Cui Yueli immediately wrote to the station proposing that this horn first be popularized in the city so as to reduce noise pollution. He also proposed that factories, offices, schools, parks and other units not use high-toned horns. In its program for the rural outskirts on 1 September, this station broadcast an article entitled "Socialism Precisely Means Allowing People To Get Rich." Comrade Cui Yueli wrote to the station after listening to this. His letter said: I thought this broadcast was very good. I hope that you can broadcast more correct explanations of socialism in light of the specific situation of all aspects. In another letter on the same day, Comrade Cui Yueli suggested reducing the homework burden of secondary and primary schools to insure their all-round development morally, academically and physically. The station received two more letters from Comrade Cui Yueli in mid-September. The letters put forward suggestions on tree-planting, population and other questions in Beijing. [Excerpts] [HK090707 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 29 Sep 80]

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

DISCUSSION ON FORMER DEPUTY COMMANDER ZHOU CHANGSHENG

HK130748 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 80 p 1

[Report by Chen Guanbai [8115 0385 2672] and Jiang Ping [3068 0988]: "What Is the General Thinking About?--Interviewing Zhou Changsheng, Veteran Red Army Fighter and Former Deputy Commander of Zhejiang Provincial Military District"]

[Text] The recently concluded third session of the Fifth NPC solemnly raised the question of having young, educated and professional people as cadres. While our party is busy selecting large numbers of cadres who are in the prime of life, what is in the minds of the old comrades?

To find out, we visited Comrade Zhou Changsheng, former deputy commander of Zhejiang Provincial Military District, in a small quiet building--a sanatorium for retired cadres in the provincial military district.

Upon seeing us, Zhou Changsheng said happily: "I have been participating in the revolution for over 50 years. This is the first time I have heard about old comrades of the party Central Committee offering their own jobs to others. This is unusual. The reform of the Chinese cadre system has gotten off to a good start." He laughed with the dignified air of a general.

He made special mention of Nie Rongzhen, vice chairman of the National Defense Council, and his letter of resignation. As a political commissar of the former First Red Army Corps, Marshal Nie had all along remembered that he had under him model company commander Zhou Changsheng who had fought bravely. After liberation, every time he came to Hangzhou he sent for Zhou Changsheng, asking about his work and health and showing concern for him in every way. Not long ago, Zhou Changsheng saw Marshal Nie on television. He was so weak that he had to be helped up by two people to greet "the little woman from Japan." He could not help feeling concerned about the old commander's health. He even wanted to phone him out of concern. At the recent NPC session, he read Marshal Nie's letter of resignation and was moved to tears. He thought that though in poor health, the old commander never forgot that we must have successors to the party's cause. His resignation was another example to us. We will soon be in our seventies or eighties. If we still do not give up our jobs in favor of the young and "get hospitalized while listed as active members of the command headquarters," how can the four modernizations be achieved? Thinking along these lines really makes me feel that my retirement has been worthwhile.

As a general, Zhou Changsheng had been through thick and thin. In 1929, he joined the revolution in the Soviet area of Jiangxi. He devoted the best part of his life to a military career. He said with feeling: everyone was young once. When we started leading troops as "commanders," we were just young fellows of less than 20. When we had become cadres at the division and army corps levels, we were only in our thirties, with "a vast number of troops and horses" under our command. In the period of war, great attention was paid to promoting young cadres. When I was first a battalion commander, regiment commander Yang Dezhi taught me how to exercise command and deploy troops. It might be recalled that in the Sandingbao battle of north Shaanxi I was left as the only chief of staff with the commander of our regiment wounded and the political commissar killed. It was a critical situation with the enemy forces pressing in on us. Su Hua,a division political commissar, resolutely ordered me to take over as commander of the regiment. He also sent over a division chief of staff with several combat directives for me. Thus, I was in command. I fought a good battle. Now, there are many young and capable cadres in our army, to say nothing of those who distinguished themselves in the years of revolutionary war with their "three-eight style" and "Jiefang style," after the founding of the state. Many people acquired very rich experiences in the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. Many also distinguished themselves in the self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam. This required us old comrades to help the party organizations in choosing the right people for promotion. It would not do for us just to make the choice. We must give up our posts in favor of the relatively young comrades and take a backseat. Only in this way can work be done in a lively manner.

At this time, I cut in, saying that some old comrades are now worried about acting as advisers and about retirement. Zhou Changsheng said that we must take the whole situation into consideration. To insure the continuous stability of party leadership, weak and old comrades must gradually leave the scene. They must not take remuneration seriously and be loath to part with a telephone, a car, or a Western-style house. Communist party members cannot seek all these things. So many fellow fighters have not survived to enjoy life--those who died on the grasslands, on snowbound mountains, in rivers, and in enemy gunfire too soon to see the realization of socialism. We cannot forget them.

Early autumn sunshine was streaming into the sitting room. With a wave of his hand, the general said that we might as well take a look at the courtyard. Pointing to rows of trees and flowers lit up by the autumn sun, he said crisply that it was actually not bad to live a retired life. We can have access to certain documents and read books and newspapers. We can take time out to grow vegetables or flowers. After a while, we might spend a few days in the hospital for an inspection of "the old machine," or a physical checkup. It was quite a peaceful and leisurely life. But I was not living in idleness. Whenever free, I thought of my war life. I wrote memoirs and analyzed guerrilla warfare. So saying, he let someone in his family show me a book entitled "A Military Career," which carried memoirs written by him and other old comrades. Leafing through the pages, he said that this might be considered a legacy! Thanks to such a retired life, I had felt much better physically and mentally. Some comrades said jokingly that if we had not retired, we might have already been Marx in the other world. So saying, the general laughed again.

In a building surrounded by quiet fields in the suburbs of Hangzhou, the heartbeat of the general still follows the pulse of the times....

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

THREE CONVICTED FOR GUN THEFTS

HK101236 Hainan HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Sep 80 p 1

[Report by Xing Baohuan [6717 0202 3562]: "Hainan Intermediate People's Court Publicly Tries Criminals Who Stole and Sold State-owned Guns"]

[Text] The intermediate people's court of the Hainan Administrative District recently conducted an open trial of three criminals who stole and sold guns owned by the state. Chief offender Tan Taiguo was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment with his political rights deprived for 3 years. Accomplice Li Youjia was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment with his political rights deprived for 2 years. Chen Yanghong was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for the sale of the stolen guns.

Defendant Tan Taiguo was formerly a police guard of the Dan County branch of the Chinese People's Bank. (A police guard is charged with the safekeeping of police guard guns.) In May last year, when Tan escorted the bank's money to the Sandu commune, he plotted with Li Youjia to steal and sell the guns. Li arranged for Chen Yanghong to see Tan Taiguo and inspect the guns at the bank. When everything was arranged, Tan Taiguo stole one "3-8-type" rifle, one "7-9-type" rifle and one Mauser gun and 40 rounds of ammunition from the bank. Under the cover of night, Chen Yanghong and Chen so-and-so took them away in a walking tractor. These were sold to the No 2 and No 3 production teams of the Sandu brigade of the Sandu commune to be used for factional fighting. A total amount of 2,000 yuan was obtained. Tan Taiguo got 1,800 yuan and Li Youjia and Chen Yanghong each received 100 yuan. In mid-July, Tan and Li met at the Nadai town and made secret plans. Tan again stole from the bank two "50-type" submachine guns and one "3-8-type" rifle. Li arranged with Chen so-and-so to sell them to the Xincun production team of the Jiuzhou brigade of the Sandu commune for factional fighting purposes. These brought 2,500 yuan in total. Tan got 2,200 yuan while Li had 180 yuan and Chen so-and-so 120 yuan.

The criminal activities of Tan Taiguo and the others were first reported by the masses and action was taken by the Dan County Public Security Bureau. Proceedings against them were instituted by the Hainan branch of the Guangdong Provincial People's Procuratorate. The case was tried by the intermediate people's court of Hainan District. It was held that as a police guard of a state bank, Tan Taiguo who took advantage of his position to twice steal state-owned guns and sell them, pocketing a total of 4,000 yuan from the proceeds, was guilty of taking public property and jeopardizing public security. The means he had used were despicable and the case was of a serious nature. Defendant Li Youjia who acted in collusion with Tan Taiguo and plotted with him the stealing and sale of the guns was a chief conspirator. This constituted the crime of stealing and selling guns. Defendant Chen Yanghong who participated in the activities of stealing and selling guns was found guilty. In accordance with Articles No 112 and No 52 in the "Criminal Code of the People's Republic of China," the court passed specified prison sentences on Tan Taiguo, Li Youjia and Chen Yanghong respectively.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

HUBEI MILITIA BUILDING MEETING--From 21 to 26 September, the Hubei Provincial Military District held an on-the-spot meeting in Wuhan Municipality to sum up and popularize the experiences of Hanyang District in strengthening building of its militia antiaircraft regiment. The meeting called on all units to look into the new situation, solve new problems, build militia antiaircraft units well and embark in and defend the four modernizations. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Sep 80 HK]

BEIJING POLICE ACTIVITIES--Beijing, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--In handling theft cases, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau is making every effort to recover the stolen goods and return them to their owners. In the first 9 months of 1980, the bureau recovered stolen articles worth more than 20,000 yuan and returned them to their owners. The articles included television sets, recorders, cameras, watches and bicycles. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0251 GMT 8 Oct 80 OW]

SHANGHAI OFFICIAL ATTENDS PERFORMANCE--The performance by the Song and Dance Ensemble of the PLA General Political Department has aroused strong feelings in Shanghai. The audience and the professional literary and art workers have warmly praised the show, saying it has inspired them and given them an impetus. Chen Guodong, first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee, talked to the players after seeing the performance. He said: "Your show is just like a pleasant and strong east wind, which is beneficial to Shanghai." The comrades of the Shanghai Municipal CYL Committee said: The players are all young and have made outstanding achievements in art through their long and hard training. This indicates that a great creative force exists among these young people and has enlightened local young people. The performance has moved local literary and art workers. After seeing the performance, they took the initiative in locating the gap between them and the players, pledging to learn from them and catch up with them. To meet audience demand, the ensemble will perform again at the municipal great hall on 14 and 16 October and at the Cultural Square on 18 and 19 October. [Text] [OW101746 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 10 Oct 80]

CSO: 4005

HEILONGJIANG ISSUES CIRCULAR ON FAMILY PLANNING

SK120718 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 11 Oct 80

[Excerpts] The 12 October HEILONGJIANG RIBAO frontpages the circular issued by the Heilongjiang Provincial CCP Committee on studying and responding to the open letter of the CCP Central Committee to all party and CYL members on controlling China's population growth.

In the circular, the Heilongjiang Provincial CCP Committee urges the party and CYL members and cadres at all levels to resolutely respond to the call issued by the CCP Central Committee and take the lead in conducting family planning work and registration of one-child families to make positive contributions in controlling population growth. In order to better implement the demands set forth by the open letter, the provincial CCP committee calls on the party and CYL members and cadres at all levels to set themselves as examples in the work and grasp well the following tasks:

1. Every party and CYL member and cadre at all levels throughout the province should earnestly do a good job in studying and discussing the open letter and understanding its importance.

2. Every party and CYL member and cadre at all levels throughout the province should not only set himself as an example among the masses in enacting family planning work but also should actively do a good job in conducting ideological work among his relatives and neighbors.

3. The party and CYL members and cadres at all levels throughout the province should sincerely implement the state's policy on family planning.

4. Party and CYL committees at all levels should attach great importance to family planning work. The implementation of the open letter of the CCP Central Committee should be regarded as an important matter and should be grasped successfully.

The circular notes: trade unions, women's federations, scientific and technological associations and various mass organizations should organize the broad masses of young and women staff members and workers to hold discussions on this issue so as to expedite family planning work. Efforts should be made to check family planning work frequently so as to discover problems and quickly solve them. It is also necessary to constantly sum up experiences obtained in this regard to improve the work immediately and to exercise stronger leadership over the work. A good job should be done in guaranteeing that the call issued by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council on registrations of one-child families is heeded in order to promote the progress of the four socialist modernizations.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ZHEJIANG ISSUES CIRCULAR ON PLANNED PARENTHOOD

OW101923 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT
10 Oct 80

[Excerpts] According to a station report, the Zhejiang Provincial CCP Committee issued a circular on 10 October on how to conscientiously study and implement the open letter issued by the CCP Central Committee, urging all party and youth league members to control population growth.

The circular said: The CCP Central Committee has issued an open letter to all party and youth league members on the control of population growth in China. This is an important call from the CCP Central Committee while it is making a new long march towards the four modernizations. This is also a major event in promoting the four modernizations. The circular is of great significance in giving full play to the vanguard and exemplary role of the party and youth league members, in strengthening political and ideological work, in implementing various policies and regulations, in controlling population growth in a planned way, and in quickening the pace to drive off poverty and backwardness in China.

The circular pointed out: In order to do a still better job in studying and implementing this open letter, we must carry out the following tasks:

The party committees, government organs and mass organizations of workers, youth and women throughout the province must organize all party and youth league members, particularly cadres at all levels, to study the open letter, conduct discussions in close connection with the actual situation, fully understand the guidelines laid down by the open letter and further raise their awareness. In the course of studying the letter, we must eliminate our feudal thinking, get rid of our muddled and erroneous ideas. We must realize that to encourage one couple, one child and strive to limit China's population to a maximum of 1.2 billion by the end of this century is essential to realizing the four modernizations.

All party and youth league members, particularly cadres at all levels, must play their exemplary role well, while deepening their understanding of the open letter. The young comrades should actively take measures themselves for family planning while the old comrades should educate and encourage their daughters and sons to take steps for planned parenthood.

The propaganda media--including newspapers, radio and television stations, movie theaters and literary and art circles in various localities--must get mobilized immediately to enthusiastically propagate the open letter issued by the CCP Central Committee so that members of every household know the letter well.

The party and government organs at all levels must further strengthen their leadership and continue to carry out their work well for planned parenthood. They must conscientiously sum up their experience, conduct thorough investigation and study, and promptly analyze the new situation and the new problems in the planned parenthood work. They must adopt effective measures to strictly control population growth.

Medical and public health departments must improve their birth control techniques and carry out their work well in taking care of woman and children. They must produce more high-quality birth control drugs and devices to satisfy the people's needs.

CSO: 4005

HEILONGJIANG HOLDS TELEPHONE CONFERENCE ON FAMILY PLANNING

SK091122 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Oct 80

[Excerpts] According to our sources, on the afternoon of 8 October, the Heilongjiang Provincial CCP Committee held a provincial telephone conference to draw up concrete plans for further implementing the spirit of the open letter of the CCP Central Committee to all party and CYL members on the question of controlling China's population growth. At the conference, Li Jianbai, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, delivered a speech in which he reviewed the province's actual situation and elaborated on the importance of controlling population growth.

He said: The population in our province has increased rapidly since the founding of the PRC. During the past 30 years, the population of the province has increased to 21.25 million. According to statistics, the number of unmarried youths below the age of 23 is 16.4 million. Within the coming 20 years, the annual average number of youths of marriageable age will be 740,000. This figure indicates the urgent need to control population growth.

He pointed out: Family planning work in our province has scored great achievements under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council. During the 16 years between 1963 and 1979, Heilongjiang Province reduced the number of its births by 1,181,000. Under the most excellent situation prevailing in family planning this year, it is estimated that the provincial population growth rate will be 0.9 percent lower than that at the end of 1980.

After hailing the achievements scored by our province in family planning work, Secretary Li Jianbai also pointed out the existing problems in this area.

At the conference, the Heilongjiang Provincial CCP Committee put forward the following goals:

1. Party committees at all levels should earnestly do a good job in grasping the work of studying and implementing the spirit of the open letter of the CCP Central Committee to all party and CYL members on the question of controlling China's population growth.

2. It is necessary to extensively and deeply disseminate information on the open letter and vigorously stimulate social attitude in favor of registering to be one-child families. Efforts should be made to widely and deeply ingrain this attitude.

3. Specific localities and units should carry out investigations on their own family planning work. They should do a good job in fulfilling the 1981 plan for family planning work.

4. It is necessary to earnestly act according to the policy on family planning and successfully implement the provincial temporary regulations on birth control.

At this telephone conference, responsible comrades from the Heilongjiang Provincial CYL Committee and the Heilongjiang Provincial Women's Federation delivered speeches in which they called on all CYL members and the broad masses of women throughout the province to resolutely respond to the call issued by the CCP Central Committee and the CYL central authorities and to do a good job in implementing and disseminating information on the spirit of the open letter in line with the goals set forth by the provincial CCP committee. They urged all CYL men and women to make contributions to accelerating the pace in achieving the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005

OFFICIAL DISCUSSES CHILD CARE

OW101515 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 10 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, 10 October (XINHUA)--Beijing opened a child care research center today as part of its efforts to expand child care service in the city.

With a staff including eight paediatricians, the center will specialize in the health and education of children 3 years and under, as well as in pre- and post-natal services.

Wang Liying, secretary-general of the center, said that this is an important step toward better child care.

She said Beijing has made much progress in maternal and child care since it established a child hygiene network in 1973, covering all city districts and suburban counties, but much remained to be done.

When a child is born, health workers from the network will call at the home twice or three times within the first month of delivery and regular home-calls are made until the child reaches seven. Regular innoculation and vaccination are also done free.

However, she said, child health care centers are understaffed and the staff poorly paid, and the service is far from adequate for a city the size of Beijing.

Wang Liying said that although children in Beijing are generally growing taller, their general health is not satisfactory.

A survey of 4,553 seven-year-olds in four city districts and one suburban county last year showed that more than half the children had dental cares and there were some cases of tracheitis, epilepsy and congenital malformation. A considerable proportion of the children were suffering from anemia.

Wang Liying said these problems are largely caused by insufficient knowledge of child care, nutrition and hygiene. Most children are cared for at home and many parents feed the children what they like so that the children form bad eating habits, she said. Even in nurseries and kindergartens, not enough attention is paid to nutrition.

She said that a shortage of beds in obstetrics hospitals also affected the child care service. In the whole city there were only about 1,000 beds and doctors were too busy coping with routine delivery to teach lying-in women hygiene and child-feeding.

Wang Liying said the city health authorities are now trying to solve these problems and is training health care workers and will increase the number of hospital beds for obstetric cases.

The city has issued 100,000 pamphlets on hygiene and infant and child care to young mothers and the health care research center plans to use radio and film and slide shows to spread information.

CSO: 4020

PEOPLE WARNED OF GOLD, SILVER SPECULATORS

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by Jiang Baolin [1203 0202 2651] and Liu Fengyi [0491 7364 0308], Bureau of Industry and Commerce in Ninghe County: "Speculators Make Huge Profits in Gold and Silver; Be Careful of Authenticity and Watch Out for Hoaxes"]

[Text] Recently, some speculators, taking advantage of the higher prices paid by the government for gold and silver, while most of the broad masses were unfamiliar with the change, acquired gold and silver for less than half of the government price in rural communes and made a huge profit or colluded with smugglers for profitmaking. Over the past month or so, the Bureau of Industry and Commerce in Ninghe County discovered three cases of gold and silver speculation. A profiteer made eight speculative purchases of gold and silver during the past two months and made an illegal profit of several hundred yuan. For example, for a gold ring which can be sold for more than 40 yuan in a bank, he paid only 18 yuan; for silver yuan, for which the state is paying 5 yuan apiece, he paid 2.5 yuan. Another speculator acquired 302 silver yuan and 8 gold rings at one time in the vicinity of Biaokou and Huaiding in Ninghe County. Their trick was to undervalue the authentic and high-quality pieces (such as to claim a low degree of purity in gold and silver). Ignorant of the distinction and of the official price, the masses were taken advantage of by the swindlers. According to the investigation, in Biaokou, Huaiding, and Renfeng alone quite a few people sold gold and silver to speculators and suffered from the deception.

Many people still own gold and silver jewelry, such as earrings, rings, bracelets, silver pendants, and silver dollars or ingots of gold and silver. They should exchange those objects for cash at the bank, lest they fall victim to swindlers' deceitful words. At present, the government's posted price is 13 yuan for each gram of gold, .20 yuan for each gram of silver, and 5 5 yuan for a silver yuan. The procedure is simple: no questions are asked about origin, and cash is paid on the spot. We suggest that the banking department engage in extensive propaganda, organize purchasing teams in rural areas, and leave speculators no chance to take advantage.

9507
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGDONG CRACKS DOWN ON SMUGGLERS, PROFITEERS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Provincial Party Committee and Provincial People's Government Jointly Issue Directive; Determine To Crack Down on Smugglers and Those Engaged in Speculation and Profiteering"]

[Text] Recently the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and the Guangdong people's government jointly issued "Directives Regarding the Determination To Crack Down on Smuggling, Speculation, and Profiteering Activities." The party committee and government at every level are required to be fully aware of the serious condition and consequences of smuggling, speculation, and profiteering activities. They should strengthen coastal and market control and crack down on the smuggling and blackmarketing of imported merchandise, treating these all-time important tasks which should be dealt with seriously in order resolutely to halt these evil tendencies.

The joint directives issued by the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government point out: At present, criminals and speculators in China, in collusion with underworld forces and unscrupulous merchants in Hong Kong and Macao, engage in rampant smuggling activities through various means and channels. According to statistics, cases involving smuggling and speculation discovered in 1979 in our province numbered more than 9,000, which is a fourfold increase over 1978. This year the situation is getting more serious; there were over 4,000 smuggling cases discovered in the first quarter--more than double the number of cases discovered in the same period last year--and the net worth of smuggled items has also increased substantially. Many of the smuggling cases involve not only various districts in our province but also more than 20 provinces, municipalities, and districts in the whole country. Gold and silver jewelry, precious medicinal herbs, and cultural relics of our country flow out in large quantity, while imported merchandise is bought and sold in the black market or even peddled along the street. This kind of situation is causing great harm to the economic interests of the state, disturbing the control of foreign trade and foreign exchange, disrupting marketing and finance, corrupting the ranks of cadres, staff and workers and the organic functioning of the party, endangering the peace and order of society, and seriously affecting normal production, work, and life, as well as the construction of the four modernizations.

In view of the above situation, the provincial party committee and provincial people's government have promulgated the following directives:

1. Educate broad party members and cadres under the new circumstances to be alert to the corrosive effects of capitalist thinking, to perpetuate a hardy spirit of struggle, to take the lead in law-abiding activities, and to resolutely wage war against criminal activities. Demand that party commissioners at every level and government officials be fully aware of the close connection between cracking down on smuggling and speculation on the one hand and rectifying party discipline on the other. Party members and leading cadres must set a good example themselves and from now on must take the lead in observing rules and regulations. Strengthen political thought education among cadres, staff and workers; grasp the learning of daily discipline in the party; rectify the party's workstyle; and conscientiously abide by the laws. Do not buy smuggled goods, but actively struggle against smuggling, speculating, and profiteering activities.

2. Deliver a severe blow to smuggling, speculating, and profiteering criminals, especially in the coastal areas, along the border, and at locations where smuggling and illegal deals frequently take place. Party committees of municipalities and countries as well as the government should organize their forces to help with the task. It is necessary to organize customs, industrial and commercial control, public security, and judicial departments to help each other in cracking down on important criminal cases, to seize a number of typical cases and publicly mete out justice. Disciplined inspection committees at every level must strengthen review, handle important cases timely, tighten party discipline, and engage in discipline education within the party. A blow must be dealt to those who enter China to engage in criminal activities under the cover of overseas, Hong Kong, or Macao Chinese.

3. Reinforce control of export products and strictly prohibit profiteering. The "Notice Concerning the Strengthening of Import and Export Products Control" and the "Supplementary Notice" issued by the provincial revolutionary committee last year must be carefully implemented. The purchase and distribution of imported products are handled by state-run overseas Chinese merchandise supply companies, which are found in various places in the province. No other unit or individual is allowed to take part in the transaction. Chinese-born foreign nationals, overseas Chinese, Hong Kong and Macao Chinese, and their families should all go to designated stores if they need to sell surplus imported goods. They are not allowed to peddle on the street or trade in the black market. Units in the province or people coming to our province to purchase imported products must go to the state-run import products store. Financial, banking, and fiscal departments must tighten supervision over financial matters and be vigilant in inspecting and accounting. Industrial and commercial control departments must adjust and strengthen market control.

4. Manage the use and recall of "foreign exchange vouchers" strictly.

5. Step up the investigation and arrest of smugglers and establish an efficient squad. Customs, public security, border defense, industrial and commercial management departments must cooperate with each other to reinforce sea patrol and inspection as well as to develop the struggle against smuggling.

6. Engage in extensive propaganda work, mobilize the masses, raise their consciousness of law and discipline, make them abide conscientiously by state policies and regulations, and participate actively in struggles against smuggling, tax evasion, speculation, and profiteering. Those units and individuals that uncover or inform on illicit actions should be commended and given cash awards.

9507
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TWO BOOKS BY PRC'S LATE LEADING MOVIE STAR PUBLISHED

OW100322 Beijing XINHUA in English 0230 GMT 10 Cct 80

[Text] Beijing, 10 October (XINHUA)--Two books by China's leading film star, Zhao Dan, have been published.

In one of the books, "Creation of Screen Images," he analyses the great impact of China's stage traditions on cinema, what the film industry can learn from live theatre and what influences it should resist.

Zhao Dan stresses a realist approach to cinematic creation and the book has already been acclaimed as for its relevance to efforts by Chinese film-makers to shake off the influence of the "cultural revolution," which was characterized by stereotyped, exaggerated acting.

"Creation of Screen Images," published by the Cinema Publishing House in Beijing, tells the story of his career from a street corner speaker agitating for patriotic action to stage performer and film star.

In "Door to Hell," published by the Shanghai Wenyi Publishing House, Zhao Dan recalls the important stages of his life, his contact with the late Premier Zhou Enlai, his struggles against the gang of four who seized political power for a time in the 1960's and 70's, and his involvement with other artists. The title is a poignant reference to the need for courage in artistic exploration.

Zhao Dan's career was closely linked to China's revolutionary causes. The drama group he organized when he was a 16-year-old student at Shanghai Fine Arts Academy joined the communist-led league of dramatists in the early 1930's. Later he joined a theatrical troupe that performed in factories, schools and on street corners exhorting people to resist the Japanese invasion.

In 1938, when he went to Xinjiang, Northwest China, to help train dramatists there, he was imprisoned for 5 years by the local warlord. In the "cultural revolution" of 1966-76, Zhao Dan served another 5 years in jail on false charges of being a "counterrevolutionary."

There were many artistic highlights in his life, including those performances which won him international status.

He first drew attention in 1937 in the roles of a young newspaper proofreader in "Crossroads" and a trumpet player in "Street Angel." Among his other notable successes were roles in "Crows and Sparrows" (1949), "Li Shizhen" (1956), "Lin Zexu" (1958), "Nie Er" (1959), and "Red Crag" (1964).

CSO: 4020

REAPPRAISING LITERATURE, ART POLICY ADVOCATED

HK110555 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 7 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Lin Wei [2651 3837]: "'Governing by Doing Nothing' Goes Against the Will of the People in Literature and Art"]

[Text] Views urging "governing by doing nothing" expressed in literature and art appear to have increased.

What is called "governing by doing nothing" refers to the method of governing enforced by Xiao He and Cao San in the early years of the Western Han period. According to "laws on punishment of the book of Han," "when prime ministers Xiao He and Cao San governed the country by doing nothing, they complied with the wishes of the people and did nothing to interfere with their aspirations. As a result, the people were provided with sufficient food and clothing and punishment was used sparingly."

The phrase "complying with the wishes of the people without interfering with their aspirations" in fact embodies the spirit of "governing by doing nothing." A modern interpretation of this would be "to comply with the wishes of the people without interfering with them." Advocating "governing by doing nothing" in literature and art aims in particular at the prevailing bureaucratic practices.

Since the "gang of four" was smashed, central departments overseeing literature and art have naturally summed up the lessons drawn from the past 20 years or so. They have repeatedly stressed the importance of the "double hundred" policy and upheld the principle of "three don'ts," reaffirmed that writers and artists are free to create and to criticize works of literature and art and guaranteed their right to compete and contend freely. This spirit was exemplified at the Fourth Congress of Writers and Artists, at which Deng Xiaoping announced that party leadership in literature and art would be based on "noninterference."

However, just as the line of the 3d plenary session of the 11th party congress has been infringed upon, the party's literature and art policy has not been implemented in some areas. Some reader-approved works have been condemned as bad works while some films approved by the audience have been banned. On the other hand, the publication and circulation of works and periodicals which contain defects have also been banned. In some cases, even departments which are not in charge of literature and art publications have interfered with such endeavors. For example, the party branch secretary of a production brigade has rudely canceled a writer's food ration, while the responsible person of a housing management bureau has unreasonably banned the display of a cartoon.

In view of the serious development of arbitrary interference, writers have proposed "governing by doing nothing." They have proposed that laws be enacted to insure the implementation of the "double hundred" policy.

The "double hundred" policy has been in force for many years and it has been written into the constitution. Therefore, very few people have openly opposed its implementation. However, it is because those who oversee literature and art are afraid of the appearance of controversial or "extremist" works among their subordinates that they often use their power to ban their publication. Since some cadres overseeing literature and art confuse "Lei Feng Pagoda" with "Learning From Lei Feng," their ability to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds is clearly open to question. Moreover, it is both unfair and improper for one person to determine what should be read by thousands of people and what should not be seen by them.

What is called "governing by doing nothing" means refraining from imposing arbitrary interference on literature and art. Writers themselves should decide what to write about and how to write it. If there are problems in this respect, they can be referred to the writers. With regard to how to revise the works and whether they should be revised, this is up to the writers. This method of leadership in the field of literature and art was proposed by Chen Yi in 1962, but it has never been carried out.

Following major reversals in literature and art policy over the past 27 years and minor reversals in the recent 4 years, there is indeed a need to reexamine the method of overseeing literature and art.

CSO: 4005

BEIJING LINGUISTICS ASSOCIATION HOLDS FORUM ON POLITE SPEECH

HK091122 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 25 Sep 80

[Text] In order to keep our language pure and wholesome and to strengthen education and propaganda on polite speech, the Beijing Municipal Linguistics Association held a lively forum on polite speech yesterday morning. About 50 people attended the forum. They included Mr Ye Shengtao, an emminent linguistics expert; (Zhou Zhumuo), (Jiang Xijin), (Yu Min), (Hu Lin Yang) and other professors; (Li Lin), deputy director of the Institute of Social Science; Hou Baolin, a performer of comic dialogue; (Zhang Binggui), a national model worker department store salesman; and (Xia Qing), an announcer of the Central People's Broadcasting Station. (Zhang Zhigong), president of the Beijing Municipal Linguistics Association, chaired the forum.

Language, which reflects socialist interpersonal relationships, has severely deteriorated during the 10 years of turmoil. Foul language has spread unchecked, thus adversely affecting the social atmosphere and stability and unity. This is not a minor matter. Rather, it deserves the attention of the whole society. To achieve the four modernizations and build a highly civilized capital, it is imperative that we strengthen education and propaganda work and vigorously advocate polite speech. In his speech, Ye Shengtao pointed out that we should be sincere in our hearts and our actions. He said: Only when we genuinely respect others can we show our politeness in our words and actions. Hou Baolin and (Zhang Binggui) talked about their many years' experience in applying the art of speech in performing comic dialogue and in being a salesman, respectively. (He Qizhi), a postgraduate in the Institute of International Affairs, spoke in accordance with the new situation characterized by daily increasing contacts between China and other countries. He stressed the international significance of strengthening polite speech. During the forum, many people pointed out that the problem of politeness was a social one. They suggested that we first of all eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line, foster interpersonal relationships of unity, friendship and mutual respect and create a new social atmosphere of politeness and civility. Participants in the forum called on schools, families and society to strengthen education on polite speech. They added that films, radio and television programs and other art and literary departments should pay attention to propaganda work on polite speech and make contributions toward keeping our language pure and wholesome.

CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO' COMMENTATOR'S ARTICLE ON EDUCATIONAL FUNDS

HK140957 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 80 p 3

[Commentator's article: "Squeeze Out More Money for Developing Education"]

[Text] The key to the four modernizations lies in science and technology and the foundation for training people is education. This truth is recognized by more and more people after several years' efforts. As the economic system changes, many localities and departments have realized deeply the significance of developing education and training people. This year, in addition to some increases in educational funds decided by the State Council, Jiangsu, Shanghai and some other provinces and municipalities also have spared some local funds for educational purposes. However, there are still some comrades who believe that science and education are dispensable and who even divert educational funds for other purposes at will. Xingtai Prefecture, Hebei, is an example.

For quite some time, some people considered educational undertakings as a consumption item that had no connection with production. When they thought of developing production, they considered building factories, buying machines, constructing irrigation works and other material things. They seldom considered, or simply did not consider, the question of training people. They were generous, spending thousands upon thousands of yuan to buy machines but were too stingy to spend needed sums on education. Whenever possible, they would divert educational funds for other purposes, alleging that this was to "insure production at the expense of education" and thinking that this was right and proper.

Can production really be insured at the expense of education? No. Facts have shown that modern production is based on advanced science and technology. The current economic competition is actually a competition of science and technology and intelligence. Whether or not we can train large numbers of people to become well versed in science and technology is a decisive factor in the development of a modern economy. Therefore, an educational undertaking to train such persons is by no means a matter of consumption having nothing to do with production. It is indeed an investment in developing intellectual resources that are indispensable to production development. Enterprise owners in developed countries understand this better than some of our comrades who claim to be Marxists. Some of our comrades have still not yet freed themselves from the small-production mentality and the left-deviationist thinking. They always belittle the role of scientific and cultural knowledge as well as that of intellectuals and refuse to recognize the extremely important role of education and science in the socialist modernization drive. Due to neglect of education, there is now a shortage of specialists and the scientific and cultural level of our urban and rural workers is too low. We have already suffered too much. In our production work, quite often things are stupidly messed up or recklessly meddled with in total disregard of science. Many enterprises are plagued by mismanagement and many pieces of advanced equipment lie idle because nobody knows how to use them. The waste is shocking. If we can only conscientiously sum up our experience in this respect, we will be able to see that the "sacrifice of education" cannot "insure production." On the contrary, that would be unfavorable to production either from the long term or the immediate point of view.

Some comrades stress that we have to divert educational funds for other purposes because we have many things to do but have insufficient funds. This view is wrong. At present, our country has financial problems and educational funds cannot be increased greatly or immediately. People have to understand this. However, insufficient funds should not be an excuse for diverting educational funds for other purposes any longer. Over many years too much of the funds earmarked for education has been diverted for other purposes, investment in education is too little and we owe too much to education. We should not make any new debts before we have repaid the old ones. Not only should we stop using educational funds for other purposes but we should also squeeze as much money as possible from other sources for educational purposes so that there can be a rational ratio between investment in education and that in other fields. At the same time, as we take note of the fact while it is true that funds are insufficient, it is also true that waste has been great, particularly in economic construction. When people are wasting thousands upon thousands of yuan, why can they not save some money to be used to develop education?

CSO: 4005

ARTICLE DISCUSSES EDUCATION IN ATHEISM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Lei Zhenchang [7191 6966 7049]: "Strengthen the Education of Young People and Children in Atheism"]

[Text] Since the destruction of the "gang of four," many young people and children feel greatly confused over various real problems, such as worries about the future, promotions in school and employment problems, and find they cannot think these problems through. A number of faith workers have taken advantage of the internal contradictions and indecision of these young people and children to raise the banner of "freedom of religious belief" and re-engage in their former professions, thus stirring up the dregs of such feudal beliefs as praying to gods, manifesting spirits, fortune telling, graph readings, shamanism and magic potions. There have already been repeated instances where belief in these unorthodox things has brought serious harm to young people and children. How can such conditions not elicit the concern of comrades enganged in the education of young people and children?

Education in atheism must be given its rightful place.

The so-called education in atheism is the application of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to analyze the basis for the birth of theism and religion and the rules of their origin, development and disappearance, to point out their areas of influence in social life, and to propagandize the attitudes and policies of the proletarian political party towards religion.

Of course, this is only the most basic material of education in atheism. Actually, education in atheism is rather far-reaching, for example, general education in science, technology and the history of social development, and, especially, in the birth of the cosmos, the evolution of the earth and heavenly bodies, the origin of man, social change, scientific inventions and the realization of ideals. All such things related to education in the natural and social sciences should be considered a part of the broad definition of education in atheism. In short, a simple disbelief in gods and ghosts is not the mark of an aware atheist, as a thoroughgoing atheist is one who has a correct world view, has clear goals to struggle for, does not believe in any savior of the world, and does not dream of a world to come. Therefore, the education of young people and children in atheism ought to be the undying responsibility of all atheist educational workers as well as all workers in the natural and social sciences and in education.

What is the correct way to educate young people and children in atheism?

1. Correctly propagandize the party's policy on freedom of religious belief. It must be made clear to young people and children that we do not approve of the idealist world view held by religion. However, religion does have a basis in both society and in knowledge and the withering away of religion involves a long historical process. Religion will finally die away only after the destruction of the extant social basis on which it relies. Therefore, the question of religious belief is primarily a question of ideological realization, so the use of administrative injunctions to handle religious beliefs does not address the problem. Because of this, the proletarian party implemented the policy of freedom of religious belief. Although believers and non-believers have different world views, this does not prevent both sides from sharing common economic interests and common political interests, whichis to say, to be of the same heart and mind in the construction of a powerful, modernized socialist nation with a high degree of democracy and culture. Therefore, we should not be satirical or prejudiced toward religious believers, but rather should unite in solidifying and developing a peaceful and united political situation.

2. We must clearly explain to young people and children that China has freedom of religious belief, but that feudal superstition is prohibited. Religion is faith, a social awareness which has timeless, mass, international, national and complex features. Yet, feudal superstitions such as physiognomy, divination, graph analysis, fortune telling, prayer to genies and manifestation of the gods do not fall within the scope of religious beliefs. Those faith workers are always practicing their superstitious activities not only to make money but sometimes also endangering lives. Because of such things, in the interests of protecting the people the state must use

legal restraints against the danger created by these superstitious activities. Therefore, we must educate our young people and children not to be duped by these feudal, superstitious activities.

3. We must inculcate young people and children with a revolutionary outlook on life. The philosophical life view of feudalism or of the bourgeoisie frequently corrupts the ideology of young people and children, causing some of them to lack correct views on the future of the nation or on individual "fate," some even seeking help from physiognomy or divination. We should realistically explain to them the disasters the nation has suffered in the past, simultaneously point out in a patient and friendly manner the glories of the future, making them understand the close relationship between their own "fate" and that of their homeland and that only by contributing their part to national prosperity does life have any value.

4. We must clearly explain the differences between myth and superstition. Myth is the product of early mankind, and the imaginings of man's "immature social conditions." At that time, mankind was as yet unable to control the natural and social forces in real life, and so spread the wings of the imagination and produced a number of beautiful myths. Therefore, they have positive and progressive significance. Marx and Engels had favorable criticism of ancient Greek myths, praising them for their "eternal beauty." The storehouse of Chinese myths is also very attractive, for example, "the Ban Gu creation myth," Nu E patches the heavens," "Chang E escapes to the moon, "the Cowherd and the Weaver Girl," and "Sun Wukong rampages through the Palace of Heaven." These are entirely different from the weak-willed, god-fearing feudal superstitions which make people bow down before the spirits.

5. Most important of all is following party leadership in striving to elevate the level of science and technology in the whole populace, especially the young people and children, strive to develop the social production forces and quickly implement the four modernizations. Lenin himself said, "Poverty and ignorance are the deepest roots of religious bias and we should struggle against these sources of harm." (LIENING XUANJI [SELECTED WORKS OF LENIN] Vol 2, p 379) We are now involved in the mighty process of building the four modernizations, which also is a struggle against these "sources of harm." This is the path to a basic solution of the problem. At present, the basic task of the party is to make a wholehearted, concentrated effort to accomplish the four modernizations, and all of our efforts must be subordinated to accomplishing this great historical task of the Chinese people, and education in atheism is but an appendage to this work.

11582
CSO: 4005

IN-SERVICE TRAINING OF TECHNICIANS MUST BE PROMOTED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 80 p 4

[XINHUA dispatch from Beijing, 17 August: "Take the Training of On-the-Job Scientific and Technological Personnel as a Basic Task"]

[Text] The training of on-the-job scientific and technological personnel will be the regular and basic work of all specialized societies, associations, and research centers of natural sciences. This is the call put forward by the Second Session of the Second Standing Committee of the China Scientific and Technical Association, held today.

The session passed a "Proposal to actively carry out the work of vocational training of on-the-job scientific and technological personnel," stating that in training and building a scientific and technological contingent, we must persist in the policy of simultaneously carrying out school education and on-the-job training. In other words, while the education departments are striving to train a scientific and technological reserve force, we must earnestly and continuously raise the standards of our present in-service scientific and technological workers. This "proposal" goes on to point out: Today, when modern sciences are changing with each passing day, in order to meet the requirements of the four modernizations not only junior scientific and technological workers but also middle-age key members of the scientific and technological contingent, and even senior technical experts with special qualifications, all have an urgent desire for further learning. Therefore, various societies, associations, and research centers under the China Scientific and Technical Association should be dutybound to take practical and effective measures, to grasp firmly and well the work of the vocational training of on-the-job scientific and technical personnel, and to get good results.

This "proposal" of the China Scientific and Technical Association states: Our policy for training on-the-job scientific and technical personnel should combine long-term and short-term training, with the latter as the main project; should combine full-time study and spare-time study, with the latter as the main project; should combine single-subject study and systematic study, with the former as the main project; and should combine advanced study and popular study, with the former as the main project. The training may be carried out in the following four ways: 1. short-term training on a specific topic; 2. advanced study on a single subject; 3. forums on specific topics; 4. systematic vocational training. In addition, technical personnel may be trained by means of television and correspondence.

The "proposal" put forward by this session of the standing committee of the China Scientific and Technical Association states emphatically: In running schools of advanced technical study and various short-term training courses, the China Scientific and Technical Association and its subordinate bodies must set strict standards, pay attention to quality, and strive for practical results. We must gradually build a stable contingent of teachers with definite qualifications, doing either full-time or part-time work but mainly part-time work, and must establish a necessary system of education and the sequence of teaching.

9039
CSO: 4005

FIRST GROUP OF NEW STUDENTS FOR SHANGHAI SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai Enrolls First Group of 5,814 Students in 64 Schools of Higher Learning"]

[Text] Today Shanghai announced the enrollment of the first group of new students for 64 schools of higher learning.

These 64 schools that are recruiting students from Shanghai Municipality include the country's key schools of higher learning, key military academies, and the first group of schools of enrollment appointed by the Ministry of Education, as well as Shanghai Teachers College. This year a total of 5,814 students are enrolled by these schools of higher learning--including 1,049 students, 8 above quota, by schools outside Shanghai, and 4,765 students, 210 above quota, by schools in Shanghai. Most of these enrolled students scored more than 400 marks. The 33 students enrolled by the China University of Science and Technology scored an average 450 marks. The 15 students enrolled by the China Capital Medical University scored an average 449 marks. The average score of the students enrolled by Qinghua University and Beijing University was more than 440 and 430 marks, respectively. All those enrolled by Shanghai Jiaotong University and Fudan University scored, on average, more than 440 marks. Those enrolled by the East China Teachers University scored an average of nearly 420 marks. In line with the spirit of the National Conference of Teachers Colleges and the Conference of Schools of Higher Learning on Enrollment Work, the first group of students enrolled this year by Shanghai Teachers College scored more than 390 marks in science and about 340 marks in liberal arts. Xue Leiping [5641 7191 1627], of the East China Teachers University Second Attached Middle School, scored the highest marks in science in the enrollment examination in Shanghai; Zhou Songlin [0719 2646 2651], of Zhang Yang Middle School in Huangpu Ward, scored the highest marks in liberal arts; and Li Wenying [2621 2429 5391], of the Shanghai Foreign Language College Attached Foreign Language School, scored the highest marks in foreign languages. They will attend, respectively, the departments of physics and of Chinese at Fudan University and the department of English at the Shanghai Foreign Language College.

In the work of allocating students to be enrolled, this year we used electronic computers in a simulated test to guide our estimate. Before the allocation, we analyzed data on the number of candidates from each school, the candidates' preferred subjects, and the marks scored by them in the examination, we made a tentative list, and we got a fairly good idea of what we should do. Meanwhile, according to our progress in the work of enrollment, we constantly carried out the allocation in a rational way so that the work of enrollment as a whole was speedy and accurate. Although the original estimated was that it would take 1 week, at present we have basically completed the work in only 4 days. In enrollment work, we also carefully made overall plans and took all factors into consideration to meet the requirements of key schools of higher learning and schools in other places, and completely fulfilled the recruitment plan. A deputy secretary of the Qinghua University Party Committee, who paid a special visit to Shanghai to find out the recruitment situation, was pleased with the 45 new students enrolled in his university. He said that his university was prepared to increase the number of students to be recruited next year in Shanghai.

Today, the work of recruiting the second group of students for other schools of higher learning will begin.

9039
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANGHAI TAKES STEPS TO IMPROVE SECONDARY EDUCATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by reporter Zhang Yifu [1728 6318 1788]: "Shanghai Adopts Three Measures To Reform Secondary Education"]

[Text] Shanghai Municipality has adopted three measures to reform secondary education: it has opened more than 40 vocational courses, prolonged the period of schooling to 3 years in half of the municipality's senior middle schools, and converted some complete middle schools into junior middle schools.

Last year, 10 middle schools in Shanghai opened 10 specialized secondary courses, and this year a number of middle schools again offered more than 40 vocational courses. These two courses recruited a total of more than 2,000 students for the summer term. The subjects of vocational study include documents, accounting, clothing, printing, photography, semiconductor equipment, electrial apparatus repair, and arts and crafts. These courses have been warmly received by the broad students and their parents. A large number of well-qualified candidates applied for the entrance examination and were admitted. The period of schooling for the vocational course is 3 to 4 years. The courses are operated in [one of] two ways: either by the schools on behalf of various municipal specialized companies, factories, and research institutes; or jointly by the ward education bureaus and ward finance and trade offices. It is planned to gradually expand the operation of vocational courses by conducting tests at selected points.

The second thing Shanghai has done to reform secondary education has been to prolong the period of schooling. To improve the quality of education, lighten the students' burden, and help them to develop morally, intellectually, and physically, half of the senior middle schools in the municipality have started to change their educational system from 2 years to 3 years. To avoid any interruption in the source of candidates to be recruited by the institutes of higher education in 1982, this year the other half of the senior middle schools will not prolong their educational system for the time being, but will start to do so in the autumn semester next year. About half of some 80,000 students attending the first-year classes of senior middle schools in the municipality have been enrolled this summer by senior middle schools of the 3-year system. Under the prolonged schooling system, the senior middle schools will add such subjects as biology and geography to their curricula, and they will also set up elective courses for students in the second and third years of senior middle schools, with a view to enlarging their scope of knowledge and giving them vocational and technological education.

The third thing Shanghai has done has been to reform the layout of secondary education. During the 10-year turmoil, all middle schools in Shanghai were blindly converted to senior middle schools. These schools were operated under very poor conditions, and the overall arrangement was not rational. To insure the practical quality of education and to rationalize the layout of complete middle schools and junior middle schools, the concerned departments of the municipality, while carrying out readjustment, abolition, and amalgamation of schools, have reorganized the 441 complete middle schools in urban areas into 290 complete middle schools and 150 junior middle schools, and they have also made corresponding readjustments in school buildings and teaching staff.

9039
CSO: 4005

COMMENTS ON PERSONNEL TRAINING AT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 80 p 2

[Report by Yang Deguang [2799 1795 1684]: "Opinions of Responsible Comrades of Some Factories and Research Institutes in Shanghai on How Institutions of Higher Learning Should Train Qualified Personnel"]

[Text] Very recently, the personnel science study group of the higher education study association in Shanghai Municipality invited responsible comrades of some factories, research institutes and units of the like to a forum on problems such as the training of qualified personnel at institutions of higher learning, where they thoroughly aired their views and especially offered five concrete comments.

1. The university student recruitment approach at present remains to be improved. Some comrades were of the opinion that certain practices in the present uniform student recruitment system are not beneficial to the selection of talents. Director Chen Jiayi [7115 0502 6146] of the youth science and technology station of Shanghai Municipality said: "We have quite a few very talented science and technology enthusiasts at the youth science and technology station, but they often cannot go to a university to study. One student who has been working on ship models won first prize at a national ship models contest, his workmanship level was equivalent to that of a class 6 worker; he finished the study of subjects up to the sophomore year in the shipbuilding department of a university on his own, however, because he did not get enough overall points in an examination for graduate studies, he was not accepted." Participating comrades made three proposals: (1) from now on, student recruitment at various schools should, as is done at institutions of physical education and arts, test not only the candidates' knowledge but also their talents; (2) in the case of superior students or students especially talented in certain fields, they should be selected and sent directly to the university for advanced studies in the corresponding fields; and (3) as exemplified by the University of Communications in Shanghai, a university should set up direct links with supporting middle schools, a university should assist supporting middle and elementary shools to develop scientific and technical activities and improve the quality of teaching, and a university may also go to such supporting middle schools to select budding talents in the field directly.

2. The arrangement of specialties at universities should not be too minute. Along with the development of modern science and technology, there are now an increasing number of new subjects and new specialties. According to incomplete statistics, there are more than 2,000 specialties in the world today, and in the future more new specialties are still liable to come into being. Therefore, the establishment of specialties at institutions of higher learning should not be too limited; efforts should be made to strengthen the student's basic theoretical studies, to provide cross-subject and cross-specialty courses, and thereby broaden the range of his knowledge. Participants were of the opinion that this should be pursued in three aspects: one is to gradually eliminate present specialty arrangements and, instead, recruit students according to individual departments and individual subjects. At present, most schools recruit students according to existing specialties; efforts should be made to encourage students to take up a second specialty. The second is to carry out a credit system, increase selective courses, provide the students with "compound vitamins," so as to raise more "generalists." The third is to renovate teaching materials, raise the level of teachers. Teaching materials for a specialty should be able to reflect the newest level of domestic and foreign scientific and technological development in the field, or a special chair should be established in order to make up any deficiency thereof. University teachers should perceive regularly the actual situations of production and scientific research at factories and research institutes in order to give the students practical knowledge. Technical personnel at factories and research institutes may also be invited to give lectures at a university, in order to make up certain deficiencies of its teachers.

3. Institutions of higher learning should pay attention to training talents of overall development. In the training of talents at several institutions, the point of emphasis is often placed on the impartation of knowledge and not on the fostering of special abilities; this is the greatest weakness of higher education at present. Modern science and technology are developing in the comprehensive and marginal directions; even if we are just working on a medium or small-scale project of scientific research, we would still need to develop coordination and cooperation. Therefore, scientific and technological personnel must not only have a strong capability to engage in autonomous study, to think, and to create, but also have a certain capability to organize. Institutions of higher learning should stress the comprehensive training of students. Wang Jiangang [3769 0256 0474] of research institute No. 711 said that there were two core technical cadres at their institute but neither was any all-superior student from a university; one was conductor of the symphonic orchestra at Qinghua University, and one was leader of the basketball team at the University of Communications; because they were trained in universities, their ability to organize was very strong. We welcome student cadres with a medium or superior level of academic achievement the most, he said, because they are equipped with the ability to work independently and to work hard without complaint. Therefore, the key point in education at higher institutions should be to foster talents. How to foster talents? Participants suggested the following: (1) In the case of university students,

we must not pamper them; we must simplify and streamline their study programs and schedules and let them pursue their own studies and examine their own problems; we must pose some difficulties for the students to solve by themselves, and not lead them to a pursuit of mere high marks. (2) Universities should offer a management specialty as an avenue for training cadres. Apart from this, they should also offer management courses in the various departments to acquaint university students with some management knowledge. (3) Increase experiment courses and courses in production practice; in the case of students in the school of arts, increase courses in social investigation, and organize upper class students to develop scientific research, so as to foster the students' ability to initiate their own operations.

4. It is necessary to raise the foreign language level and literary level of university students. Comrades from the 10-odd units participating in the forum discussion all reflected that the foreign language level and literary level of a considerable part of university graduates are usually very low. A certain industrial company has 580 technical personnel, but those who can read foreign language materials make up only about 30 percent. A certain research institute has more than 120 foreign language magazines available, but only half of them have ever been perused by anyone, and of all the institute's medium-level technical personnel those who are capable of reading foreign language materials make up only 10 percent. Many factories and research institutes must handle assignments such as study tours abroad and participation in international conferences each year. Due to a general lack of people versed in foreign languages, such assignments are necessarily forced upon a few individuals. There are some engineers whose professional level happens to be very high; because of their needs while on assignments abroad, they are forced to stay away from production for a year just to study foreign languages, and hence to miss their work. Everyone was of the consistent opinion that the foreign language level of university graduates of the early 1950's was relatively higher, and the main reason in this regard was that their foreign language foundation in middle schools was quite solid and foreign language teaching materials were used in some university courses. Because the foreign language foundation of these comrades was solid, they were therefore also able to absorb in time the newest scientific and technological knowledge from abroad, to make fast progress, and to achieve great results; most of them became thus principal core cadres in science and technology of their own units. Participants all suggested that students must grasp well the study of foreign languages in their elementary and middle school days; in view of the fact that the foreign language level of middle school graduates at present is not very high, a period in their university days may be set aside for them to concentrate on the making up of such foreign language deficiency. The foreign language editions of some teaching materials may be selected for them, and teachers may give lectures in such foreign languages.

Participants in the forum also made the appeal that higher institutions must raise the students' literary level. They gave many examples to point out that not a few university graduates with a definite professional level could not even write a decent general report, a program of design, or a technical appraisal. For example, a certain unit test-produced a new product and wished to write a colloquial report comprehensible to people outside of the field; several university graduates were asked in succession to write it, but none of those written was able to make a clear presentation. Participants thus suggested that the universities should therefore pay special attention to the literary marks achieved at the time of student recruitment: those whose literary level is too low should not be accepted. Besides, universities should also provide literary courses.

5. It is necessary to change the way university students are assigned in order to encourage the competition for talents. Many comrades pointed out that our university students assignment approach has really a great many faults and has already resulted in a serious waste of talents. The municipal bureau of metallurgial works has altogether 5,800 technical personnel of whom the work arrangements of only a half are relatively appropriate, whereas the other half of them are used outside the fields of their study and hence have not been able to give full scope to their roles. The main reason giving rise to such a situation is that cadres in its personnel department do not know anything about technology. The miniature ball-bearing plant, again, has 61 university graduates among whom quite a few are from specialties such as biology, nuclear physics, microwave, etc. However, since their employment turns out not to be relevant to their specialties, they have been forced to change their professions; this not only resulted in a waste of talents but also created many ideological problems. Deputy director of parts plant No. 5 Jiang Fuzhang [5592 1318 4545] reported: "Our plant has 1,354 staff and workers, of whom 102 are university graduates and these make up only 7 percent and not many of them have become core cadres. This is because when they were assigned to us they were not assigned according to our needs; we had no room to choose, and some could not be given any pertinent jobs after they were sent to us." Participants thus offered three concrete opinions on the university graduates assignment approach: (1) Gradually carry out a recruitment-through-invitation system, so that when various units need certain personnel, they can go to the schools to select and invite them directly; this way, those selected would be suitable and relevant. (2) Practise an advance assignment system, a probation system, so that after university graduates arrive at the employing units, they are put through a year of observation period, at the end of which suitable ones are retained and unsuitable ones are dismissed. (3) Practise a selective assignment system to make it possible for especially outstanding students to select their own working units; wages and salaries in such cases may be set higher. Students whose academic achievements are inadequate or whose conduct leaves much to be desired should not be assigned jobs but should be given only living expenses, so that they can study more by themselves at home and wait for opportunities to be recruited through invitation. The several measures mentioned above

are good for breaking down the present practices of egalitarianism and doing everything in the students' behalf, and good for promoting the students' own ambition for advancement and promoting competition for talents. Today, some people start to have "ready settlement" ideas as soon as they enter a university; because they are uniformly assigned by the state anyway and their wages and salaries are also the same, they hardly need to strive for advancement. This is not good for the development of talents. We should adopt measures, as a matter of policy, to encourage competition for talents.

9255
CSO: 4005

TRAINING OF TECHNICAL PERSONNEL OF ZANG NATIONALITY

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 80 p 1

[Letter from a staff reporter: "The Training of Scientific and Technical Personnel of Zang Nationality Is Extremely Urgent"]

[Text] To the Editorial Board: Recently, Chairman Li Xiaoxing [2621 4562 2502] of the Xizang Autonomous Regional Scientific Commission told your reporter: Xizang's scientific research work and the large amount of technical work in its construction eventually have to be carried out by relying on scientific and technical personnel of Zang nationality. Therefore, the training of a large number of such personnel is extremely urgent at present!

He pointed out: This autonomous region's present backbone of scientific and technical contingents consists mainly of cadres who came there last year on a 3-year rotation; only a very few of them are of the Zang nationality. Of some 200 staff members and workers in the system of the Regional Scientific Commission, the number of scientific personnel who are Zang nationals is even less significant. Those Han nationality technical cadres on a 3-year rotation will leave after 1 or 2 years. After their departure, personnel of Zang nationality will not be able to take over the work. Most of the scientific research projects now in progress will have to stop.

According to information, in the past whoever talked about training Zang nationality cadres had in mind only the thought of training party and administrative cadres, and very seldom that of training technical cadres. Those young people of Zang nationality or of other minority nationalities in Xizang who were sent to the interior to study also generally studied politics and the Han language, and very few studied specialized subjects and technology. Even those few who acquired vocational and technical knowledge would in most cases change their line and become party or administrative cadres after their return to Xizang. For instance, since 1970 the Autonomous Regional Department of Communications has successively sent three groups of young Zang nationals to the communications school in Nei Monggol Autonomous Region to study highway construction engineering. However, on their return to Xizang, almost all of them have been appointed party or administrative cadres.

Li Xiaoxing said: At present, it is not difficult in Xizang to find a number of fine county party committee secretaries who are of Zang nationality; however, it is not so easy to find efficient technicians who are Zang nationals. Evidently, this cannot meet the needs of building a wealthy and enlightened new Xizang. We must carry out the training of technical personnel of Zang nationality as a task of great urgency, and strive to train a number of such personnel in the next 3 to 5 years. For this purpose, he put forward the following four suggestions:

First, it is suggested that in the name of the State Scientific and Technological Commission, we ask some research institutes of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the scientific research units of some provinces and municipalities to train technical personnel for Xizang Autonomous Region purposefully and in a planned way, and according to the needs of Xizang's scientific research work.

Secondly, we ask the Ministry of Education to instruct certain science and engineering colleges in the interior to open "Xizang classes" in certain vocational studies according to the needs of Xizang Autonomous Region. In recruiting students for these classes, we should proceed from the actual conditions of education in Xizang and relax the requirements for candidates, such as lowering the grading [standards] and having no restrictions on age.

Thirdly, we should call together all Zang technical personnel now scattered over various places in Xizang, ask Han nationality technical personnel "to teach, help, and guide" them, and strive to train them to be key technical cadres in 1 or 2 years.

Fourthly, we hope that, in line with the Party Central Committee's spirit of carrying out the structural reform of cadre ranks, the Regional Party Committee will pick out a large number of young Zang party and administrative cadres with a certain degree of education, send them to the interior to study, and train them to be technical cadres.

9039
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

RELATIONSHIP AMONG MINORITY NATIONALITIES IN CHINA

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 80 p 3

[Article: "The Relationship Among All Nationalities of Our Country Should Be a Relationship Among Working People"]

[Text] In Xizang Autonomous Region, some social science workers recently held a forum on theoretical problems concerning nationalities and pointed out: Today, when all nationalities of our country have carried out socialist reform, the relationship among all nationalities is entirely a relationship among working people. It is wrong to continue invariably to use the so-called argument that "the essence of the nationality problem is a class problem."

At the forum, deputy leader Peng Zhe [1756 0772] of the preparatory group of the Xizang Autonomous Regional Academy of Social Sciences and deputy chief Bao Yin [1405 7299] of the propaganda department of the Regional Party Committee said: The nationality problem is a problem left over by history. As long as there are still nationalities, there must be a nationality problem. The essence of the nationality problem changes with the development of the history of society and with the transformation of the social system.

Those comrades who spoke at the forum expressed the following views: In the old society, which was dominated by the exploiting classes and based on private ownership, it might be said that the essence of the nationality problem was a class problem, because at that time both the minority and majority nationalities were the same: the membership of both consisted of people of two sectors, namely the ruler or oppressor and the ruled or oppressed. The contradiction between them was an antagonistic contradiction. The essence of national oppression was class oppression. Frequently, the ruling class of the majority nationality and the ruling class of the minority nationalities joined hands and together oppressed the broad working people. However, even in the old society based on private ownership, the nationality problem was not totally synonymous with the class problem, because among the nationalities, in addition to the class problem, there were also problems regarding differences in economy, culture, customs, and habits.

The comrades pointed out emphatically in their speeches: Since all nationalities in our country have carried out their socialist reform, the relationship among the nationalities has entered a new stage, undergone a fundamental transformation, and changed from a class relationship to a relationship among working people. The reasons are: Firstly, the founding of the socialist system means that the ruling class which oppressed and exploited the people has been toppled, political equality among the nationalities has been realized, the problems between the oppressor and the oppressed and between the exploiter and the exploited no longer exist; and with this fundamental transformation, the essence of the class problem has also changed. Secondly, after the completion of socialist reform, private ownership has been eliminated. In spite of the fact that inequalities have not been entirely eliminated among all nationalities, oppression and exploitation have been eliminated among the nationalities. Thirdly, the minority nationalities are no longer ideologically discriminated against, and their customs and habits are protected and respected by law. With the energetic support and special care of the state, any actual inequalities in economy and culture among the nationalities will gradually be resolved. From the point of view of these three aspects, it is entirely correct to say that at present the relationship among the nationalities is always a relationship among working people.

Those comrades who attended the meeting pointed out: In a certain period of the past, the argument that "the essence of the nationality problem is a class problem" had a very profound influence, and it became an important ideological root and a theoretical basis for a series of ultraleft methods for handling nationality problems. By lumping together the nationality problem and the class problem, it led to the negation of the existence of the nationality problem, to national nihilism, and to the expansion of the class struggle. This wrong theory led to wrong practices. Consequently, Xizang's policies in such fields as religion, the united front, nationality, and cadres were seriously undermined. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," patriotic democratic persons were labeled monsters and freaks, those cadres who did well in implementing the nationality policy were persecuted mercilessly, and those minority national cadres who expressed some differences of opinion were accused of showing their national feelings as a manifestation of class struggle, etc. Therefore it is very important to clarify the theoretical problem of the nationalities.

During the discussion at the forum, all comrades agreed unanimously that, inasmuch as the relationship among all nationalities of our country today is always a relationship among working people, it then becomes the basic task of the party in the minority nationality regions to energetically develop the economy, culture, science, and technology of these regions, improve the standard of material life and raise the cultural and scientific level of the broad masses of people, and gradually eliminate the actual historic inequalities among all nationalities.

9039
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

NORTHEAST HEALTH WORKERS TRAINING--The public health departments of Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning provinces have conducted on-the-job training for their workers and staff. More than 72,000 health and technical personnel have been trained in the past 3 years, or about one-fifth of the total number of health and technical personnel. The training plays an important role in raising the quality of medical treatment and the standard of management. [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 9 Oct 80 OW]

SICHUAN WORKERS EDUCATION--Chengdu, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--As of now, 80 percent of the more than 630 factories and enterprises in Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan, have sponsored workers schools and special training classes with a total enrollment of nearly 300,000. These facilities are mainly designed to promote the cultural and technical level of workers 35 years or younger. There has been a tremendous change in the production of enterprises which have successfully carried out educational programs for their workers. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0148 GMT 8 Oct 80 OW]

PEASANTS MOVE TO TOWNS--Comrades (Wang Jichao) and (Tu Pusheng) of the propaganda department of the Huanggang Prefectural CCP Committee have written to Hubei Radio suggesting that peasants should not be blindly encouraged to flock into the towns to pursue sideline occupations. The letter says: The leading comrades in some places are blindly encouraging the peasants to flock into the towns to carry out sideline occupations, causing certain bad effects. The cadres of a production team on (Hepu) commune in Huanggang County encouraged all the peasants to go to the town to make money, and stipulated that each person should hand over 1.5 yuan to the team a day for workpoints and keep any surplus themselves. After entering the town, the peasants went around everywhere looking for relatives and acquaintances so as to find ways of making money. As a result, many peasants were still unable to make a cent. Some calamity-hit communes and brigades in Qichun County encouraged the peasants to blindly flock into the towns. Far from being able to make money, the peasants had to ask the production teams to send them money for the journey home. According to statistics, 8,000 peasants have recently blindly flocked into Huangzhou. Due to the fact that there were already a number of unemployed people in the town, with the temporary increase of such a large number of people looking for a living, disputes have occurred through competing for livelihood. Even more serious, most of those peasants who have entered the towns are strong and sturdy, while those remaining on the production teams are only auxiliary laborers. This is very unfavorable for the current work of self-salvation in fighting natural disasters, reviving production as fast as possible and sowing the crops in good time. [Text] [HK110614 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Oct 80]

SHANDONG WORKERS SCHOOLS--The Shandong Provincial People's Government recently approved the establishment of 13 institutions of higher education. These institutions are spare-time schools for staff and workers and are run by plants, oilfields and coal mining administrations. The schools maintain a 3- to 4-year course of study. Applicants should be high school graduates who have work experience. They should voluntarily apply for the entrance examination with the approval of the leaders at the units where they are working. [SK130014 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Oct 80 SK]

FUJIAN PLANNED PARENTHOOD WORK--The Fujian provincial leading group on planned parenthood work held a forum on 28 September. The forum discussed how to implement the open letter of the CCP Central Committee on the importance of reducing the population growth rate. The forum was presided by Zhang Gexin, vice Fujian governor and head of the Fujian provincial leading group on planned parenthood work. Other responsible comrades also attended the forum. All participants of the progress of the four modernizations and the far-reaching interests of the state and the people. [sentence as printed] All party and CYL members throughout the province must take the lead in having only one child. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 29 Sep 80 HK]

GUANGDONG PLANNED PARENTHOOD--The Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and the provincial people's government held a meeting on planned parenthood work on 20 September. Meng Xiande, member of the Standing Committee of the provincial CCP committee, vice provincial governor and head of the provincial planned parenthood work group attended the meeting and spoke. He said: Guangdong Province has been doing well in planned parenthood work. However, it is still far behind the demands required by the state. Therefore, we must still discourage couples from having a second or third child. From January to August 1980, the number of childbirths decreased by 43,000 over the same period last year. The percentage of married couples bearing only one child to over 80 percent, and to lower the natural birthrate to 8 per 1,000 and limit the total population to 60.1 million by 1985, maintain the natural birthrate of 8 per 1,000 and limit the total population to 62.8 million by 1990 and lower the natural birthrate to 3 per 1,000 and limit the total population to 70 million by 2000. The task this year is to lower the natural birthrate to 12 per 1,000. All departments concerned must strengthen leadership over this. We must encourage late marriages and persuade the couples to bear children at a later age in order to control population growth. [Summary] [HK081138 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 20 Sep 80]

GUANGZHOU MID-AUTUMN FESTIVAL SOIREE--On the evening of 21 September, some 80 Taiwan compatriots and returned overseas Chinese happily gathered on the roof of the Guangzhou Municipal Federation of Trade Unions [building] to celebrate the mid-autumn festival. Xiao Ming, deputy secretary of the municipal CCP committee, also attended. The soiree was jointly sponsored by the municipal overseas Chinese office, the municipal federation of overseas Chinese, the municipal CYL committee and the municipal youth federation. [Guangzhou City Service in Cantonese 0430 GMT 22 Sep 80 HK]

GUIZHOU GRADUATES TO XIZANG--Guizhou's 11 university graduates started their journey to Xizang on 6 September. The majority of these 11 graduates were CYL members and they volunteered to go and assist in the building of Xizang. They held that they had been cultivated by the party and people and they were willing to devote their youth for them in return. On the morning of 6 September, the Guizhou provincial education office held a farewell tea party for them. Wang Chaowen, secretary of the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee; Wang Bingjun, vice provincial governor, and Sun Hanzhang, director of the provincial education office, attended the tea party and gave them encouragement. [HK100948 Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 80 p 1 HK]

GUIZHOU EDUCATION MEETING--The Guizhou provincial meeting of representatives of advanced collectives and workers on the education front opened on 23 September. Some 600 people from around the province attended the meeting. Responsible comrades from the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee, provincial people's congress Standing Committee, provincial people's government, provincial CPPCC and provincial military district Su Gang, Wang Chaowen, Miao Chunting, Li Tinggui, Chen Xinggeng, Song Shugong, Li Zhiqi, Xu Yijiang, Dai Xiaodong, Zhang Liang, Geng Wanqing, Meng Ziming, Shen Yunpu, Ran Yannong and others attended the opening ceremony. Su Gang presided over the opening ceremony and Vice Governor Li Tinggui gave the opening address. Miao Chunting, deputy secretary of the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee, delivered the work report, saying: We must rely on teachers to improve education in the province and party organizations concerned must strengthen leadership over education work. We must show concern for and respect teachers since they shoulder great responsibilities in educating the young masters. [Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 80 p 1 HK]

QINGHAI TIBETAN BOOKS--Xining, 6 Oct (XINHUA)--The printing house of Taer Temple in Qinghai Province has begun to republish Buddhist liberature as well as books on ancient Tibetan language and Tibetan medicine. Taer Temple is an ancient Tibetan cultural center in northwest China. Its publishing house keeps some 20,000 pieces of printing plates of various Tibetan classics. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0114 GMT 6 Oct 80 OW]

REVISED LANGUAGE DICTIONARY--Beijing, 5 Oct (XINHUA)--The second volume of the revised CIYUAN [Chinese language dictionary], published by the commercial press, has come off the press recently. The total publication is 700,000 copies. The third and fourth volumes are still being compiled. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0824 GMT 5 Oct 80 OW]

NEW LEXICA PUBLICATION--Beijing, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--The Shangwu Publishing House has published a number of new lexica. XIANDAI HANYU XIAO CIDIAN [compact dictionary of modern Chinese language] contains more than 30,000 entries and is intended for use by primary schoolteachers and readers with junior middle education background. XIANDAI HANYU BABAI CI [800 words in modern Chinese language] deals mainly with function words and provides detailed explanations of the meaning and use of each word. YINGYU SUOLUEYU CIDIAN [abbreviated words in English] and JIANMING E HAN CIDIAN [simple Russian-Chinese]dictionaries printed by the publishing house. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0116 GMT 8 Oct 80 OW]

LU XUN LETTER PRESERVATION--Guangzhou, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--A letter written by the great Chinese writer Lu Xun in January 1935 has been presented to the Lu Xun research group in Guangdong. The letter was written to Zhang Ying, the arts teacher who sent one of his woodcuts to Lu Xun, who was an ardent promoter of graphic arts. The letter was preserved by Zhang Ying's son. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 9 Oct 80 OW]

CHINA LIBRARY SOCIETY MEETING--The China Library Society opened its 1980 annual meeting in Hangzhou, capital of Zhejiang Province, on 4 October. Present at the opening ceremony were more than 130 librarians, experts, members of the society's board of directors and essay writers from all parts of the country. Also present were leading comrades of the Zhejiang Provincial CCP Committee and responsible persons of departments concerned. The meeting will review the work of the society in the past year and more as well as its work plan for 1981-1982. More than 120 academic papers on library work were submitted at the meeting. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Oct 80 OW]

SICHUAN LITERATURE, ART MEETING--The first congress of Chengdu municipal literary and art workers opened on 23 September. This congress discussed and implemented the spirit of the Fourth National Congress of Literary and Art Circles and elected the first committee of the Chengdu municipal federation of literary and art workers. (Yang Yixi), first secretary of the Chengdu Municipal CCP Committee, (Mi Jianshu), second secretary and mayor, (Xiong Youzhong), secretary of the Chengdu Municipal CCP Committee, and other responsible comrades attended the opening ceremony. (He Jingzhi), deputy director of the propaganda department of the CPPCC, also attended the congress. (Yang Yixi) spoke at the meeting urging Sichuan's literary and art workers to understand the situation better and serve the people and the four modernizations. [Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 Sep 80 HK]

JIANGXI GERMAN CLASSES--In order to help the cadres learn foreign languages, the State Economic Committee recently commissioned the Jiangxi Provincial Economic Committee to conduct German classes in Nanchang starting from 15 September. Liang Kaixuan, vice governor of Jiangxi Province and chairman of the Jiangxi Provincial Economic Committee, attended the first class. The State Economic Committee has also commissioned the Hubei and Guangdong provincial economic committees to conduct French and English lessons. The cadres who attend the training classes must possess ability to learn languages and professional skills. This German training class will last for 10 months. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Sep 80 HK]

LIAONING NEW UNIVERSITIES--With the approval of the Liaoning Provincial People's Government, five new institutions of higher learning have been established in Liaoning Province. They are: the Shenyang branch of Liaoning University; the Luda branch of Dalian Engineering College, which offers a preliminary course; the Benxi Junior University; Fuxin branch of Fuxin Mining Institute and the Shenyang branch of Dongbei Engineering College. A total of 1,020 freshmen enrolled this year. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Oct 80 SK]

NINGXIA PREHISTORICAL QUAKE SITE--Yinchuan, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--Recently a group of seismogeologists conducted studies at a prehistorical earthquake site in Zhongning County, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. The site was discovered in 1978 when a water conservancy project was being constructed in the area. Since then the State Seismological Bureau has sent several groups of specialists to make on-the-spot surveys. Several other old quake sites have also been discovered in the vicinity. These old quake sites have provided scientific data showing the stratigraphic and geomorphological changes during the past 500,000 years caused by strong earth tremors. [OW051241 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0144 GMT 4 Oct 80 OW]

NINGXIA LITERARY COLLECTION--Yinchuan, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--"Selected Literary Works of the Hui Nationality of China" has been published by the Ningxia People's Publishing House. The collection consists of five volumes covering essays and stories, modern poems, ancient poems, motion pictures and dramas, and folklore. Additional works by writers and authors of the Hui Nationality will be published in the future. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0113 GMT 3 Oct 80 OW]

FUJIAN FORUM ON EDUCATION--Fujian Province recently held a forum on reforming the structure of secondary school education. Over the past year, over 12 counties and municipalities and 18 secondary schools throughout the province have conducted various vocational and agricultural training. The participants of the forum held that it is necessary to stress both regular and vocational education in order to meet the demands of the four modernizations. Secondary school education is of great importance and is directly related to all trades and professions. Therefore, the Fujian Provincial CCP Committee and provincial people's government must strengthen leadership over this area. The forum finally urged all places to set up more vocational schools or training classes. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 18 Sep 80 HK]

HUBEI NEWSPAPER WORK FORUM--The Hubei provincial forum on prefectural and county newspaper work closed on 17 September in Xiangyang. The forum was sponsored by the propaganda department of the Hubei Provincial CCP Committee. Responsible persons from eight prefectures and four counties attended the forum. All participants of the forum held: newspapers in the prefectures and counties must serve the basic level, the peasants and the four modernizations. It is necessary to promote economic propaganda. Economic propaganda must uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts and must be beneficial to speeding up production. Responsible comrades from the news bureau of the central propaganda department and propaganda department of the Hubei Provincial CCP Committee attended the forum. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Sep 80 HK]

SHANDONG CADRE SCHOOL--The Shandong provincial scientific and technological cadre school opened 7 October in Jinan Municipality. The first batch of students were chairmen and vice chairmen of prefectural, municipal and county scientific and technological commissions, and section chiefs, deputy section chiefs, group leaders and responsible persons from the provincial scientific and technological commission, the provincial scientific association, the provincial metrological bureau and the provincial academy of sciences. Professors and experts at Shandung University, Shandong Engineering School and Provincial Agricultural Institute were invited to give lectures on the history of natural sciences, the development of modern science and technology, China's principles and policies in scientific and technological work and techno-economics. [SK091419 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Oct 80 SK]

XINJIANG HISTORY PUBLICATION--Urumqi, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--Volumes one and two of China's first "Concise History of Xinjiang," came off the press on the eve of National Day. Published in Urumqi by the Xinjiang People's Publishing House, it is edited by the Nationalities Institute of the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences. The book traces Xinjiang's history through the primitive, slave and feudal societies and records the political, economic, military and cultural development in the various stages. The first two volumes start with the primitive society and end with 1919 May 4 movement. The third and fourth volumes are being written. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 3 Oct 80]

SHAANXI ARCHEOLOGY JOURNAL--Xi An, 13 Oct (XINHUA)--The first issue of the quarterly "Archeology and Cultural Relics" edited by the Archeological Institute of Shaanxi Province carried more than 20 articles and 14 pages of illustrations. Research results on a human skull unearthed in Dali county, Shaanxi Province, in March 1978 are presented in an article by Wu Xinzhi and You Yuzhu of the Institute of Vertebrate Paleonology and Paleoanthropogy, Chinese Academy of Sciences. The authors believe that Dali man, who lived between 100,000 and 200,000 years ago, is an important link between the Beijing man and early Homo sapiens. Shaanxi Province is one of the places where ancient Chinese culture started. Xian, capital of the province, was the capital of 11 dynasties. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 13 Oct 80]

EDUCATION FOR GANSU MINORITY--The people's government of Linxia Huizu Zizhizhou, Gansu Province, has recently decided that, beginning with the 1980 autumn semester, all minority nationality students in primary and secondary schools will be exempted from having to pay tuition and book fees, and the supply of ration grain will be restored to all students of rural senior middle schools in the autonomous prefecture; the state will supply processed grain according to the standard. This decision was made by the Linxia Huizu Zizhizhou People's Government, in line with the spirit of the CCP Central Committee's notification on the transmission of the "Summary of the Forum on Xizang Work." The decision also puts forward suggestions for improvement in such problems as doing a good job of the layout of schools, using funds for educational purposes, and helping teachers return to their jobs. [Text] [Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 80 p 1] 9039

CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 76699

27 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 132

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76699

27 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 132

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'Ba Yi Radio' Raps PRC for Following Pro-U.S. Policy
(Ba Yi Radio, 14 Oct 80) 1

Afghan Freedom Fighters Launch Attacks
(XINHUA, 10, 12 Oct 80) 3

Rebels Infiltrate Talekan
Russian Convoys Attacked

Bangladesh, Guinea Urge End to Iran-Iraq Conflict
(XINHUA, 15 Oct 80) 5

Guinea's Toure Visits Afghan Refugee Camps
(XINHUA, 15 Oct 80) 6

'AFP' Reviews Asian Reaction to UNGA Vote on Kampuchea
(AFP, 15 Oct 80) 7

'XINHUA' Quotes 'VODK' on Guerrilla Raids, Victories
(XINHUA, 12 Oct 80) 10

'XINHUA': Polish Leaders View Econcmic Ills
(XINHUA, 10 Oct 80) 11

'XINHUA' Cites New Zealand General on Soviet Naval Buildup
(XINHUA, 13 Oct 80) 13

Thai Press on Continued Seating of Democratic Kampuchea in United Nations
(XINHUA, 15 Oct 80) 14

[III - CC - 80]

Briefs

Soviet Casualties in Afghanistan 15
Egypt Expels Soviet Journalists 15
Red Cross Society Message 15
Lebanese Denounce Israeli Invasion 16
Burmese Sports Delegation 16
Tokyo Computer Congress 16
Japanese Calligraphers Delegation 16
International Neurobiology Meeting 17
Belgrade Photo Exhibit 17
Chile-China Cultural Institute 17
Envoy in Zambia 18
Japanese Poll on Defense Issue 18
Japanese Premier on Soviet Threat 18
Japanese Defense Pledge Reaffirmed 18
Trudeau Praises PRC Acrobats 19
Polish Leader Kania Meets People 19
U.S. Official on SEA Policy 19
Romanian President at Army Conference 20
Mozambique-USSR Economic Relations 20
Acrobats in Canberra 20
Pandas to FRG 21
Piano Contest in Warsaw 21
Tourist Center Near Macao 21
Liao Chengzhi, Japanese Group 21
Overseas Chinese Tourists 21

PARTY AND STATE

Struggle Against 'Leftists' Challengers of Present Authority Emphasized
(Lei Yun; SHEHUI KEXUE, 20 Jun 80) 22

Jiangsu Paper on Seniority as Obstacle to Promoting Cadres
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 13 Oct 80) 31

'Radio Ba Yi' Denounces Deng Xiaoping for Undermining Hua
(Ba Yi Radio, 13 Oct 80) 33

Reform, Reformism Called Two Diametrically Opposed Concepts
(Deng Guangming, Zhang Xiqing; GUANGMING RIBAO, 26 Aug 80) 35

Thesis That Literature, Art Are Subordinate to Politics Called Unscientific
(Cao Tinghua; WENYI YANJIU, 25 Jun 80) 42

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Strict Control of Population Growth Urged
(Lin Yushu; GUANGMING RIBAO, 25 Aug 80) 52

Importance of Learning Minority Language Outlined
(MINZU TUANJIE, 15 May 80) 55

Adjustments Made in Higher Institutes Enrollment Regulations
(MINZU TUANJIE, 15 Jun 80) 57

Conference on Teacher Education Held in Anhui
(Anhui Provincial Service, 14 Oct 80) 59

Briefs
Family Planning Drive 61
Foreign Literary Works' Translations 61

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI RADIO' RAPS PRC FOR FOLLOWING PRO-U.S. POLICY

OW151425 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 14 Oct 80

[Text] Since the convocation of the third NPC session many deputies have raised the problem of Sino-U.S. relations and pointed out the harm caused by the pro-U.S. policy. Their views however have never been made public. This is wrong.

If a policy is erroneous, it should be discussed and adjusted no matter who decided on it. Otherwise, how can we eliminate the evil consequence of practicing "rule by the voice of one single person" and implement the principle of "everyone is equal before the law and justice"?

Recently we have theoretically put pressure on the United States and taken other measures to denounce U.S. presidential candidate Reagan's call for establishing official relations with Taiwan and criticize U.S. Senator Goldwater's assertions that "China needs the United States in the same way as the United States needs China," "the United States should not worry that carrying out the two-China policy will hurt its relations with China," "it is essential to understand China's [words indistinct] on this issue" and his other wildly arrogant remarks.

Furthermore, during his visit to the United States Comrade Deng Xiaoping held secret talks with Carter, Brzezinski and other U.S. Government leaders. As the presidential candidate of the U.S. Democratic Party, Carter [words indistinct] worried about lowering Vice Chairman Deng's prestige and encouraged him to [words indistinct]. Such a way of thinking and acting is very childish and also [words indistinct].

Today, many policies of the U.S. ruling as well as opposition parties and the call for establishing official relations with Taiwan are based on the so-called "Act on U.S.-Taiwan Relations." During his U.S. visit, Vice Chairman Deng reached an agreement with Carter on this act. The act clearly stipulates: "The United States reserves the right to continue to intervene in issues on Taiwan." In other words, China must tolerate the existence of two Chinas and refrain from opposing the

United States in continuing relations with Taiwan. It should be pointed out that in the past 31 years since its founding the PRC has never committed such a diplomatic blunder.

Both Reagan and Carter, the presidential candidates of the U.S. Republican and Democratic parties respectively, are loyal jackals of the U.S. monopoly capitalists and serve the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression. The strategies and tactics of "offensive strategy," "surprise attack" and "seizing the initiative by striking first" mapped out by Carter after taking office are aimed at none other but the two socialist powers, China and the Soviet Union.

According to a recent news report, President Carter's decree No 59 on the new nuclear strategy says: "If necessary, nuclear weapons will be used to destroy 100 targets in China, including army, naval and air force bases, big industrial centers, principal cities and scientific research centers." At the (?Zhengzhou) conference of the Science Commission there were persons who defended the U.S. policy, saying the so-called U.S. nuclear strike plan against China will be carried out only if China uses its forces to liberate Taiwan or in the peculiar case when the U.S. interest is seriously harmed. Such a remark is absurd, because 1) whether Taiwan will be liberated or not is China's domestic affair and has nothing to do with the United States; and 2) internationally, China and the United States are big powers on an equal footing. How can the United States decide whether nuclear weapons should be used against China in accordance with its judgment on China's utilization value and on the effect on U.S. interest?

CSO: 4005

AFGHAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS LAUNCH ATTACKS

Rebels Infiltrate Talekan

OW101706 Beijing XINHUA in English 1652 GMT 10 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 9 (XINHUA)--Afghan freedom-fighters infiltrated into Talekan, capital of Afghanistan's Takhar Province bordering the Soviet Union on the evening of October 3rd and laid mines on roads in the city, which destroyed 6 Russian tanks, a spokesman of Hezb-i-Islami of Afghanistan disclosed in Peshawar this afternoon.

Freedom-fighters also launched a surprise attack on the Russian forces stationed five kilometres away from the provincial capital on the same evening. The fighting lasted about one and a half hours. As a result, four Russian tanks were destroyed and some enemies killed and wounded, the spokesman added.

One day before, freedom-fighters exploded the natural gas pipeline in Bolykhomri District, Baghlan Province, north of Kabul, which leads to the Soviet Union, he said.

Five important Babrak officials and one Russian officer were captured by freedom-fighters in Qoarabagh District, Kabul Province, a week ago and at the same time one Russian plane was downed in Charasiab District, 10 kilometres south of Kabul, in the same province.

According to the Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan in Peshawar this afternoon, freedom-fighters blasted Mazar-i-Sharif, capital of Balkh Province bordering the Soviet Union. Upon learning of explosives being transported from the Soviet Union to the province, freedom-fighters went to the place in disguise on one evening 20 days ago. After killing the guards they took some of the explosives away and exploded the rest.

The same source said a fierce fighting between freedom-fighters and Russians took place in Takhar Province on September 15 which lasted 15 days. In this conflict 70 Russian troops were reportedly killed and a large quantity of arms and ammunition captured by freedom-fighters. Freedom-fighters also attacked the Russians' military storage, killing its guards and burning the storage full of ammunition. It said freedom-fighters got full control of half of Talekan in Takhar Province for some time.

Russian Convoys Attacked

OW121238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 12 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 12 (XINHUA)--Afghan freedom fighters attacked Russian convoys on the way to Jaghatu District in Ghazni Province south-west of Kabul on October 9, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy, according to reports received here today.

The Russians poured in a large number of troops and tanks to attack Jaghatu District in an attempt to reestablish a government control there, for the district was liberated last year by Afghan freedom fighters.

The sub-governor, his brother and the commander appointed to run a government in Jaghatu were all killed. The rest of the Russian forces fled to Ghazni City from Jaghatu and thus the Babrak Karmel regime failed in establishing a government in the district.

The same source said 25 Afghan Government troops carrying their weapons have recently joined freedom fighters in Nader Shah District in Paktia Province. They said they had planned two months before but they could not find the opportunity to flee from the garrison because they were under much look and control of Russians. They said that all Afghan soldiers were in favour of Muslim brothers. As soon as they found a chance they would flee and join the freedom fighters.

Quoting Radio Kabul, APP said last night that Afghan youth evading conscription into the army will be punished under a new law if they do not turn up by November 7.

Thousands of Afghan youths have reportedly fled the country and thousands others have moved from Soviet-controlled cities to guerilla strongholds. Government soldiers have been raiding homes in Kabul and some other cities at night in search of young men to enlist in the army.

CSO: 4020

BANGLADESH, GUINEA URGE END TO IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

OW150122 Beijing XINHUA in English 0109 GMT 15 Oct 80

[Text] Dacca, October 14 (XINHUA)--Bangladesh and Guinea "expressed grave concern and anxiety over the deteriorating Iraq-Iran relations and urged the two fraternal Islamic nations for an immediate cessation of hostilities and an amicable solution of their disputes."

This is contained in a joint communique issued here this morning at the end of the visit to Bangladesh by Ahmed Sekou Toure, president of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea.

The communique said the two sides condemned "the Zionist aggression against the Arab people and its occupation of the Arab land." They reiterated their conviction that "a just and permanent solution of the Middle East problems can only be achieved on the basis of a complete withdrawal of the occupation forces from all the occupied Arab territories and the return of the holy city of Jerusalem to its original status."

The two countries also expressed their "grave concern over the present worsening situation in Afghanistan and emphasized the need for a complete withdrawal of foreign troops from the soil of Afghanistan."

They also stressed their common stand of supporting the people of various countries in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

Sekou Toure and his party arrived here on October 12 and left here for Pakistan this morning.

CSO: 4020

GUINEA'S TOURE VISITS AFGHAN REFUGEE CAMPS

OW150230 Beijing XINHUA in English 0218 GMT 15 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 14 (XINHUA)--President Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea said today the Afghan people are fighting for the just cause of their freedom and sovereignty and expressed confidence they would emerge triumphant in the struggle.

He said those who trample the principles of justice and resort to oppression against others are indulging in satanic acts and have no right to speak of the principles of justice.

The Guinean president visited Afghan refugee camps near Peshawar this morning after his arrival in Islamabad on a three-day state visit to Pakistan. He has already visited Korea and Bangladesh.

Addressing the Afghan refugees he said all freedom-loving nations of the world and Muslim countries fully support their struggle for freedom. He declared, "As a member of the Islamic Conference Standing Committee on Afghanistan, my country will continue to strive for the restoration of their rights." The Guinean president also appreciated the humanitarian assistance being provided by Pakistan to Afghan refugees.

President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan expressed grave concern over the Iran-Iraq conflict at a banquet in honour of the Guinean president this evening. He said he was in touch with the leaders of the two countries and hoped that a way out would be found to bring about peace between them. President Toure said Islamic nations should find a solution and bring about peace between the brotherly countries of Iran and Iraq.

CSO: 4020

'AFP' REVIEWS ASIAN REACTION TO UNGA VOTE ON KAMPUCHEA

OW150849 Hong Kong AFP in English 0655 GMT 15 Oct 80

[Text] Hong Kong, Oct 15 (AFP)--The ousted Khmer Rouge regime, buoyed by the United Nations decision to continue recognizing its delegation as Cambodia's legal representative, today called on the Vietnamese people to topple their leaders.

The five-nation Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) meanwhile hailed Monday's U.N. vote as a "victory" for its diplomacy and vindication of its relentless condemnation of the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand particularly welcomed the net gain of three votes--provided by Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar (these three Gulf states had abstained last year)--in support of continued Khmer Rouge seating in the world body.

The five ASEAN members had feared some erosion of support in the face of what they said was a campaign orchestrated by Hanoi and Moscow in favor of the Vietnamese-propped Phnom Penh regime.

The Phnom Penh regime for its part issued a statement rejecting the U.N. vote as an "unjust and unreasonable decision."

In Hanoi, the Vietnamese Communist Party organ also condemned the decision and accused the United States and China of manipulating the United Nations.

In its first reaction to the vote, the regime of former (Khmer Rouge) Premier Pol Pot said the decision was a "bitter defeat for the Vietnamese aggressors, their Soviet boss and their expansionist accomplices."

The Khmer Rouge radio, broadcasting from southern China, said that once the ruling "clique" in Hanoi had been toppled, the Vietnamese and Cambodian people would be able to live peacefully "side by side."

China, the main backer of the Khmer Rouge regime ousted by Vietnamese troops in early 1979, said the U.N. vote was "an act which has promoted international justice."

The Chinese Communist Party organ, the PEOPLE'S DAILY, also hailed the U.N. vote as "a move of major significance in asserting the role of the United Nations in upholding world peace."

In Bangkok, Thai Foreign Minister Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila said that in his stand on Cambodia, his government wanted above all to defend the "principle" that it is impossible to recognize a regime installed by foreign troops.

"We are not fighting for the Khmer Rouge leadership group," he noted.

In Kuala Lumpur, the Malaysian Foreign Ministry described the U.N. vote as "most gratifying" but expressed disappointment over Australia's decision to withdraw recognition of the Khmer Rouge regime.

"Australia cannot prolong its recognition of such a loathsome regime as that of Pol Pot," Australian Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock announced soon after the Australian U.N. delegation voted with ASEAN to keep Democratic Kampuchea in the Cambodian seat.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmaja, speaking during a stopover in Singapore on his way back from the U.N. General Assembly in New York, said the assembly vote would strengthen the ASEAN stand in trying to find a settlement in Cambodia.

"Vietnam holds the view that the problem is already over whereas the facts show that it is not," he added.

The Singaporean Government also welcomed the vote but deplored that Burma did not back the ASEAN stand at the U.N. as expected.

Burma's delegate was listed as "absent" during the vote. "They (the Burmese) may have had their own reasons for not doing so," a Singaporean Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Commenting on Australia's decision to derecognize the Khmer Rouge government, the STRAIT TIMES of Singapore said it "only confirms ASEAN fears that the longer the world body drags its feet in finding a political solution to Kampuchea, the greater the obstacles that will be put in the way of peace in Southeast Asia."

In Manila, Philippines Foreign Minister [title as received] Jose Ingles also welcomed the U.N. vote as a success for ASEAN diplomacy.

He said the decision virtually assures approval of an ASEAN draft resolution on Cambodia--due to be debated at the U.N. today--calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops, respect of the Cambodian people's right to self-determination and the holding of an international conference on the issue next year.

The U.N. vote was also seen in ASEAN capitals as a diplomatic setback for India, which earlier this year became the first major noncommunist country to recognize the Phnom Penh regime led by Heng Samrin.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' QUOTES 'VODK' ON GUERRILLA RAIDS, VICTORIES

OW121210 Beijing XINHUA in English 1202 GMT 12 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 12 (XINHUA)--Kampuchean guerrillas continue their attacks on Vietnamese invaders in various parts of Kampuchea, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported today.

On October 1, the guerrillas, in coordination with the masses and puppet guards with national consciousness destroyed three sections of railway, west of Toteng Thngay station near Pursat City, cutting off the railway communications of the Vietnamese troops. On the following day, the guerrillas laid landmines and ambushed a Vietnamese company which was sent to rebuild the railway, forcing the enemy to retreat to their strongholds, leaving behind 19 killed or wounded.

In the Preah Vihear Province, guerrillas attacked on the night of October 2 Vietnamese strongholds in Sralau Village of Sangkom Thmei District, killing 15 Vietnamese troops, destroying three military barracks and capturing a quantity of weapons and ammunition.

In Kompong Som area, the guerrillas assaulted Vietnamese vessels and their strongholds on Thmei Island and other places on October 1 and 2, putting 83 enemy men out of action.

In Battambang Province, the guerrillas attacked Vietnamese strongholds in Samlot, Pailin and Monkol Borei districts from October 1 to 6, annihilating 170 Vietnamese soldiers. From September 20 to 27, guerrillas raided Vietnamese strongholds in Thmar Puok and Sisophon districts, wiping out a number of enemies.

In Oddor Meanchey Province, 200 Vietnamese troops fell into guerrillas' ambush on their way from Samrong to Khbal Sar Village on September 25. 20 Vietnamese soldiers were wiped out.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA': POLISH LEADERS VIEW ECONOMIC ILLS

OW101711 Beijing XINHUA in English 1659 GMT 10 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, October 9 (XINHUA)--The workers' strikes have inflicted on the country a loss of 50,000 million zloties (one U.S. dollar equals 3.1 Polish zloties), announced Henryk Kisiel, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission, yesterday.

Speaking at the third session of the Eighth National Assembly, he said the economic situation at home is very grave at present: "Goods and services are becoming ever more deficient," huge foreign debts are bringing "more and more troubles" and "the rhythm of production is descending" due to the disproportionate development in the whole national economy.

He said that labour productivity dropped by nine per cent last August as compared with the same period of last year, and by six per cent last September.

Under such unfavourable conditions, he pointed out, the national economic plan for 1981 can only be on a low standard. The national income is expected to rise by merely 1 to 1.5 per cent. Investments in capital construction will be curtailed by 100,000 million zloties and effort will be made to cut down the foreign trade deficit by some 700 million U.S. dollars.

The primary social target for the 1981 plan is to maintain the current living standards, he stressed.

Minister of Finance Marian Krzak said in his report to the meeting that this year's national income will be less than that of last year while spendings are expected to exceed the plan by a big margin. He told the assembly that the budgetary deficit in 1981 is estimated to reach 24,000 million zloties.

Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, spoke about the 1981 national economic plan and budget. He said that in order to meet the basic requirements of the society, relevant changes must be made either in the national economic structure or in the structure of production. First of all, the government will use money and production potential to turn out more commodities for markets, and effective measures will be adopted so that markets are no longer ravaged.

He called on the people to work harder and the departments concerned to organize the economy in a more rational way with a view to improving the economic situation in 1981. He promised to give special attention to agriculture, food production and housing in 1981 and the following years.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' CITES NEW ZEALAND GENERAL ON SOVIET NAVAL BUILDUP

OW131518 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 13 Oct 80

[Text] Wellington, October 13 (XINHUA)--The "massive and threatening" naval build-up by the Soviet Union in the Pacific could be viewed only with grave concern, said a high-ranking New Zealand officer, THE DOMINION reported here today.

Speaking at a conference of the Navy League in Nelson on Saturday, the chief of New Zealand Naval Staff, Rear Admiral K. M. Saul, said that there was no doubt that the Soviet Union intended to use its navy forces to project Soviet power and influence throughout the world. There had been a "massive and threatening" naval build-up by the Russians in the Pacific. He added that the Soviet fleet in the Pacific contained more than 100 submarines, almost 80 major surface ships, many modern missile armed ships, amphibious warfare ships, 50 minesweepers and 45 coastal sweepers. In addition to the naval ships, Admiral Saul went on to say, there were more than 150 merchant ships and fishing boats in the region which could quickly be converted to a naval role.

Admiral Saul saw the true intention of the Soviet Union in what a Russian military leader said about the role of its navy. He noted that Soviet naval Commander-in-Chief Admiral Gorshkov had said, "Naval forces can be used in peacetime to put pressure on our enemies...the flag of the Soviet Navy now flies over the oceans of the world."

"Because this gravely concerns New Zealand, a remote trading nation, we must play our part in maintaining a balance of power by supporting our Western allies," the New Zealand chief of naval staff stressed.

CSO: 4020

THAI PRESS ON CONTINUED SEATING OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA IN UNITED NATIONS

OW151304 Beijing XINHUA in English 1254 GMT 15 Oct 80

[Text] Bangkok, October 15 (XINHUA)--The continued seating of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations at its 35th General Assembly Session is a telling blow to Viet Nam and the Soviet Union and proves that the combined opposition to the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea has grown stronger than before, several Thai papers note in their editorials or commentary today.

The NATION REVIEW says that "Continuing to seat the representative of Democratic Kampuchea will mean that the will to drive the Vietnamese out of Kampuchea will have added impetus."

The editorial of TONG HUA YID PAO says that the result of the vote on the seat of Democratic Kampuchea is another brilliant victory for the ASEAN countries. It also expresses the will of the world people against the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea.

The editorial goes on to say that retaining the seat of Democratic Kampuchea at the U.N. does not mean the settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The ASEAN and all other peace-loving countries should work harder to mobilize all the international forces to support Democratic Kampuchea's struggle against Vietnamese aggression and prevent Hanoi from spreading the flames of war to other countries.

SING SIAN YIT PAO says in a commentary that the victory achieved by the ASEAN countries on the Kampuchean issue testifies to the correctness of the ASEAN foreign policy which is an important factor in maintaining peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

SOVIET CASUALTIES IN AFGHANISTAN--Islamabad, October 10 (XINHUA)--The Soviet occupation troops in Afghanistan suffered heavy losses in their recent attack in Mazar Valley of Kunnar Province, according to today's newspaper reports quoting a press release of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan. In this encounter, large numbers of Soviet troops were killed, one jet was shot down and twenty-nine tanks were destroyed. Reports from Alishang District of Langhman said that in a conflict between the Mujahideen and the Russians a few days ago, 18 Soviet tanks were destroyed and many Soviet soldiers killed. Due to heavy bombardments, 20 Mujahideen were killed. In another encounter in the same area, 14 Soviet soldiers were killed and two tanks destroyed. [Text] [OW101540 Beijing XINHUA in English 1531 GMT 10 Oct 80]

EGYPT EXPELS SOVIET JOURNALISTS--Cairo, October 11 (XINHUA)--The Interior Ministry of Egypt has expelled two Soviet journalists after the security authorities proved their guilt, the local paper AKHBAR AL-YAWM reported today. They are Vladimir Shellepin and Andrey Stepanov, journalists of the Arab version of the Soviet NEW TIMES magazine published in this country. They were charged with engaging in secret activities, spreading rumours and provoking disturbance. AKHBAR AL-YAWM disclosed that Egyptian security personnel had searched the headquarters of the magazine and found evidences proving their guilt. They ordered the closure of the magazine and demanded that the two journalists leave the country within hours. They left Egypt three days ago. The paper said that the NEW TIMES was closed down because it reprinted information and critical articles published in a bulletin which is for circulation among the members of the opposition National Progressive Unionist Party. It was also sold at newsstands with the aim of provoking public sentiments, said the paper. [Text] [OW111242 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 11 Oct 80]

RED CROSS SOCIETY MESSAGE--Beijing, October 11 (XINHUA)--The Chinese Red Cross Society in a message to the Algerian Red Crescent today expressed deep sympathy with the victims of the strong earthquake in al-Asnam, Algeria. On behalf of its membership, the society voiced the hope that the afflicted people would soon be able to "rebuild their homeland and return to normal life." [Text] [OW111340 Beijing XINHUA in English 1300 GMT 11 Oct 80]

LEBANESE DENOUNCE ISRAELI INVASION--Beirut, October 10 (XINHUA)--Salim al-Huss, prime minister of the Lebanese caretaker cabinet, in a speech here today denounced Israel for invading Lebanese territory recently. Al-Huss pointed out that at a time when the U.N. Security Council stressed Lebanon's right to territorial integrity within the boundaries recognized internationally, Israel expanded its territory by setting up more settlements within Lebanon. This is a gross challenge to the resolutions of the U.N. and international community. He said that it is unjust for Israel, which is a member of the United Nations, to have persistently defied the resolutions of international organizations. He said that the Lebanese people will spare no effort to defeat the Israeli expansionist plot. [Text] [OW111326 Beijing XINHUA in English 1245 GMT 11 Oct 80]

BURMESE SPORTS DELEGATION--Beijing, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--A Burmese sports delegation led by Col Kyaw Sein Tun, general director of the sports and physical education department of the Ministry of Health, left here today for Shanghai. On the invitation of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission of China, the Burmese visitors surveyed regular and sparetime physical education in Kunming and Beijing. They were guests of honor on October 5 at a reception given by Lu Jindong, vice-minister in charge of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission. In later discussions with the Chinese side, they exchanged information and ideas of further cooperation. The Burmese delegation will tour east China's lake city of Hangzhou and Guangzhou before going home. [Text] [OW111219 Beijing XINHUA in English 0753 GMT 1 Oct 80 OW]

TOKYO COMPUTER CONGRESS--Tokyo, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--The Eighth World Computer Congress was held here between October 6 and 9 to forecast the development of computers in the 1980s. A Chinese delegation, headed by Guo Pingxin, deputy director of the State General Administration of Computer Industry, and Xia Peisu, professor of the Institute of Computing Technology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, attended the congress. This was the first time China was represented at such a congress. Professors Xu Jiafu, Zhong Cuihao and Yang Fuqing delivered at a group section a joint academic report which drew immense attention from the participants. The congress, or the International Federation for Information Processing Congress 80, is financed by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and headquartered in Geneva. It is held once every three years. Up to January 1 of this year, it had had 39 member states. The People's Republic of China officially joined the organization in 1979. The present meeting will be resumed from October 14 to 17 in Melbourne, Australia. [Text] [OW111219 Beijing XINHUA in English 1930 GMT 9 Oct 80 OW]

JAPANESE CALLIGRAPHERS DELEGATION--Beijing, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--At a gathering today, 17 noted Chinese and Japanese calligraphers demonstrated flowing strokes in various styles with writing brushes before a group of cameramen. The Japanese guests are members of a visiting calligraphers delegation led by Shunkei Iijima, director-general of the All-Japan

Calligraphers Association and director-general of the Japanese Calligraphic Art Institute. Among the Chinese calligraphers was Zhao Puchu who is also a poet. He composed a short poem on the spot and inscribed it on a long scroll. This is the sixth time that a Japanese calligraphers delegation has come to China since exchanges between Chinese and Japanese calligraphers began in the 50s. [Text] [OW111219 Beijing XINHUA in English 1528 GMT 7 Oct 80 OW]

INTERNATIONAL NEUROBIOLOGY MEETING--Shanghai, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--A 10-day international workshop on neurobiology has opened here. It is the first international meeting on neurobiology in China sponsored by the Chinese Academy of Sciences in collaboration with the International Brain Research Organisation (IBRO), UNESCO and the American National Institute of Health. More than 70 neurobiologists from Algeria, Britain, China, France, India, Japan, Thailand, West Germany, the United States and Hong Kong are taking part. Speaking at the opening session were Feng Depei, deputy director of the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and director of the Shanghai Institute of Physiology; neurophysiologist Zhang Xiangtong, on behalf of the workshop's organization committee; and Professor C. N. Woolsey, organizer of the IBRO-UNESCO workshops on brain research for the Western Hemisphere and East Asia. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 8 Oct 80 OW]

BELGRADE PHOTO EXHIBIT--Belgrade, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--A Chinese photographic arts exhibition, the first held in Yugoslavia, was opened here this evening. Over 100 noted Yugoslav personages from various circles and amateur photographers attended the opening ceremony of the exhibition in rain. Zoran Rubinjo, chairman of the Yugoslav Photographers Union, was present. Cultural counsellor of the Chinese Embassy here Lu Changxu was also present. There are 120 photographs on display at the exhibition which reflect the zeal shown by the Chinese people of various nationalities in the socialist modernization of their country, and the magnificent sights of the beautiful mountains and rivers of China. The exhibition will close on October 19. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 10 Oct 80 OW]

CHILE-CHINA CULTURAL INSTITUTE--Santiago, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--The Chile-China Cultural Institute began a week's activities today in celebration of the 31st anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. During the week, lectures will be given on various aspects of life in China including the state of Chinese poems and paintings. At the inaugural ceremony, chairman of the sponsor institute Juan Martinez expressed admiration for the achievements of the Chinese people and wished them prosperity and happiness with the progress of the four modernizations. Chinese Ambassador Hu Chengfang was among those present at the inauguration which was held in the University of Chile. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1627 GMT 9 Oct 80 OW]

ENVOY IN ZAMBIA--Lusaka, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--Zambian President Kenneth David Kaunda met the Chinese ambassador, Ge Buhai, in the State House here yesterday afternoon. They had a friendly talk on Southern Africa, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 11 Oct 80 OW]

JAPANESE POLL ON DEFENSE ISSUE--Tokyo, October 10 (XINHUA)--A recent public opinion poll showed a change in the country's public opinion on the defence issue over the past ten months following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. MAINICHI SHIMBUN's four-day survey in late September, the result of which was published today, indicated that the number of advocates of Japan's demilitarization and neutrality has now decreased significantly. On the question of whether Japan would be attacked by the enemy: 7 per cent of those polled said yes, 51 per cent said probable and 32 per cent said no. Asked what Japan should do if attacked: 21 per cent advocated resistance or death, 49 per cent favoured resistance as far as possible and 21 for non-resistance. On the defence issue: 19 per cent favoured measures to increase the defence capability, 25 per cent favoured a slight increase, 40 per cent for the status quo, 8 per cent for a cut and only 5 per cent for elimination of defence forces. [Text] [OW100832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0816 GMT 10 Oct 80]

JAPANESE PREMIER ON SOVIET THREAT--Tokyo, October 11 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union's increased military build-up in the Far East and on the four Japanese northern islands "has posed a potential threat to Japan and caused great anxiety among the Japanese nationals," declared Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki this morning. He was replying to a question raised at a meeting of the budget committee of the House of Representatives. He referred to the effect the Soviet potential threat may have on the Japanese defence strategy. He said: "In face of the present situation in the Middle East, the United States has deployed its mobile fleet in the Indian Ocean. But, whenever the occasion arises, the U.S. explicitly states its presence in the Western Pacific. Japan likewise declares in explicit terms that it will fully honour its commitment in defence of the country under the Japan-U.S. security treaty." He added: "Determined to safeguard its peace and security by its own efforts, Japan will make every possible effort to defend itself in line with the defence program." [Text] [OW111330 Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 11 Oct 80]

JAPANESE DEFENSE PLEDGE REAFFIRMED--Tokyo, October 13 (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki reaffirmed here today his country's dedication to defense only, saying that Japan will not be a military power or arm itself with nuclear weapons or threaten its neighbours. Answering questions at the House of Councillors budget committee meeting, Suzuki stressed the need for the West to make a bigger defense effort. "To maintain a relative military equilibrium with the continuing Soviet military buildup could curb the possibility of war and serve world stability," he said. He went on to say that the massing of Soviet forces in the Far East, reinforcements to the (Japan's) four northern islands and the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in particular have had a heavy impact on global military balance between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as on detente." [Text] [OW131248 Beijing XINHUA in English 1242 GMT 13 Oct 80]

TRUDEAU PRAISES PRC ACROBATS--Ottawa, October 10 (XINHUA)--"Your performance has given us another important aspect of China," said Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau after seeing the premiere of the Guangdong acrobatic troupe of China at the National Art Centre here this evening. The excellent performance of Chinese acrobats was warmly acclaimed by a full-house audience of 2,300. The troupe arrived in Canada on September 2. Since then it has given 33 performances to a total of 100,000 spectators in Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary, Regina, Winnipeg, Thunder Bay, Toronto and Hamilton. It will go to Montreal, Halifax, Quebec and other cities before leaving for New York on November 2. [Text] [OW111332 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 11 Oct 80]

POLISH LEADER KANIA MEETS PEOPLE--Warsaw, October 13 (XINHUA)--The first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Stanislaw Kania, recently had a flurry of meetings with representatives of all walks of life in the country, reported the Polish Telegraph Agency today. Kania met representatives of the Socialist Youth Union today and had a "frank discussion" with them for several hours. The representatives spoke about their "feelings, opinions and views" on the major events that had happened in the country in the past few months. Kania expressed the party's readiness to listen to their opinions with patience. This was Kania's second meeting with the youth representatives in the past two weeks. Kania met all members of the presidium of the Szczecin United Workers' Committee in Szczecin on October 10. They exchanged views frankly on the work and activity of the independent "solidarity" trade union. They also discussed the economic situation in the country and the conditions required for socialist reforms. This was the first time that the head of the party met the independent trade union leaders. Kania had a talk with representatives of scenario writers on October 11. [OW141232 Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 14 Oct 80]

U.S. OFFICIAL ON SEA POLICY-- Hong Kong, October 12 (XINHUA)--The U.S. has the ability and will to protect its interests in Southeast Asia, said U.S. Deputy Ambassador to Singapore Smith on October 10, according to a press report from Singapore. Smith said that the commercial trade volume between the U.S. and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations had increased to 16.8 billion U.S. dollars last year as against 1.6 billion in 1965. It means that the ASEAN has become the fourth largest trade partner of the U.S., he added. Referring to the new rise of trade between the U.S. and the ASEAN this year he said that the commercial trade has turned out to be a major part of the U.S. interests in Southeast Asia. It has encouraged the U.S. to take active measures in politics and security in Southeast Asia, he stated. He added that the U.S.

will retain its military strength in Southeast Asia to protect its interests. [Text] [OW120826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0819 GMT 12 Oct 80]

ROMANIAN PRESIDENT AT ARMY CONFERENCE--Bucharest, October 11 (XINHUA)--"We should never forget that so long as there exist imperialism and major international contradictions, there is the danger of aggression and war," "therefore our army should stand ready at any time to beat back resolutely any attempt to impair in one way or other the revolutionary gains, the socialist construction and the country's sovereignty and independence," said Ceausescu yesterday. Speaking at a conference attended by Romanian army cadres, he said: "We should always bear in mind that the army is the people's armed forces. The people have entrusted to the army a lofty and glorious task today as in the past. It should always respond to the call of the party and government, carry out its obligations and fight against any attempt that infringes upon the people's interests, the socialist cause and the independence and sovereignty of Romania." The army, he stressed, should make special efforts to raise its combat capabilities and political quality. Military training should be carried out in the light of the specific geography and climate of Romania so that the army can fight a war in any place in case of a national defensive war. [Text] [OW111346 Beijing XINHUA in English 1257 GMT 11 Oct 80]

MOZAMBIQUE-USSR ECONOMIC RELATIONS--Maputo, October 12 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union will take part in Mozambique's cotton growing programme and in establishing a tractor assembly line according to a protocol on industrial and agricultural cooperation between the two countries signed here on October 10. Trade volume between the two countries increased to 33.2 million U.S. dollars in 1979 from 8.2 million U.S. dollars in 1977. Mozambique's relations with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) have also developed. A CMEA delegation visited Mozambique in late September to discuss the granting of financial aid for its economic construction. Before this, a Mozambican delegation attended the 34th CMEA session in Prague to look into the possibility of Mozambique's membership in CMEA. [Text] [OW131216 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 13 Oct 80]

ACROBATS IN CANBERRA--Canberra, October 14 (XINHUA)--Sir Zelman Cowen, governor-general of Australia and Lady Cowen watched the premiere given here by the Nanjing acrobatic troupe of China yesterday evening. The 1,300-seat Canberra Theatre was almost full last night. When the performance was over, Sir Cowen and Lady Cowen accompanied by Lin Ping, Chinese ambassador to Australia, went to the backstage to congratulate the acrobats on their success. The troupe arrived here on October 12 from Sydney where they stayed for two weeks and gave many performances. [OW151003 Beijing XINHUA in English 0224 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

PANDAS TO FRG--Beijing, October 15 (XINHUA)--A pair of giant pandas is to be sent to the people of the FRG as a gift from the Chinese people early next month. This was decided last October when former Chinese Premier Hua Guofeng visited the FRG. Since the founding of new China in 1949, China has given giant pandas as a state gift to Britain, the DPRK, France, Japan, Mexico, Spain, the Soviet Union and the United States. [OW151003 Beijing XINHUA in English 0738 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

PIANO CONTEST IN WARSAW--Warsaw, October 14 (XINHUA)--Chinese pianist from China's Taiwan Province Chen Hongkuan entered the third round of the International Chopin Piano Contest, the tenth of its kind, here today along with 14 pianists from other countries after the second round of contest last night. The list of second round winners announced at noon today included three from the Soviet Union, two from the United States, two from France, and one each from Poland, China, Romania, Yugoslavia, Japan, West Germany, Canada and Vietnam. 42 pianists took part in the second round contest from October 9 to 13. The third round contest will begin on October 15 and 16. [Text] [OW151003 Beijing XINHUA in English 0117 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

TOURIST CENTER NEAR MACAO--Guangzhou, October 15 (XINHUA)--China is opening a new tourist center--the seaside Shijingshan resort five kilometers away from Macao--in Zhuhai City of Guangdong Province of South China for Overseas Chinese and foreign tourists. Among the scenic spots and places of historical interest in and around Zhuhai is the former residence of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The center is jointly developed by the Zhuhai City Tourist Corporation and the Zhuhai Tourist Development Corporation Ltd. in Macao. [Text] [OW151003 Beijing XINHUA in English 0742 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

LIAO CHENGZHI, JAPANESE GROUP--Beijing, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--Liao Chengzhi, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, hosted a breakfast meeting at the Beijing Restaurant on 7 October in honor of the Japan-China friendship delegation from Shimonoseki City, Japan, headed by Mayor Yoshiji Muneda. They had a sincere and cordial conversation. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0337 GMT 7 Oct 80 OW]

OVERSEAS CHINESE TOURISTS--A seven-member Overseas Chinese tourist group from Aichi Prefecture, Japan, is visiting Jiangsu Province at the invitation of the Jiangsu Provincial Overseas Chinese Federation. The group arrived in Nanjing from Wuxi on 6 October. Governor Hui Yuyu met with and feted the visitors on 7 October; Chu Jiang, chairman of the Nanjing Municipal Revolutionary Committee, feted them on 8 October. The visitors were also honored at a tea party given by the Overseas Chinese federations of Jiangsu Province and Nanjing Municipality on 7 October morning. During their stay in Nanjing, the Overseas Chinese visitors visited various historical and scenic spots. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Oct 80 OW]

CSO: 4020

STRUGGLE AGAINST 'LEFTISTS' CHALLENGERS OF PRESENT AUTHORITY EMPHASIZED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 3, 20 Jun 80 pp 67-71

[Article by Lei Yun [7191 0061] of the Zhejiang Provincial CCP Committee's Propaganda Department: "The Sources and Conditions of the Chronic Disease of 'Left' Deviation"]

[Text] Although 3 years or more have passed since the downfall of the "gang of four," our party and people are still suffering in varying degrees from the "left" deviationist trend of thought just as they did during the late 1950's and the Great Cultural Revolution. Even today, this trend of thought still tampers with every move we make in the direction of implementing the ideological and political line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, which represents the basic interests of the entire party and the people throughout the country. Efforts still have to be made to overcome this trend of thought if we want to carry out our work in accordance with this line. Otherwise, we cannot move a single step forward. Today, the "left" deviationist trend of thought is a major ideological obstacle to the thorough implementation of the party's ideological and political line aimed at bringing about stability and unity in society and rallying the entire party and the people throughout the country behind a common endeavor to accomplish the four modernizations.

The "left" deviationist trend of thought is a diehard trend of thought. Since the downfall of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, it has continued to assert itself despite our persistent efforts to expose and criticize it. It seems that it has truly become a chronic disease that cannot be easily eradicated. Why has it become a chronic disease to begin with? What is its root cause and what are the conditions that make it rampant? An analysis of these questions is undoubtedly significant in that it will help us to further understand the true nature of this trend of thought and its damage to us, to repudiate and eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," to restore order, to set the record straight and to bring the four modernizations program to a successful conclusion.

1

Any social trend of thought or political tendency has its origin. It is man's social being that determines his thinking. This is a basic principle of Marxism with which we are familiar. We must first analyze the root cause of the "left" deviationist trend of thought in the light of the social conditions. In his work "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," Lenin discussed the problem of the "left" deviation and said: The Marxist theory holds, and Europe's experience in revolution and revolutionary movements confirms, that when they are on the verge of bankruptcy, the small proprietors are apt to shift their economic position to the extreme form of revolution. This analysis also fits well the current reality in our country. After analyzing the three mistakes committed by the "leftists" within the party during the period between the failure of the First Great Revolution and the Zunyi meeting and their damage to the party, the "Revolution Concerning Several Historical Problems" adopted by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee pointed out: These mistakes committed by the "leftists" originated from our society. The fact showed that China was a country dominated by the petty bourgeoisie. Under such circumstances, our party could not avoid being surrounded by petty-bourgeois elements who accounted for a large percentage of its members. Furthermore, under China's economic conditions, even party members who were workers were also more or less influenced by the bourgeois ideologies. This was why the bourgeois ideologies could make themselves felt within the party frequently. The petty-bourgeois way of thinking was a subjective, unilateral, unrealistic, speculative and reckless way of thinking in observing problems. Politically, petty-bourgeois elements who had joined the party always hoped that the revolution could succeed immediately. Later, they lost patience when the revolution did not turn out in a way they had expected. Obsessed with the "left" leaning revolutionary terms and slogans, they often acted recklessly or took a closed-door attitude toward everything. Once this petty-bourgeois tendency made itself felt within the party, it formed a "left" deviationist line, leading people to come up with some wrong ideas on many basic issues. After nationwide liberation and the completion of the land reform, small-scale production still dominated our economy and small-scale producers still formed the basis of our society. After the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicraft industry was completed, most of the small-scale producers still clung to their old way of thinking although their economic status had undergone radical changes; the petty-bourgeois force of habit and ideology still made their influence widely felt in our society and never stopped asserting themselves in our party. They made their appearance in the form of the "left" tendency in our party. Under the influence of this tendency, the workers on all fronts became arrogant, capricious, impatient, illusory, inordinately fanatic, hyperbolic, reckless, and rash whenever they achieved some progress or victories in production and other fields of work. In his article entitled "Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party," published in 1953, Comrade Mao Zedong reaffirmed the Marxist thesis that "the left opportunist mistakes are a reflection of petty-bourgeois fanaticism in the party." This thesis proved correct when the "left" opportunist mistakes were committed again during the struggle against the rightists, the Great Leap Forward, and the campaign against the right deviationist tendency that took place in 1957, 1958, and 1959 respectively, and when the "left" deviationist trend of thought surged ahead on the cultural, educational, press and publication fronts during the Great Cultural Revolution. When the erroneous "left" leaning trend prevailed over the party during the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" immediately jumped at the opportunity to concoct a counterrevolutionary ultraleft line to serve their counterrevolutionary purpose and policy, which subsequently disrupted the life of the party and country for 10 years. The pernicious influence of that counterrevolutionary "left" line remains deep in some people's hearts even to date. A considerable number of comrades within our party who have exposed themselves to the "left" deviationist trend of thought for over 10 years now have lost their ability to objectively analyze and resist that ultraleft line, or to distinguish truth from fallacy. The influence of the "left" deviationist trend of thought left over from history and from the Great Cultural Revolution remains so far-reaching that many comrades still dare not break the shackles of that ultraleft line for fear of hitting a mine. At this great moment of eliminating chaos and restoring order, they have shown no determination to break with that ultraleft line. In other words, they are still committed to uphold that ultraleft line concocted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as an "orthodox" revolutionary legacy.

The fact that the "left" deviationist trend of thought remains deep-rooted in our society reminds us that the influence of the force of small-scale producers and the petty-bourgeois ideology over our society should not be underestimated. Lessons drawn from the previous political movements, especially the Great Cultural Revolution, teach the communists that they should still seriously consider it necessary to constantly remold their world outlook.

II

The root of the "left" deviation as a chronic disease in real life can be traced far back in history.

When such political movements as the struggle against the rightists, the Great Leap Forward, and the campaign against the right deviation were launched in the 1950's, many people often feared being regarded as rightists on the assumption that being on the right is a matter of one's political stand while being on the "left" is only a question of method. They also saw some party members or cadres receive protection when they committed serious "left" deviationist mistakes and others punished when they professed to be on the "right." Consequently, the idea that the "left" is better than the "right," and being on the "left" is preferable to being on the right suddenly became very popular with a considerable number of comrades inside and outside the party and was even praised as "revolutionary philosophy."

Although we suffered setbacks in these movements, we still failed to draw lessons from them and failed to correct these mistakes immediately. On the contrary, we convinced the people that revisionism had become rampant everywhere, capitalism was about to be restored, and the entire party and state were in danger of changing color if the influence of the right trend of thought were allowed to go unchecked on the ideological and all other fronts. This assessment of the situation from the "left" angle directly resulted in a decision to launch the Great Cultural Revolution, which brought an unprecedented disaster and caused unprecedented damage to the party and country. Demagogic speakers were praised as the most revolutionary and firmest "leftists," while a large number of old party members and old cadres who persisted in seeking truth from facts and in upholding the truth were falsely accused of being "old rightists" and "revisionists" and were later thrown out of their office. As a result, the then prevalent idea that "being on the 'left' is better than being on the right" and "being on the 'left' is preferable to being on the right" gained further strength and was subsequently transformed into a "left" deviationist trend of thought "drowning" out all other voices of the party and society.

This fact shows that the erroneous "left" deviationist trend of thought did not begin with the Great Cultural Revolution but was a factor that led to the launching of this revolution. Actually, this trend of thought originated from history with its formation dating back to the late 1950's. It flourished and reached the peak of its influence during the Great Cultural Revolution.

During the past 20 years, the erroneous "left" deviationist trend of thought has led the people to treat the right deviation as something extremely dreadful. In the final analysis, the so-called "being on the right" means seeking truth from facts and daring to tell the truth. Although theoretically no one can deny that both "leftists" and rightists are equally inimical to the revolution, the idea that "'left' is better than right" is wrong. Experience tells people that being on the "left" is a way to protect oneself, and being on the right is bound to court self-destruction. In other words, being on the "left" gives the people a sense of security and being on the "right" a sense of tragedy. At that time, many people who were on the "left" benefited greatly from that political stand while others who were on the right suffered miserably. Furthermore, persons who were neutral also watched the "leftists" prosper and the "rightists" go down to defeat. This fact prompted the general public to acclaim the idea which considers being on the "left" better than being on the right as "objective truth." Today, this extremely abnormal mentality remains far from being eliminated. Why are a considerable number of comrades today still fearful and apprehensive being regarded as rightists. Why do those well-educated comrades still stubbornly cling to the "two whatever" doctrine, knowingly disregarding the central authorities' Marxism-oriented policy to eliminate chaos and restore order? These two questions can be answered by a study of the aforementioned abnormal mentality.

The history of the growth of the "left" deviationist trend of thought reminds us of how important and how valuable are the communists' revolutionary firmness and Marxist principles! If we cannot stick to this point, we are apt to slide down the road toward the ultraleft side. The historical facts have repeatedly taught us that without firmly upholding the Marxist principles, few can resist the temptation to become "leftists" or sycophants who can benefit greatly from following the wind, swimming with the tide and echoing the voices of their masters.

III

The "left" deviationist trend of thought stems from a specific theory. Without realizing this, no one can explain why the "left" deviationist mistakes were repeatedly committed over the past 20 years, why even today it still can frequently assert itself, and why we still find it difficult to win the struggle against it. For a long time, a theory of class struggle has been developing in our country. This theory holds that the socialist society is an independent form of society in which antagonistic classes exist; throughout the historical period of socialism, there are always class struggle and the danger of capitalist restoration; with the socialist cause developing in depth, we will face increasing opposition from various antagonistic forces, and the class struggle will become sharper with each passing day; for this reason, we must always persist in taking class struggle as the key link in all fields of work.

Under the guidance of the aforementioned theory of class struggle, the people became so overly cautious that they always feared being accused of violating the theory of the dying out of class struggle. Consequently, they were too preoccupied with criticism and struggle to be able to realistically assess the class situation and class struggle. This being the case, a so-called "theory" of struggle against right deviation came into being: "During the socialist period, the principal danger comes mainly from the right direction or originates from the right opportunism which denies the existence of class struggle. For this reason, our task is to combat only right rather than "left" deviations. Only proponents of the theory of the dying out of class struggle and revisionism, and opponents of Mao Zedong Thought will consider it necessary to carry out the two-line struggle--struggle against both rightists and 'leftists.'"

The preposterous nature of this "theory" is clear to all. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "In combating the 'left' and right deviations within the party, we must decide on our policy according to specific circumstances." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" vol 4, p 1163) How can anyone be so sure that during the socialist period there is no "left" but right deviation and there is no need to combat "left" but right deviation? This subjective, arbitrary and metaphysical "theory" has proven untenable through practice. Nevertheless, it is unfortunate to note that it is this theory that has hamstrung our party's actions and policies for so many years; during the struggle against rightists, we have never dared to utter a single word about it although it led us to commit so many "left" deviationist mistakes over the past 20 years and although we were well aware of the damage it did to our country. An ancient proverb says: Is there anyone in the world who climbs a tree to angle for fish? In the past, we repeatedly mistook the "left" ideas for right ones, and then subjected them to criticism on the ground that they remained far from being on the "left." The result was the emergence of an ultraleft trend of thought. This occurred not only during the struggle against the rightists and the Great Cultural Revolution but also when the essence of the line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was being evaluated and criticized. For example, for a certain period, some comrades still considered Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ultraleftists although they were actually ultraleftists in every sense. Their true nature as ultraleftists was revealed only after the nationwide discussion on the criterion of truth was conducted in the wake of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Our inability to recognize the nature of the ultraleft line stems from our fear of being regarded as rightists and from our promotion of the non-Marxist theory of class struggle and the theory of struggle against right deviation.

The fact that the "left" deviationist trend of thought has its theoretical basis tells us that we must attach great importance to education in Marxist theory and make great efforts to improve our knowledge of Marxist theory. Only in this way can we distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. It is also absolutely necessary to educate all party cadres and non-party cadres in the basic theories of Marxism and to acquaint some comrades with rudimentary knowledge of Marxism. Without being armed with knowledge in basic theory and without making efforts to eliminate chaos and restore order on the theoretical front, we can neither truly distinguish the correct ideas from the "left" and right tendencies nor effectively eradicate the "left" deviation as a chronic disease.

IV

The influence of the "left" deviationist trend of thought over our party and society remains considerably great. This is why it still can frequently step forward to challenge us. This situation has something to do with the following two objective conditions that exist in our society today:

First, the remnant organizational and ideological influence of the "gang of four" that remains to be eliminated still forms the social basis for the current "left" deviationist trend of thought.

True, as a result of the massive "exposure, criticism and investigation" movement, the "gang of four" has been destroyed along with its counterrevolutionary factional system; their ultraleft line that brought disaster to our country and woe to the people has been thoroughly discredited. But it seems too naive to think that the struggle has come to an end. We must realize that the remnant influence and diehard factional elements of the "gang of four" and others who followed in its footsteps in committing crimes are still not reconciled to their defeats. They are now earnestly looking for opportunities to stage a comeback. These remnants of the "gang of four" can be divided into four groups. Included in the first group are elements who hate the "exposure, criticism and investigation" movement and are unwilling to sincerely plead guilty to what they have done; some of them even have recanted their guilt confessions of crimes by asking their respective party organizations to hold "new hearings" on their cases. Also in this group are people who have formed a clandestine alliance and have been active in trying to appeal their cases and to level counter-charges against the party organizations and the masses. They have angrily heaped abuses on their accusers, openly declaring: "We are looking forward to another showdown 10 years from now." In the second group are people who bitterly hate the Party Central Committee's line and policies. For example, they viciously called the nationwide discussion on the criterion of truth "an opportunity for people to pick up knives to slash the banner" while slanderously describing the policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee as "a full-scale restoration of the old order." In the third group are persons who avariciously and exultingly gloat over difficulties we face on the road ahead. While anxiously awaiting our failure, they also earnestly hope that our country will be torn by another disorder so that they can prove that the Party Central Committee's present political line is not workable, and therefore should be replaced by their ultraleft line. Bearing this perspective in mind, they often gloat over social disorders deliberately created by hoodlums while acting behind the scenes to encourage them to spread the flame and expand the catastrophe. Some even have jumped out from behind the scenes to promote factionalism and anarchism and to replay their former "rebellious" games. The fourth group includes promoters of the long bankrupt ultraleft fallacies, who have vehemently criticized the work performed by people on the political and legal affairs, economic, educational, journalistic, literature and art and film-production fronts. They have also confused right with wrong and black with white by calling our revolutionary determination to eliminate chaos and restore order an attempt to "revive revisionism." We would be surprised if the remnants and followers of the "gang of four" do not step forward to assert themselves when opportunities present themselves. The reason is that according to the objective laws governing the social life, no reactionary force has ever retreated from the stage of history of their own free will. To them, the downfall of the "gang of four," the elimination of chaos and restoration of order mean a loss of their paradise. We would also be surprised if they openly declare that they have given up their attempts to regain their lost paradise. Nevertheless, we regret that some comrades within the party who are deeply influenced by the "gang of four" have taken no steps to counter the attacks mounted by the followers of the ultraleft trend of thought. Some of these comrades even have gone so far as to pinpoint the party's present political line and the nationwide discussion on the criterion of truth as the cause of disorder. Some comrades reproachfully asked our newspapers and journals this question: Where are you trying to lead the people? They sometimes turned their faces toward the heaven and bemoaned: If we allow the emancipation of the mind to go on any longer, our country will be in danger and our party will be finished. Worse is that even today the Party Central Committee's line, principles and policies are still bitterly resented and resolutely opposed by some persons.

These facts confirm a judgment contained in Comrade Deng Xiaoping's recent report "On the Current Situation and Our Tasks" saying: "The remnant organizational and ideological influence of the 'gang of four' still exists. We should not underestimate the capacity of the remnants of the 'gang of four.' Otherwise, we will commit mistakes." For this reason, we must vigilantly guard against these remnants, be fully aware of their potential danger, and promptly expose their conspiracy, and continue to criticize the ultraleft line until its pernicious influence is eliminated.

Second, the right trend of thought and the bourgeois laissez-faire tendency have played a role in bringing about the "left" deviationist trend of thought.

Although the "left" and right trends of thought are seemingly opposed to each other, they actually complement each other. This point has been repeatedly confirmed by the developments since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

This point was first confirmed around the 1979 spring festival, or at a time when we were advancing along the course charted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and when a lively political life began to take shape. At that time, a handful of bad elements in society tried to negate the four basic principles from their right deviationist point of view. Subsequently, they whipped up a bourgeois laissez-faire wind under the pretext of emancipating the mind and carrying forward democracy in an attempt to undermine the implementation of the line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Nevertheless, it was clear that their unrealistic way of thinking and their actions to mess everything up had nothing in common with our cherished principles of emancipating our minds and carrying forward democracy. But the remnants of the "gang of four" pointed the finger of blame for this mistake at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Picking up the slogan "hold high Chairman Mao's banner" to serve their selfish interest and using that banner as a tiger-skin to cover themselves to intimidate others, they jumped at the opportunity to mount attacks, thus whipping up an ultraleft storm. At that time, some comrades within the party known for their ossified and semi-ossified ideas coincided the attacks with a denunciation of the principle for emancipation of the mind, related theoretical forums, news media propaganda work and many current policies carried out by the central authorities. They also criticized the four basic principles as four sticks. Suddenly, various ultraleft fallacies filled the air, making the so-called "absolute truth" seemingly popular again. The newly rising movement for the emancipation of the mind would have been shortlived had the central authorities not acted promptly on this problem by making an extra effort to educate the people throughout the country in the four basic principles and by providing additional forums on practice being the sole criterion for testing truth.

The point was confirmed again in late 1979, or at a time when we emphasized the need to continue the vigorous criticism of the ultraleft line, the emancipation of the mind and the implementation of policies. Aware of this development, a number of so-called "dissidents" and "democrats" considered it a golden opportunity to practice anarchism and extreme individualism and to oppose the communist party leadership and the socialist system. When this tendency or trend of thought was strongly opposed and criticized by the entire party and the people throughout the country, the remnants of the "gang of four" jumped out again from the left to whip up another storm by viciously attacking and uncompromisingly opposing the Party Central Committee's Marxist ideological and political line. Their aim was to turn back the clock and to block progress in the four modernizations.

The aforementioned review and analysis have led us to conclude that the "left" and right trends of thought often complement each other. For example, the right trend of thought often gains strength when the "left" trend of thought is being criticized for causing damage to the party and country. Likewise, the "left" trend of thought would mount attacks on the right trend of thought whenever the latter becomes too influential. It can be said that the two are actually playing the same tune on different instruments, with the same aim of opposing the party's Marxist line and the four basic principles. This harsh reality reminds us of the need to thoroughly criticize the ultraleft trend of thought and eradicate the "left" deviation as a chronic disease. Meanwhile, we must also oppose and expose the right trend of thought. Practical experience teaches us that we should not underestimate the detrimental effect the right trend of thought may have on our society because it often serves as an assistant to the "left" trend of thought. In view of this, we must struggle against all forms of the right trend of thought and regard this as a necessary step in thoroughly criticizing and discrediting the ultraleft trend of thought and in eradicating the "left" deviation as a chronic disease.

Experience tells us that the "left" deviationist trend of thought originates from a specific theory; its development is a long history. In competition with the right deviationist trend of thought for influence, it has taken deep root in society and has won a large following. This is why it has been able to grow into a chronic disease and to make its influence felt in the party and society. For this reason, we cannot treat it lightly. Its detrimental effect on the cause of the party is far reaching. This is a painful historical lesson we should never forget. Although we can let bygones be bygones, we should avoid making the same mistakes in the future. To prevent the repetition of similar mistakes, an important task we now face is to conscientiously draw a lesson from history, to deeply understand the root cause of this "left" trend of thought and the conditions that engender it. Only in this way can we use the right medicine to eradicate this chronic disease as the greatest ideological obstacle to the development of the socialist modernizations.

9574
CSO: 4005

JIANGSU PAPER ON SENIORITY AS OBSTACLE TO PROMOTING CADRES

OW141428 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Oct 80

[Report on XINHUA RIBAO contributing commentator's article: "Get Rid of the Outworn Concept of Seniority"]

[Excerpts] The article says: The outworn concept of seniority is still a major ideological obstacle in the present work of selecting and promoting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. Is it necessary to take seniority into account when selecting and promoting cadres? Of course. The point is, seniority should not be elevated to the absolute. In terms of dialectical materialism, a person's knowledge and talents are gradually accrued through social practice. It is all right to give appropriate consideration to seniority when evaluating, selecting and promoting cadres. But seniority does not represent knowledge or talent. It is not the scientific approach of dialectical materialism if we do not specifically analyze the cadres' knowledge, talents, diligence and skills and if we regard seniority as the sole criterion for selecting and promoting cadres.

How could one acquire experience in leadership work, if one does not go up the stairs step by step. This question has been raised by some cadres who still cling to the outworn idea of the "flight of steps" and who equate seniority with practical experience. To them, cadres should be promoted step by step lest they should not gain practical experience. In fact, the so-called "flight of steps" is only a figurative expression of the tempering and training the cadres undergo when they are growing.

At present, the relatively young backbone cadres on all fronts are about 30 to 40 years old. If they were to be promoted step by step to leading posts at county and department levels, it would take at least 20 years, that is, if everything goes smoothly. By that time, their practical experience might be quite rich, but they may be unable to do what they wish because of declining health. How can they be expected to change the aging phenomenon in the leading bodies? We should adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, do away with the outworn "flight of steps" and create a new one suited to the new situation and tasks.

In other words, we should act according to the party Central Committee's three criteria for selecting and promoting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres at the present stage and boldly break the rules for selecting and promoting cadres.

What if less senior cadres are promoted and prove to be unconvincing? This involves the relationship between seniority and prestige. A leading cadre's prestige is formed naturally in practice and is kept in the people's minds. He who upholds principles, fosters close ties with the masses, demonstrates high efficiency in his work, handles matters with originality, dares to think, speak out and take on responsibility will improve his prestige naturally. He will be convincing even if he is less senior.

In the final analysis, when selecting, promoting and assigning posts to cadres, it is necessary to keep to the correct criteria and avoid laying too much stress on seniority. The correct approach should be, focus mainly on the cadres' political integrity and talents and give due consideration to seniority. Outstanding talented people who are recommended by the masses, who prove to truly uphold the four basic principles after the party organization's evaluation, who are equipped with professional knowledge and skills and who are in the prime of life should be boldly selected, promoted and assigned against conventional practice to posts where they can best display their talents even if they are less senior.

CSO: 4005

'RADIO BA YI'DENOUNCES DENG XIAOPING FOR UNDERMINING HUA

OW140301 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 13 Oct 80

[Text] Everyone must absolutely observe party discipline and the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." As Chairman Hua has said: There must not be any special citizens in our party and our country. It is impermissible for some persons to place themselves above party discipline and state law and not to be bound by the restrictions of the 'Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life.'

However, a certain member of the party Central Committee, considering himself to be a special citizen and failing to observe party discipline, has taken the lead in violating the principle that the minority is subordinate to the majority and that the entire party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Although Comrade Hua Guofeng assumed the chairmanship of the party Central Committee on the strength of Mao Zedong's note "With you in charge, I'm at ease," later both a plenary session of the party Central Committee and a national party congress confirmed his position as leader. This means that all party members, especially leading members of the party Central Committee, should defend Chairman Hua's prestige. Overtly and covertly undermining Comrade Hua Guofeng's authority as the leader and spreading such words as "Comrade Hua Guofeng is inadequate for his important leading post since he lacks both ability and political integrity" can only seriously affect the unity of the party Central Committee and cause ideological confusion among large numbers of party, government and army cadres.

People may ask: At a meeting of the party Central Committee Political Bureau before the opening of the third session of the Fifth NPC, why did Vice Chairman Deng rudely interrupt Chairman Hua's speech? Vice Chairman Deng said: Now that the Dazhai model has been discarded, why should we still keep a vice premier from Dazhai? At that time, some comrades said: If Chen Yonggui is dismissed from office, cadres at lower levels may consider this to be a move directed against Comrade Hua Guofeng. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said in reply: Since you worry that Comrade Hua Guofeng's prestige may be affected, then let Chen Yonggui hand in his resignation.

It should be pointed out that precisely because Comrade Deng Xiaoping despises Chairman Hua and treats the latter without proper respect, some members of the party Central Committee dare to openly discuss the relations between Chairman Hua and the "gang of four" and even more overstatements on the basis of false material. Also because of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's attitude, many deputies attending the third session of the Fifth NPC openly demanded that the chief culprit who had been in charge of the Dazhai Production Brigade and had forcibly popularized its experience for many years be sternly punished. This implies that the last two conferences on learning from Dazhai in agriculture presided over by Chairman Hua himself were wrong. They also demanded that Chairman Hua bear main responsibility for sentencing more than 2,100 people to reform through labor on the charge of sabotaging the movement to learn from Dazhai in agriculture since he served as minister of public security.

Even more seriously wrong is that not long ago, in talking with the Italian president about lifelong office tenure for leading cadres in our country, a certain person casually said: Although I am over 80, there is still a chance for me to see our party's [word indistinct]. Needless to say, this was deliberately aimed at undermining Chairman Hua's international prestige.

Vice Chairman Deng said more than once: The four modernizations will be out of the question without unity and stability. Then he himself should set an example in this regard. As the old Chinese saying goes: "When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is incorrect, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed."

It is hoped that certain leading comrades of the party Central Committee will suit their actions to their words and take the lead in observing party discipline and the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life."

CSO: 4005

REFORM, REFORMISM CALLED TWO DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED CONCEPTS

Shanghai GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Deng Guangming [6772 1684 6900] and Zhang Xiqing [1728 1585 3237]: "On the Difference between Reform, Improvement and Reformism"]

[Text] For a long time past Chinese historians have heatedly debated the nature of historical events such as the Reform Movement of 1898. Most recently quite a number of worthwhile ideas have been expressed on this question in various periodicals and publications, which is every interesting. In these discussions some comrades have expressed the opinion that historical events like the Reform Movement of 1898 had been "political movements of reformism." Other comrades believe that we must neither call them "reformism" nor "improvement" but rather "reforms." Still other comrades believe they should be referred to as "renovations," "changes of political institutions," etc. Opinions have differed and no consensus could be achieved. The reason for this disagreement is on the one hand a difference in the study of the actual events, such as the Reform Movement of 1898, themselves. Another important reason is also the insufficient insight into the deeper meaning of such concepts as "reform," "improvement" and "reformism." Admittedly, we do not start out in our studies of history with concepts and definitions, but rather with historical facts. However, in order to avoid confusion in logic, it is without doubt extremely important to clarify the exact scientific meaning of such concepts as reform, improvement and reformism, when approaching the study of historical events similar to the Reform Movement of 1898, such as the rebellion of the Qingli era of the Song dynasty, the reforms of Wang Anshi and other such events.

"Reform" and "Improvement" Are Completely Synonymous

Some comrades therefore assume that since historical events like the Reform Movement of 1898 can neither be called reformism, nor improvement, they should only be called reforms. They probably feel that "reform" sounds somewhat better than "improvement" since the word has a more revolutionary component in the characters with which it is written, but actually both terms are synonymous. In English, French, German and

Russian, improvement and reform of a society, generally speaking, mean the same, are even one and the same word, and natural improvement has the same meaning as amelioration. In the same manner, the term improvement of society in Chinese means the same as reform of society, and natural improvement the same as amelioration. From the standpoint of linguistics, social improvement and social reform are the same concept and have the same meaning.

Examining the Chinese editions of Lenin's Collected Works, we find that although Lenin always used the same word, reform, whenever there is reference to improvements, in the Chinese texts of Lenin's Collected Works and Lenin's Selected Works this term is translated sometimes as "improvement" and sometimes as "reform." For instance, in the Chinese version of Lenin's Collected Works, Vol 17, p 97, we read "reform and revolution are undoubtedly two diametrically opposed concepts." In the Chinese version of Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 4, p 580, we read: "only Marxism precisely and accurately defines the relationship between improvement and revolution." The "reform" in the first quotation and the "improvement" of the latter quotation are one and the same word, reform, in the Russian original. It would therefore have been quite in order to translate the term in Chinese consistently as "improvement" or consistently as "reform."

From everything said in the above it is clear that the term "improvement" and the term "reform" as used in the social sciences are completely synonymous, i.e. without any difference between them. If some insist on making a wide distinction between the two terms, and insist that historical events like the Reform Movement of 1898 must not be called "improvement" but rather "reform," that will serve no other purpose than to create confusion. If that is so, are we then to use in Chinese either only "improvement" or only "reform" and not both of them? That too is an absolutely unnecessary concern, all that needs to be clearly stated is that the two terms are synonymous. As to the opinion of some comrades that historical events, such as the Reform Movement of 1898, must not be called "improvement," but rather "innovations" or "changes in the political institutions," that, we are afraid, is even less appropriate. The term "innovation" means abolishing the old institutions and instituting a new governmental system. "Innovation" and "change of the political institutions" may be considered synonymous, but they cannot possibly explain the character of historical events. For instance, to say that the Reform Movement of 1898 was a "change of institutions" what question does that answer? It is nothing but a redundant replacement of one term by another. To analyze the nature of historical events as the Reform Movement of 1898, it is, in our opinion, necessary to clearly determine whether it is a "revolution" or an "improvement" (i.e. a "reform"), or whether it is an expression of "reformism." Only this will be helpful for a penetrating study of the problem.

"Reform" Must Never Be Confused with "Reformism"

Reform and improvement are synonymous, but improvement and reformism are two diametrically opposed concepts.

Improvement is used as an antonym of revolution. Lenin pointed out what the actual meaning of revolution is, from the Marxist point of view. "It is the use of force to smash an obsolete political superstructure, i.e. to smash that superstructure which is bound to collapse within a certain period of time due to its inconsistency with new production relations. (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 1, p 616) "Revolution is a most fundamental and most radical transformation of the old things where care is taken to do the least possible damage." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 4, p 575) This makes it clear that revolution is the violent action of one class aiming at overthrowing the rule of another class. Improvement is the action of the ruling class, trying all the time to maintain its rule by making small and trifling concessions to those under its rule. "Acts of improvement are usually undertaken slowly, cautiously and gradually." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 4, p 576) Stalin has said that "due to pressure from below, pressure from the masses, the bourgeoisie might at times effect certain improvements, but will still preserve the foundations of the prevailing socio-economic system. On these occasions they will have concluded that whatever concessions they will grant, must have become necessary to perserve the rule of their own class. This is the true nature of improvements. Revolution on the other hand is the transfer of political power from one class to another class. Not every kind of improvement can therefore be called revolution." (Stalin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 366) No further explanation is needed. Our revolutionary teachers have made the meaning of improvement absolutely clear.

Reformism is a term used as antonym to Marxism. It has a particular class essence and a time-related element. It was born toward the latter part of the 19th century under the conditions of flourishing capitalism and the rapid development of the labor movement. It is a reactionary ideology which capitalism introduced to counter the socialist revolution. As Lenin has expressed it in his article "Reformism in the Russian Social Democratic Movement": "Socialism (note: this refers to the ideological system of scientific socialism which is equivalent with Marxism) has grown up; it has by now insured its right of existence in the entire civilized world. It is at present fighting to gain political power. Capitalism on the other hand is more and more falling into decay. Realizing its inescapable destruction, capitalism stubbornly tries to delay its utter destruction by superficial and hypocritical concessions, hoping in this way to maintain its political power in the changing conditions." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 403) The capitalism of those days "did not oppose socialism with liberalism but rather used reformism to oppose the socialist revolution." Their slogan was: "Let us counter revolution with improvements, let us institute innovations to the dying system, to counter those who want to overthrow the capitalist regime by revolution, so that the working class will become divided and weakened and capitalist political power maintained." (Ibid.) This slogan clearly indicates the class essence of reformism. Due to the influences of capitalist ideologies, reformism, this revisionist school of thought, is also continuously infiltrating the workers movement. In his article "Marxism and Reformism" Lenin said: in the workers movement "reformism in actual fact is a rejection of Marxism, a replacement of Marxism by capitalist 'social policies.'" (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol 19, p 375) Reformism does its utmost to divide and deceive the workers. It tries to bribe the workers with petty favors and to keep them from fighting for the overthrow of the capitalist rule. The followers of reformism propound the preachings of that arch-revisionist Bernstein who proclaimed: "The final purpose is insignificant, the movement is all," thus expressing as his idea that improvement is all that matters and that the final purpose of it all can be ignored. Early in the 20th century, the Russian liquidationist school of thought among the liberal capitalists and in the social democratic party is in fact a faction of this kind of reformism. We therefore see that we must under no circumstances lump together various types of improvements as constituting reformism. Besides, improvement and reformism are of radically different character. Although improvement stands in opposition to revolution, there is no deep insurmountable gap between the two, and under certain conditions, one can change into the other. When discussing the relationship of improvement to revolution, Lenin pointed out: "Prior to the proletarian victory, improvement was a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle. If victory was achieved in a certain country through an extremely intense struggle and the country's strength remains too exhausted to carry out further revolutionary measures to complete the planned transformations, then improvement (still as a by-product in the international sphere) could provide a necessary and reasonable breathing space." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 4, p 581) Lenin furthermore said: "The concept of reform is undoubtedly something antithetical to revolution. Anyone who forgets the existence of this antithesis, forgets to draw a dividing line between the two concepts and will consistently commit grave errors in deciding historical questions. However, this antithesis is not absolute and the dividing line is not a rigid one but a flexible one, that can be moved and changed, and one should master the skill to determine the dividing line in the particular circumstances of the case." (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol 17, pp 97-98) Improvement and revolution can change from one to the other because both are forms of human social advance. Although the advance by improvement is spotty, cautious and gradual, it still certainly is advance and not retrogression. It is progress and as such deserving of our approval. Improvement does not exclude revolution. Prior to victory in the revolution, improvement is frequently a step toward revolution or a harbinger of the coming revolution. After victorious conclusion of the revolution, improvement often provides a kind of breathing space which has become necessary and is reasonable. Reformism on the other hand is right from the start created as an antithesis to

Marxism and is used by the bourgeoisie to usurp the place of the socialist revolution. Lenin pointed out: "Reformism is a fraud of the bourgeoisie inflicted on the workers." "Reformism, even if it is a completely sincere reformist ideology, will actually become a bourgeois tool to corrupt and weaken the workers." (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol 19, p 372) Reformism "admits nothing beyond improvements and negates revolution," (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 406), "it uses improvement to oppose revolution," it has no progressive meaning at all, it is completely reactionary. Reformism is a stumbling block for the revolution. The proletarian revolution can gain victory only if it can vanquish bourgeois influences and trends such as reformism.

Just because there are these essential differences between improvement and reformism, Marxism has a completely different attitude toward each of them. Marxism stands for revolution, but does not in one sweep, oppose all improvement. Marxism believes that when the conditions for revolution have not yet matured, one should as far as possible strive for and benefit from improvement and consider it a preparation for revolution. When the revolution will have reached its climax, the struggle for improvement must, without the slightest hesitation and without losing any time, be turned into revolution to overthrow the reactionary bourgeois regime and to gain victory for the socialist revolution. The Russian Marxists acted in this way. Prior to the victory of the proletarian revolution, "the Marxists worked untiringly, be it in the field of propaganda, agitation or economic mass movements, but never missed an opportunity for improvement or to utilize improvement. At the same time they not only did not negate, but actually supported and took note of any method that went beyond the scope of reformism." (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol 19, pp 374-375) We should particularly note that following their seizure of power, the Russian proletariat used improvement to develop their economy and to construct socialism. The famous "New Economic Policy" is a clear proof of it. Marxism has always severely criticized reformism. Lenin and the Russian Marxists have conducted a protracted and unswervingly determined struggle against reformism. Improvement and reformism are two different things that must not be confused. This is very similar to the fact that experiences and empiricism are two things that must not be confused. Experience by itself is nothing bad. "Knowledge starts with experience." (Mao Zedong's Selected Works, one-volume edition, p 279) "All genuine knowledge is born from direct experience." (Ibid., p 276) The more experience, the better! However, empiricism is harmful. Its mistake is that it is satisfied with the narrow emotional experiences of the individual, that it rejects to raise these experiences into a theory, but rather erroneously takes sectional experiences as universal truth and that it disdains the guiding function of revolutionary theory. The "gang of four" purposely mixed up the two concepts. They raised a terrific hue and cry about "Oppose empiricism." They also proclaimed such a senseless principle as: the more experiences, the more reactionary, and used this as pretext to attack the broad masses of old cadres who constitute a rich hoard of experiences. What they played around with in the field of logic was a cunning scheme to stealthily interchange concepts. In the same way we must not confuse improvement and reformism. By accusing all improvement to be reformism, we negate the struggle of the proletariat to strive for and utilize improvement, and negate also the progressive nature of the historical movement for improvement. This ultraleftist viewpoint is obviously harmful to the revolution.

From the above it is not difficult to see that improvement and reformism are two different, diametrically opposed concepts. If some people lump them together, the result is not only extremely absurd in theory but also extremely harmful in practice.

A clarification of the scientific meaning of reform, improvement and reformism will reveal for everyone to see that it would be inappropriate in a study of the Reform Movement of 1898, the Reforms of Wang Anshi, and similar historical events, to call them "reformist movements." Although the Reform Movement of 1898 did not advocate the overthrow of the feudal landlord class of the Manchu dynasty, it represented bourgeois demands with the bourgeois intention to develop capitalism and finally to transform the feudal society into a capitalist society through political and economic improvements from above to below. This is going beyond the sphere of reformism. Furthermore there are distinct differences to reformism with regard to historical conditions, the class essence, etc. The Reform Movement of 1898 must therefore be called a bourgeois improvement movement.

The differences between the Wang Anshi reforms and reformism are even more evident considering the special time-related element and the class essence. The Chinese feudal society in the Northern Song era had only just arrived at its final stage. The buds of capitalism had not yet appeared, neither had new productive forces and class power appeared. As a consequence, a socialist revolution that would smash the feudal economic structure, did not occur, and could not have occurred, neither had there been, or could there have been a systematic doctrine or theory of socialist revolution. Under these historical conditions, a reformist trend of thought could not have emerged. In those days Wang Anshi represented the innovative forces of the landlord class carrying out measures for systematic improvements, adjusting within the feudal productive forces certain segments which were unsuitable for a development of the productive force. He also mitigated social and class contradictions in order to being prosperity to the country, build up its military power and consolidate the rule of the Northern Song dynasty. These are actions filled with progressive meaningfulness and certainly deserving of our approval. We see from all this that there is not the slightest connection between Wang Anshi's changes in the political institutions and reformism, but that his reforms must rather be called an improvement movement by the landlord class. Some comrades admit the progressive meaningfulness of the measures of improvement carried out by Wang Anshi, but in the end still conclude: "In the historical perspective of the class struggle and considering the antithetical positions of revolution and improvement, the road taken by Wang Anshi was reformist. The reforms of those days had a reformist character. That is beyond doubt." It is our opinion, reviewing the situation from the viewpoint of historical class struggle and considering the relationship of revolution and improvement, that we are compelled to state that Wang Anshi's change of political institutions is a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle of the landlord class and that it has the characteristics of improvements. This then is what is beyond doubt. Those comrades who conclude that Wang Anshi's change of political institutions "had a reformist character" obviously overlook the difference that exists between improvements and reformism, and also do not correctly comprehend the scientific meaning of improvement and reformism.

8453
CSO: 4005

THESIS THAT LITERATURE, ART ARE SUBORDINATE TO POLITICS CALLED UNSCIENTIFIC

Beijing WENYI YANJIU [LITERATURE AND ART STUDIES] in Chinese No 3
25 Jun 80 pp 24-28

[Article by Cao Tinghua [2580 1694 5478]: "'The Thesis That Literature and Art Are Subordinate to Politics' Is Unscientific"]

[Text] "Literature and art are subordinate to politics" is a universally current thesis expressing the relationship between literature and art, and politics. For many years, this thesis has been offered as a fundamental principle for engaging in literary and artistic creative work, criticism, research and directing literary and artistic work. However, judging from actual practice this principle does not fully represent or fully explain the rich and complex phenomenon of literature and art, is not in accord with mankind's practice of literature and art, and does not contribute to the flourishing and development of socialist literary and artistic enterprise. Theoretically, it has the obvious flaw of not being in accord with the basic viewpoints of Marxist materialist dialectic. For this reason, we must inquire into this thesis afresh.

First of all, from the point of view of the nature of literature and art, "literature and art are subordinate to politics" is brought up in connection with literature and art, and politics, both constituting part of the social superstructure. However, it just happens that this thesis with respect to a whole series of questions relating to the relative independence of consciousness and existence, the superstructure and the economic base, and all ideologies, is not always consistent with the Marxist theory of knowledge.

The "politics" in "literature and art are subordinate to politics" includes the ideological "political consciousness," i.e., although "political concepts," "political ideals," "political aspirations," etc include political institutions appropriate to those definite political concepts, nevertheless what needs to be made clear first is, within the framework of their both being part of "consciousness," whether or not there is a relationship of one being subordinate to the other.

What does "subordinate" mean? According to the explanation of the "Modern Chinese Dictionary" it means "yielding to; subsidiary," and the sentence used to illustrate it is precisely "Literature and art are subordinate to politics." According to this one can see that literature and art merely comply with or are auxiliary to politics. And a relationship of complying with and being subsidiary to implies that the one thing contains the other within itself, that one is derived from the other. Does not "literature and art are subordinate to politics" then imply that literature and art are contained within politics or are derived from politics? Does it not then imply that literature and art are not at all the flowers and fruits of the evergreen tree of life, but only an auxiliary part, or a single branch or leaf of the great economic tree? If that is the case, then literature and art have gone from being secondary to existence to being secondary to politics, from being decided by existence to being decided by politics, from having one source to having two sources, while essentially politics has become the source of art.

Secondly, what we should get a clear idea of is whether or not "Literature and art are subordinate to politics" is in accord with Marxist theory regarding the relationship between the superstructure and the economic base, and whether or not it is in accord with the viewpoint of classical Marxist authors that the superstructure and all kinds of ideologies have a relatively independent nature.

Marxist classical authors, in discussing the relationship between the superstructure (including the various ideologies) and the economic base, all unanimously emphasize the decisive effect of the economic base on the superstructure. The former is primary, the latter is secondary; the former is the cause, the latter is the result; the latter is derived from the former, complies with the former and is subordinate to the former. Marx pointed out: "These relationships to production, taken together, constitute the economic structure of society; that is, there is a legal and political superstructure erected on top, and at the same time there is a definite social ideology and a realistic basis appropriate to it. The style of production for the material life conditions the entire course of the social life, the political life and the cultural life."[1] Engels pointed out: "The development of politics, and that of law, philosophy, religion, literature, art, etc are all based on the economic development."[2] Stalin said: "The various (forms of) social thought, theory, concepts and political institutions of the various periods in the history of society...cannot be explained in terms of the 'inherent qualities' and 'attributes' of the thought, the theory, the concepts and the political institutions themselves, but should be explained in terms of the various conditions of the social and material life of those periods in the development of society."[3] Marxist historical materialist viewpoints clearly indicate: social ideologies, as well as political institutions appropriate to certain (definite political) concepts, in the final analysis are conditioned and determined by the economic base, and all together are subordinate to the "form of production of the material life." Literature and art are one of the ideologies of the superstructure, and in the final analysis naturally are also conditioned and determined by the economic base, and are subordinate to the definite economic base. Even though "politics is the concentrated manifestation of economics," nevertheless in the end it cannot replace the decisive and conditioning effect of the economic base on literature and art and other ideologies. To take the relationship between literature and art and politics and make a rule out of it to the effect that "literature and art are subordinate to politics" is actually to have departed from the "various conditions of the social and material life of various periods in the development of society," and to use the "inherent properties" and "attributes" or [the terms] "political" and "facilities" themselves to explain the nature of literature and art, and hence to have considered one part of the superstructure to be a premise for the existence of another part, and to take [the relationship of] literature and art and politics, which are originally common results of the material productive base, and wrongly inferred that politics is the cause of literature and art, and art and literature are the result of politics.

To repeat, Marxist classical authors in emphasizing the final decisive effect of the economic base on the superstructure, including the ideologies, did not consider them merely to be the passive products of the economic base, and also did not bring up the thesis that other ideologies within the domain of the superstructure are subordinate to politics, but on the contrary over and again clearly elucidated their relative independence and mutual influence as well as their dynamic reaction to the economic base.

Even though the relative independence of the various kinds of ideologies has many ways of manifesting itself, two points are most fundamental. The first is that it [literature and art] can independently depict the life of society, and reflect changes in the condition of the economic base, providing some truths in its content; the second is that it particularly portrays lifestyles, and the development of lifestyles has an independent historical process. Literature and art, as one of the independent ideologies, possesses these fundamental attributes.

As early as in the introduction to his "Critique of Political Economics" Marx clearly brought up art as an ideology reflecting the life of society, and affirmed its independent nature. He said: "Following changes in the economic base, the entire vast superstructure, sooner or later, changes. In investigating these changes, it is necessary to distinguish constantly between the following two situations: one is material changes occurring in the economic conditions of production, changes that can be demonstrated with the precision of natural science; the other is those legal, political, religious, artistic, in short, ideological forms that people use in order to be aware of this contradiction (indicating the relationship with the productive force and production--author) and to strive to overcome it." There are two points worthy of attention here: one is the various situations of the changes in the entire vast superstructure being either "sooner or later." As long as changes in literature and art are not generally at the same pace and in the same rhythm as political changes, then literature and art are independent, and do not have the subordinate relationship to politics of shadow following form. But changes in literature and art certainly do not occur or fulfill themselves at the same time as political changes; this is a historical fact that everyone knows. The second is that Marx tells us extremely clearly that literature and art are a form of ideology which is able, like law, politics, religion, philosophy, etc independently "to be aware of this conflict and make a great effort to overcome it," without the attached conditions of being subordinate to politics or having politics as a premise. In sum, judging from Marx and Engels, literature and art are a kind of aesthetic movement, an artistic way of handling the world, that has the particular function of both portraying and influencing the life of society. It was for this very reason that Marx and Engels highly valued the artistic achievements of the excellent, propertied-class realistic critical authors Thackeray, Dickens, and Balzac, and scorned those professional propertied-class politicians, political commentators, historians, statisticians, etc. Marx said: "The amount of political and social truth revealed to the world by a number of outstanding novelists in present-day England in their brilliant, vividly-described books is more than that revealed by all the professional politicians, political commentators and moralists put together."[4] Engels in mentioning Balzac's "Human Tragicomedy" also said something similar.

Of course, the fact that literature and art are relatively independent does not imply that they can separate themselves from politics. Marxist classical authors over and again emphasized that aside from the economic base being the final, decisive factor in [the formation of] literature and art, they also particularly pointed out that politics, which "deflects light from" and is the "outer garb" of economics, has a vast and direct influence on other ideologies, including literature and art. And they pointed out that the "greater part" of the economic base's effect on them is manifested politically. However, this after all cannot be understood as literature and art yielding to or being auxiliary to politics, and it cannot be understood that literature and art are merely the "projection" of politics reflecting economics or the accessory of politics being the (outer) garb of economics. Looking at it from the Marxist point of view writers and artists are people with a definite world view, and literary and artistic creation generally is purposeful. In portraying life, literature and art generally want to represent the politics, morality, sentiments and tendency of thinking of a definite class; if it does not propagandize progressive things, then it will propagandize backward, even reactionary things. However, its premise is not politics or ideology, but actual existence; its style is not the style of politics or ideology in general, but is an aesthetic form possessing an independent path of development. That is to say, literature and art [may] represent a definite political viewpoint, but they are not the products of that viewpoint. In content it is like this; in form, it is especially like this.

Marxist classicial authors fully affirm the independence of the development of ideological (including literary and artistic) forms. Engels, in his letter to (Mylin) said: "In the very beginning we placed emphasis on political, legal rights, and other ideological concepts discovered out of basic economic facts, as well as the actions conditioned by these concepts, and at the time we should have acted this way. However, during the time we acted in this way, we neglected form for the sake of content, i.e., by what manner and method are these concepts produced."[5] Following close upon this, he incisively points out: "The thinkers of history... in every department of science there is a definite body of material, and this body of material was independently [separately] formed from the thoughts of people of previous generations and, moreover, has gone through its own independent path of development in the minds of these people of successive generations."[6] This tells us perfectly clearly, that every department of science, even though they are also conditioned by the economic base, nevertheless all have their own objective rules for arising and developing, and these rules are independently formed and developed, not to be diverted by people's wishes and naturally also not depending on political consciousness. There are connections between them, but it is not the relationship of one being subordinate to another. The outstanding early Soviet literary and artistic theoretician Lunacharsky, based on Marxist viewpoints and practice in the development of literature and art, accurately pointed out: "What the theory of reflection is interested in, and saying that it [literature and art] is the product of an author, is not as good as saying that it is the representation of changes in society; and saying that it is [a case of] an author's subjective dependency and his connections with a certain social environment, is not as good as saying that it is the objective representation of this or that historical situation."[7] For this reason, "Art not only has the ability to show a direction to people, but moreover has the ability to create something,"[8] "an author's service to society naturally absolutely cannot end merely in politics; in political [conditions] that are really able to produce excellent results, it [literature and art] still germinates underground; and in times when the content of political theory flowering and luxuriating above ground is terribly lacking, then it is even moreso the case."[9]

2.

The thesis that "literature and art are subordinate to politics" generally rests on the following several propositions: One is to say that literature and art have a class nature; second, is to say that literature and art must serve politics; third, is to say that literature and art are a kind of higher ideology, that must go through the medium of politics before they can influence the economic base. Are these premises sufficient to expound and prove the proposition that "literature and art are subordinate to politics?" They are not.

It is correct to say that "literature and art have a class nature." In class society, the people forming the center of the [world] described by literature and art, as well as the authors describing this center, are both active within a definite class position. Because of this, regardless of whether it is the content of objective social life or is from the point of view of the one making the description himself, either case will cause the [essentially] ideological literature and art to acquire, either clearly or obscurely, either strongly or weakly, a class character. However, a class nature is an objective attribute of people (who are a combination of society's existence and society's relationships) during a definite historical stage; every ideology seeks to express itself; politics is like this; literature and art are also like this, directly determined by the attributes of this objective existence. For this reason, it is not possible to use the class nature of literature and art to expound and prove that "literature and art are subordinate to politics."

It is also correct that "literature and art must serve politics." Because politics is not only the concentrated manifestation of economics, intensely representing the advantages and aspirations of the various classes but, moreover, it is also relatively independent, a kind of "historical factor" forming the main content of the social life; it must both influence and be influenced by the surrounding environment, including the essentially ideological literature and art. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "A definite culture [a culture constituting an ideology) is the reflection of the politics and economics of a definite society, and also has a great influence and effect on the politics and economics of that society."[10] This tells us clearly that literature and art's serving of politics is the dynamic reflection and dynamic reaction of literature and art on politics; this is a great function of the essentially ideological literature and art. However, this function should not be understood as something subordinate to political concepts, but as literature and art portraying the character of the social life. This is because, first of all, literature and art use the whole of the social life as the object for representation. The people it describes are not like the people [described] in morals, ethics, political science, and physiology, which only investigate man from a certain aspect, but are the sum of all attributes--physiological, psychological and social; [they] are the sum total of all social relationships. But politics is only an important part of the content of the social life and not the entire content; political activity is only a part of the complex activity of men and not the whole thing. For this reason, whatever literature and art represents of the vast content of life, though it serves politics, it does not only serve politics. As one can see, to take the notion that literature and art serve politics and end up with "literature and art are subordinate to politics" not only does not accurately express the nature of literature and art but, moreover, is too categorical regarding the function of literature and art. Secondly, if we understand literature and art's service to politics in terms of their being "subordinate to politics," then the literary and artistic works of past times, regardless of what politics they are the products of and are subordinate to, are naturally all fundamentally distinct from a proletarian politics. Since they are not produ-ts subordinate to a proletarian politics, naturally they cannot serve a proletarian politics. In this way, how can there be any "using the ancient to serve the modern," or "using foreign things to serve China," or how can we understand the eternal charm of Greek art, or the artistic power that the works of Tolstoy, Cao Xueqin [author of the "Dream of the Red Chamber," etc still have today? Could it be that the reason these works are still today able to serve the interests of proletarian politics is because their authors were early believers of proletarian politics? Obviously, we cannot say so.

Literature and art are a kind of higher ideology, that must go through the medium of politics before they can have an influence on the economic base--this theory in itself is very problematical. Almost all of the "General Introduction to Literature"-type books that expound the "literature and art are subordinate to politics" notion delight in talking about it and causing it to become an accepted notion everywhere using the concept as if it were a kind of "reinforcing bars" material. On what basis is it claimed that "literature and art are a higher ideology?" Engels made mention of a "higher ideology" in two places, but in both it indicated religion and philosophy, without any reference at all to literature and art. In his book "Ludwig Feverbach and the Conclusions of the Classical German Philosophers," Engels affirms: "By 'higher' is meant an ideology further removed from the material economic base, that has taken on a philosophical and religious form. Here, the concept's connection with the material conditions of its own existence is more and more confused, more and more muddled by a number of intervening links." In his "Letter to K. Smith," Engels also said: "As for those higher domains of thought floating up in space, i.e., religion, philosophy, etc, etc." How can we, from the "etc" in the phrase "philosophy, religion, etc, etc" infer that art and literature are also ideologies "floating higher up in space?" Are the connections of philosophy, religion, and literature and art with the economic base all equally distant, all equally vague? This is not in accord with the practice of literature and art, and is also not in accord with the Marxist understanding of literature and art.

Looking at it from the point of view of the origins of literature and art, Marxism considers that the production of literature and art is inseparably connected with people's social and productive lives, and arise directly from the labor of human society. The earliest poems and songs were merely work-songs of the "Heave ho; heave ho!" type, and dance and painting were merely a reproduction of the working life of primitive man, or a "tool"used to transmit the experience of life and production, directly influencing people's material productive life. One can see that literature and art, compared with religion and philosophy, are not higher but still closer to the material economic base, are not floating in space but are rooted in actual soil.

Judging from the content of the social life portrayed by literature and art, it concretely, using typical images, recreates society's struggle for production, the class struggle, and the practical activity of scientific experiment, focusing on actual people; for that reason, literature and art not only can directly serve the struggle for production and scientific experiment, they can directly influence "man," this most positive factor in the productive force and, hence, produce an effect directly on the economic base. For this reason, people call the actual life reflected in literature and art the "second Nature." Can this be on the same plane with the abstractions of philosophy, and religion's many types of "God" that are so far removed from the material basis of production?

Judging from the forms in which literature and art portray reality, images are the particular style of literature and art. Not only are the people described concretely depicted, all of a person's activity, including the activity of material production, is also concretely depicted; that is to say, the entire content of the social life made up of the economic base and the superstructure can all be concretely portrayed by means of images presented through literature, drama, television, fine arts, music, etc. As for the many practical aesthetic forms that appear more directly in material products, and are directly combined with material production, can you say they are far removed from the physical economic base? The art of architecture is like this; the art of gardening is like this; industrial arts and crafts are even more like this. Our country's famous handicraft products are both physical products for practical use and cultural products that provide people with artistic enjoyment; for this reason, if there were no art, then there could not be this kind of product. On this point, how can we then discuss literature and art at the same time as philosophy, which uses the methods of general concepts and logic to portray the world, and religion, which adopts the illusion of a superhuman force to give an upside-down representation of reality?

In sum, we consider that the notion of considering literature and art to be "forms of ideology" far removed from the material economic base like philosophy and religion is worthy of further study. Actually, Engels in speaking of Balzac said that the things he had learned from the "Human Tragicomedy" "even with respect to economic details (such as the reallotment of fixed and unfixed property after the revolution), were even more than all the things I have learned from all the professional historians, economists and statisticians of the time."[12] How, then, can literature and art be far removed from the material economic base, and floating in space? Can it be said that literature and art, which serve as a "textbook of life," tend to be far removed from the material economic base that people rely on for existence, and float in space? Since the proposition that "literature and art are a higher ideology" is only intended as a natural way of speaking, in that case the concept that they go through the medium of politics to react on the economic base becomes imprecise, and hence loses validity as a premise for the notion that "literature and art are subordinate to politics."

Putting all the above together, one can see that this thesis that "literature and art are subordinate to politics" is unscientific.

Can an unscientific thesis regarding literature and art be advantageous for directing people's practice of literature and art? "Practice is the only standard for examining truth." The result of the "examination" of practice proves that not only do literature and art that are subordinate to a reactionary politics leave behind only undisguised reactionary concepts and nothing of any artistic value; even literature and art that are subordinate to a revolutionary politics might possibly have accurate political concepts but be lacking in artistic force. This is because "literature and art are subordinate to politics" violates the principle that literature and art must be based on life and practice. This rule applies to everyone without exception.

Practice proves that "literature and art are subordinate to politics" is not a correct principle. Fundamentally, literature and art can only be subordinate to the social life, and to the great mass of the people; to depart from the social life and the mass of people and speak merely of literature and art being subordinate to politics is to have only politics and not any literature or art. Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his congratulatory speech at the fourth literary and artistic congress said: "The Party does not issue orders regarding the leadership of literary and artistic work and does not require literature and art to be subordinate to temporary, concrete, direct political service, but to help, based on the special characteristics and rules of development of literature and art, those engaged in literary and artistic work to obtain the proper conditions to enable the enterprise of literature and art to flourish continuously." He also said: "Our literature and art are subordinate to the people," "the people are the mother of those engaged in literary and artistic work. The artistic [creative] lives of all those engaged in progressive literary and artistic work are in their flesh and blood relationship with the people." Because of this, those engaged in literary and artistic work should from beginning to end unstintingly face the masses, in order to guarantee the continuous development and flourishing of socialist literature and art.

FOOTNOTES

1. Marx, CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMICS

2, 5, 6, 11, 12. SELECTIONS FROM MARX AND ENGELS v 4 p 506, 500, 501, 484, 463.

3. See "Concise Course on the History of the Combined Communist Party"

4. Marx, ENGLAND'S PROPERTIED CLASS

7, 8, 9. See separately Lunacharsky's ON LITERATURE, People's Literary Publishing Co, 1978 No 6.57 p 236.

10. Mao Zedong, THEORY OF THE NEW DEMOCRACY.

9634
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STRICT CONTROL OF POPULATION GROWTH URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by Lin Yushu [2651 3768 2885]: "We Must Strictly Control the Increase of Population"]

[Text] "The rate of population increase must be strictly controlled. It will be very difficult for us to realize the four modernizations if this problem is not solved." This is the outcry of Song Jian [1345 0256], a renowned scientist of China on the theory of control, when he received a reporter. Song said that, during the 1950's, China's renowned economist, Mr Ma Yin-chu [7456 1377 0443] presented his theories of and recommendations on population control. For no reason whatsoever, he suffered criticism. From then on, there was not only a lack of control over the rate of population increase, but, on the contrary, a one-sided emphasis on the viewpoint that, among all things in this world, man was the most precious. It rejected all the scientific theories and concepts that population growth had to be controlled. This historical error produced a very great obstacle to the work of controlling population growth after the 1960's. In the history of China, the birth rate during these 10 chaotic years reached an unprecedented peak. The population increased rapidly. According to our statistics, the annual birth rate from 1962 to 1973 successively exceeded the highest record in history. Between 1962 and 1974, there was a cumulative addition of 340 million new children to the nation. In 1974, our population already exceeded 900 million. We thus encourage each couple to have no more than one child so that the rate of population increase might be reduced in the quickest possible way, and in the coming several decades, the total population would not increase by leaps and bounds. We must continue taking correct and forceful measures to control the rate of population growth. This is an urgent matter with which we are confronted. As Song Jian pointed out, the inertia of the process of population increase is very great. Even though from now on each couple will produce no more than one child, our population increase will not be stopped until after a quarter of a century. By the end of this century, we should have had 100 million more people. And, from that time onward, if we wish to reduce the population figure to 700 million as we had had before the

Cultural Revolution, we shall have to wait for 75 years. If, from now on, only half of our women each gives birth to one child and each of the other half produces 2 children, then our population will continue to increase for 45 years. Not until after it has gained 200 million more people will it then come to a stop.

If we fail to begin to control the population growth rate right now, what situation will we face in the near future? Song Jian has informed us of an appalling figure: "If we maintain the average birth rate of 1975, the population of our country will reach 1.4 billion by 2000 AD and will become 4.2 billion a century later." It will then almost equal today's world population. Of our country's land which is 9.6 million square kilometers in size, covered by deserts, mountains and plateaus, only about half of it is suitable for habitation. On the average, in today's China, each person can only have about 1 1/2 mu of land for cultivation. If the rate of procreation of an average Chinese woman continues to be the same as it is now, then 3 or 4 generations later, in the whole of China, each of our descendants will have only 0.5 to 0.7 mu of land for cultivation. It will be extremely difficult to carry out the four modernizations on a piece of land as narrow as this. Besides, a series of problems will accompany the increase of population such as the worsening of the system of ecology, the increase of the rate of consumption of natural resources, the difficulty in getting employment, etc. All are important issues which can be solved only gradually with our great effort at present and in the coming several decades.

Song Jian has made a further analysis in regard to the relationship between the balance of the system of ecology and increase of population. He said, "The system of ecology in the realm of nature is the fountainhead, if not the cradle, of the beginning and development of mankind. What we eat and wear and the oxygen in the air which we breathe has been supplied to us through the ecological system. The higher the standard of living and the larger the population, the greater will be the demand of mankind on the ecological system. However, the supplying capacity of the ecological system is limited. Therefore maintaining the balance of the ecological system has become a fundamental condition under which our descendants can expect to live a happy life. The only way to greatly raise the living standard and, at the same time, maintain an assured balance in the ecological system is to control the rate of population growth and to have the size of the population gradually stabilized at a proper level."

Song Jian thinks that it is important to publicize to the broad masses the importance of "controlling the increase of population" and let the people know the significance of population control. Only by so doing can we carry out the policy of population control overall. Particularly in the broad rural areas, we must promote our propaganda education among the masses most energetically in order to eradicate the thought of feudalism and the idea of "ennobling man and belittling woman." We must enable each couple to self-consciously make arrangements for their family life in accordance with the need of having only one child. We must calmly deal with the particular troubles that come up in particular areas. To control the rate of population growth is a highly significant matter which is not only connected with the basic interests of our descendants in the coming generations but also related to whether or not the four modernizations can be realized. We should not take any simple measure to compel people to do things by order, nor should be let nature take its own course or let well enough alone. If we fail to have a tight grip on the task of population control now, we shall be cursed and spat at by our descendants in the future.

Finally, Song pointed out that, since China's population is 23.3 percent of the world's population, the control of the growth of her population will naturally arouse the close attention of the peoples of the globe. We should make a contribution in this respect for the sake of all mankind.

9450
CSO: 4005

IMPORTANCE OF LEARNING MINORITY LANGUAGE OUTLINED

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITY UNITY] in Chinese No 8,15 May 80 p 19

[Article: "An Important and Far-Reaching Measure for Minority Nationalities in Xizang"]

[Text] In order to carry out the party's policy on minority nationalities, protect their equal rights, strengthen national unity, make its work more efficient and unite the masses, the Party Committee of Xizang Autonomous Region had recently issued a communication to party committees in all localities, cities and districts and to party units of all organizations that were under its direct control, requesting Han cadres and workers who worked in Tibet to study Tibet's written and spoken language. The communication requested all party organizations to immediately make the task of organizing Han cadres and workers to study the Tibetan language on an important part of reeducation in policy toward nationalities to make plans and arrangements and to carry them out thoroughly right away. It asked all leading cadres who were under 50 years of age to practice what they preach, to lead others in study and practice and to set a good example for the masses through their actions; and it asked all party members to act as models. It asked to use the study of the Tibetan language as a measure to evaluate and promote cadres and workers. The communication requested all party organizations to earnestly undertake ideological mobilization and to strengthen their leadership. It did not ask for unified study method; what it stressed was results. It asked that, within 3 years, a substantial number of comrades have a rough grasp of Tibetan and are to communicate directly with Tibetan comrades in speaking and some cadres have a rough grasp of the Tibetan written language and can read Tibetan newspapers and documents. In order to implement the above requests on schedule, the Party Committee of the autonomous region had undertaken corresponding measures.

This communication issued by the Party Committee of Xizang Autonomous Region is a very important step towards carrying out reeducation in nationalities' policy and implementing of our party's nationalities' policy; it has a very far-reaching significance.

To treat correctly the problem of all national languages is a very important part of our party's "all nationalities are equal" policy. In minority nationality regions, our party's requests are: Han cadres should study local languages and minority cadres should study Chinese. For Han comrades who work in minority nationality regions, it is very important that they learn the local languages, because this is an important prerequisite for maintaining close links with local people, correctly publicizing and carrying out party policies, effectively accomplishing their jobs and serving local people better. Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and other leading comrades in the Central Committee had given many instructions on this issue in the past. Since Liberation, leading comrades of the party and government in minority nationality regions followed the Central Committee's and Chairman Mao's instructions, organized the vast cadres and workers in minority regions to persist in studying local national languages, and cultivated a group of professional translators. Some even published newspapers and books and began radio broadcasts in local languages. All important documents and propaganda materials of leading organizations used both Chinese and local languages. With the development of education, a rank of minority national language teachers was established; some party and government cadres, particularly the Han cadres who worked in grass-root level, had learned, to different extents, the local languages. All the above achievements played a positive role in promoting national unity, socialist revolution and socialist constructions.

But Lin Biao and "Gang of Four" madly promoted the policy of discrimination against minority nationalities. They smeared the minority national languages as "backward," "useless" and "barbarous," and their destruction of the minority national culture has had serious consequences. At present, in minority nationality regions, there is a serious shortage of professional people who know both Chinese and local national languages well; most Han cadres and workers do not know any local language at all. The actual situation in the studying of language is that most minority cadres do very well in studying Chinese but most Han cadres do not do well in studying local languages; many cadres who work in these regions still cannot speak the local language after being there for many years. This situation has seriously affected not only their work but also their relations with other nationalities; and it has become one of the serious obstacles of four modernizations. We must pay close attention to this problem and try to rectify it.

We hope party and government organizations of all levels in the regions of minority nationalities, particularly Han cadres who have the primary leading responsibility, pay attention to this problem and adopt some positive and effective measures, (including an evaluation system) thoroughly carry on the work of the study of national languages by Han cadres and workers, persevere in it and uphold it to the end.

9539
CSO: 4005

ADJUSTMENTS MADE IN HIGHER INSTITUTES ENROLLMENT REGULATIONS

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITY UNITY] in Chinese No 6, 15 Jun 80 p 11

[Article: "1980 Regulations on Enrollment in Institutes of Higher Learning Affecting Minority Nationality Student"]

[Text] According to the Ministry of Education's regulations and its policy of selecting the best, the state has been giving necessary care to minority nationality students for the past 3 years. But there is still a clear gap between them and Han examination candidates. Take 1979 as an example: in that year, the percentage of minority freshmen was lower than their percentage in the whole population; this shows that even though many measures had been taken, among them the lowering of the minimum enrollment scores for the minority nationality students, many of them still could not meet the enrollment requirements. In that year, few minority freshmen were from pastoral and mountainous regions, most came from cities inhabited by several nationalities; most were in general schools, few in key schools; and most were in social sciences, few in natural sciences and engineering departments.

On the basis of the conclusion made from the past 3 years' experience and with the approval of the State Council, the Ministry of Education, in its "1980 Regulations on Enrollment in Institutes of Higher Learning," has made some adjustments to its regulations for the past few years and has adopted some new measures. The main ones are:

1. For schools and departments in the autonomous regions that teach in local national languages, the autonomous regions themselves will set examination questions, and administer the examinations and enrollment.

2. Some of the nation's key schools of high learning will give special classes to minority nationality students this year; minimum acceptance scores will be lowered as appropriate for them; and enrollment will mainly be for examination candidates from border, mountainous and pastoral regions where minority nationalities live together.

3. Students who graduate from minority nationality high schools that teach in their own national languages and who take examinations to

enroll in schools that teach in Chinese, can translate answers in their own languages to examination questions given in the subjects of politics, history, geography, mathmatics, physics and chemistry. In the past 2 years, examination questions on language for schools that teach in Chinese were also translated and answered in national languages, but some problems were encountered: every national language has different rules, therefore, some examination questions could not be translated, (such as in the case of classical literature). Some answers that were answered in national languages were evaluated by the same unified standard used in the Chinese language test, which was unscientific. And those who were enrolled in Chinese language schools, because of their low language ability, were unable to attend lectures or study. Therefore, after discussion by the National Student Enrollment Committee, the Ministry of Education stipulated: Examination questions on language will not be translated any more, they must be answered in Chinese. But taking into consideration the fact that minority nationalities' schools' level of Chinese language teaching was generally lower than Han high schools, it was also stipulated: For graduates from nationalities' high schools that teach in local national languages and who are taking examination for Chinese-speaking schools or departments of higher education, the language examination will be given separately by the Ministry of Education, and its standard will be lower than those of Han students.

4. For minority nationality students from border, mountainous and pastoral regions where minority nationalities live together, the minimum enrollment scores can be lowered appropriately.

5. Minority nationality students who live scattered in cities, when all conditions are equal, will be given priority over Han students in enrollment.

9539
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CONFERENCE ON TEACHER EDUCATION HELD IN ANHUI

OW150315 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Oct 80

[Excerpts] Teacher education is the machine tool of education as a whole. Only with trained teachers can competent people be turned out. We must therefore give high priority to teacher education and take effective measures and make vigorous efforts to train large numbers of fine teachers.

This was the pledge made by comrades attending a recent provincial conference on teacher education after studying and discussing the instruction on teacher education issued by a leading comrade of the party Central Committee Secretariat.

The conference was convened by the provincial education department and attended by nearly 200 people, including responsible persons of the education bureaus in various prefectural administrative offices, municipalities, counties, factories and mines as well as responsible persons of secondary normal schools, schools for training kindergarten teachers, teachers' colleges and colleges for teachers' advanced studies.

Relayed at the conference were the guidelines laid down by the National Conference on Teacher Education and the instructions on teacher education issued by a leading comrade of the party Central Committee Secretariat.

In the instructions, the leading comrade of the party Central Committee Secretariat pointed out: We rely mainly on two things to realize the four modernizations: 1) We must have a correct line; and 2) we must have large numbers of competent people engaged in construction. To discover and train competent people, we must do a good job in running education, especially teacher education.

Many principals of normal schools said: In his speech, the leading comrade of the party Central Committee Secretariat placed earnest hopes on those engaged in teacher education. It has enabled us to greatly enhance our understanding of the status and role of teacher education and to greatly strengthen our confidence in running teacher education well.

Conference participants held that all the prevailing ideas of looking down on teacher education are wrong. They also called on propaganda departments to give wide publicity to the great significance of teacher education in order to raise its status.

During the conference, Lan Ganting, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, and Wei Xinyi, vice governor of the provincial people's government, held a discussion meeting with some of the conference participants and listened to the latter's opinions on how to run teacher education well.

In his speech at the discussion meeting, Comrade Lan Ganting pointed out: Normal schools and teachers' colleges are bases for training competent people. When we do a good job in teacher education, we can also do a good job in education as a whole. There are now many unqualified school teachers. This problem has cropped up mainly because we failed to make vigorous efforts to run teacher education and to give priority to it in the past. At present, vigorous efforts should be made to publicize the significance of respecting teachers and loving students, raising the teachers' social status and having respect for their hard work.

Comrade Wei Xinyi attended the provincial conference on teacher education from beginning to end.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

FAMILY PLANNING DRIVE--Beijing, 11 Oct (XINHUA)--On 11 October, the All-China Women's Federation issued a circular on family planning to women's federations at various levels. It requires woman cadres to lead the masses of women in enthusiastically responding to the party Central Committee and the State Council's call advocating that a couple should have only one child. Moreover, it stresses that the masses of women are free to choose their favorite contraceptive measures and that no orders requiring compulsory contraception should be issued. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1638 GMT 11 Oct 80 OW]

FOREIGN LITERARY WORKS' TRANSLATIONS--Shanghai, 14 Oct (XINHUA)--One hundred thousand copies of Chinese translations of "Bel-ami" by Guy de Maupassant and "Pride and Prejudice" by Jane Austen sold out in a few days after their publication in Shanghai recently. The two books were translated and issued by Shanghai Translation Publishing House. Tolstoy, Stendhal, Byron, Sheeley, Dickens and Thomas Mann are on the list of future publications. The publishing house also intends to edit selections and collections of well-known foreign literary works, for example, it is planning to put out a series on foreign literary works of the 20th century. The publishing house is also taking part in the translation of another series on well-known foreign literary works proposed in the early 60's by Zhou Yang, well-known Chinese literary figure. [OW150135 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 14 Oct 80 OW]

CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 76710

28 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 133

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76710

28 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 133

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Khorramshahr Street Fighting Cited
(XINHUA, 17 Oct 80) 1

Briefs
Tehran, Baghdad Bombed 2

PARTY AND STATE

Significance of Top Leadership Shuffles Analyzed
(Luo Bing; ZHENGMING, 1 Sep 80) 3

Party Cadres Must Remember They Serve the People
(Editorial; ZHENGMING, 1 Sep 80) 10

Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang Appraised by Sichuan People
(Lingwen; ZHENGMING, 1 Sep 80) 13

Be Careful To Choose Good Persons When Selecting Cadres
(Shen Qian; XINHUA RIBAO, 18 Jul 80) 19

Comments Made Following Trip to Beijing
(Hai Ke; ZHENGMING, 1 Sep 80) 22

Case of Intellectual's Departure for U.S. Reviewed
(WEN HUI BAO, 30 Aug 80) 28

Symposium Held
Official Self-Criticism

Comments on Ownership System, Socialist Society
(WEN HUI BAO, 29 Aug 80) 31

Various Socialist Ownership Systems
Socialist Society in Infancy

'Qualifications,' Actual Ability Compared
(Li Chun; RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Jul 80) 33

Party Policy Encourages Working Spirit
(Xiao Du, Zhang Shuzheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Jul 80). 37

Criticism of Mao Put Into Perspective
(Yin Huimin; QISHI NIANDAI, 1 Sep 80) 42

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Missile, Nuclear,Space Technology Capabilities Examined
(Fang Jincheng; DONGXIANG, 16 Sep 80) 54

Abstracts: Armaments

BINGGONG XUEBAO [ACTA ARMAMENTARII], No 3, Sep 80 62

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Plan for System of Socialist Education Needed
(Yan Si; RENMIN JIAOYU, 20 Jul 80) 66

Reform of College Teaching Methods Urged
(Chen Qingji; JIEFANG RIBAO, 22 Jul 80) 72

Outstanding Educators Exchange Experiences
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 12 Aug 80) 76

Three Year System for Some Middle Schools
(TIANJIN RIBAO, 11 Jul 80) 78

More Tibetan Medical Personnel in Xizang
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 6 Sep 80) 79

Xizang Increases Enrollment of Minority Students
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 2 Sep 80) 80

Qinghai Youth Activities Stress Ethnic Characteristics
(ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 12 Aug 80) 81

KHORRAMSHAHR STREET FIGHTING CITED

OW170846 Beijing XINHUA in English 0820 GMT 17 Oct 80

[Text] Tehran, October 17 (XINHUA)--Violent street fighting between Iraqi forces and Iranian defenders has been going on in Iran's southeastern port city Khorramshahr since last night, according to Radio Tehran this morning.

An earlier report of the radio said that "hand-to-hand combats are occurring...house to house" last night in several Khorramshahr neighborhoods and "the defenders, who succeeded in retaking certain positions from the enemy, have made an urgent appeal to the Iranian population for aid and reinforcements as soon as possible."

In Abadan, the radio reported yesterday, Iranian army, supported by air force, waged a counterattack around the city, and forced Iraqi troops to retreat 10 kms to a point 20 kms from the city.

During the fight, the city's defenders backed by fighter planes seized four Iraqi ground-to-ground missiles, destroyed several tanks and killed or captured a number of Iraqi soldiers.

Abadan townspeople were preparing for street fighting, Radio Tehran said, Abadan's women had built barricades blocking the city's entrances as the population resisted alongside the military forces. The city "will become a hell for the Iraqi infidels" if they should enter, the radio said.

The radio also quoted a report of PARS, official Iranian news agency, as saying that at noon yesterday, Iraqi aircraft bombed Kermanshah, capital of Kermanshahan Province. A clinic, two schools and a mosque were hit.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

TEHRAN, BAGHDAD BOMBED--Baghdad, October 16 (XINHUA)--Iraqi fighter-bombers pounded Tehran today and set fire to oil storage tanks there, said a military communique issued by the Iraqi Armed Forces High Command this evening. Iranian jets struck today at Baghdad, the southern port of Basra, the Kurdish populated town of Sulaymaniyah in the north and other places of Iraq, the communique added. Correspondents of the Iraqi News Agency reported from the front that Iraqi forces have occupied Abadan radio station in the northeastern suburbs of the city. Iraqi warplanes had blown up all the six oil pipelines carrying fuel to Tehran. Communications between Abadan and other parts of Iran, particularly with the capital, have been cut. Fighting along all other border areas is still going on. [Text] [OW170912 Beijing XINHUA in English 0905 GMT 17 Oct 80]

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

SIGNIFICANCE OF TOP LEADERSHIP SHUFFLES ANALYZED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 pp 5-8

[Article by Luo Bing [5012 0393]: "China's Outlook as Seen from the National People's Congress"]

[Text] During the day it is sometimes sunny and sometimes cloudy; at night it is sometimes moonlit and sometimes gloomy. This is typical of Beijing's weather in late August. Isn't the political climate just as unpredictable? From 23 to 25 August, the representatives of the National People's Congress and the members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference will be reporting to the meeting in Beijing from all over the country. When their scheduled or chartered flights gradually land at Beijing Airport, will they be touched by the changing scene? Will this question mark emerge from deep down in their hearts?

"Strange Tales From Overseas"

Perhaps "visitors" from Heilongjiang, Fujian, or Tibet will not be so "sentimental." But it won't be surprising if a representative from Hong Kong is deep in thought and raises such a question. Why? Because recently there have been too many "strange tales from overseas":

"Deng Xiaoping will be the National Chairman"; A revolt occurred in the Nanjing Military Region"; "Xu Shiyou is organizing an anti-Deng coalition"; "Deng Xiaoping has been arrested in Beijing. . ."

When these tales reached Beijing, I learned from "informed" sources that strange tales from overseas were strange tales, after all, and that there was no truth to them. Nonetheless, why suddenly have there been so many rumors spread overseas? Would these rumors sell overseas?

In the unusually busy VIP reception room at Beijing Airport, I met a friend from Hong Kong. When we talked about those rumors from overseas, he said that most people in Hong Kong considered them rumors rather than facts. Those rumors, however, have become the hottest August conversational topics in Hong Kong. This situation reflected the people's concern about China's politics. Perhaps some people's hearts were indeed covered by shadows.

The motives of the rumormongers may not be the same. But all the rumors have a common theme--namely, they are unfavorable to Deng Xiaoping. Some people are trying to spread an atmosphere of Chinese political instability before the opening of the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

Hu Yaobang's Speech

Why in recent years has the spearhead of overseas rumors been pointing toward Deng Xiaoping? Why did those people detest Deng so much? Many of the young friends I met in Beijing were critical of Deng's abolishing the wall posters. Yet many others lauded Deng for his work in the past three to four years: from the overturning of numerous unjust cases, to the de-deifying of Mao Zedong; from his struggle against forces within the party that dedraggled the "four modernizations," to his opposition to blind faith in, and worship of, an individual; from the stimulation of the nation's economy, to the partial liberation of political life. They considered Deng gutsy, courageous, methodical, and competent--a rare politician and pragmatist. According to a recent speech by Hu Yaobang, the top lieutenant under Deng, the current situation in China is quite good and China's future is quite attractive.

Hu's speech was delivered at the CCP National Propaganda Work Conference on 14 July in Beijing. Originally the conference was to be presided over by CCP Propaganda Department Secretary Wang Renzhong, but Wang was absent due to illness. In his stead, Lu Dingyi and Zhou Yangxian addressed the conference, and Hu also talked about eight problems. This speech by Hu, even when passed down the ranks, was not allowed to be recorded or taped. Thus the speech I heard from some friends is at best the basic idea of its basic content.

Founding, Construction, and Development of the Nation

In his speech, Hu recounted the three periods in the course of the 59 years of the CCP and the nation:

1. 1921-1949, i.e., from the founding of the CCP to the founding of the People's Republic of China, may be called the Founding Period. These 28 years witnessed countless ups and downs, and the road was tortuous, he said.

2. 1949-1976, i.e., from the liberation of mainland China to the death of Mao Zedong, may be called the Construction Period. The greatest turmoil during these 26 years was the 10 years of calamities of the Cultural Revolution.

3. After 1977, the period may be called the Development Period. Hu believed that great changes have occurred in these three years, and he cited the liberalizing of thought, the pragmatic approach, and the adjustment of the economy as evidence. He said that since 1979, people who had experienced great setbacks and difficulties have regained their confidence in the future. Hu believed that the nation's future is very promising and that people under the age of 65 may all see a bright tomorrow.

Calming Down "Three Great Stormy Waves"

Hu said that three great stormy waves have been calmed since last year: first, the Xidan Democracy Wall Affair; second, the leftist upsurge (in reference to the Fanshi [0416 2508, "Everything-Is"] Faction); and third, the security of society--robbery, illegal emigration, burglary, murder, etc. These three tasks were accomplished without resorting to methods of political movement. Rather, the methods used were to strengthen the party's leadership and upgrade ideological work, including the implementation of policies and other political and economic measures.

Beyond and Within Expectation

The secretary general remarked that the original plan for 1980 was to increase industrial output by 6 percent and aim for an increase of 8 percent, but a 13 percent increase is now in sight. This might be deemed either beyond expectations or within expectations. Why is it within expectations? It is because the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee readjusted the plan and implemented policies conducive to economic development. The appearance of the countryside is rapidly changing. He gave one particular example: in suburban Shanghai, the average yearly per capita income for a couple of production teams has already reached 1,000 U.S. dollars. Hu said that, nationwide, there are 1,000 brigades whose average yearly per capita income has exceeded 300 yen. He was against the use of a "wealth contest" as a means of promoting production in rural areas. He considered this in essence a method of using the techniques of mass movement and politics to handle the economy. Hu reaffirmed the positive effect of individual farming, saying that one should not equate individual farming with capitalism. Under the present conditions of low productivity, certain types of work must be carried out by the individual. In the past, collective labor was uniformly adopted for farming, but in practice it always turned into collective loitering. Individual farming must be differentiated from the initiative of capitalism.

Persons Under 65 May See

In criticizing the communications equipment of XINHUA NEWS AGENCY as being far behind the times, the secretary general mentioned that the problem of modernizing the people's life is one of electrification. Hu said that he had asked the Ministry of Water Conservation and Electric Power to make an estimate on how many watts of electricity the state must supply in order to realize the electrification of the people's life. A life with a television set, a refrigerator, an electric fan, and a telephone might be achieved step by step in 10 years, starting from the large and medium-size cities and then to the villages. He also said that a mere 1 percent increase in energy source would increase production by 3-5 percent.

At the Propaganda Work Conference, Hu strongly emphasized speaking the truth and was very much against false, big, and empty talk. But can Hu's prophecy that the country's future is full of hope and that people under the age of 65 may all see a glorious prospect ahead be realized?

The "Big News" at the National People's Congress

At the present time in Beijing, as elsewhere in the country, many people no longer believe any CCP leader's words about how wonderful, how bright, and how glorious the country's future will be. Everyone shares a common "wait and see" attitude. See what? See the facts. The common people are realists; they are no longer idealists. For this reason, the public's feeling toward this National People's Congress is sort of like "watching a parade."

Will the National People's Congress produce any bombshells? There is not going to be any sudden, great news. But the organizational adjustments and personnel shuffling at the State Council must be considered big news.

Three Meanings of Personnel Shuffling

The recent personnel shuffling at the State Council is quite significant.

First of all, the central government has become more youthful. Several aged vice premiers have been ousted from the State Council and replaced by younger and more energetic successors. The average age at the premier level has been reduced. Of course, the rejuvenization is rather limited. The Central Secretariat established by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was considered a young unit, but Chen Yun was not satisfied, saying that the average age was still rather old. Chen proposed that the Central Secretariat also adopt its own "four modernizations," i.e., (1) rejuvenization, (2) intellectualization, (3) specilization, and (4) systemization. Conceivably the revamped State Council should also adopt these "four modernizations."

Secondly, the central government is setting examples for the whole nation in conscientiously renewing the leadership and ranks of the cadres. At present, the State Council has a big responsibility and a long journey ahead of it, and it indeed needs "strong men" who can diligently carry out the party's line and who have better ability to serve at the premier and minister levels. Some point out that Zhao Ziyang, while good at handling the economy, is inexperienced in foreign affairs. True, Zhao does have some good qualifications and some shortcomings. But in all of China, how many persons possess the all-around ability of Zhou Enlai? Zhao is faithful to the line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and he is courageous, authoritative, and daring; he must be deemed a rare talent. Wan Li is a man of similar talent. Both should assume more important posts, and they are likely to improve government efficiency rapidly through practical action. The recent personnel shuffling is, in reality, an experiment in abolishing the life-term system. Those who have good character, ability, and health should rise to the top; those who are old and not-so-qualified should step down. Every agency and every department should observe the fundamental principle that those who mismanage should resign. Now that the State Council has set the example, the magnitude of its influence is beyond estimation.

Furthermore, resistance to implementing the party's line may be lessened. In the past few years, certain top officials at the State Council controlled the economy, but their minds were rather stiff. They were not extreme leftists, nor did they belong in the "gang of four." But ideologically they were contaminated by factionalism and were leaning toward Wang [Tongxing]. Emotionally they resisted every thought-liberalizing and format-breaking plan, policy, or approach. Thus they either proceeded halfheartedly or resisted the party's line. Equally bad is the fact that they clung to factionalism and reinforced each other. In so doing, they become obstacles to the execution of the line laid out in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee. Now, with the resignation of some top officials from the State Council and the adjustments in some departments, this obstacle has suffered a great setback and has been greatly weakened. This situation may be beneficial to future work in economy. Some say that it may be advantageous to retain some opposition within the government. At this moment, it appears exactly so.

Judging from the changes, the leadership at the State Council has been strengthened and its overall capacity enlarged. This is a guarantee for new developments in the nation's political and economical life. That is to say, the outlook of the country will be better than in the past.

Many Unresolved Problems

Of course, the problems are not that simple.

For example, in carrying out the election, certain districts and units did quite well; the flavor of democracy was quite rich. No longer is it unusual to see talented persons receive recognition and college graduates rise to leading posts. However, in many districts and units, election remains a put-on, a window dressing. The gate to democracy is not yet wide open. This is a fact of political life.

To cite another example, resistance to reviving the economy is still formidable. Some cadres consider the present economic policy something smacking of "capitalism" and "revisionism" and resist its implementation. Many farmers are afraid that the policy concerning privately owned land and livestock may change. Farmers in the mountainous areas of Guangdong felt more secure only after the government issued certificates for the private lots. In many enterprises, all sorts of problems arose from adjusting salaries and giving bonuses. Some enterprises reported temporary phenomena of loitering and strikes. In certain units, suicides and murders occurred because of quarrels over distribution. This is a fact of economic life.

To cite yet another example, the arena of literature and arts is sometimes "open" and sometimes "restricted." Some of the conditions of "restriction" stem from the authorities' ideas, and some are due to disturbances among the underlings upon hearing words from higher-ups. What crime did Liu Binyen [0491 6333 7159] commit in writing "Between Man and Monster"? But his situation became awkward after some criticism from higher-ups. His request to attend proper literary activities abroad on invitation was not approved, after a long delay. The movie "Tonight the Stars Shine" by Bai Hua [4101 2901] was acclaimed by many, yet it was attacked by some VIP, who mockingly said, "Tonight the stars don't shine." The imposition of "restrictions" in the arena of literature and arts today, however, is no longer possible. Many authors and editors are quite courageous, unafraid of the chilly winds, and bold enough to counter the current. The situation in the arena of literature and arts is a reflection of the stormy political life.

Resistance to Retirement of Old Cadres

In conclusion, I must mention some discouraging events. At present, the CCP is trying to process the mass retirement of old cadres from the party, the government, and the armed services, and at the same time to promote large-scale employment of intellectuals and middle-age and young cadres. This is a great event that has strategic significance. But the task met a great deal of resistance, and its progress has been slower than anticipated. Why has there been such great resistance? Simply put, many old cadres want to keep their positions in order to preserve their power. Their attitude is "I have seniority. I am staying put. What can you do to me?" In China, power means everything.

Many cadres have become intoxicated with power because of conveniences such as being able to go through the backdoor to get things done, buy expensive goods, purchase imported electrical appliances, and place their children in ideal positions... Old guys who hang on to their high posts, however, are not popular. There was an article that appeared in the 14 August GUANGZHOU RIBAO entitled "The Senile Churchill." It vividly depicted the senility of former British Prime Minister Churchill at the advanced age of 80. Isn't this an article that was hinting obliquely at someone?

A Tale About Ye Jianying's Eldest Son

With the opening of the Third National People's Congress, Chairman Ye Jianying is again as busy as can be. People expect someone like Marshal Ye, who has rendered outstanding service to the country but is now old and in poor health, to set an example for the elimination of the life-term system and the promotion of up-and-coming young talent. Rumors about Marshal Ye abound in Beijing; most of them concern "power." "A rumor ends with a wise man," but rumors are passed around particularly among the wise men (the intellects). I heard an unconfirmed but rather shocking tale from a friend who came to Beijing from Guangdong: the eldest son of Marshal Ye, Ye Xuanping [5509 6693 1627], may become mayor of Guangzhou Municipality; Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492] and Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 0534] are to be transferred to the central government. The latter possibility has been tossed around before. The first part of the tale, I believe, is unfounded. Ye Xuanping's current position is deputy governor of Guangdong Province (to date, few overseas know that Marshal Ye's son is deputy governor of Guangdong Province). He was trained as a technologist and is said to be quite capable. But if he should become mayor, would he win the support of the people? It doesn't seem easy. Rumor also has it that the first secretary of Yuexiu District in Guangzhou, u Senglin [4281 2773 2651], a 1951 graduate of Qinghua University, may be promoted to secretary of the Guangzhou Municipal Committee. Although these are just rumors, it suffices to say that "an empty hole invites the wind." At least, they reflect how people view Marshal Ye.

The Key Is Reform

I am convinced that the minds of certain top party officials are filled with feudalistic thinking. They take advantage of their privileges, seizing every opportunity in every possible way. I also believe that the best decision for Marshal Ye to make would be to retire with honor and set an example for the turnover of leadership. This should win the hearts of the people. There is hope for the country, and there are many problems confronting the country. These are the characteristics of the current domestic situation. How to solve these problems? The key, I am afraid, is in rectifying the workstyle of the party. To rectify incorrect workstyle, all unreasonable systems must be reformed. It is a big job, but it is a task that true revolutionaries and politicians must not avoid.

9640
CSO: 4005

PARTY CADRES MUST REMEMBER THEY SERVE THE PEOPLE

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 p 4

[Editorial: "Keep the Welfare of the People in Mind!"

[Text] Recently the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee's party school gave a "test" to a class of students who were office chiefs and above. The first question was: What is the purpose of socialist production? All kinds of strange answers were given by the students:

"Production for the sake of revolution."

"Production for the sake of strengthening the proletarian dictatorship."

"Production for the sake of improving the rate of production."

Numerous fancy words were used, except that the term "people" was forgotten. No one seemed to know that the purpose of socialist production is to improve the well-being of the people.

This is not an isolated phenomenon. In the past 30 years, we have heard enough of cliches like revolution and strengthening the proletarian dictatorship, etc. Has any top Chinese Communist official ever declared that the purpose of socialist production is to improve the well-being of the people?

The fact is that within the Chinese Communist Party there are countless "revolutionaries" who never look at the people or think about the people. These revolutionaries come in two types.

The first type of revolutionary does not consider people as human beings. A typical example is the petroleum czar (a VIP in the petroleum kingdom) who was responsible for the sinking of the offshore oil rig, Bohai II. They did not care about the lives of the ship crew; they forced Bohai II to proceed with the wrong kind of work at the wrong time and in the wrong palce. As a result, the ship sank 72 crew members died, and the country lost 37 million dollars.. Regarding this matter, the cadre in charge at the Ministry of Petroleum Industry even made self-mocking remarks. Said he, "Struggle necessitates sacrifice." "Pay your tuition while you learn!" How lighthearted. And how glorifying! Minister of Petroleum Industry Song Ming also tried to cover up. These bureaucrats share a distinctive style--treating the people as weeds and ants, but never as human beings. The great revolution that took place 30 years ago converted many from devils into humans, yet in the past 30 years these top bureaucrats among the bureaucrats have turned humans into devils! They do not resemble a human, let alone a communist!

The other type of revolutionary is slightly better. He treats the people like humans--but as his servants. One hundred years ago, Marx and Engels were already uneasy about the cadres in socialist countries turning from servants of society into maters of society. It seems their worries were well-founded. Among the ranks of the Chinese Communist cadres, the secondary bureaucrats, the privileged members, the party bosses, and the prodigals are the so-called masters of society, in the words of Marx and Engels. They strip the people of their civil rights at will and infringe upon the people's interests. Some of them behave better, vowing that they would rather be selling yams at home than not governing the people properly. But doesn't the concept of "governing the people" also have the positions of master and servant reversed? This type of person would be more suitable as an uncorrupt, benevolent overlord in a feudal system, but certainly not as a qualified communist cadre in a socialist country!

Why does the CCP have a large number of unqualified members? The cause is complex. One of the facotrs is the feudalist mentality, especially the messianic mentality which for 30 years has plagued the party like a cancer.

For decades many Communist Party members have been singing the line from the "Internationale," "There has never been a so-called messiah." But they also have proclaimed: "The Communist Party liberated the whole nation." Isn't this a manifestation of the messianic mentality? Mao Zedong willingly accepted the plaque of "Great Savior of the People" presented to him by the masses and enjoyed listening to "The East Is Red" extolling him as the "Great Savior of the People." This is a typical example. If one proclaims oneself the savior, there is no need to take the people seriously. The feudal emperors clad in yellow robes controlled the life and death of their subjects. The subject must die on the emperor's order. The socialist saviors who wear the bright red gowns have the same prerogative. The people must die on the masters' order. Didn't the grand tradedy of Bohai II take place under the blind command of the petroleum czar?

Feudalist socialism is in fact antisocialism, being primarily antipeople. It is time that the CCP, deeply plagued by feudalist socialism, pay attention to this cancerous disease! Unless the disease is eradicated, the party's worksyle will not be rectified and the "four modernizations" will not be realized. We hope that true revolutionaries, on the one hand, will strengthen ideological education within the party and open fire on extreme leftism, feudalist socialism, the messiah mentality, bureaucratism, the special-privilege mentality, the class concept, and the life-term system. We also hope that, on the other hand, the CCP will get on with the big operation--purge party members who do not act like human beings, dismiss unqualified members who cannot be reformed, and conscientiously rectify the party's workstyle. Meanwhile, the party should work hard with the people to eliminate unreasonable political systems and revive the people's democratic life. Only by so doing will the task of the party be accomplished and the country have a promising future.

The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress is now in progress. We do not want to say much more. We would jsut like to remind the ruling party:

From now on, keep the welfare of the people in mind!

9640
CSO: 4005

DENG XIAOPING, ZHAO ZIYANG APPRAISED BY SICHUAN PEOPLE

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 pp 10-11

[Article by Lingwen [0109 2429]: "The Sichuan People's View about Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang"]

[Text] The Three Ups and Three Downs of Deng Xiaoping's Inscription

The Sichuan people are straightforward and open; this was my first impression upon entering this province.

How can we prove this? Perhaps some would say that it is easy to sense but difficult to tell.

Perhaps one episode can be given as an example.

In Chongqing, I became acquainted with a new friend; he cordially kept me company everywhere I went. When we passed by the gate of an institution, he suddenly halted and said, with his finger pointing: "Look!"

What he pointed at was a signboard, on which was an inscription by Deng Xiaoping.

I said: "This is Deng Xiaoping's inscription, what's so special about that?"

"This signboard was inscribed before the Cultural Revolution," he guffawed heartily: "Soon after the Cultural Revolution began, it was chipped off. When Deng Xiaoping returned to office in 1973, it was painted on again. When Deng was subject to criticism in 1976, the signboard disappeared once more. During these past 2 years, it came out once more. You see, a signboard by itself is very simple, but in this case it has had such a complicated experience."

"Will it be taken down again?" I jokingly asked.

"Unlikely, definitely unlikely!" he seriously replied.

Not Sold on the Eight-Grade Wage System

Deng Xiaoping is a native of Sichuan. In the early post-liberation period, he was stationed in Chongqing to preside over operations in the southwestern region; it is understandable that the Chongqing people are especially fond of him. But it is probably not enough to interpret the episode this way; it is probable that the policies Deng Xiaoping has carried out and insisted upon are of great influence to Sichuan either in the past or at present.

It was said that not long ago Deng Xiaoping came to Sichuan on an inspection tour; this was probably a need on his part to keep in touch with the basic level and to understand relevant conditions just prior to the convening of the National People's Congress. The Chongqing people revealed that Deng Xiaoping had had this to say: "As a matter of my own personal opinion, I don't quite agree with the eight-grade wage system."

The eight-grade wage system came into existence with the founding of the state; it seems likely that this was also copied from the Soviet Union. When a worker first enters a factory, he is given the first grade; from then on he is appraised every few years and promoted to a higher grade, until he reaches the eighth grade. Workers at every given grade generally earn the same salary, with only slight variations according to conditions in different regions.

Except in the case of transfer, a worker's station is fixed, and his wage is also fixed according to his grade. Workers of greater ability but lower grade receive less pay than those of less ability but higher grade. The wage of a worker whose appraisal is not good enough to earn him promotion to a higher grade remains the same in 10 or in 8 years. "Whether he works hard or not, it is the same!" "If you work, it is 36 yuan; if you don't work, it is 36 yuan too!" This is why there were such sayings.

Recently, reward money has been added; those who do well can earn a bit more income. But this reward money system is still not perfect; there are often controversies at the time of appraisal, or everybody would be given a reward, whose meaning is therefore not very great. Besides, the reward cannot exceed a certain proportion in relation to the basic wage; thus this has left the eight-grade wage system intact.

What did Deng Xiaoping mean by what he had to say? Very likely, it was his opinion that this unreasonable system should no longer be allowed to constrain the workers' enthusiasm. If these eight grades are removed and a worker is allowed to receive his wage according to the quality of his work by the geniune application of the principle of more work more pay, a fundamental change may well take place in the situation.

In a capitalist society such as Hong Kong, a worker has no iron rice bowl in the first place and is not given an inflexibly fixed wage in the second place; if he does not do well, he is liable to be "fired"; if his working hours fall short, his work time is reduced; if he does more work, his wage is also increased correspondingly. Hence, a worker usually "puts his life on the line" in fulfilling his task. If such a system is placed in the socialist society, will it have no consequence? No, I believe the consequence is going to be very great.

In the interior, the eight-grade wage system has always been looked upon as something "holy and inviolable" or "prescribed by imperial authority"; who would have dared to doubt it, let alone to revise it? But it was Deng Xiaoping who dared to have something to say and who dared to express a different opinion. This is why Deng Xiaoping is Deng Xiaoping. This is the Deng Xiaoping who is so especially fondly regarded in the eyes of the Sichuan people.

Not long ago, there was a rumor that China was prepared to allow the dismissal of workers (naturally on sufficient grounds), and also to let workers move freely in search of the factories they may choose, and the factories also recruit their workers freely. This may be said, in essence, to be a change that really "gives heaven and earth a shock and makes both ghosts and gods cry" (in the case of some people who have become ghosts or gods, if they cannot think this through, they are really likely to cry with a running nose, on earth or in heaven), and it must of course be based on the removal of the eight-grade wage system, or otherwise it would be completely useless.

However, it is not unlikely that dogmatists, "whateverists," and people whose remnant poison from the extreme-"left" line is not yet cleansed would create great obstacles for this kind of new policy. It is hoped that, whether or not this can be realized, the session of the National People's Congress this time is going to give some indications.

Goods Abundant and Prices Reasonable in the Chongqing Market

The Sichuan people exhibit a special self-pride; this is not only because, as a basin, the place which has always been called "the heavenly kingdom of abundance" has been able to feed 970 million population, the equivalent to a medium country, but also because in the past 2 years Sichuan has become outstanding in all aspects among the country's provinces, municipalities and regions. Foremost, naturally, was the fact that "a place suffering foodgrain shortage" had become "a place enjoying a surplus of foodgrain," and this solution of the food problem alone was hardly anything simple. Next, the supply of auxiliary foodstuffs and daily amenities has been really unprecedentedly abundant. In Chongqing, I went to a market to take a look; there were rich supplies of meats and vegetables and the prices were low; long beans (in pods) cost only 5 fen a big pile which weighed probably more than 1 kilogram. This serves as a catalyst for all the rest. In the market there were also finely drawn advertisements; although what these advertisements propagaged was vegetables, and how much effect they had was questionable, the atmosphere, nevertheless, was new. The absence of shortage in auxiliary foodstuffs had a great deal to do with the fact that they were allowed, after purchase by the state, to be freely supplied to the market. In the vicinity of the market, there were also not a few individuals spreading their supplies for sale; and there were also plenty of light eats stalls.

Generally speaking, the market was very lively.

Results of Birth Control Work in Sichuan Very Great

When speaking of developing new resources, attention must be paid also to the control of consumption. Another thing on which the Sichuan people pride themselves is that, last year, their population growth rate was reduced to 0.2 percent, and in the context of the whole country their control of the population growth rate was thus most successful. As I understood from Chengdu and Chongqing, people generally set up plans to have only one child, and they were commended by the state.

"Do people actually subscribe to this?" I asked a friend.

"They do. Too big a population really won't do!"

"How about the countryside?"

This friend hesitated a bit, and then said: "They do there, too; of course, it is necessary to grasp propaganda and education well and carry out the pertinent policies and measures."

It is really quite a problem whether or not people in the countryside can think through the question of birth control. In other provinces, these kinds of stories were heard: women with several children already would go to the homes of relatives elsewhere and give birth to their additional children there in order to avoid supervision by local authorities; there were also zealous youths forcibly dragging "illegal" expectant mothers to the hospitals and imposing artificial abortions on them. Here is a contradiction: birth control is necessary, but many people still cannot accept it. When a married couple wishes to have a child, an application must be submitted in advance, and its approval secured, before "realization"; this is surely something not very easy to comply with. Therefore, there have been many laughable things which one hears but cannot laugh at. Wherein lies the key? It lies still in that people's feudal thinking has been deeprooted, and it is not easy to try to really solve the matter from the point of view of such thinking. But, in the case of the Sichuan people, this problem does not seem to exert such great pressure; hence it was possible for them to achieve better results. This probably has a great deal to do with the endeavors put forth by leaders and cadres.

Zhao Ziyang--the Sichuan People's Pride

More than once I have heard this kind of criticism: China's common people are too well behaved. So long as their life happens to be bearable, they readily feel satisfied; officials need only pay some attention to reasoning and look after realities to win their equally ready gratitude and submission; these are the characteristics of China's common people. There is also another point: so long as there is a geniune turn for the better in various aspects, they are liable to quickly forget the hardships they suffered in the past--or at least no longer mind them. The fact that people in not a few places still have complaints is merely because there has really been no genuine turn for the better. In Sichuan, people seldom talk now about the fact that only a few years ago there were still people starving to death, but that their life today is really not very bad--but, in reality, if measured with the yardstick of a modern advanced society, it is still very far from being adequate. Yet the Sichuan people have been full of praise everywhere. If they are asked:

"Why has the change in Sichuan happened so rapidly?"

The answer consists of only a name: "Zhao Ziyang!"

A period has already elapsed since Zhao Ziyang left Sichuan and moved to the central headquarters. The Sichuan Provincial Party Committee's first secretary today is Tan Qilong [6223 0796 7893], former first secretary of the Qinghai Provincial Party Committee; Sichuan's provincial governor is Lu Dadong [7627 1129 2639], former first secretary of the Chongqing Municipal Party Committee. But people very seldom mention these two gentlemen; if they mention anyone, it is always Zhao Ziyang, as though he were still stationed there in Sichuan.

Perhaps this is one more pride: Zhao Ziyang is soon to advance from vice premier to premier. "Why! He is transferred up there from our Sichuan!"

The time Zhao Ziyang spent in Guangdong has been far longer, and he was stationed also in Inner Mongolia. But it is obvious that people of Guangdong and Inner Mongolia simply do not have such sentiments for him.

The fact that Zhao Ziyang's economic policies achieved great results in Sichuan was of course an important reason; but if Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their ilk had not caused such great damage, and if it were not for the new political climate that emerged after the overthrow of the "gang of four," it would not have been so easy for Zhao Ziyang to become so "pampered." Is this not what Meng Ke said about "a hungry man being easily satisfied with any food, and a thirsty man being easily satisfied with any drink"?

It may be mentioned in passing that, in places other than Sichuan, people are not necessarily so warmly attracted to the prospect of Zhao Ziyang's being in the process of become the premier. Generally speaking, they are far more calm and objective politically. No one is saying that Zhao Ziyang cannot handle the office of the premier; but neither do they give clear indications as to whether he is "the best candidate" for the job. Why? There is probably also a pertinent saying in this case: "After one has experienced the ocean, it is very hard for one to think much of ordinary water." With his incomparable talent, Zhou Enlai served 27 years as the nation's premier; in the face of his august stature, it is very hard to be a successor, indeed. Not only Zhao Ziyang, but whoever serves now as premier except Deng Xiaoping himself would face the same difficulty.

But, once Zhao Ziyang proves able, after he "organizes the Cabinet," to lead the people of the whole country in a down-to-earth way and, just like what he did in Sichuan during the past 2 years, more speedily and more satisfactorily reverse the present situation in which people still have many dissatisfactions, it would then be unquestionable that he would win the kind of high reputation and support that he did in Sichuan.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

BE CAREFUL TO CHOOSE GOOD PERSONS WHEN SELECTING CADRES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by Shen Qian [3947 0469]: "Using the Deception of Zou Ji [6760 1803] as a Starting Point for Discussion"]

[Text] To change the cadre organizations by selecting and promoting excellent middle-age and young cadres to leading posts is a matter of immediate concern. Exactly for this reason, there have recently been in many places mny new instances of giving way to good persons, recommending good persons, and nominating good persons. This is certainly commendable. I believe, however, that leading comrades have to pay attention to one more thing, and that is to distinguish between good and bad persons and thoroughly know everyone we have appointed. There have been many cases in history in which one who flattered was trusted and one who was upright and firm was denoted in rank.

This reminds me of the story of the deception of Zou Ji. Anyone who has read "Zhanquoce" ["Strategies of the Warring Kingdoms"] knows that Zou Ji, the prime minister of Emperor Wei of the Chi Dynasty, was very smart. He was able to avoid being hoodwinked by his wife and concubines or by his friends: he was able to get rid of the entanglements of "being favorable to me," "being afraid of me," and "requesting me to do something"; and, by seeking truth from facts, he was able to admit that he was not as good as Minister Xu. From this, he also got the inspiration to satirize Emperor Wei of Chi's habit of taking advice, as the emperor would ask his ministers and people "to personally investigate the wrongdoings of me, your unworthy emperor". Under the historical conditions of the time, this was really hard to come by.

But even a shart Zou Ji was on occasion hoodwinked. At that time, the Chi Dynasty was making great efforts to build a strong country. Zou Ji had investigated the good and bad among the city magistrates. All the officials in the court unanimously praised the official in Ayi as good, and all of them criticized and censured the official in Jimo as bad. Zou Ji thought he had the consensus and made a briefing to Emperor Wei. The emperor did not heed him unquestioningly, but secretly dispatched somebody to conduct an investigation on the spot, and thus learned the actual conditions about how these two cities were governed. Then he called these two officials to the court. He earnestly consoled the official in Jimo who had been slandered. He praised the fact that, under his rule, and the countryside were open and broad, the people were rich and prosperous, and public business was just and fair. Only because he devoted himself to governing the city and did not like to curry favor, he was discredited. The emperor also said: "How good a magistrate you are!" Such talk stunned the court officials and rendered them speechless. Emperor Wei then turned to the official in Ayi: "In your city, the countryside is overgrown with underbrush, and people are suffering from cold and hunger. You only know how to bribe my entourage with valuable money to obtain a good reputation for cheating. You are the worst person I know." Then he asked his bodyguards to carry in a cauldron and had the corrupt official and swindler put inside and "boiled" to death. This story told people that in selecting and promoting talent, to distinguish the good from the bad is not a very simple matter.

For a period of time there has been much discussion about the selection and promotion of talent, revealing both concern and worry. The concern is whether it is possible to select and promote good and able persons of real talent and real learning. The worry is whether it is possible to have bad persons who flatter and cater deceive us by assuming a similar appearance. Such a state of mind is understandable, because persons like the official in Ayi have still not completely disappeared, and there still exist persons, like those around Emperor Wei of Chi, who hoodwink those above and bully those below and are corrupt in politics, and persons like Zou Ji who do things in broad strokes and are easily hoodwinked. What worries people most is that some leading persons themselves have a bad style and are fond of boasting but do not like to be criticized. They are fond of being given a fanfare and being carried in a sedan chair by somebody, and being served with particular attention by those who curry favor; what they most of all do not like is to have somebody give straight advice and a different opinion. This means that people of the serious, gentlemanly type will step back upon a glance, and those who flatter will take advantage of any opportunity. I myself have had the occasion to contact leading comrades at the basic level, and have often found that there exist around them persons who flatter and cater and do not skirk hardships to serve under someone. They are extremely "considerate" of their superiors, and the superiors are also very close to them. Although we cannot state that they are all bad, it is certain that there are not many who are wise, able, and upright in character. If they are relied on as the eyes and ears, it is very easy for one to fall into their traps. Is it true that such things occasionally happen in real life? Those who have real talent and real learning, work intensely and earnestly, and despise boasting and flattering are criticized, boycotted, and overshadowed or forgotten, while those who have no real talent but are able to boast and flatter and do not do anything meaningful but are able to be hypocritical win gracious looks, are promoted, and have the "politician's spell of good fortune." Certainly, the causes that make these things happen are not simple. There are also other causes such as prejudice against intellectuals, the evil effects of the theory that only class origin should be taken into account, the tradition of making assignments on the basis of seniority, the concept of being close to old colleagues, old subordinates, old friends from the same county or province but distance to others, etc. But, as in the case of flattering, all these have something to do with the old vine of feudalistic ideology. As long as feudalistic ideology still has suitable soil in the ranks of our cadres, it is necessary to pose the problem of being careful to distinguish the good from the bad.

Let us refer back to the story of the deception of Zou Ji. It shows that to really understand a person, it is necessary to work hard to investigate. Even "public clamor" is not necessarily reliable, and especially a certain individual's "seeing what others cannot see" is not to be believed blindly. The only method is to go deeply to the masses to understand. We will avoid being hoodwinked only if we get hold of first-hand materials. Certainly this is more difficult than listening to a general briefing, but without doing this it is impossible to accurately evaluate the good and the bad. Not long ago, public security and agriculture and forestry departments and such places as Changzhou city have adopted measures of walking the masses' path to select and promote many reserve cadres, and there are many units and regions doing the same. Conditions today are much better than in ancient times, and therefore we not only can prevent things similar to the deception of Zou Ji from happening, but we are certain that we can do better than Bo Le [a famous trainer of horses in Chinese history] in appointing good and able persons to office and tapping talent.

9503
CSO: 4005

COMMENTS MADE FOLLOWING TRIP TO BEIJING

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 pp 14-15

[Article by Hai Ke [3189 1356]: "My Observations in my Tour to Beijing"]

[Text] Lifting the Curtain over the Nude Picture and the Rest

The August number of ZHENGMING reported that the "nude picture" at the Beijing airport continued to be covered by a cloth curtain, and it also had a photograph taken on 21 July as proof. When this writer went to and departed from Beijing in early August, he dined twice at the "Foreign Guests Restaurant" on the second floor of Beijing airport, and on both occasions he had the chance to see this nude picture, which was described as the cause for "upheavals." There was no doubt that a cloth curtain was hung over the nude picture; but this curtain was parted on either side, with only small portions of the picture covered, while the bulk of it was still visible. Inside the restaurant, there were both Chinese and foreign tourists dining; but few paid any special attention to it. This experience made me realize that it was indeed a fact that some wanted to have the picture covered by a cloth curtain, but by August the incident had already become insignificant; although the cloth curtain was not taken down, it no longer played any significant role.

I wonder if this actually reflected a special situation in the interior at this time; that is, on a considerable number of questions, many different opinions were expressed as a rule. Contention, of course, was natural. But when such opinions were expressed by some powerful figures, what was to be done? Ordinarily, no matter how high the positions of these figures might be, so long as theirs were only opinions of individuals or a small minority, they need not to be carried out. However, for a long time the authoritative nature of the "will of the superior" or "directive from the leaders" had become habitually recognized, so that there would seem to be something inappropriate if such opinions were ignored; but, on the other hand, there would seem to be hardly any reason to call a Politburo meeting or something of the sort to conduct any discussion or study, whether a big or a small matter was involved. As a result, what happened was the adoption of a tentative measure to comply with the opinions expressed, after which there would be some play with formalism, so that, with due passage of time, the old practice could still be restored if feasible. At any rate, the masses usually would have no particular opinions, and those great personalities who did express an opinion might not come to look at it again; or even if they knew what was to happen, it would be inconvenient for them to pursue the matter since it had already been faced. Thus, "upheavals" could very well end up in a scene of peace and calm.

The above is, of course, this writer's speculation, and I have no sure proof to back it up. But, in the absence of such a process, it would be very hard to understand why such a "strange practice" of hanging up a cloth curtain but not actually covering the picture should have been undertaken. Being viewed as a "strange practice" suggests, of course, that it was not normal. This writer went before the picture to look at it again and again, but failed to discern why the few "nude figures" depicted there, which happen to be far from realistic because of their stylized postures, should have become "intolerable" in the eyes of certain people to begin with. There are only two possibilities that this was a case of a little man substituting his own thinking for that of a gentleman. One is that his (their) mind happened to be too dirty, so that evil thoughts would rise even in the face of some artistic forms and he (they) took for granted that others would have the same thoughts. The other is that the remnant poison of feudalism has been too profound, so that he (they) was (were) led to take the admonition "Don't look except in accordance with propriety" as a Marxist prohibition and thus prefer to become "a defender (defenders) of the orthodoxy."

It cannot be denied that the tumult or "warning" effect aroused in the literary circles by this "covering the nude picture up" incident reminds one of the title of a novel by Ba Jin [1572 6855], "The Autumn in the Spring." But, even if there was such a situation, it must have already become "the tapering end of the course of what started out as a powerful arrow." It would be no harm for us to believe that through the clarification of the ideology, strengthening of the legal system, and readjustment of personnel in this forthcoming session of the National People's Congress similar "strange practices" will be less and less, and things in various aspects will further move into a normal course.

Questions in Which the Beijing People Are Most Interested

Feudal remnant poison was the issue that most attracted the attention of the Beijing people during this period.

In some temples in the interior, I unexpectedly discovered a state of "busy burning of incense and candles"; really, there were not a few of those who came forward to burn incense and candles and present sacrifices. Newspapers published a series of examples whereby some scoundrels made away with property and committed sex offenses by taking advantage of victims' supersititous conceptions; they made it hard for people to believe that these things were taking place in the land of socialism. Beijing is a place of extraordinary order; walking through its big streets and small lanes, who can fail to perceive what is behind them? On the surface, at least, such things are, after all, hardly in evidence.

Of course, understanding feudal remnant poison merely in terms of superstition would be a rather superficial view. Some places are by no means anxious to deal with the phenomena of superstition that still exist today; it is possible that, on the one hand, it is recognized that a question in ideology cannot be solved by coercive means and, on the other hand, it is also recognized that things more serious than the superstitious belief in ghosts and deities still exist, and if urgent disposal is called for, it should have to do first with those things and not superstition.

Those who travel to Beijing usually go to the Badaling section of the Great Wall, and on their way back make a stop at the Ding Tomb among the Thirteen Tombs of the Ming Period; at this point, it is an avoidable practice for them to descend into the "underground palace" to take a look. From this tomb chamber which Emperor Zhu Jijun [2612 5042 6874] of the reign of Wanli had himself painstakingly planned in his lifetime and the large number of buried items displayed on its two sides, which may be called priceless treasures, it can be seen that an outstanding characteristic of people of the feudal period was to do their best in their lifetime in preparing affairs after their death. This is the concrete example of the idea that power, position, wealth, reputation, etc, must all be inherited forever by their posterity. As early as in the spring and autumn and the Warring States periods, there was already a vehement debate between the Confucian advocacy for "liberal funerals" and the Maoist advacacy for "frugal funerals"; the upshot was that the Confucianists, who represented the main current of ideas in the feudal period, occupied the controlling position, and the two ideas of "eternal occupancy" and "permanent succession to power and status" became thus regarded as principles of heaven and earth.

Hence, people paid attention to the special phenomenon of "life tenure enjoyed by cadres." What is most interesting is that you may well search all the documents since the founding of the state, but you can never find any "regulation" that prescribes that cadres may hold a "life tenure"; yet, as a whole, generally and stubbornly, it does exist. In the early post-liberation period, there was a view that "it is very hard to serve as an official under the Communist Party," because one had to suffer hardship first and enjoy pleasure later and must also accept supervision by the masses. But the view today is that "it is very easy to serve as an official under the Communist Party," because so long as one avoids committing any serious political error (such as becoming a devoted partisan of the "gang of four"), then even if one becomes old, weak and incompetent, exhausted, bad in working style and corrupt in lifestyle...the office can still be held unshakable as iron. As a result, in the present case, when one dies as an official, people can even make a fuss about the pomp and circumstance of his funeral (called "memorial ceremony" in the interior) to see if his cremation can be sent to Babaoshan. An additional point is that, before its "entry into Babaoshan," arrangements must be made first to have his children well placed, e.g., admission to universities, study abroad, good jobs at some relevant departments. Only after all of these are satisfactorily arranged through meticulous labor would his soul rest in peace.

In spirit, what difference in principle is there between this and Zhu Yijun's planning for the "Ding tomb" mausoleum? The only difference is evidently that between a big and a small official or, as the traditional saying goes, between a big and a small witch.

Today, the Beijing people are taking note of the pending appeal of the "life tenure enjoyed by cadres" with great interest. Its greatest effect is to prevent the leading strata from becoming senile so as to allow relatively young and able cadres to accept relevant tests and succeed to their posts in time. They talk about the way Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Wang Zhen and others are prepared to resign from their government posts, and hope that this would lead to new changes in the political situation and bring about the eventual elimination of the feudal style of "eternal occupancy" in positions of power and authority.

It was during this period that Beijing made it a point to emphatically propagate the exemplary conduct on the part of the family of Wang Jianan [3769 1696 1344], member of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and adviser to its Central Military Commission, in requesting at the time of his death that they be allowed not to send notices to relatives and friends, not to hold any "farewell ceremony" or memorial service, and not to have his cremation sent to Babaoshan. In the wake of this, the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee sent out circulars on the strict control and reduction of celebrations, on the hanging of portraits of Mao Zedong and other leaders and their inscriptions, etc. In addition, a point was made to expose the impudent conduct on the part of certain high-ranking cadres in covering up the evil doings and illegal activities of their children. All measures of this kind can evidently be related to a serious attempt to gradually eliminate the feudal remnant poison.

Only today do people begin to feel that "anti-feudalist" operations are an urgent task, since feudalism is a serious stumbling block to the four modernizations; it is a formidable undertaking to seriously have feudalism uprooted.

If Liu Shaoqi Shook Chen Yongguei's Hand

The formidable nature of this undertaking is reflected in many aspects; it is very difficult, for instance, to rectify certain views long established in people's understanding.

In respect to the gradual negation of the "learn from Dazhai" movement, the Bijing people have expressed not a few opinions, because Dazhai was a red banner personally raised by Mao Zedong during his lifetime, and it was still holy and inviolable up to 1977. "Let the whole country learn from Dazhai" as a slogan was like the curse of a tightening hoop which, when cited, made everybody's head ache and from which no one could escape. About Chen Yongguei [7115 3057 6311], this "former responsible person of the Xiyang County Party Committee" and present member of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and vice premier of the State Council, the fact is that because on the one hand he was a red-hot personality personally promoted by "The Chairman" and, on the other hand, he has even up to this day always been seen in his "theatrical attire," with a white turban on his head and a Chinese-style jacket around his torso in the fashion of "an old peasant," and ordinarily he also does not behave like "weaving girl" Wu Gueixian [0702 2710 6343] in putting on an air as leader and boasting freely, so the Beijing people's impression of him is still not very bad. But today, his "disguise" has come to be unclothed layer after layer: this "old peasant," after all, has not been very simple. People cannot but murmur: what is really the matter?

There is also a contrast in this regard. In the many public arenas in Beijing, pictures on Liu Shaoqi's life story are generally on exhibit; this is a necessary measure for the restoration of Liu Shaoqi's reputation. I noticed one particular photograph: Liu Shaoqi shaking the hand of Shi Chuanxiang [2514 0278 4385], labor model at the time. Shi Chuanxiang was a worker handling nightsoil in Beijing; because he did his job well, he was elected a labor model and given attention by Liu Shaoqi. But after Liu Shaoqi was overthrown, because he was "Liu Shaoqi's man," he was accused of being "a nightsoil hegemon" and cruel criticisms and struggles were carried out against him until he was persecuted to death. Along with the rectification of Liu Shaoqi's case today, Shi Chuanxiang's becomes, of course, also rectified.

Chen Yongguei, on the surface, does not have anything to do with Shi Chuanxiang. What I mean to say is that both of them were labor models, and genuinely so. Yet how different their fortunes have eventually turned out to be! If Mao Zedong had picked Shi Chuanxiang and Liu Shaoqi had therefore shaken Chen Yongguei's hand in particular, the fortunes of these two men would have been exchanged. But the story of the old man of the castle is still remembered by everyone: the loss and regaining of his horse and their being a misfortune or a blessing are really nothing one can foretell. Shi Chuanxiang died a very sad death; but today his glory is restored; Chen Yongguei was promoted straight up, with the posture of a "teacher of ten thousand people," yet no one knows to what depth he is going to slip downward. In terms of feelings, can he be better situated than Shi Chuanxiang? It is hard to say.

Here we are talking about the problems of only one or two persons; but there is general confusion in people's thinking. How difficult is it to distinguish between right and wrong, merit and crime, glory and shame! What is believable? What is unbelievable? Today, many facts are no doubt displayed to guide people so that they can achieve a penetrating understanding of "the red banner of Dazhai"; but did they not display even more facts in the past? If those facts of the past were not true, can those of the present be true?

It is necessary to explain here: among the Beijing people I have contacted, none showed any good feelings toward the "learn from Dazhai" movement, nor would anyone likely "protect" Chen Yongguei. The only thing is that, even if this "old peasant" is stripped down to his true form or takes the responsibility of all his crimes and wrongs, can people's feeling about right and wrong be genuinely and quickly rectified as a result?

For this reason, it was no wonder that when Beijing disposed of cases of this type, it was firm but very cautious. In this respect, people are expecting still more from the present National People's Congress and the 12th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party which, according to current information, is to take place at the end of this year.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CASE OF INTELLECTUAL'S DEPARTURE FOR U.S. REVIEWED

Symposium Held

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 30 Aug 80 p 1

[News report, "Symposium Held By Authorities Concerned To Implement Policy Governing Intellectuals In Light of the Department of Refrigeration Specialist Chen Tingxiang [7115 1694 7534] to the U.S."]

[Text] What lesson can we learn from the case of refrigeration specialist Chen Tingxiang, who left the country because we could not bring our policy to fruition? The municipality's Office of Scientific and Technological Cadres yesterday invited comrades from various related departments to discuss the matter.

Several comrades observed that Chen Tingxiang's inability to serve the fatherland reflects the as-yet ineffective implementation of our policy by a number of departments and units. Through this typical case, the press appealed to the leading departments concerned to pay attention and publicized the importance of correctly implementing the party's policy toward intellectuals. All of this has helped to dismiss the traditional prejudices against intellectuals which are still harbored by certain people and to raise the public consciousness in implementing the party's policy, so that such cases will not recur. One of the comrades in the department concerned said that he had met Chen Tingxiang several times and believed him to be a patriotic, enterprising specialist. However, Chen Tingxiang was once arrested by mistake, and thereafter he not only was not rehabilitated, but he was not reinstated to his original post by the department concerned. On the basis of unsubstantiated documents, some units refused to make a thorough investigation, with the result that his work assignment could not be resolved for a long time. This was indeed a penetrating lesson. The comrades of the municipality's Economic Committee, Textile Bureau, Engineering and Electrical First Bureau recently held a symposium and expressed their belief that there is a lot of work to be done to implement the party's policy toward intellectuals. A certain technician in a factory of the Textile Bureau had made positive contributions regarding technical reform and technological improvement, but he subsequently lost his activism because the factory leadership ignored him during promotion and work assessment time. Many technicians are available in several big factories of the Engineering and Electrical First and Second Bureaus, yet the factories' leaderships prefer to let them stay idle, rather than send them over to other units where technical personnel are urgently needed. This is a waste of human resources and their talent.

Many comrades mentioned bureaucraticism, procrastination, and low efficiency as the biggest enemies of the "four modernizations" construction. At present there is a sense of lack of urgency for cultivating and utilizing talents, in some cadre and organizational departments; instead, they are satisfied with the red tape system. This must be urgently rectified. The comrades at the municipality's Commercial Second Bureau said that although their office is close to those of the Scientific Committee and the Financial and Organization Commission, they still resort to correspondence back and forth, as if they were playing soccer. Sometimes it takes six or seven months to transfer a person from one post to another. All this reflects the prevalence of bureaucratic inefficiency. The comrades at the financial and other departments opined that cadres and organizational departments must struggle against bureaucraticism, always think of the intellectuals in every way, and enthusiastically exert their utmost efforts to do what can and should be done. Moreover, they should draw a lesson from the case of Chen Tingxiang's departure from our country and completely review the situation in order to bring to fruition the system's policy governing intellectuals.

Official Self-Criticism

Shanghai WEN HU BAO in Chinese 30 Aug 80 p 1

[News report, "Commercial Second Bureau Reviews Case of Chen Tingxiang To Improve Policy-Consciousness"]

[Text] The municipality's Commercial Second Bureau yesterday conducted a written review of the case involving the vague implementation of its policy toward intellectuals and its improper handling of the work of refrigeration specialist Chen Tingxiang, in an effort to seriously learn a lesson from it.

On the morning of 28 August, after reading press reports concerning the department of refrigeration specialist Chen Tingxiang and his family to the United States, the Commercial Second Bureau party committee immediately held a meeting to discuss the matter. In the afternoon it summoned the related personnel in the bureau and company for a symposium. The participants all agreed that the newspaper criticism had enabled them to see the seriousness of the problem and to draw the following lessons:

Firstly, we do not understand well enough the important functions of intellectuals in the "four modernizations" construction, nor do we pay due attention to the implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals, and we still lag far behind the line and policies formulated by the Party Central Committee and the requirements of the "four modernizations." As for the organizational line, our incorrect disposition to "respect industry and agriculture but despise intellectuals" has not been earnestly rectified.

Secondly, our bureaucratic style is serious. Last December, after the municipality's Scientific Commission instructed our bureau to arrange Chen Tingxiang's work, we neglected to supervise and investigate, failed to earnestly help solve the difficulties encountered by the work departments, delayed Chen Tingxiang's work assignment by seven months and finally shelved the whole thing simply because we lacked one signature on the document. Our low efficiency rate and inadequate sense of responsibility have had a serious effect.

Thirdly, our group discipline is weak. We do not firmly or seriously carry out the decisions of our superiors. We do not educate or curb those people who resort to departmentalism, and we forget the party's organizational principles and excellent traditions.

In its written review the Commercial Second Bureau's party committee drew inferences from this case and put forth a preliminary plan on how to improve its work:

1. Starting with the party committee of the bureau, we must organize the responsible persons in the departments concerned and the various levels of party organizations within the bureau's system to earnestly learn the party's organizational line, and particularly the party's policy toward the intellectuals and united front policy; furthermore, we must earnestly review the utilization of various categories of the intellectuals within the bureau's system, particularly their prevailing problems, and make the necessary improvements. At the same time, we must hold a symposium meeting of various categories of intellectuals and listen to their opinions, with a view to further arousing their activisim.

2. We must combine our study of the State Council's decision on its strict handling of the sinking of the "Bohai No 2" with the communication of the central Commission for Inspection of Discipline concerning the struggle against bureaucraticism, and effectively improve our work style. We must build up and strengthen our system of work responsibility correspondingly, enhance our work efficiency, and firmly struggle against the bureaucratic style.

3. We must combine our study of the party's constitutional amendment draft with study of the "guiding principles," strengthen our party character and tighten the party's organizational discipline.

9300
CSO: 4005

COMMENTS ON OWNERSHIP SYSTEM, SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Various Socialist Ownership Systems

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Aug 80 p 3

[Article: "Yu Guangyuan: 'It Is Improper To Use the Formula "Big in Size and Collective in Nature" as a Yardstick for Appraising Ownership System'"]

[Text] In a recent speech, Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678] said that to simply use the formula "big in size and collective in nature" as a yardstick to appraise socialist ownership systems was one of the basic reasons that mistakes were often made in the past in the policy concerning ownership systems.

In a given period, a socialist nation can have several different socialist ownership systems at the same time. That three socialist economis--the socialist state ownership economy, the socialist labor masses collective ownership economy, and the socialist guided economy--can exist at the same time is the production relationship most suitable to the status of development of productive forces in our nation's present historic period. And these three socialist economies have shown their superiority to any other status of productive forces.

This point of view prevails among some cadres: The socialist state ownership is unconditionally superior to the socialist collective ownership system; within the scope of socialist collective ownership, the commune's first-level accounting is unconditionally superior to the first-level accounting of a brigade, and the latter is unconditionally superior to the first-level accounting of a production team; within the scope of the collective ownership system of the first-level accounting of a production team, adopting the wage system is unconditionally superior to adopting the workpoint system. In addition to the yardstick of which one can best promote the development of productive forces, they have still another yardstick. This is the formula "big in size and collective in nature"; that is, the "bigger" the scope of ownership the better, and the more "collective" the better.

The formula "big in size and collective in nature" not only cannot be used as a yardstick to appraise the ownership system, but whether this formula can simply be used to evaluate the development of systems of ownership also deserves to be studied. While it is not necessary for socialist economic organizations themselves to develop from small to big, a "big" ownership system is not necessarily more "advanced." Meanwhile, what is a "collective"? In the sequence stated above, a "collective means an extension of an ownership system and indicates only the scope of economic organization. It is not concerned with which social economy will put the laborer in a better position to take charge and make decisions. The "collective" concerpt has not been developed from the aspect of its contents. Therefore, it is often found to be one-sided to have an ownership system viewed from the concept of "big in size and collective in nature."

Socialist Society in Infancy

Shanghai WHEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Aug 80 p 3

[Article: "Liu Mingfu: 'Our Socialist Society Is Still in Its Infancy'"]

[Text] In a speech, Liu Mingfu [0491 2494 1133] said we should admit that our socialist society is still in its infancy. As we are in the infancy of socialist society, we should not plan things according to such a socialist economic form as though we had gained political power on the basis of a very high level of development of productive forces, as was predicted by Marx and Engels. We have to make a strict distinction about this point. Now, what sort of development process should our socialist society have? Can it be, in general, divided into primary, intermediate, and advanced stages?

The organizational forms, management systems, principles and policies, and guidance methods suitable for the advanced stage are not necessarily suitable for the primary stage; by the same token, the organizational forms, management systems, principles and policies, and working methods suitable for the primary stage are not necessarily suitable for the intermediate or advanced stage. Changes are necessary. Therefore, it should be noted that the production relationship must be compatible with the level of development of the productive forces, and the superstructure must be compatible with the requirements in the development of the economic foundation. The problem of the system is how to solve the problem of production relationships. We have to solve the problem of the superstructure so that our production relationships will be more compatible with the development of the productive forces, and so that our superstructure, with its rules and regulations, management systems, and policies and methods, will be compatible with the requirements of the economic foundation. This is a very difficult task.

9503
CSO: 4005

'QUALIFICATIONS,' ACTUAL ABILITY COMPARED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Li Chun [2621 3196]: "A Brief Discussion on 'Qualifications'"]

[Text] The selection of scientific and technical cadres for appointment to technical and professional posts, especially the assignment of middle-aged and young cadres to leading groups at all levels, often gives occasion to discussion and argument regarding "qualifications." Having given the matter some thought, I want to venture an opinion on it.

The expression "qualifications" first appeared in The New History of Tang, Selected Annals, Part Two: "In the 18th year of the Kai Yuan reign of Tang Xuanzong [0781 3763 1350], Pei Guangting [5952 0342 1656], who was serving the country in the Ministry of Official Personnel Affairs and in the capacity of shang shu [1424 2579], originated the practice of taking cognizance of qualifications. The wise and the stupid alike had to come up to standards if they were to be selected for office. All were to serve a term at each level. Nobody was to be promoted over a level at which he had not served." "Standards" is the title of a decree issued during the Tang Dynasty, and "taking cognizance of qualifications" meant to assign government officials to posts on the basis of their social status and experience. Of course, talk about qualifications and record of service did not begin in the Tang era, but much earlier. In the Warring States period, Han Fei [7281 7236] maintained that "to become prime minister one must begin his career at the zhou [1558] level, and to become a valiant general one must start out as a soldier in the ranks." A regulation put into effect during the reign of Tang Xuanzong provided that "no official who has not served at the zhou and county levels may advance to the provincial level." "Taking cognizance of qualifications" was the statutory embodiment of this provision. It appears to have been like other methods of selecting government officials practiced during the Tang Dynasty, and to some extent counteracted the influence of powerful families, the system which prevailed in Wei and Jin dynasties and the epoch of division between north and south. This practice has definite significance for the modern practice of using officials who have had practical experience in governing. However, the provision that "All were to serve a term at each level; nobody was to be promoted over a level at which he had not served" turned out to be too strict, and "taking cognizance of qualifications meant that a soldier could reach the age of 60 without rising above the company level." (The New History of Tang, Selected Annals, Part Two.) This provision proved unsuccesful as a guide for selecting and assigning worthy and capable persons, so after the death of Pei Guangting "taking cognizance of qualifications" was judged to be "an ineffective method of seeking capable people," and was no longer implemented. Nevertheless, the expression "qualifications" has remained in use up to the present.

Today, the concept of "qualifications" includes such things as a person's record of formal schooling and experience. Because knowledge and ability are always acquired through book learning and social practice, and qualifications roughly reflect study and practice, it can be said in general that a person's ability bears some relation to his qualifications. It is precisely by proceeding on the basis of this materialist theory of knowledge that we will encourage proper consideration of qualifications in testing, assignment, and promotion of cadres, and combat hasty and indiscriminate methods of assigning cadres to posts. Besides, I think that someone who ordinarily resists discussion of qualifications, or who distorts, consciously or unconsciously, the original concept by making a false claim of being qualified (for example, trying to use a callused hand as qualification for exemption from the university entrance examination) is not a materialist.

The preceding comments deal with only one aspect of the problem; there is another side to it. Qualifications are, after all, just that, and not an entirely accurate projection of actual ability. To get away from concrete analysis of cadres, and use an absolute, solidified notion of qualifications as the exclusive criterion for selecting capable people, to differentiate people entirely on the basis of their qualifications, is not what dialectical materialism calls for.

To have an absolutist notion of qualifications is to equate qualifications totally with ability, to fail to see them as not being identical. In reality, mastery of knowledge, technical ability, and work experience are products of a combination of subjective and objective circumstances, and the combination of subjective and objective conditions varies from person to person to a very great degree. Thus, in many cases individuals' qualifications do not match, and may even fall far short of, their capabilities. Uniform, inflexible application of a fixed idea of qualifications undoubtedly would deny the actual diversity of capabilities among people and impede the selection of worthy and capable persons.

To have a solidified notion of qualifications is to deny or be unable to see that qualifications and ability are continuously developed through study and practice. In reality, a person who is totally or partially unqualified may become qualified, but a close correspondence between a person's qualifications and actual ability at a given time is no indication of a permanent state of affairs. What has happened since the shift of emphasis in work to construction of the four modernizations shows the truth of the preceding statement. Things with which we were familiar in the past have been put aside, and we are now faced with things that we did not know about in the past. We need to study anew and change ourselves from laymen into knowledgeable experts. Furthermore, the growth of science and technology is advancing by leaps and bounds in the world of today, and consequently knowledge and capabilities must be renewed constantly. If we choose to be complacent and conservative and rest content with our "old qualifications," our knowledge and technical capabilities will rapidly become ignorance and incompetence.

This absolutist and solidified view of qualifications has long been refuted by a host of facts to be found in the history of social development and the history of science. Down through the ages there have been persons whose accomplishments were far different from those of other persons with similar qualifications. Many qualified persons have been mediocre and passive; there have been others who, due to various circumstances, were denied the necessary education and proper conditions for work and thus were unable to become qualified, yet their strong enterprising spirit, indomitable will, determination to teach themselves, persevering study, diligent work, and selfless labor have produced exceptional achievements in the end. They became experts and scholars, and made important contributions to mankind. Friedrich Engels was only a middle school graduate; Maxim Gorki finished only the 3rd grade; Thomas Alva Edison's inventions numbered more than 2,000, yet he was a formal student for 3 months; Lu Xun [7627 6598] and Guo Moruo [6753 3106 5387] never attended liberal arts college; the philosopher Josef Dietzgen, a contemporary of Marx, was a shoemaker; James Watt, inventor of the steam engine, was an instrument maker; Jacques de Vaucanson, inventor of the loom, was a barber; Robert Fulton, inventor of the steamboat, was a jeweler. It is thus clear that a lack of formal schooling will not necessarily limit the growth of a diligent person's capabilities. Such being the case, why use an absolutist theory of qualifications to limit the development of talent?

To sum up, when we attempt to separate the wise from the stupid and determine who are the persons of ability, we must have an overall understanding of qualifications and adopt a correct attitude toward the subject, particularly in the sense that we cannot consider qualifications exclusively. We cannot look only at a person's record of formal schooling and experience, and disregard his or her actual ability. The proper approach is to judge cadres primarily on the basis of their present competence in work and professional skill, while using their respective records of formal schooling and experiences for reference. Cadres who are proven through rigorous assessment to have real ability and learning, to genuinely be competent in their work, even if such a finding is inconsistent with the qualifications that appear in their dossiers and on official forms, should be utilized and promoted in accordance with their actual abilities. They should be given titles for their professional or technical posts that correspond to these abilities. We should not adhere one-sidedly and rigidly to qualifications. Such an approach is impractical because it results in capable people not being put in important positions. Their duties do not challenge their capabilities, and the rewards they receive are not commensurate with their skills.

It is unfortunate that there are a few comrades who are usually unable to adopt a correct attitude toward qualifications because their way of thinking is one-sided, or their style of work is bureaucratic, or even because of their ideology. They either oppose consideration of qualifications entirely, or they talk about qualifications for the sake of doing so, but without paying attention to ability. When a person's qualifications do not offer a clear picture of his or her actual ability, these comrades still cling stubbornly to qualifications. This practice is precisely what Zhang Jiuling [1728 0046 7881] in the Tang Dynasty was talking about when he said, "The search for talent is carried out through scrutiny of written records. It is not an urgent matter." Taking measures without regard to changes in circumstances is no different. To look at qualifications in this way is to fall into idealism and metaphysics in theory, and to inhibit the growth of talent in practice. This approach hinders the discovery and cultivation of talent, attacks the enthusiasm that is basic to the determination to forge ahead and strikes at the individual's initiative which is necessary for creating and inventing, encourages mediocrity and inaction, and fosters thinking in terms of "job security." It is an approach that is very harmful to our efforts to train contingents of cadres who will be both socialist-minded and professionally competent and who will fit in with the needs of construction of the four modernizations.

9292
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY POLICY ENCOURAGES WORKING SPIRIT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 80 p 4

[Newsletter by reporter Xiao Du [2556 3256] and journalism graduate student Zhang Shuzheng [1728 2579 2398]: "Policy Gives Them New Life and Strength"]

[Text] The city of Huangshi, located in Hubei Province beside the Changjiang River, was an exciting industrial center in the 1950's. More than 11,700 engineers and technicians of all kinds, including more than 500 personnel specializing in scientific research, were here. In those years they came from far and near, idealistic and ambitious, to take part in construction. Afterwards a number of them suffered various injustices during the endless political campaigns carried on by the followers of the extreme left line. Some persons were even forced to leave their workposts. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, these unjust and false judgments have been redressed one by one. The power of the party's policy is arousing their idealism and ambition anew. They are now energetically contributing their abilities and wisdom in creative ways to construction of the four modernizations.

Presented here are some sketches of their present working spirit.

The Man Who Reopened an Ancient Copper Mine

One day in August 1978 mining engineer Zhu Guang [2612 0342], who had left the mines 12 years earlier, returned to work at Daye Nonferrous Metals Company's Fengshan Copper Mine as a result of policy implementation. The 63-year-old engineer's eyes became moist and his heart warmed as soon as he set foot in the beloved copper mine that he had known so well. In the 1950's and early 1960's he had helped open 6 copper mines, at Longjiaoshan, Chimashan, Tonglushan, Tongshankou, Fengshan and Yehuaxiang. Back then he was in the prime of life, his heart filled with lofty aspirations. He did not foresee that in August 1966, just when he had finished writing "A Design Manual for the Yehuaxiang Copper Mine" and was preparing a report for the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, that a "tornado" would strike, that he would be falsely accused of being "a landlord element" and sent to the countryside to do penal labor under surveillance by the masses. For the next 12 years he led a vagrant life, doing unskilled labor and begging. During one period of nearly 2 years he even picked odds and ends from refuse heaps to support himself while he saved money so that he could apply for an audience with higher authorities to appeal for help. Today he is back at the copper mine, determined to offer his accumulated experience in copper mining to construction of the four modernizations.

The Fengshan mine is an ancient copper mine that is still fairly rich with high-grade ore. After Zhu Guang returned he saw that the productive capacity of the ore deposits in this mountain was far short of projected demand, and he pondered day and night how to raise it. People said to him, "You should not go looking for so much trouble at your age!" and he would answer, "The party has given me new life, so I want to do my best to give this old mine new life!" After more than 3 months of investigation and study he made a number of suggestions and proposals regarding opencast mining to the mine leaders. The mine superintendent and the party committee secretary both enthusiastically supported his opinions, and the neighboring copper mines sent technical personnel to lend assistance. In April of last year Zhu Guang wrote "An Opencast Mining Scheme for the Mining System in the Western Area" of the Fengshan mine, based on a preliminary opencast mining plan originally worked out by a group of engineers and technicians. The Ministry of Metallurgical Industry gave its support to the idea. A tentative decision was made to begin construction in the latter half of this year and to put the system into operation in 1982. Soon afterwards Zhu Guang also directed the formulation of "A Scheme for Recovery of Unextracted Ore in the Eastern Mining Area," and promptly carried it into effect.

The Steelmaking Engineers Who Scaled Heights

On 20 June, the delegates attending a conference for appraising the technique of instilling rare earths into steel held under the sponsorship of the Office of Rare Earth Popularization and Application and the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry Office of Science and Technology observed at Daye Steel Plant the application of a technique of having a rare earth rod held in suspension in each steel ingot mold. They congratulated assistant chief engineer Li Juemin [2621 6030 3046] and the other comrades involved in scientific research who were present, and signed a written appraisal of the technique.

Li Juemin, director of the China Metals Institute and assistant chief engineer of Daye Steel Plant, felt very uneasy at that time.

Back in 1960, when Li Juemin was assistant chief of the central laboratory at Daye Steel Plant, he obtained the support of assistant chief engineer Xia Zongqi [1115 1350 6936] and of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry for experiments he wanted to conduct on the application of rare earths in steel. A special research group was set up, and it conducted experiments on such application on more than 30 types of steel. Preliminary successes were achieved in three types. However, it was impossible to put these types of steel into regular production because there are still problems in the technique of instilling rare earths into the steel. Just when their joint efforts were on the verge of achieving a breakthrough, a catastrophic storm suddenly befell them. Li Juemin was labeled "a reactionary technical authority" and "a bourgeois rightist who slipped through the net," among other things. He was first sent to a machine shop to run milling machines, and later to a waste material warehouse to do coolie work. Xia Zongqi was also falsely accused of being "a reactionary technical authority" and was sent to a refractory workshop to serve as a porter. The experimental research group was disbanded.

After the "gang of four" was smashed the party's policy toward intellectuals was gradually implemented at Daye Steel Plant. Li Juemin, Xia Zongqi and other comrades returned to their research posts, the experimental research group was allowed to resume its work, and the drive to achieve excellence went forward anew. The research group strove arduously for 3 years under the leadership of Xia Zongqi and finally solved the problem of instilling rare earths into steel. Li Juemin then devoted strenuous efforts to probing the mechanisms underlying the laws that govern the formation of rare earth compounds in steel and the distribution of rare earths in steel.

After Li Juemin was elected a delegate to the Fifth National People's Congress, a member of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, and vice chairman of the standing committee of the municipal people's congress, he approached his work with even greater enthusiasm and higher standard. Under his direction 95 of the 100 scientific research projects assigned to the plant by the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry this year were completed by the end of June.

Shen Yunshu Achieves His Desire To Join the Party

In the still of the night under the lamplight, Comrade Shen Yunshu [3088 0061 5289], deputy director of the Xiongjiaban Coal Mine, spread an application for party membership out on a table and wrote these words: "During the grand democratic reform movement I yearned for the opportunity to stand some day under the party flag and take the oath of membership in the Chinese Communist Party. After 1958 I no longer dared to hold this hope." At this point he could no longer control his excitement and he stopped writing.

It was on another still night in January 1975 that his eldest daughter said to him, "Father, I want to join the youth league, and the league organization at school has asked me to write a paper about my comprehension of your mistakes. What should I write?" When he heard these words he was grieved: His daughter's wish to join the youth league was fine, but what need was there for her to actually do so when she had already rid herself of the label of bourgeois rightist? He said to his daughter: "Your father wants only to be a party member without joining a party organization. Isn't it enough for you to be a youth league member without joining a youth league organization?" When the girl heard this she cried. He was unable to sleep that night after upsetting the child, and he did a lot of thinking. Finally he wrote a report of self-criticism for his daughter. Several years went by. The party Central Committee smashed the "gang of four" with one blow, and his understanding of the party improved greatly. He summoned his courage and applied for admission to the party. Before long his incorrect identity as a bourgeois rightist was rectified, and he was appointed deputy director of the Xiongjiaban Coal Mine. His desire to join the party became even stronger. Now that the party organization has asked him to fill out an application for party membership, he is indeed thrilled!

When Yu Laifa [0151 0171 4099], the mine director, received Shen Yunshu's application for party membership, he was quite pleased to fill in his name and opinion as a sponsor. since the time that Shen Yunshu was incorrectly labeled a bourgeois rightist, he had been working as a technician in the mining area under Director Yu's leadership. For more than 20 years this comrade had worked hard and borne criticism without complaining, persevered year in and year out in the pits alongside the workmen, made many technological innovations, and overcome a number of difficulties related to production. In 1978 Shen Yunshu was cited as "an advanced scientific and technical worker" of Hubei Province and of the city of Huangshi; in March 1979 he was cited as "a model worker" of Huangshi. How could such a comrade not be welcomed into the ranks of the party?

In October last year Comrade Shen Yunshu was accepted as a probationary party member. He enthusiastically said: "Nothing brings a person's full drive into play more effectively than the confidence of the party and the people." In June of this year the higher organization transferred him to the Songping Coal Mine to serve as first deputy director. He resolved to answer the party's confidence in him with concrete action, by doing a good job of running production.

The Venerable Doctor's 'Special Proposals'

On 28 May the planning group of the first session of the Huangshi 6th Municipal People's Congress received motions 207 and 208 which were not concerned with administrative policy, but were proposals for the use of Chinese herbal medicines to treat filariasis and chyluria and for the prescription of activated charcoal dust as a substitute for antibiotics to treat infants for diarrhoea. These two proposals were put forward by a 77-year-old medical doctor named Wang Baoying [3769 1405 2819].

Wang Gaoying studied in Germany when he was young. He earned a Ph.D. at Berlin University, and held the post of lecturer in medicine there. After returning home he was a professor and Dean of Studies at Tongji University. Since liberation he has been continuously involved in medicine. He was also a delegate to the Third National People's Congress and deputy mayor of Huangshi. However, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went on the rampage this venerable doctor was accused of being "a reactionary academic authority" and "an evil Guomindang element from the old society," criticized and denounced, and sent to a cadre school to herd cows. People there knew that he was a medical doctor, and many of them came to him when they were sick. The pasture was the sickbed where he examined patients.

Today Wang Baoying is over 70 years old. He says: "The old horse in the manger runs a thousand li a day. I want to give the benefit of my effective years and my medical knowledge to the people and our homeland's four modernizations." He is currently deputy director of the No 3 Municipal Hospital and vice chairman of the standing committee of the municipal people's congress. Even though the higher leadership considers him too old and will not let him work too much, he still examines patients in municipal hospitals 1 day a week, and he still insists on attending important meetings. Ordinarily he makes the best use of his time systematizing his clinical experience, reading domestic and foreign medical writings, and doing research on difficult and complicated cases of illness.

The venerable doctor brought the fruits of his research to the municipal people's congress and presented his proposed prescriptions in the form of motions, which were well received. The municipal public health bureau printed copies of the proposals and distributed them to all local hospitals for further study.

9292
CSO: 4005

CRITICISM OF MAO PUT INTO PERSPECTIVE

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 80 pp 8-11

[Article by Yin Huimin [3009 1920 2404]: "On the Question of Criticizing Mao"]

[Text] In the past few years, along with the continued in-depth development of the movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four," past cases of political injustice became rectified one after another. The earlier the years were pushed back, the weaker became the capacity of the so-called "towering crimes of the "gang of four" to explain everything away. True, the "gang of four" were butchers; but these butchers could only play the role of executer of orders given. What people must ask is: whose butchers were the "gang of four"? Who was the behind-the-scene protector of the "gang of four"? The answer to this root question is already known to everybody on the China mainland, but not made explicit by anyone.

When the Chinese Communist Party reversed the verdict in Peng Dehuai's case, this question was already touched upon; but it was only touched upon in passing: it was on the verge of being revealed, but not explicitly pointed out by anyone.

From the reversal of verdict in Peng Dehuai's case to the rectification of Liu Shaoqi's, what was reflected in the process was not only the result of the struggle between the "practice faction" and the "whatever faction," but also an attendant question of "right and wrong." Although in the expositions reversing the verdict, the Chinese Communist authorities exercised all the soul-searching necessary in order to "avoid mentioning the late emperor," they were forced to acknowledge this question of "right and wrong." The result of their attempt to "avoid mentioning the late emperor" was only to let people see more clearly how heavily immersed in feudal ideas the Chinese Communist Party was, but not in any slightest way a successful cover-up of historical truth.

This was why after Liu's case was rectified, the demand for criticizing Mao became even more urgent.

It Is Necessary To Break Down Superstition

To criticize Mao is to examine his faults. The Chinese communists were able in the past to criticize Liu, to criticize Deng, to criticize Lin and to criticize Confucius; but once the question of Mao Zedong is broached, they somehow prefer to use the phrase "appraising Mao" and not "criticizing Mao." There can hardly be any reason for this except as a demonstration of their feudal ideas.

In order to examine Mao's faults, it is first of all necessary to break down several superstitious obstacles.

The first superstitious obstacle is to say that the merits or demerits of someone of long-range significance must be left to the appraisal of posterity: Mao Zedong has already become a historical personality. In appraising a historical personality, it is very difficult to establish an objective standard because of different standpoints and viewpoints involved, not to mention that such an object of appraisal happens to be Chairman Mao, who ruled China for nearly 30 years. What was done right and what was done wrong, and the attendant grace and grievance during this period touched on all leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and government; those who incurred harm naturally resented it very much, but those who earned benefit also could hardly forget the care extended. Starting from these two contrasting angles, the appraisals people may grant Mao are bound to be considerably different. Hence some think that in the case of such a personality as Mao Zedong, it is best to leave an appraisal to the next generation.

But the question is that Mao Zedong's views on socialist revolution and economic development have not vanished along with his death. These views are up to this day still held among certain cadres and they are deeprooted; not a few persons even think that, apart from Mao's views, all are erroneous lines. Hence, if no serious criticism is conducted and only "inheritance" is undifferentiatingly talked about, then the personal worship that has been practiced over the years and the force of habit in following established conventions are bound to raise their heads again and become obstacles to reform. Pouring new wine into an old bottle, fitting sharply different policies into the framework of Mao's Thought, and thereby magnanimously calling it "comprehensive understanding of Mao Zedong Thought" might answer the need in political struggles temporarily, but if this is allowed to drag on too long, it is bound to mix right with wrong and confuse people's thinking.

Mao Zedong Thought does not exist in a vacuum but is embodied in policies and is influential on the country's fate and people's life. Certain policies and measures formulated in the past according to Mao's thinking have already had an actual impact on people's livelihood. For this reason, whether that thinking is good or bad and whether those policies are successful or inadequate can by all means be inferred directly from this objective reality of people's life with personal gratitude or grievance not at all involved, and there is definitely no need to seek the answers from dogmatic prescriptions.

Furthermore, of the political and economic lines in the past few years--politically such as restoration of the electoral system, the proposing of the cadre tenure system and retirement system, and the elimination of promotion in the helicopter style; economically such as the promotion of enterprise autonomy, the relaxation of the restriction on private lots of land and trade in the market, emphasis on the principle of to each according to his work as a long-range policy--not one was carried out against Mao's way. The result of this practice not only proved that these new policies are welcomed by the people but also demonstrated that, insofar as these policies are concerned, it is no longer possible to make-do with the explanation that they represent a "comprehensive understanding" or "restoration" of Mao's thinking. In economics, the measure to return to order from disorder was actually to pull back the overhurried production relations and make them adapt to the level of production itself; the difference between this and the utopian fancy of continuously escalating and changing production relations in order to improve production power as advocated by Mao Zedong is really abundantly clear, and which is able to give a new life to economic development is also witnessed by everyone. If the conventional framework of Mao's thinking is accommodated any longer, that would be an insult to the people's intelligence and an insult to "seeking truth from facts." In this regard, the necessity of criticizing Mao is also not dependent on man's will.

Now, since the Chinese communists acknowledge the Cultural Revolution to be a catastrophe, then how are they going to appraise the guiding principle of the Cultural Revolution--Mao Zedong Thought? The second superstitious obstacle is to depict Mao Zedong Thought as the "crystallization of collective wisdom; that is to say, Mao Zedong Thought not only includes Mao Zedong's personal ideas but also includes the ideas of Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, and even Liu Shaoqi, and it is cumulated from collective experience of the Chinese revolution. Even if Mao Zedong had made individual mistakes, Mao Zedong Thought has been always correct; criticizing Mao Zedong Thought is tantamount to challenging this collective product. When one hears this for the first time, it sounds almost reasonable. But people cannot but wish to ask: when he was alive, Mao Zedong did not seem ever to have such a generous attitude toward his thought, then why, after his death, can there be such a "collective" interpretation?

The third superstitious obstacle is: "Without Chairman Mao there would have been no New China"; the intention of this expression is to indicate how great Mao Zedong's merits have been and how, compared to his merits, insignificant his faults really are. This is contrary exactly to the foregoing view. The foregoing view is to "collectivize" Mao Zedong Thought; but now this one wishes to "individualize" the merits by which New China was established. These views are different, but their goal is the same.

Actually, the expression "Without Chairman Mao there would have been no New China" is meaningless from the Marxist point of view. Although Marxism by no means denies the role of heroic personalities in history, it basically regards such heroic personalities as products of the time in which they lived; hence, without Chairman Mao, there would still have been a New China, because the relevant time would have created another heroic personality. Furthermore, revolution is not an individual's isolated activity. If "Without Chairman Mao there would have been no New China," then people must ask: could there have been Chairman Mao without Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, or without hundreds and thousands of revolutionary devotees putting their lives on the line? Could there have been Chairman Mao without the general ideological consciousness of the masses of the people? In the history of France De Gaulle is no doubt a heroic personality; yet during his presidency under the Fifth Republic, his achievements were by no means outstanding and the people had plenty of complaints, and as a result he was forced to quit by way of a referendum. Therefore, some say that a great people tends to be impersonal about its heroes.

The reason a revolution succeeds is because its leading personalities are able to adapt to the tide of the time, reflect the demands of society, and share the rhythm of life and aspirations with the masses of the people. If a leading personality eventually places himself not amongst the masses but above them, deviates from the wishes of the people and deviates from the collective will of the comrades who were originally bound in a life contract with him, then he would be advancing in a direction other than that of revolution, and he would be following not revolution but reaction. On this point, the road followed by Mao Zedong has been similar to that of Stalin.

A Kind of "Socialist Revolution" Theory

The two major points raised by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in criticizing Stalin had to do, first, with the question of personal worship and, second, with Stalin's theory that the further society advances toward socialism, the sharper becomes its class struggle. In these two aspects, Mao Zedong not only followed Stalin as his teacher but did even better than his teacher. In terms of personal worship, not only did he behave just like Stalin in exaggerating his own role up to an inappropriate degree and in placing his power in a position opposite to collective leadership, but he even let his little Red Book exercise the rule over China, thus replacing the scientific basis of rule with his "four volumes of magnificent works" and making things ridiculous. The so-called theory of ever-sharpening class struggle was also the basic content of Mao Zedong's "continuing revolution." "After Mao's death, the Chinese communist authorities once attempted to explain this "continuing revolution" with expressions like technical revolution and others also made by Mao; this was intended to make excuses for him." Stalin used this theory as the pretext for his persecution of those who differed with him; Mao Zedong likewise took this as the "theoretical basis" for attacking comrades whose opinions were not the same as his. Mao Zedong, of course, followed the example of Stalin, but Stalin in turn indicated that this "socialist revolution" theory was taken from Lenin. In his speech given on 1 April 1929, Stalin indicated: "Lenin taught us: only through stubborn class struggle can the classes be eliminated, and under the condition of dictatorship by the proletariat, class struggle is bound to be more fierce than it was before the dictatorship of the proletariat." He also cited Lenin's words to prove the correctness of this point of view, since Lenin said: "The elimination of the classes must be accomplished through long-range, hard and stubborn class struggles. After the overthrow of bourgeois power, after the breakdown of the bourgeois state, and after the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, class struggle is not necessarily going to disappear,... but only changes its form, and in many respects becomes even more fierce" ("The Question of Leninism," p 270).

The two formulas thus derived therefrom by Stalin were: elimination of the classes through the proletariat's fierce class struggles--Lenin's formula; entry into socialism through the dying off of class struggle and capitalist growth--Bukharin's formula. Basing himself on this, Mao Zedong later also attached the label "theory of the dying off of class struggle" to Liu Shaoqi.

But the question is: these words of Lenin are from his article "Salute the Hungarian Workers," which was written in May 1919 in celebration of the founding of the soviet regime in Hungary. That is to say, what was expressed here was Lenin's view in the period of "wartime communism." During that period, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Lenin's eyes "Is not subject to restriction of the law, and relies on violence" ("The State and the Revolution"); the socialist revolution in his understanding was based on the blueprint of "The State and the Revolution," which "directly enters" socialism by means of putting politics in command and class struggles. But, after 3 years of experiment, he was forced to admit in 1921 that this "direct entry" approach was a failure, whereupon he changed his course and carried out the new economic policy. Stalin used Lenin's words in his "left"-leaning period to attack Bukharin; this was an application of the art of power struggle. Even Stalin himself admitted in the "Textbook on Political Economy" he edited just before his death that "the law of bringing about the transition from the old state of society through explosion is necessary in a society divided into hostile classes, but in a society like socialist society in which there are no longer hostile classes, it is definitely no longer necessary" ("Textbook," p 612).

After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, with Mao Zedong as its head and the "gang of four" as its mainstay, continuously cited Lenin's words in his "wartime communism period" as its theoretical basis; apart from the temporary service it rendered to their power struggle, this practice merely indicated their ignorance in respect to history.

The resolutions of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party criticized Stalin's dictatorship and despotism; at the same time, also negated Stalin's "socialist revolution" theory and mode of economic development, and acknowledged that the economic development of socialist states might follow different paths. The 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party also had an impact on the Chinese Communist Party. In September 1956, the measures undertaken by the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party to add a vice chairman and eliminate "Mao Zedong Thought" as the guiding principle were meant to deter the repetition of personal worship and dictatorship. Resolutions of the 8th Congress also pointed out that "History of the system of class exploitation has basically come to a close," "the principal contradiction within the country... is the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces." This indicated that during the period of socialist revolution, it was no longer possible to explain the development of social relations with this narrow proposition of "contradiction between socialism and capitalism." The ownership of "state capitalism," with instruments of production under the control of the state, giving rise to the question of bureaucracy; socialist transformation, with reliance on administrative power for its propulsion, often leading to the dislocation of production relations and productive forces; contradictions in economic planning such as those between accumulation and consumption, between investment and distribution; and the phenomena of "imbalance" and periodic convulsions resulting from blind pursuit of speed: all of these turned out to be new contradictions during the transitional period. These contradictions were different from those of the past; hence they could not be solved by the nonchalant fitting of "class struggle" into the conventional framework.

Next, the "principal contradiction" mentioned in the resolutions of the 8th Congress also indicated that, in terms of the nature of production relations and productive forces, it was not a case of the former falling behind the latter, but the latter falling behind the former: that is, the transformation of production relations was already overdone and had become a case of helping the sprouts to grow by pulling them up, so that they became dislocated from the corresponding level of production itself; consequently, not only was it impossible to promote the development of productive forces, but the effort had given rise to an obstructive effect. In order to solve this contradiction, the policy needed should be a readjustment of production relations toward the "lower" end so as to adapt to the situation encountered. In this regard, the political report submitted by Liu Shaoqi at the 8th Congress, Zhou Enlai's Report on the Proposal of the Second Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy," as well as the statements of Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Bo Yibo and Deng Zihui all basically reflected this demand.

The basic tune of the 8th Congress was: the question of which one was going to triumph over the other between socialism and capitalism was already solved (Liu Shaoqi's words); large-scale, turbulent class struggles of the masses had in the main come to an end (Zhou Enlai's words).

In respect to the "socialist hightide" single-handedly aroused by Mao Zedong in the first half of 1956, this point of view was naturally the "low key" with which he could hardly agree. The "self-examination" submitted to the "Zhongnanhai Brigade of Revolutionary Rebels" by Liu Shaoqi on 2 August 1967 also mentioned that Mao Zedong had expressed opposition to the passage of the resolutions of the 8th Congress which suggested that "our principal domestic contradiction...is the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces."

Actually, Mao Zedong disagreed with the criticism against Stalin as launched by the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party from the very beginning. When Mikoyan led a delegation on a visit to China less than 2 months after the 20th Congress, Mao stressed to Mikoyan that Stalin's "merits outweighed his demerits," so that it was necessary to "conduct concrete analyses," "give a comprehensive appraisal." This viewpoint was developed into an article entitled "Concerning the Historical Experience of Proletarian Dictatorship" (RENMIN RIBAO, 5 April 1956). This article acknowledged the struggle against individual worship launched by the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, but expressed disagreement with the criticism of Stalin's "socialist revolution" theory by the Soviet Party. This can be seen from the passage following this statement in the article: "There have been some naive ideas according to which there would seem to be no longer any contradictions in a socialist society."

At the end of 1956, the article "More on the Historical Experience of Proletarian Dictatorship" published in RENMIN RIBAO further denied that Stalin's mistakes originated from the defects of the system; for the sake of rectifying these mistakes, it is of course not necessary to 'rectify' the socialist system." According to Snow, these two successive articles were both authored by Mao Zedong himself. If this is true, then Mao Zedong's point of view was obviously that the system itself did not need to be changed and the problem lay with man, with man's thinking. Conceived in this regard was thus a large-scale mass movement developed on the basis of socialist education and ideological struggle and the whole model of "promoting" productive forces through changes in production relations. The Great Leap Forward was the first experiment of this model; the Cultural Revolution was the second experiment. The rise of the Cultural Revolution was therefore due to the fact that Mao Zedong did not admit the failure of his Great Leap Forward.

Economic Development and the 'Supply System'

What was reflected in the economic policy under the guidance of the above theory was the extreme left attitude of "seizing the day." Put in Peng Dehuai's words, the case was, namely: "In the method of thinking, strategic deployment and concrete measures, long-range principles and current steps, the whole situation and partial sutations, and big collectives and small collectives are often confused with each other... requirements that can be met only in several years or several tens of years are changed into targets that must be achieved in a year or several months" ("Statement of Views"). The upshot of a substitution of economic laws by politics in command was of course a deviation from realities.

An overall examination of Mao Zedong's views on economic development cannot be done in this short article. Here I might as well take the "supply system" as a clue to discuss a little the initial relationship between Mao Zedong and the "gang of four."

During the Yanan period in the past, food provisions for the Chinese communists, because of the prevailing united front, were allocated by the central authorities, and a supply system was carried out amongst their troops. But, after the founding of their state, a wage system, under the overall plan of the state economy, had to be followed. Zhou Enlai, therefore, pointed out in his "Report on the Work of the Government" in September 1954 that the supply system "played a major role in the period of revolutionary wars but contradicted the principle of payment based on labor and the economic accounting system, and has hence become more harmful than beneficial today"; it was therefore necessary to "gradually change the supply system into a wage system." To each according to his work was originally a long-range principle; but when Mao Zedong started the Great Leap Forward movement in 1958, he proposed the question of the supply system at Beidaihe meeting and wanted to set up people's communes, carry out a semi-supply system, and gradually move on to a full supply system. After that meeting, there appeared an article in No 6 of the Shanghai JIEFANG [LIBERATION] fortnightly: "Eliminate Ideas About Legal Rights of the Bourgeoisie." The author was Zhang Chunqiao. In order to fall in with Mao's viewpoint, this article especially stressed the "life under the supply system of a communist nature" during the Yanan period, "with no thought of paying any wages and still less of carrying out any 'piecework wage system.'" A relationship between Mao and Zhang was thus established, and for this reason Mao also personally sponsored a discussion on legal rights of the bourgeoisie. According to a retrogressive statement made by RENMIN RIBAO director Wu Lengxi in his "preliminary self-examination" during the Cultural Revolution, "Chairman Mao gave me the article Zhang Chunqiao published in Shanghai, and personally added an editor's note to it to basically affirm its viewpoint, asking me to push it in RENMIN RIBAO and launch a discussion. In my own thinking at the time, I also agreed with Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's article, because the basic thinking in the article was what had already been mentioned by Chairman Mao at the Beidaihe meeting in the summer of that year. But after the discussion was launched, it touched upon some rather broad problems...in relation to many questions of current policy, especially the question of the wage system;...the result of the meeting basically negated the viewpoint of Comrade Zhang Chunqiao's article or, that is to say, resisted Mao Zedong Thought, resisted Chairman Mao's directive" (HONGSE XINHUA [RED NEW CHINA], May 1968, No 43).

The relationship between Mao and Zhang was not only uninterrupted pursuant to this impasse about the "semi-supply system" in the people's communes but was becoming even closer and closer thereafter. After the Cultural revolution, Mao Zedong still could not forget, in 1969, the fact that the Red Army had in the past practiced the "supply system" without paying attention to legal rights of the bourgeoisie and thereby developed into a huge army. The relationship between Mao and Zhang also continued forward, with the publication by Zhang Chunqiao in the magazine HONGQI of his article "On Overall Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie" in April 1975 as its hightide.

Undeniably, "legal rights of the bourgeoisie" constitute an important theoretical question in Marxism. Marx pointed out in his "Critique of the Gothe Program" that because socialism was developed from the capitalist society, therefore it still carried in various aspects, e.g., in the economic, moral and spiritual aspects, traces of the old society in which it was conceived. This was the reason why bourgeois rights were able to exist for a long time in the socialist society. Bourgeois rights would become extinct, as a matter of fact, only in a situation in which the transition [from socialism] toward communism is being accomplished; but in order to attain this situation it would be necessary to effect a transition from collective ownership toward ownership by the whole people, a transition from "to each according to his work" toward "to each according to his needs," and to eliminate "the three great differences." These prerequisites were of course all rather remote goals. If the suggestion of the question of bourgeois rights were meant to cope with the expansion of the three great differences and wage differences between the classes, it would still have had its realistic meaning; but the question would be with what attitude should one treat such phenomena. One attitude would be to recognize that the realization of the abovementioned remote goals must be based on an extremely high level of productive power and that it cannot be accomplished at one stroke. In the process of economic development, it should be recognized that differences can stimulate the growth of production, and therefore their existence can only be necessary. Another attitude would be to proceed from the egalitarian viewpoint and to solve problems by the mode of equalization, thus stressing the substitution of material stimulation with spiritual stimulation. What effects policies formulated according to these two different attitudes would have on economic growth, however, is not a "theoretical" problem requiring argument.

The argument about bourgeois rights, because it touched upon the principle of distribution to each according to his work and therefore was a rather realistic question, not only affected wage policy but also affected labor enthusiasm. The reason the semi-supply system at the people's communes, such as the slogan "Eat Without Paying," could not continue was because the level of productive power at the time was fundamentally incapable of providing the basis for carrying out this policy. Apart from actual conditions, such empty talk about ideological struggle and socialist education was of no help to coping with realities. Not only was there not going to be a transition from the semi-supply system toward a full supply system, but the former even caused the entire economy to slide toward the brink of collapse in not more than a few months. Yet Mao Zedong never acknowledged the fact of this failure.

After the anti-rightist movement, intellectuals outside the party became already inhibited like cicadas in the winter, those who dared to hint at any admonition or who ventured to criticize the Great Leap Forward policy were all "comrades within the party." Peng Dehaui's "anti-party clique" was, of course, one example; Wu Han, Deng Tuo, Liao Musha, etc, too, were without exception all "comrades within the party." This led Mao Zedong to the thought of instituting a "wholesale replacement." After the Cultural Revolution, talkative and ingratiating fellows like Zhang Chunqiao naturally became successors, but China's economy also entered a dark period.

Mao Zedong's Path

Looking back at the history of this past period, what enlightenment have we derived? Whether Mao Zedong's original motive in instigating the Cultural Revolution was to counterattack other people's allegoric admonition aiming at him ("Hairui's Dismissal from Office") or to restore his absolute authority in the party and government (unified leadership), the Cultural Revolution itself undoubtedly was meant as a blow against bureaucracy; this cannot be obliterated. The fact that the Red Guards in those days were ready to respond to every call and rise with vigor indicates that they were also inspired by this ideal. But when the dust settled and they felt that they were deceived, their ideal also was dashed to the ground. Because they discovered that "after the departure of the old lord, came the young masters," and the young masters prove even more fierce and evil than the old lord, and more bureaucratic, more privileged too. Why, in the case of a vegetable-hawking country woman and a worker of a state cotton mill of proletarian background, once they climbed up the ladder of power, would they put up a different outlook? Why did years and months of class education and ideological struggle not have any effect on them? In the final analysis, it was still a question of system. Mao Zedong was of the opinion that the system was no problem and the problem lay with people; but facts proved that his thinking was wrong. In terms of Mao Zedong himself, what astonishes people is that history actually repeated itself again, and the mistakes made by Stalin were all "inherited" by Mao Zedong. This single point sufficiently illustrates that a reform of the system is necessary. The recent prevailing interpretation has been to attribute past faults all to feudal thinking, as if this can be an all-effective fig leaf. No one can deny that feudalism has left some remnant poison; but feudal remnant poison also must have the necessary soil in which to exist in order to grow the resultant poisonous sprouts, poisonous flowers, and poisonous fruits. What should be discussed, therefore, is why the reputedly superior socialist system should be able to provide such a piece of fertile soil.

Criticism of Mao is a means but not an end; the reason such a criticism of Mao is necessary is because the failings of the system have been reflected in him in a concentrated manner. As a leadership personality, Mao Zedong was able to elevate himself above the state, above the party; he was able to allow his wife to draft at random circulars for the party Central Committee (and yet she herself was not even a member of the Central Committee, as pointed out by Witke in her "Comrade Chiang Ching"); he was able to allow his wife, his nephew to lead a bunch of talkative and ingratiating fellows to uphold his "Thought" and take control of party and government power; he was able to take advantage of his absolute authority, threaten to take people to the hills to fight a guerrilla war, and start large-scale movements of struggle without going through the democratic process, thereby making the 800 million people as materials for experiments on his conceptualizations. Thus, under measures adopted in accordance with his economic thinking, which was oriented toward helping the sprouts to grow by pulling them up, he took the affairs of state and the livelihood of the people as his playthings. Perhaps some regard this precisely as a demonstration of his romantic spirit; but economic policies are concerned with people's life and death, and they must not be undertaken without a sense of caution and prudence. As I recall the time after the failure of the Great Leap Forward, when waves of refugees surged forth in Hong Kong and Macao, with those faces of sorrow and bitterness, and as people think about the floating corpses on the sea during the Cultural Revolution period, who would have any mind to "appreciate" the great leader's debonair and romantic spirit?

True, revolution includes violence. If we recognize this point, then perhaps from the viewpoint of the socialist revolution and economic development advocated by Mao we can describe this lightly as a tragedy of idealism; but who are the bearers of this tragedy? As for violence, there is revolutionary violence, there is also counterrevolutionary violence. In order to insist on the correctness of his "Thought," Mao Zedong did not mind dealing with his comrades with the means reserved for his enemies, thus persecuting them until death; yet they were still led to cry even just before their death: "I did not oppose Chairman Mao..." Was this revolutionary violence?

If we are aware of all this, then we know what kind of path Mao had followed after the Great Leap Forward.

9255
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MISSILE, NUCLEAR, SPACE TECHNOLOGY CAPABILITIES EXAMINED

Hong Kong DONGXIANG [TREND] in Chinese 16 Sep 79 pp 14-17

[Article by Fang Jincheng [2455 6855 1004]: "China's Missile, Nuclear Fission and Space Technology"]

[Text] 8,000-Li Range ICBM

Western diplomatic officials in Beijing have disclosed that China has conducted three medium-range missile tests this year, and that two of them were launched from the Wuzhai area in the western part of Shanxi Province on 7 January and 15 July. The third test was launched from the northern part of Gansu Province and the target area was Lop Nor in Xinjiang, a range of approximately 1,900 kilometers.

Approximately 2 months ago, after China celebrated its "1 August" Army Day, the New China News Agency released several types of photographs taken during missile launchings which showed ground-to-ground, ground-to-air, ship-to-ship, ship-to-air and other types of missiles. A large number of western diplomats in Beijing are military attaches. One of them from a Middle Eastern country said that the level of achievement in China's missiles has broken away from the coattail of the United States and the Soviet Union and taken a path of its own.

In February of this year, a limited war erupted between China ad Vietnam. The start of this war, however, was no small matter for Beijing because it had to be courageously carried out in preparedness against Soviet intervention, even of a large-scale provocation. In dealing with the Soviet polar bear, it is not possible to take things lightly. The way that Beijing has stepped up its missile tests this year, as well as the recently NCNA-released photographs of three types of China-built military aircraft (a medium-range subsonic jet bomber, a supersonic attack plane and a high-speed fighter), shows that China, in the course of advancing the four modernizations, has achieved outstanding success in the modernization of its national defense.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies in England recently issued its annual report pointing out that China has built an 8,000-li ICBM which is believed to have been placed in the actual combat order of battle. The report said that China's ICBM maximum-range launching test would require setting up a target area in the Indian or Pacific Ocean. The test, however, has not yet been conducted. Even so, this does not mean that success has not been achieved with this type of missile. The fact that China has used ICBM's to launch man-made satellites shows that achievements have been made in this area. The report confirmed a number of China's achievements. First, starting in 1976, China already has 3,000-li range ICBM's in its arsenal and its present nuclear strike capability can cover a large part of the Soviet Union. Second, China has stockpiled several hundred nuclear warheads and this number continues to increase. Third, China's tactical air force can carry small nuclear weapons for aerial attacks. Moreover, its medium-range TU-16 bombers can make nuclear deliveries within a radius of 2,000 li (3,200 kilometers).

China's military affairs, especially nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, have been kept secret. During this year's 5th Session of the 2d National People's Congress, however, an exception was made in which China's 1979 annual military budget was revealed to be 20.23 billion RMB (equivalent to US$12.88 billion). It was also stated that in order to counter Vietnamese aggression and sabotage, military expenditures would have to increase. In addition to the troubles at the Sino-Vietnamese border, instability has also developed along the Sino-Soviet border. The Soviets have harassed commune members in the Tacheng area of Xinjiang Province, killing one individual and injuring another. This and the incursion of a Soviet helicopter into Xinjiang's territorial airspace show that such actions are intended to go along with Vietnamese provocation at the southern borders. The Soviets have created a tense situation on the Sino-Soviet border and stepped up the cold war to put China's policy to open up to and carry out of the four modernizations in check. Against this kind of background, it is of great urgency for China to strengthen its national defense. If China does not speed up the modernization of its national defense, the other "three modernizations" in industry, agriculture and science and technology will also be without any safeguards. Today, the Soviets and the Vietnamese have put a pincer movement on China from both the north and the south, and this unfavorable and threatening situation is one which China must reckon with for a considerably long time to come. In August, U.S. Senator Jackson visited Xinjiang and asked about China's defense against the Soviet Union. A local cadre replied, "We can mobilize 200 million militiamen." This shows that China's strategy against the Soviets is defensive. It is correct that a large number of militiamen added to the regular army can put the invading Soviet armies into a passive position. But what if the Soviets are not fooled and do not deploy a large number of divisions and regiments into Chinese battlefields, choosing instead to harass at the borders and, moveover, use nuclear weapons to concentrate at destroying the national defense industries located in the northeastern and northwestern parts of China. Then, what actions can be taken to retaliate? The only answer is nuclear weapons. This would mean it is essential to develop an effective nuclear retaliatory capability so that it would be possible to deter a Soviet surprise nuclear attack. An effective nuclear retaliatory capability that includes nuclear bombs, carrier rockets, bombers and a tactical nuclear air force is China's arms expansion objective. To have such a capability it is not necessary to have a large number of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union, in striving for world hegemony, has built up a military force superior to that of the United States, which makes it the most powerful in the world. In order to protect its interest in various parts of the world, the United States cannot help but deal with this seriously. As a result, the situation has developed into a nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. China, however, will have no part in this rivalry for world hegemony. Therefore, every time a nuclear test is conducted, it is described as a limited nuclear weapons development. In confronting the Soviet Union and the United States which have the nuclear capability to destroy the world 40 times over, even if China does not want to compete with them in numbers, it still has to maintain high-quality standards in its nuclear capability so that if the Soviets launch a full-scale attack, they will not be able to escape a retaliatory attack, which will make them think twice about it.

Eight Satellites and Multiple-Stage Rockets

While the Chinese authorities have not disclosed their actual missile capability, the numerous times China has successfully launched man-made satellites is sufficient to show that it possesses multiple-stage rockets. In early July of this year, a Chinese Space Science and Technology delegation paid a visit to Japan and one of its members, during an academic symposium, revealed that China will soon launch another scientific satellite. China has never before publicized its plans for space exploration before having actually carried them out. But up until mow we have yet to see the actual event. As it turned out, the United States in early August was the one to publicize that China had indeed launched a satellite in July but was unable to put it into orbit. The Soviet Union also announced that China had failed in the test. It can be said that scientific test failures are to be expected. After all, without failure how can there be success? If China had indeed already conducted such test it should say so. Such statement of the facts is even more necessary since the event was publicized worldwide beforehand.

Presently, there are only six countries in the world which have the capability to launch their own man-made satellites with their own rockets. China is one of them. As of now, China has orbited eight man-made satellites varying in weight from 1.2 to 1.5 tons into the earth's outer space. To launch a satellite weighing a ton into outer space, it is necessary to first have rockets with a considerably powerful thrust;

second, have either two-stage or multiple-stage rockets; and third, have precision computing and remote control technology. All three are very essential.

It was not until 1958 that China began research on developing rockets. At the time, the rockets developed were used for observation purposes. The earlier ones were liquid-fuel single-stage types, and they were only a half meter (46 centimeters) in diameter. On the other hand, in 1958, the Soviets had already launched a dog named "Linka" into outer space. Later on China, provoked by the break in relations with the Soviets and the withdrawal of their experts, concentrated efforts on developing missiles and nuclear weapons. At the end of the 1950's, it began building a 330-kilogram two-stage rocket with a liquid-fuel first stage and a solid-fuel second stage which would ascent to a height of 70 kilometers. It can only be used for weather observations. In comparison with the Soviet and U.S. ICBM at the time, it was considered "kid stuff." The Cultural Revolution began in 1966 and the late Premier Zhou Enlai also concerned himself with scientific and technological undertakings and ordered that a space technology research institute be established. In April 1970 the first man-made satellite was launched. The next year, 1971, the second satellite was launched. Later, in 1975, the third one was launched. Between the latter two dates there was a gap of 4 years. This was due to the interference of the "gang of four" who caused delay in research work. From the beginning of 1975, after Deng Xiaoping took charge of the work of the party Central Committee, research work returned to normal. From November 1975 to January 1978, five satellites were launched and all played an important role in making observation in the ionosphere and of solar particles.

The missiles used by China to launch the satellites were the CSS-2 and CSSX-4. These missile numbers were revealed for the first time by the Chinese Space Technology Delegation during its visit to Japan in July. According to U.S. estimates, the range of the CSS-2 is 2,400 to 4,000 kilometers and it is classified as a medium-range missile. The CSSX-4 that was used later is estimated to have a range of 11,000 kilometers and belongs to the ICBM category.

Recovering Satellites at Predesignated Areas

Another even more important achievement in China's launching of man-made satellites is its success in recovering them. This kind of technical capability was achieved in November 1975. To launch a man-made satellite into a planned orbit, it is necessary for the rocket to attain a speed of 7.9 kilometers per second. This is called the escape velocity, which is the minimum velocity required for an object to become a satellite. Since it is impossible for a single-stage rocket to attain the speed a satellite needs, generally a two-stage, three-stage and even a four-stage rocket is needed to increase the speed stage by stage, a very sophisticated technology. However, the predesignated area where the satellite will return to earth for recovery requires even more precision calculation, telemetry and control technology. There are three difficulties associated with a satellite's return to earth. One is speed reduction. To reduce the speed of a satellite below orbital velocity, a small retro-rocket in the satellite has to be ignited by remote control. Moreover, when the retro-rocket is ignited, the satellite has to maintain its correct position so that it re-enters the atmosphere at a perfect angle that is neither too level nor too steep. This requires highly sophisticated satellite control and guidance technology. The second thing is protection against heat. A satellite has to be kept from burning up by atmospheric friction as it re-enters the atmosphere at a high velocity over 20 times faster than the speed of sound. The third thing is the landing. On its descent, a satellite has to open a parachute at a certain height to make certain that it will fall toward the predesignated area. The fourth satellite launched by China was successfully recovered. The seventh one returned to earth in December 1976 and the eighth one was launched on 26 January 1978 and successfully recovered 4 days later. These three satellites were all recovered by the "soft landing" method. Western observers have noted that the apogee of the eighth, 1.25-ton satellite, was 409 kilometers and its perigee 172 kilometers when it orbited over the territorial airspace of the Soviet Union. This required highly sophisticated equipment. Obviously, this satellite is no match for the U.S.'s 12-ton "Big Bird" military reconnaissance satellite. Experts, however, believe that China will concentrate its efforts on developing a new type of reconnaissance satellite similar to the U.S. "Agena-D." Weighing 2.5 tons, it would need an even more powerful rocket.

Will Astronauts Travel to Space?

China's man-made satellite launchings have sufficiently shown that it does possess ICBM's. With less weight being emphasized in new types of nuclear warheads, it would be necessary for delivery means to be overly powerful. China is continuing to improve the quality of its missiles in order to have the full capability to deliver nuclear bombs to target areas 8,000 li away. In this way, the entire Soviet territories would be within China's retaliatory range.

China has conducted numerous nuclear tests, including underground ones using tactical nuclear weapons, thus indicating it has both large and small nuclear weapons in its arsenal. According to estimates, a nuclear warhead with an explosive power equal to 4 million tons of TNT is already in China's nuclear arsenal. Moreover, it is not too large and weighs approximately 1 ton. Hence, it can be delivered by an ICBM as well as a medium-range bomber.

After the PLA General Staff issued the call in September 1977 for "the continued improvement of nuclear missiles," NCNA reported for the first time in July of last year that China had formed a ground-to-air guided missile unit. In July of this year, Japanese military experts analyzed two photographs released by China which for the first time showed training in missile launchings; one photo shows the launching of a guided missile and the other shows the ground-to-air guided missile unit carrying out launch training). They believe that this guided missile unit, which China has named the "Second Artillery," possesses four types of missiles; the CSS-1 (range: 950 kilometers; throw-weight: 27 tons) the CSS-2 (range: 2,400 kilometers; throw-weight: 40 tons); the CSS-3 (range: 6,500 kilometers; throw-weight: no details); and the CSSX-4 (range: 11,000 kilometers). At the present, satellites are mainly launched by the CSSX-4 missiles which have the superior capability of the U.S.'s Hercules Missile and a throw-weight of approximately 200 tons. This shows that China needs only to further develop its technical capability in remote control and control and guidance and then the CSSX-4 missile can be developed into a multiple-warhead missile and can be used to launch people into space.

Last year, when the minister of the 7th Ministry of Machine Building Industry was visiting Japan, he in fact said, "We are in the process of completing the technology to launch a manned satellite." It is reported that China has conducted training of male and female astronauts. So it may be possible that one day Beijing will suddenly come out with the news that Chinese astronauts have traveled to space.

War Preparedness Against the Soviet Revisionists

In July of this year the Chinese PLA General Staff Department presented lectures on the "Knowledge of Modern Science and Technology and Knowledge of Modern Warfare," and middle' and high-level military officers and staff officers from the headquarters of units, all branches of the military, the National Defense S&T Commission, offices in charge of national defense industries, various military and political academies and offices of the Military Commission were organized to attend them. The lectures, taught by stages, were on such topics as scientific knowledge on such modern weapons as nuclear weapons, strategic and tactical missiles, infrared [devices], lasers and masers and the development and use of military systems engineering. In August of this year, on the occasion of the 52d anniversary of the founding of the PLA, the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY issued a call to the 4 million people throughout the armed forces that it is necessary to improve modern warfare technical equipment and, more important, for military officers to know how to apply modern warfare technology. This is an extremely urgent turnabout. In the war against Vietnam this spring, China won a significant military victory, but it nevertheless is deeply concerned about being inadequately equipped with modern technology. According to special reports, a large number of Chinese soldiers were killed and wounded by Vietnamese troops using Soviet-made laser weapons. Many also had their vision impaired by the lasers. Chinese tanks and artillery pieces used in the war against Vietnam were of the 1950's vintage and had limited capability in facing up to strong fortifications.

Chinese troops had to rely on morale, courage and close combat to break through many defense lines the Vietnamese troops had built on obstructive terrain. In the future, it is possible that the Soviet Union will directly send its advisors to engage in the testing of new weapons by taking advantage of the Sino-Vietnamese border dispute. Therefore, it is of utmost importance for China to step up the modernization of its military equipment.

In order to confront the Soviet threat, the Xinjiang Military District has been readjusted, upgraded and named the Urumqi Military Region so that it would be at the same level as the other 10 military regions. It is under the command of Wu Kehua (former commander of the Chengdu Military Region), has a 2,000-kilometer border with the Soviet Union and is an important strategic area. Moreover, China's nuclear plants are located in Xinjiang and Gansu. Xinjiang is huge in size, covering 1.6 million square kilometers, and is the main battleground to encircle the invading Soviet troops. Moreover, Chinese military leader Su Yu has also repeatedly emphasized the need to figure out means to direct a people's war under modern warfare conditions. In a speech to students of a military academy in January of this year, he said that there was no question of the necessity to use Mao Zedong's military thinking to direct and strengthen China's army building and to study military strategy and tactics. This, however, does not mean that Mao's military thinking needs no further development, much less that it should be indiscriminatedly copied word for word. Su Yu went on to say that some of Mao Zedong's military rules do not apply to today's reality, and that Mao had never spoken of the problems arising from a future war which rewuire new explanations and new answers. For example, it is not possible to use rifles, machine guns, grenades and satchel charges to counter today's three-dimensional enemy attacks and enemy electronics defense systems. Rather, antitank artillery and various types of missiles are needed. Moreover, to wage large-scale motorized battles in flatlands, it is essential, first of all, to resolve the problem of providing antiaircraft cover.

PLA Deputy Chief of Staff Wu Xiuquan, on the occasion of receiving former Japanese defense officers, said that China is considering eliminating the present system of having no ranks because it felt that it does not meet the needs of today's modern army. During this spring, on the occasion of traveling to Japan on the "People's Ship," Su Yu, in his highest advisory capacity, paid visits to the installations of Japan's Self-Defense Forces and met with cadres there. He spoke a number of times about China's need to step up the modernization of its military equipment. The purpose of PLA Deputy Chief of Staff Wang Shangrong's present visit to Europe is the same as that of Wang Zhen's visit to England earlier this year, which is to try to get new military equipment from the West.

These examples show that the Chinese military is at a crucial turning point. On the one hand, the fundamental concept of a people's war has not changed, but on the other hand, those military principles which do not do apply to today's modern warfare conditions must be changed. The importance of this new military concept has been strengthened as never before by the war with Vietnam and the Soviet Union's stepped up provocations.

This 1 September marks the 40th anniversary of Nazi Germany's sudden attack on Poland which touched off the start of World War II. In commenting on this event, the Chinese pointed out that the Soviet Union's ambition is even greater than that of Hitler in 1939 and it is the world's most dangerous hotbed of war. In view of the fact that the Soviets are presently engaging in various activities to send Vietnamese and Cuban mercenaries to stir things up in Indo-China, Southeast Asia, the Red Sea area and the Middle East by carrying out overt aggression and covert subversive activities, it can be seen that they are continuing to make provocations to drive out U.S. and West European influence there. To an even greater extent, the Soviet Union utterly detests the way it is being confronted by China's alliance with the United States, Japan and Western Europe and by China's open policy. China has become a thorn in the Soviet Union's flesh and for this reason, not only have the Soviets strengthened their fleets in the seas of the Far East to pose a threat to the United States and Japan and encroach on Southeast Asia, but have also positioned 40 divisions along the some 10,000-kilometer Sino-Soviet border, which includes the Sino-Mongolian border, and have added a force of 1 million men and used more than 3,000 military aircraft for combat support. In addition, the Soviet Union's "Mintze" aircraft carrier and guided missile vessels had sailed to the South China Sea at the time of tense relations between China and Vietnam to serve as a threat to China from the east side. In terms of strategy, the Soviet Union's encirclement of China today is even worse than the previous U.S. strategy of isolation against China. As never before, U.S. interest and Japan's welfare are being jeopardized. To confront this critical situation, the only thing in China's strategy is to strengthen its military effectiveness and speed up its modernization of equipment to maintain war preparedness against the Soviets. The purpose of building up ICBM's and new types of military aircraft is to establish a deterrent force against the Soviets. Viewed from this angle, China is strengthening its combat effectiveness to establish capability to maintain peace in the Far East and the entire world.

CSO: 4005

AUTHOR: CHU Yiqing [5969 0076 3237]

ORG: None

TITLE: "Periodic Solution of Vibration of a Two-Degree-of-Freedom Body with Dampers in which Friction Is Proportional to the Displacement"

SOURCE: Beijing BINGGONG XUEBAO [ACTA ARMAMENTARII] in Chinese No 3, Sep 80 pp 1-11

TEXT OF ENGLISH ABSTRACT: This paper studies a periodic solution of forced vibration of a two-degree-of-freedom body with friction dampers. It discusses the conditions in which the road excitation is simplified to the harmonic support motion and the friction is proportional to the displacement of the body [tank chassis]. First, we derived the differential equation of motion of system. Because of the existence of friction, discontinuous terms with sign function Sgn ($x\dot{x}$) appear in the equation, so there will be some difficulty in solving it. By means of the perturbation method we expand the solution in a power series in a small parameter ε and reduce the sign function Sgn ($x\dot{x}$) to sign function Sgn ($x_0\dot{x}_0$) of the first approximate solution. Finally, we obtain

[Continuation of BINGGONG XUEBAO No 3, Sep 80 pp 1-11]

the nonresonance periodic solution of the system and come to some conclusions for vibrational properties.

AUTHOR: XIAO Feng [5135 1496]
WEN Shaobai [2429 4801 4101]

ORG: None

TITLE: "Acoustic Locating Techniques for the Burst Point in a Horizontal Plane"

SOURCE: Beijing BINGGONG XUEBAO [ACTA ARMAMENTARII] in Chinese No 3, Sep 80 pp 12-22

TEXT OF ENGLISH ABSTRACT: In this article, the formula for locating the burst point in a horizontal plane is developed on the basis of the assumption of the plane wave; the random error is reduced and the locating accuracy is improved by means of statistical theory and correlation analysis. Finally, the values for the correction corresponding to the original assumption are calculated.

AUTHOR: PENG Zhongji [1756 1813 0679]
WAN Daozheng [8001 6670 2973]

ORG: None

TITLE: "The Synthetic Study of Tetranitroglycoluril and Its Hydrolized Product"

SOURCE: Beijing BINGGONG XUEBAO [ACTA ARMAMENTARII] in Chinese No 3, Sep 80 pp 23-27

TEXT OF ENGLISH ABSTRACT: In 1965~1966, we synthesized a new explosive Tetranitroglycoluril and its hydrolized product 1, 1, 2, 2-Tetranitroethane (TNAE), the latter being a good intermediate to synthesize some other explosives.

TNAE is an unstable compound in H_2O, but its salts of K, Ba are stable. TNAE can react with NH_3, CH_2O to obtain Dinitropentmethylentetramine (DPT) like Methylendinitroamine.

AUTHOR: ZHANG Weiquan [1728 4850 0356]

ORG: None

TITLE: "Research on the Projectile Configurations with Minimum Drag"

SOURCE: Beijing BINGGONG XUEBAO [ACTA ARMAMENTARII] in Chinese No 3, Sep 80 pp 37-44

TEXT OF ENGLISH ABSTRACT: This paper uses the variational method to calculate the configurations of a projectile nose with the minimum drag under the conditions that the sum of nose wave resistance and frictional resistance satisfies the extremes (Euler equation). This paper also analyzes and computes numerically the optimum nose L/D (length-to-diameter ratio), secant parabolic nose and tail contraction ratio and presents the calculated curve.

AUTHOR: CHEN Qingsheng [7115 1987 3932]

ORG: None

TITLE: "Analysis of Movement of Ball Rotor"

SOURCE: Beijing BINGGONG XUEBAO [ACTA ARMAMENTARII] in Chinese No 3, Sep 80 pp 45-55

TEXT OF ENGLISH ABSTRACT: The ball rotor, as an arming and safety device, has found wide application in the fuses for small caliber projectiles used in antiaircraft, aircraft mounted and ship-based guns as well as for recoilless gun projectiles. Its main advantages are that it is simple in structure, easy to manufacture and small in volume. By means of this device we can get an arming delay if the rotational speed of projectiles is low (e.g. $\omega \approx 9000$ rpm). The problem of arming delay may be easily solved if the ball rotor device is combined with a mechanism in which the safety part is made of meltable alloy (e.g., the fuse for small caliber antiaircraft guns). It is the centrifugal moment that causes the ball rotor to rotate, so that it is only used in fuses for spin projectiles whose rotational speed is about 9000-50,000 rpm. The reliability of the function of the ball rotor and the calculations of its arming time are based on the theoretical analysis of its movement. This paper

[Continuation of BINGGONG XUEBAO No 3, Sep 80 pp 45-55]

makes a theoretical analysis of the movement of the ball rotor by means of two non-inertial coordinated systems and introduces the differential equations of the movement of the ball rotor and the calculations of its starting time. Finally, the deviation of the center of the ball rotor from the axis of the projectiles is discussed.

AUTHOR: ZHOU Lanting [0719 5695 1656]
FAN Bingquan [5400 3521 0356]

ORG: None

TITLE: "Behavior of Rigid-Plastic Cylindrical Shell under Explosive Loads"

SOURCE: Beijing BINGGONG XUEBAO [ACTA ARMAMENTARII] in Chinese No 3, Sep 80 pp 56-63

TEXT OF ENGLISH ABSTRACT: The behavior of rigid-plastic cylindrical shells under explosive loads has been studied as has the number solution of shell motion and stress field given in references by Odintsov and Baum. On this basis, this paper makes a further investigation and achieves an analytical solution according to the principle of energy distribution. Therefore, it is simple in calculation, compatible with real conditions and valuable to engineering application.

9717
CSO: 4009

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PLAN FOR SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST EDUCATION NEEDED

Beijing RENMIN JIAOYU [PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] in Chinese No 7, 20 Jul 80 pp 3-5

[Article by Yan Si [1693 1835]: "An Important Guiding Ideology for Promoting Educational Undertakings"]

[Text] In order to meet the needs occasioned by national economic development we must establish a socialist educational system that will be suitable for China and that will satisfy the demands of modernization construction. Instructions issued by the Party Central Committee call for the entire party and the whole nation to attach great importance to education, work hard in the 1980's to bring about a significant expansion of our country's educational undertakings, and lay the foundation for the establishment of the kind of educational system just described. To this end we need to comprehensively summarize our historical experience, define a guiding ideology that will be appropriate for the development of education, and work out an education plan and build an educational system that will be consistent with our experience and ideology.

I

Existing economic conditions are restricting the growth of education, despite the fact that education is playing a very significant role in the development of the national economy. Our country's territory is vast, its population is extremely large, and its economic and cultural development is highly uneven. Any plan for building an educational system must of necessity be based on the economy. In addition to the absence of economic equilibrium, our country has a diversity of geographic and climatic conditions and a variety of nationalities. These are all factors that strongly influence educational undertakings. Given these objective conditions, to apply a single solution to all problems and to expect educational undertakings in all districts to proceed simultaneously at a uniform pace would simply be impossible.

As far as education itself is concerned, the level of education and the distribution of schools vary among the different types of districts. There is also a disequilibrium of a different character--the diversity of circumstances and existing problems among the various levels and types of schools. The scope of elementary education now includes 147 million people, but the outstanding facts about the system are the instability of the student body and the low quality of studies. Only 40-plus percent of the students who finish elementary school enter schools of a higher grade. The structure of secondary education (especially the senior middle school level) is that of a single unit. More than 90 percent of all senior middle school students attend ordinary schools. The difficulties that several million new graduates encounter each year when they attempt to enter schools of a higher grade of find employment have collectively become an acute social problem. Both higher education and technical secondary education are too small in scale and unsound in structure. There is an insufficient diversity of models for operating institutions at both levels, and the number and quality of capable specialists trained by this system do not meet our country's needs. As for adult education (also called social education), its development is not yet off to a good start, its foundation is very weak, and it cannot satisfy the desire of young workers, farmers and cadres to improve their education through advanced training or studies. Therefore, a plan for building an educational system must distinguish between the different types of districts, the different levels and types of schools, and the different models for operating schools. It will not be enough to formulate a sweeping series of aims applicable nationwide. We cannot wait while we "fill the gaps" throughout the nation and then raise the level of education at a uniform pace. Our country's limited financial and material resources will not permit this course of action, nor will the process of construction of the four modernizations. Of course, nobody really maintains that the development of education should be a response to a uniform set of demands. We should deal with the problems facing us by going a step further in understanding this objective law, acknowledging the disequilibrium, and making use of this law during the next 10 years as we strive to bring about a significant expansion of our country's educational undertakings--[an expansion] that will raise educational standards to their highest levels in history.

II

If we acknowledge the absence of equilibrium and go ahead and build our country's educational system on this admittedly uneven foundation, we will then be able to raise the scientific and cultural levels of all the people fairly rapidly, train capable personnel for socialist modernization faster, better, and more economically, and thus adapt more effectively to the demands occasioned by national economic development.

If we acknowledge the absence of equilibrium, then we must recognize the distinguishing conditions prevalent in each district, ascertain the various requirements, and adopt various measures that correspond to these different circumstances. Coastal areas and inland areas, cities and villages, plains and mountain areas, agricultural districts and stockraising districts, areas inhabited by national minorities, and other areas that are economically backward and where the masses live in straitened circumstances--each must be dealt with on the basis of the particular circumstances. We must carry development forward in a series of waves, apply high, moderate, or low standards in accordance with particular situations, and do more in some places than in others. As for models for operating schools, we need ordinary elementary schools, ordinary middle schools, simple elementary schools, and all types of vocational and agricultural middle schools; we need full-time schools, spare-time schools, correspondence schools, schools that teach by radio, and television schools. Localities with fairly good economic conditions and an adequate educational foundation must invest enough funds and manpower to improve their educational system as quickly as possible. Localities in which economic conditions are difficult and educational standards are low must proceed on the basis of their respective actual circumstances, vigorously and steadily promote educational undertakings, and progressively raise the level of education with the help of the state and advanced districts (although this assistance does not amount to much now, it is certain to steadily become more substantial in the future), so that in days to come they will acquire the kind of foundation they need in order to become advanced districts. Advanced districts should make full use of their own superior levels of education to train greater numbers of capable people and help less advanced districts with their economic, cultural, and educational development. Of course, backward districts should not make unrealistic demands on themselves when building their educational systems, but they can find their own strongpoints and set their own emphasis accordingly. We have already seen the progressive experience of Jilin Province with its operation of a work-study program, which has proven that proper use of all local resources in a productive enterprise such as developing a school system can be the foundation of a position of superiority with great potential for the future.

Henceforth for a considerable period of time, the technology employed by the various departments in charge of the national economy will be composed of advanced technology, intermediate technology, and traditional technology, integrated in uneven proportions. Districts, departments, and occupations and industries are certain to have a variety of standards with respect to the kinds of personnel they will want. Only by adopting many and varied forms of models for operating schools and by developing many and varied channels and standards for training capable people will we be able to bring the educational system into harmony with the development of both the national economy and science and technology, and thereby derive real benefits from the money invested in education. For example, educational undertakings from the county level down should be geared to the needs of the villages and be of service to all kinds of construction projects in the villages. In the cities we should devote major efforts to developing all kinds of vocational and technical education, vigorously promote secondary and higher education for adults, and adopt a system that will include full-time schools, work-study programs, spare-time education, correspondence courses, schools that teach by radio, and television schools, so that we will be able to provide all occupations and industries with laborers and technical personnel in greater numbers and of increasingly better quality. At the same time, we have to set up a nationwide system of key schools--build a "little pagoda" of elementary schools, middle schools, and colleges that will provide excellent training for capable people and will play an exemplary and supporting role for other schools. We must pursue a balanced set of policies toward higher education. While energetically and steadily developing full-time higher education and devoting major efforts to developing varied forms of higher education for adults, we also have to concentrate enough strength at the outset to successfully build up a certain number of key institutions of higher learning and a group of key disciplines that together will constitute a "national contingent" which will measure up to advanced international standards and rapidly become the nucleus of our educational system and our scientific research efforts. This concept of the role of key schools calls for some of them to establish research institutes that will turn out persons with masters degrees and Ph.D.'s whose accomplishments will measure up to international standards.

During the past 31 years, 300 million people have graduated from elementary school in this country. If we properly implement the policies of the Party Central Committee and make great efforts for a period of time, another 300 million people throughout the nation will attain levels of education above elementary school graduation, and the ranks of our country's intelligentsia will be doubled. The formation of our "little pagoda" of key schools should fairly quickly foster the emergence of a "mountaineering expedition" composed of highly educated scientific and technical personnel of sufficient numerical strength. If we follow this proposed course of action, our nation's scientific and educational level will rise dramatically, and by the 1990's our country will be able to rely primarily on its own strength to solve scientific and technical problems that arise in the construction of modernization.

III

Acknowledgement of disequilibrium, which is a fundamental guiding ideology for promotion of educational undertakings, makes necessary corresponding reforms in the system of educational administration that will give full rein to the initiative of all districts, departments, enterprises, and commune groups in their operation of schools. The first step in building an educational system has to be the separate development of programs by individual provinces, cities, and autonomous regions based on the distinguishing conditions prevalent in each area. These programs can then be integrated with plans promulgated by departments under the Party Central Committee and the State Council to form a national program for the expansion of education. We recommend that such planning be governed by the principles of varying criteria and a diversity of models for operating schools. These principles certainly do not imply the absence of standards or the abolition of socialism. We have to keep in mind the bitter experience of the past 30 years; recall how frequent disregard for subjective and objective conditions caused great instability in the educational system; deal properly with the realtionship between demands and possibilities, popularization and the raising of standards, quantity and quality, and key points and ordinary matters; proceed on the basis of reality; and advance steadily. To this end it is necessary that the party take education seriously, fully recognize the status and the role of education in the construction of socialist modernization, conscientiously probe the laws that govern the development of education, and work earnestly to strengthen and improve its leadership in education work.

Education is the foundation for the training of capable people. It is not possible to depend on the labor force to perform naturally according to "human sea" military tactics. If we want to create a socialist civilization that is highly developed both materially and spiritually, we cannot do so with a single contingent of professionals and cadres who adhere to a socialist orientation and who possess real ability and learning. It would be impossible to build up a single contingent with all of its members possessing the same qualities. In this sense, building a socialist educational system that will fit in with the needs of the construction of modernization is a major program of fundamental importance with respect to the stability of the country and to the ensurance of successors to carry on the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. It would be completely incorrect to look upon education as purely a consumer enterprise, to think that we can wait until after the economy is flourishing to attend to education and, in accordance with this view, to fail to pledge the proper amount of money for educational enterprises, or to blindly reduce or divert funds intended for education. If we do not conquer this ideological problem, the struggle to bring about a substantial expansion of the educational system will be just empty talk.

The actual situation tells us the following: The level of education is not high in a number of economically prosperous, densely populated areas, and this is true to the extent that even elementary education is not genuinely universal and that many youths and middle-aged people are illiterate. Yet there are outstanding examples of successfully developed educational systems, such as those of Yangyuan County in Hebei Province, Huaide County in Jilin Province, Taojiang County in Hunan Province, Yanbian Prefecture, and Changtai in Fujian, all of which are areas that do not have very good economic conditions. The key to success in educational undertakings lies in the party's devotion to education and its leadership. The period of time needed to train capable people is fairly long; it takes a person 11 or 12 years of schooling to graduate from middle school, a total of 16 or 17 years to graduate from college, and about 20 years of education to obtain a graduate degree. This means that foresight is a necessary ingredient for the construction of an educational system. Building an educational system and training capable people call not only for satisfying in general the demands of the present, but also for consideration of long-term needs. Because it always takes 5 to 10 years for money invested in education to produce beneficial results, we have to attend to education as best we can under present economic conditions, so that the educational system will be adequately adjusted to the state of the national economy and the state of science and technology 5 to 10 years from now. The construction of modernization will involve a major expansion of the national economy and the growth of science and technology on a large scale, and the need for education to keep up with this accelerated advance will make planning more and more difficult. Therefore we must successfully encourage the entire party and the whole nation to attach great importance to education, and we must implement forceful guiding policies. In accordance with the requirements set forth at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, every district and department, while making plans and arrangements for economic construction, must also show foresight and make corresponding plans and arrangements to train capable people and build educational systems. To do otherwise would result in far-reaching adverse consequences and would constitute a mistake of historical magnitude.

For the present, adhering to the spirit of the instructions issued by the central authorities and establishing both an education plan and an educational system that will be suited to the needs of national economic development constitute an important task which must be undertaken without delay. It will involve many aspects, including the nation's labor system and cadre system. Both groups need to summarize historical experiences and undertake a series of reforms that will be in line with the special needs of the new period. Accordingly we hope that, besides the comrades on the education front, central and local planning, labor, and economics departments, and especially party administrators in leadership positions at all levels will give their close attention to this task, make their own agendas, draw on collective wisdom and absorb all useful ideas, pool the efforts of everyone, formulate a good plan for the development of our nation's socialist educational system, and vigorously promote the training of capable persons to be specialists in all fields and the work of a large labor contingent.

9292
CSO: 4005

REFORM OF COLLEGE TEACHING METHODS URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 80 p 2

[Article by Chen Qingji [7115 1987 1015] of Fudan University: "College Teaching Methods Must Be Reformed"]

[Text] The question of how our higher education should be conducted is an extremely important one which touches on many areas, including improvements in teaching methods and total mobilization of student enthusiasm and self-motivation for study.

The main teaching problems now found in our colleges are: teaching over-emphasizes the transmission of knowledge and neglects cultivation of the ability to perform independent work. Classroom teaching is mostly "spoon-feeding" which "fills the whole classroom," with very little use of heuristic or discussion methods. There is no skillful application of the principle of teaching students according to their aptitudes, but rather habitual "standardization" and "arbitrary conformity." The testing system is lifeless and does nothing to lead the students to apply their theoretical knowledge or analyze and solve problems. The substance of these problems is that our teaching sees students as passive recipients of knowledge and is thus unable to stimulate student enthusiasm and self-motivation for study. During the last 30 years we have produced many college students but few of these have been outstanding and this is in no small way related to the faults in our teaching methods. These teaching methods cannot remain unchanged. Here are a few suggestions for reforms:

1. Improve Classroom Teaching

The task of classroom teaching is not simply the imparting of knowledge. While the instructor is teaching he should teach study methods to the students, as this is even more important than imparting knowledge. The knowledge that a student can acquire during college is, after all, limited, and teaching correct study methods to the student is like giving him a key which lets him unlock the treasure house of knowledge, so that after graduation he can study by himself and make creative developments in knowledge.

There must be opposition to the "spoon feeding" and "force feeding" teaching methods and promotion of the heuristic and discussion teaching methods. Some information need not be presented in the classroom and what is presented should be the main points and problems which the students cannot easily understand. Teaching requires skill in posing problems for the students to think over, with the teacher providing guidance and suggestions. Some problems need only be suggested but not developed, so that the students will discuss them themselves. In the upper divisions there should be courses devoted to writing reports and conducting discussions, the introduction of varying scholarly viewpoints and the latest developments in a given discipline, the organization of student discussion of special topics to allow them to express their own views and advance competition among differing views. Only in this way can we nourish habits of independent thinking and skills in problem solving to make the students capable of heuristic study and comprehension through analogy.

2. Implementation of the Principle of Teaching Students According to Their Aptitude

There are objective differences in student cultural foundations and learning aptitude and to ignore these differences and demand uniformity and standardization is not beneficial in motivating independence and enthusiasm in student study habits, which will permit them to make vigorous, lively progress, and it is not beneficial in developing outstanding students. Therefore, our teaching must implement the principle of teaching according to student aptitude. One good method of implementing this principle is by carrying out an academic credit system. We should also permit students who are studying according to the requirements of the teaching plan to overcome the current condition of excess narrowness in student knowledge by crossing professional lines and selecting cross-discipline courses under faculty guidance. Outstanding students should be permitted to select additional courses. Some students who have already mastered a course should be given credit by examination. Students can also be excused from attending lectures and take the examinations on the basis of self-study. A small number of outstanding students who have completed the courses required by the teaching plan may take early graduation or register for the graduate student examinations. The minority of students who have school difficulties may extend their education by a year or so.

Students should be encouraged to follow their own specialities and interests in forming academic societies, interest groups and research groups, to read widely in extra-curricular tests, to participate in scientific research activities or undertake specialized research, and they should be permitted to select their own research topics, conduct social investigations, collect materials, consult reference materials and write dissertations.

At present in all colleges, departments and professions there are overly strict restriction so that after a student gains admittance through examination he is "fixed for life" and cannot transfer to another university, department or profession. This does not agree with human laws of knowledge, special characteristics and interests. When taking the examinations many students are not very clear about the nature of the departments, curricula and professions and exhibit great blindness in filling in their areas of interest. Students who have definite abilities and interests should be permitted to study professions which will make use of their talents.

3. Improve the Testing Methods and Grading Methods

The goal of testing is to reinforce what has been learned, develop the application of theory and analysis to problems and to develop problem solving abilities, the latter being the most important. The comprehension of certain concepts and information does not imply the ability to apply it in explaining problems, or the ability to use theory to analyze and solve problems, as these naturally are dependent upon mastery over theoretical knowledge. Because of this, the determination of test questions is extremely important. Questions ought to be set according to emphasis on the basic principles of a discipline and using these principles to analyze and solve certain problems. Merely requiring students to repeat the content of classroom lectures or textual materials only encourages rote memorization and does not nurture the ability to do independent work or enable one to see the true level of a student. There should be more varied methods of testing and checking, for example, oral exams, written exams, open book, closed book, performance of experiments, planning, "writing papers" and so on. A class could also use two types of tests.

The colleges now generally use a hundred point system to record grades. This easily focuses student attention on testing and on methods of coping with tests. The hundred point system is difficult to handle, especially in the humanities, and it is very hard to explain the difference between 89 and 90 points. When the grades are so finely divided the only way to grade properly is to ask lifeless questions on such things as terms and concepts. A grade is only a pale reflection of a student's success in studies, and it is preferable for grades to be more general, such as superior, above average, average, passing and failing.

4. Students Should Be Given Wide Scope and Encouraged in Independent Study.

Colleges now have too many class hours; the lower divisions are generally over 22 hours, with some as high as 30 hours, so that the ratio of student non-class to class time averages less than one to one. The students have very little discretionary time, so how will they be able to think profoundly about problems, read widely, broaden their intellectual horizons and learn in an independent, lively manner? There should be reductions in the present amount of required study time so that students have more time for free study.

11582
CSO: 4005

OUTSTANDING EDUCATORS EXCHANGE EXPERIENCES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 80 p 1

[Unsigned article: "An Inquiry into Education under the New Situation"]

[Text] Not long ago, over 100 outstanding educator representatives from 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous areas throughout the nation concluded their rest and experience activities in Jinan.

The summertime rest activities in Jinan for the national outstanding educator representatives were co-sponsored by the Ministry of Education and the National Committee of the China Education Union. The 108 outstanding educator representatives who participated in the activities were comprised of primary, middle and college teachers of 9 nationalities, including Han, Mongolian, Moslem, Tibetean, Uygur, Dong, Tujia, Manchu and Korean. They were able to have a complete rest at this seaside city, and moreover took this opportunity to exchange experiences in education and teaching and, especilly, make inquiries into such questions as how to properly conduct the ideological and political education of young people and children and how to advance the students' knowlege under the new conditions.

All of the outstanding educators participating in the discussion felt that it is necessary to proceed from the basis of the special ideological features of young people and children in this new period to strengthen the school's ideological and political education by targeting education of moral character, the ideal future and patriotism and the means to carry out ideological education in areas of teaching. Teaching methods suited to the features of the new period must be discovered, with research not only on the backwards students but also on the ideological features of all students, including the superior ones. There should be a study of our past experiences in ideological and political education, and there must be continuation of the good traditions along with attention to discovering new methods.

How are we to advance the students' intellect? This topic elicited great interest and vigorous discussion from the outstanding educator representatives. They generally concluded that there is an obvious problem in current educational work, which is the overemphasis on promotions, with all sorts of examinations under a multitude of names, so that even the first grade of some primary schools have sealed examinations and constant grading. The teaching method is rote memorization, extra classes, and increased exercises for students, all of which overburdens both students and teachers and leaves the students little time for independent thought. Such an approach not only prevents students from gaining more knowledge, but more importantly, it restricts development of student intellect. They believe that these conditions must be thoroughly changed, and simultaneous with a strengthening in teaching of basic knowledge and basic skills, there must be conscious development of student intellect to make their learning more lively, to learn to make inferences, and to not only acquire knowledge but to also obtain both an interest in knowledge and an ability to use it. A few Beijing and Shanghai municipal education research organs have joined together with front line educators and already are carrying out educational experiments to develop student intellect. They have obtained pleasing results.

From their educational experiments they have learned the importance of studying both the theory of teaching and the science of teaching. Successful educational work first requires the guidance of advanced educational thought, because the mere reform of a few teaching methods will not solve the problem. There must be an understanding of the current situation foreign educational thought, absorption of what is advanced, summarization of our own educational practices and creation of our own science of education.

11582
CSO: 4005

THREE YEAR SYSTEM FOR SOME MIDDLE SCHOOLS

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Thirty-five Tianjin Middle Schools Change to Three Year System']

[Text] In order to improve the quality of general middle school education, the Municipal and Districts Departments of Education jointly decided to change 35 middle schools from the 2 year system to a 3 year system. These middle schools are the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 20th, 31st, 32nd, 38th, 40th, 43rd, 45th, 54th, 55th, 61st, 78th, 79th and 102nd middle schools; the Hangu 1st, Tanggu 2nd, Chengyouzhuang 2nd, Nankai, Xinhua, Pingshan Road, Dongfanghong, Yan'an, Aiguo Road, Chentangzhuang, Xianyang Road and Lingdang Pavilion middle schools.

The students recruited this year will be taught according to the new teaching plan.

11582
CSO: 4005

MORE TIBETAN MEDICAL PERSONNEL IN XIZANG

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Xizang Trains Over 10,000 Tibetan Medical Personnel"]

[Text] Lhasa, 5 Sep (XINHUA)--The Xizang Autonomous Region has trained more than 10,400 Tibetan medical personnel.

In order to train and enhance the medical technical level of Tibetan medical personnel, the Tibetan Autonomous Region has in recent years sent them at different times and in different groups to medical universities and colleges and hospitals in inland provinces and cities for advanced study, and at the same time it has opened different kinds of vocational training classes so as to provide many professional learning opportunities for Tibetan medical personnel. Through advanced study and learning, each of the 19 Tibetan doctors at the People's Hospital of Tagtse County can treat common diseases and recurrent diseases, undertake general internal medicine and surgical operations, and handle some critical illness. After becoming a formal doctor in 1974, doctor of internal medicine Ci Duoji [2945 1122 0679] undertook advanced study at the people's hospitals in Lhasa city and in Qianyang Prefecture of Hunan Province, which resulted in a quick advancement in professional techniques. Not long ago, in treating a patient who had a stubborn skin disease for 20 years, he daringly used a combined treatment including ultraviolet rays, acupuncture, and Chinese medicine, with good results. Shamagele [0084A 3854 2706 0519A], a Tibetan ear, nose, throat, eyes and teeth doctor, not only can now extract teeth, fill teeth, and treat common eye diseases, but also can perform the operation of removing cataracts. The local Tibetan masses called him "our own Haomenba (doctor)."

9503
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG INCREASES ENROLLMENT OF MINORITY STUDENTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Minority Students Account for 70 Percent of New Students Enrolled in Xizang Schools of Higher Learning"]

[Text] Tibetan and other minority students account for 70 percent of the new students enrolled this year in schools of higher learning in the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

In order to put into full effect the central government's recent instructions regarding Xizang's work, to fully realize the autonomy of nationality regions, and to enhance the training of scientific and technical personnel and cultural personnel of Tibetan and other minority nationalities in Xizang, the people's government of the Tibetan Autonomous Region decided that, beginning this year, enrollment of new students in schools of higher learning in the region are to be mainly for Tibetan and other minority students. Schools of higher learning in this region this year enrolled 220 new students, of which 154 are Tibetan and other minority students, and 66 are Chinese.

Schools of higher learning of some other brother provinces, cities, and autonomous regions enrolling students in Xizang also have taken Xizang's recent actual situation into account this year by suitably lowering the standard for enrollment, and they have enrolled Tibetan and other minority students for study in these schools.

9503
CSO: 4005

QINGHAI YOUTH ACTIVITIES STRESS ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 12 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Qinghai CYL Assigns Work According to the Characteristics of Nationalities"]

[Text] Taking into account the characteristics of nationality regions, the Qinghai Provincial Committee of the Communist Youth League assigned such activities as training the league's minority nationality cadres and organizing young Chinese cadres to study the Tibetan language, etc., thus picking up the league's work.

When Comrades Hu Yaobang and Wan Li visited Qinghai on their journey in May, they told leaders of the provincial committee that the six points they mentioned at the meeting of cadres of the Tibetan Autonomous Region are basically applicable to Qinghai's situation and can be carried out accordingly. This indicates the direction for the development of work in Qinghai. In the process of learning and putting into full effect the instructions of the central government, the league's Provincial Committee first assigned three activities:

1. Strengthen the training of the league's cadres of minority nationalities by restoring the league's provincial schools, which had been suspended for 13 years. Participating in the study this term were the league's 60 cadres from counties and communes of six autonomous prefectures, including the Golo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, the Haihsi Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kazakh Autonomous Prefectures, etc. Also, the league's Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture Committee and the league's Haidong Region Committee recently opened training classes and separately trainied the league's 230 cadres in the organizations and communes of 14 counties under its jurisdiction.

2. Organize young Chinese cadres to study the Tibetan language. Recently, the league's Provincial Committee issued a document asking the league's organizations at all levels to educate and encourage young Chinese cadres in the study of the languages of the local minority nationalities, so as to be able to render services to the minority nationalities wholeheartedly. At present, in organizing young Chinese cadres to study Tibetan, the Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture has established a learning system and put

into full effect in it the five aspects of guidance, teachers, teaching materials, time, and location. Under the support of the party's and league's organizations, league members and young employees of the Xining City's Commerce Bureau opened a Tibetan language class and a Tibetan language conversation class. In cooperation with related departments, the league's organizations for rendering services in trades and professions put up signs in the Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian languages at such places as movie theaters, shops, post offices, railroad stations, etc.

3. Persistently shift the work emphasis of the Qinghai League to the right track of animal husbandry. To be able to make this change, the secretary and the vice director of the staff office of the League's Provincial Committee have visited the ranches of Dulan County's Balong Commune, taking along their personal belongings and making a thorough investigation and study. Riding on horseback, they have visited all the production teams of the entire commune and written down, on the basis of the firsthand materials they have mastered, the experiences of league members and youths, led by the League's Balong Commune Committee, in building up the ranches. They also planned to have the work experience exchange conference of the youths at the ranches, scheduled to be convened in August in Xining, moved to the pastureland of the Balong Commune. Recently, the leading comrades of the league's Provincial Committee, together with the working people, arrived at the Balong Commune and erected tents on the pastureland. They eat, sleep, and work there, actively preparing for this conference.

9503
CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 76736

31 October 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILIARY AFFAIRS

No. 134

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76736

31 October 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 134

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Increased Marxist Studies in Western Countries Discussed
(Ma Zemin, Xu Ruomu; WEN HUI BAO, 23 Sep 80)............. 1

'XINHUA' Interviews Ghana Finance Minister on Foreign Loans
(XINHUA, 16 Oct 80).................................... 12

Briefs

New Ministers in Burma 13
Malta, Bangladesh Observe PRC National Day 13

PARTY AND STATE

Loopholes in Hua Guofeng's Assessment of Mao Zedong
(Lu Zhongjian; ZHENGMING, 1 Sep 80)...................... 14

Liu Shaoqi's Talk on 'Mistakes' Reviewed
(Zhou Kang, et al.; SHEHUI KEXUE, 20 Aug 80)............. 32

Trial of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing Discussed
(Chu Chung-yi; TUNG HSIANG, 16 Oct 80)................... 43

Remnants of Feudalist Thinking Must Be Abolished
(Wei Keming; WEN HUI BAO, 12 Aug 80)...................... 48

Masses' Right To Recommend Worthy People Should Be Respected
(XINHUA RIBAO, 18 Aug 80)................................. 52

Angry Hebei Masses Resist Court Cadres' Unjust Action
(Liu Fengchen, et al.; RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Sep 80)........... 56

Ancient Stories Still Provide Lessons for Today
(RENMIN RIBAO, 28 Aug 80).................................... 59

Arrogant, Foolhardy Persons, by He Yu
Frauds, Charlatans, by Shao Yue

Briefs

Beijing Student Election Campaign 63
Extravagant Entertainment 63
New Monggol Young Leader Noted 64

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Veteran Red Army Soldiers Still Contribute to Sichuan
(XINHUA, 20 Oct 80).. 65

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Implementation of Nationality Policy Discussed
(MINZU TUANJIE, 15 May 80)................................... 66

Four Modernizations Calls for Employees Education
(Li Zongfang; TIANJIN SHIYUAN XUEBAO, 20 Apr 80)............ 72

Henan CCP Committee Disciplines Teachers for Cheating
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 20 Oct 80)......................... 81

Hebei Experts Project Population Growth
(Hebei Provincial Service, 11 Oct 80)........................ 82

Shandong Issues Circular on Population Control
(Shandong Provincial Service, 15 Oct 80)..................... 84

Writers, Artists Urged To Serve Purposes of Modernization
(Liu Shaotang; BEIJING WENYI, Apr 80)........................ 86

Tomb of Qing Dynasty Emperor Opened in Hebei
(XINHUA, 16 Sep 80).. 92

Briefs

Sichuan Minority Language Journal 94
Xizang Writers Association 94
Shenyang Schools Misused 94
Liaoning Educational Reforms 94
Movie Publications Discussion Meeting 95
Teachers Arrive in Xizang 95
Restoration of Gardens Urged 95

INCREASED MARXIST STUDIES IN WESTERN COUNTRIES DISCUSSED

HK160614 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 23 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Ma Zemin [7456 3419 3046] and Xu Ruomu [1776 5387 2606]: "On Marxist Studies in the West"]

[Text] Synopsis: This article analyzes from the social origins the reason for the fervor of Marxist studies appearing in the developed capitalist countries of the West from the latter part of the 1950's and particularly since the 1960's. It gives a concrete answer to the various representative arguments put forth by Western Marxist scholars regarding the new challenges encountered by Marxism in its own development. It holds that the series of new changes, characteristics and problems caused by the industrial revolution centered on electronics technology have proven that certain Marxist formulations are already no longer in keeping or completely not in keeping with actual conditions at present. It also holds that our urgent and great task is to conscientiously study the scientific and technical revolution according to the basic principles of Marxism, to study the new developments, characteristics and problems resulting from the scientific and technical revolution and to push forward the development of Marxism. Marxism is on the eve of a major development.

Appearance of 'Marxist Fever' in the West

After World War II widespread interest in Marxist studies appeared among the developed countries of the West from the latter part of the 1950's and particularly since the 1960's. This has been one of the most outstanding new social phenomenon since the war.

West Germany is a very typical example. In the latter part of the 1950's and since the 1960's, West German publications, academic meetings and television broadcasts have been discussing Marx almost daily. "Introduction to Marx" has appeared on the television screen and the Frankfurter ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG has published series of articles introducing the so-called "systematic concepts" of Marx. From 1964 to 1967 West Germany published more than 400 books on Marx and Engels. In particular, students in all the universities are demanding that courses on Marx be set up. Professors of philosophy and social sciences who do not give lectures on Marx are not welcomed by the students. Intellectual and undergraduate organizations are universally taking up the study of Marx. Many Marxist study groups have also emerged in the labor movement.

The "Marxist fever" has also appeared in France, Italy, the United States and Britain, and this has given rise to many contemporary Marxist schools.

What is the reason for the fervor in Marxist studies appearing in the capitalist countries of the West in the latter part of the 1950's and particularly in the 1960's? Marx' teachings have informed us that in the final analysis changes in the ideological sphere must be explained by changes in the economic base. In the latter part of the 1950's and particularly since the 1960's, the capitalist countries of the West have undergone an industrial revolution founded on electronics technology. Although this revolution has not transformed the capitalist private ownership of the means of production, it has, nevertheless, transformed production facilities into an automatic system and therefore enabled productive forces to develop rapidly. The vigorous development in productive forces as well as in science and technology has led to certain changes in the structure of class society and also in the working class and the lifestyle of the whole society. The more prominent of these changes are: Most of the working class have become white collar workers; their scientific and technical level has greatly improved; there is no longer any marked distinction between their working conditions and those of middle class technicians, and they have specific guarantees for the basic necessities of life. Not only are they exempted from cold and hunger, but most of them also have their own cars, color TV sets, refrigerators and washing machines. However, because the scientific and technical revolution has increased labor productivity, it has also caused structural unemployment in various sectors of the capitalist economy. This has resulted in a considerable portion of the workers having their source of livelihood cut off, and it has turned them into the targets of social poverty. The capitalists have taken advantage of the army of unemployed to force the workers to work desperately and have increased the intensity of labor on the automatic assembly lines causing serious harm to the mind, spirit and nerves of the workers. In the United States neurosis and mental illness have become a product of "high industrial civilization," and some 10 percent of the entire population are suffering from various neurotic diseases and mental disorders. At the same time, because of the technological revolution, the monopoly capitalists have become deeply aware of the importance of specialists, scientists, technicians and intellectuals in defeating their competitors and in earning high profits; this they are rushing to set up and monopolize companies of various specialists to strengthen their control and exploitation of specialists, scientists, technicians and intellectuals. This has further exacerbated the contradiction between the specialists, scientists, technicians and intellectuals on the one hand, and monopoly capital on the other, and has brought them closer and closer to the position of hired workers. In the past university students were automatically candidates in line for greater social and economic mobility. Now, because of structural unemployment, they cannot even join the work force, and to many university graduates, graduation means only unemployment. Moreover, regardless of whether they are workers or scientists, technicians or intellectuals, blue collar workers or white collar workers, employed or unemployed, they have all become commodities which are graded and priced and ruthlessly shuffled about according to the needs of the market. As many people feel that they have no control over their own destiny, they become lonely and depressed. The future for them is uncertain. Life has lost its meaning and they are extremely pessimistic about society. They adopt a nihilistic attitude toward everything and resort to hipsterism, terrorism, drink, dope, free sex and religious superstitions. Out of despair and dissatisfaction many people are turning to Marxist studies. In the forefront are the masses of students and young workers. As pointed out by Frankfurter ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: "The young people are looking for the correct road. To them, the brightest guiding star appears to be Marx." These conditions and changes are the social roots of the fervor for Marxist studies appearing in the capitalist countries of the West. They are also powerful and effective proof by negative example of Marxism in the developed capitalist countries of the West.

Marxism Has Run Into New Challenges

Under these excellent circumstances, are there still problems? Yes, there are. Some new problems have also actually appeared in the fervor for Marxist studies. In light of certain new characteristics and conditions in capitalist development, some Marxist scholars in the West have put forth the following views: "The proletariat is dying out," "the proletariat has been integrated within the capitalist system," and the proletariat has lost its revolutionary will. Marxism has run into new challenges in its own development. If the Marxists cannot give a scientific answer to these problems but instead allow them to spread, then international proletariat and all revolutionary people will be thrown into ideological and theoretical chaos, they will waver in darkness, and inestimable harm will be caused to the communist movement. How should we actually answer these problems?

First, to prove that the proletariat is dying out, some Marxist scholars of the West have regarded tangible material poverty and heavy physical labor as the essence of the proletarian concept described by Marx. This is a distortion of the original meaning of Marx. Naturally, when analyzing the essential characteristics of the proletariat, Marx had proceeded from facts of the labor conditions and tangible material poverty encountered by the proletariat in the 19th century. However, Marx had never regarded the labor conditions and tangible material poverty encountered by the proletariat in the 19th century as the essential characteristics of the proletariat. Labor conditions and living standards keep on changing with the development of productive forces. Marx had always opposed the method of directly summing up the essential characteristics of a class as the level of development of productive forces. Moreover, he always paid attention to the relations of production based on the level of development of specific productive forces. He said: "The human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of social relations." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3 p 6) When analyzing the essential characteristics of the proletariat, Marx strictly followed his own materialist method. His formulation of the essential characteristics of the proletariat was based on the position of the proletariat in social economic relations. He held: "Our 'proletarian' is economically none other than the wage-laborer, who produces and increases capital and is thrown out on the streets as soon as he is superfluous for the needs of the aggrandizement of 'monsieur capital.'" ("Das Kapital," Vol 1, p 674 footnote) Here Marx did not consider the poverty of the life and the sordidness and heaviness of the labor as the essential characteristics of the proletariat. To him a member of the proletariat was merely a person who sold his labor for means of subsistence because he did not have the means of production. Precisely because of the lack of means of production, he had no alternative but to sell his labor to the capitalist, to obey the orders of the capitalist in the course of production and to produce and increase capital. These are the common essential characteristics of the proletariat. However, the concept of the proletariat also has a historical category. The forms of manifestation of the common essential characteristics of the proletariat are not the same under concrete historical conditions. Marx and Engels lived in the 19th century. They could only observe and study the proletariat from the forms manifested by the proletariat in the 19th century. Therefore, they put the emphasis on heavy physical labor and material poverty. Some Marxist scholars of the West are unable to master the dialectics of the general and specific and the universality and particularity, and they use the heavy physical labor and material poverty encountered by the proletariat in the 19th century to replace and negate the common essential characteristics of the proletariat. This is obviously a misrepresentation of Marx.

To be sure, the working conditions of the workers have changed and their living standard has improved, and most of the workers have cars, TV sets and refrigerators. However, these changes in the sphere of consumption have not basically altered class relations. Although Marx never knew that the workers of today could enjoy such industrial luxuries, he did not rule out the possibility that the life of the workers could be improved under capitalist conditions, and he also pointed out how the improvement in the life of the workers should be understood. He said: "They can extend the circle of their enjoyments; can make some additions to their consumption-fund of clothes, furniture, etc., and can lay by small reserve-funds of money. But just as marginal improvements in food, clothing, treatment and property could not eliminate the dependency and exploitation of slavery, neither can they eliminate the dependency and exploitation of the wage-workers. In fact, an increase in the price of labor as a consequence of the accumulation of capital merely allows for a relaxation of the tension of the long, heavy, golden chain the wage-worker has already forged for himself." ("Das Kapital," Vol I, pp 677-679)

What is more, labor in developed capitalist countries is very intense and requires a high degree of concentration. This kind of highly intense labor also requires better food. For example, labor in Toyota Motor of Japan is so intense that workers have no time for conversation the moment they start work. Although there are no longer supervisors with whips and clubs, there is closed circuit surveillance and the workers are forced to work desperately. This kind of intense labor causes an excessive drain on the energy of the workers, and as a result, they are required by Toyota Motor to retire at the age of 40. Intense labor requires better nourishment and this is the requirement of capitalist exploitation, just as the exploitation of the capitalists requires the workers to possess certain cultural standards. So this is only the result of the workers' struggle. Therefore, we cannot merely regard the consumption level of the workers and think that this stems from the good intentions of the capitalists. The form of exploitation of the workers has become more humane, but the content of exploitation has not changed.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the improvement in the workers' consumption level is also the direct result of the policy of high production, high wages and high consumption adopted by the capitalists. However, the basic object of the policy of high production, high wages and high consumption adopted by the capitalists is not for the sake of the general material benefits of the proletariat but for the sake of stimulating the workers' desire and making them a slave to their own desire so that they will produce more surplus value for the capitalists. This method is not something new and was proposed by James Steuart as far back as the 18th century. Marx in "Das Kapital" quoted Steuart's original text and in light of it pointed out: "He wishes to increase their wants and to make the increasing number of their wants a stimulus to their labor for the 'more delicate.'" ("Das Kapital," Vol 1, p 710 footnote) The present policy of the three highs of the developed capitalist countries of the West is nothing but a further refinement of this method. Some Marxist scholars of the West have played up the policy of the three highs, which improved the consumption level of the workers, as a basic improvement in the economic position of the proletariat. They even said that the question of whether or not private ownership has been eliminated is immaterial. By doing so they covered up the capitalist essence of the policy of the three high's and wanted the proletariat to always remain a slave to the bourgeoisie. Actually, the use of low wages and extended working time to compel the proletariat to work for the capitalists and the use of high wages and high consumption to stimulate the wants of the proletariat and make them a slave to their own desires and work themselves to the bone for the capitalists are both methods of earning higher profits for the capitalists. We cannot describe the change in the tactics of capitalist exploitation as a change in the objective of the capitalists, or say that the proletariat and the capitalists have embraced and the proletariat has become one with the capitalist system.

Second, some Marxist scholars of the West have categorically asserted that the development of science and technology has enabled science and technology to become an independent source of value and surplus value that do not rely on live labor. This is also incorrect. Because no matter how advanced the technology and how sophisticated the machinery, they are dead, inert and incapable of producing a single thing of value if divorced from the live labor of the workers. If science and technology can really become an independent source of value and surplus value that do not rely on live labor, then why do the developed capitalist countries still require blue collar workers and white collar workers. Why do they still make concessions to the striking workers? Value is created by labor and the capitalists cannot exist without the workers. The prosperity and the development of all capitalist countries are based on the labor of the workers. Technological revolution and new machinery and equipment only create more conditions for creating riches. They do not essentially create value and their value changes only with the development of the form of value. The application of science and technology in production will greatly increase output and keep on reducing the amount of labor society must spend per unit product. This has already been analyzed and affirmed by Marx in "Das Kapital" and the question of negating Marx' theory of value basically does not arise. With less labor than before the workers are nevertheless able to produce more goods than in the past. This is not because science and technology are able to become an independent source of value divorced from live labor, but because science and technology have increased the workers' productivity so that they can produce more goods with less labor. In this way, the necessary labor time required to pay wages is reduced and surplus value is increased. If they cannot supply higher surplus value, the capitalists will definitely not use the new technology. It can be seen that the scientific and technical revolution has not eliminated the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists but has increased the exploitation of the workers and the faster proliferation of capital. Is this not precisely the condition in developed capitalist countries?

Third, some Marxist scholars of the West have also categorically asserted that the revolutionary will of the proletariat comes from poverty. Because of the scientific and technical revolution and the improvement in the living standard, it has lost its revolutionary will and it will no longer implement the immediate need of socialism. This standpoint is also untenable. To be sure, poverty will impel the proletariat to turn to revolution, but revolutionary will does not necessarily come from poverty. When the capitalists were still revolutionary, they were often richer and not poorer than the feudal class. The small farmers on the brink of bankruptcy were often poorer than the hired workers, but the workers nevertheless had stronger revolutionary will than the small farmers. The life of the factory workers was far better than that of the vagrant proletariat such as beggars. It cannot be said that the vagrant proletariat was more revolutionary. Every class has its revolutionary will which is determined by its position in socioeconomic relations. This depends on whether or not the class represents the demand of the development of productive forces and not on whether it is poorer or better off. Some Marxist scholars of the West have compared the improvement in the living standard of the proletariat in the 1960's and 1970's of the 20th century with the living standard of the 19th century and categorically asserted that the proletariat of today has lost its revolutionary will. Basically speaking, this kind of comparison is wrong. If a comparison must be made, they should make the comparison between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, for they are the two opposite extremes in the capitalist relations of production. Without the one side, the other side would not exist. Marx' method was to compare the different economic positions they occupy respectively in the capitalist relations of production to see which represented the demand of productive forces, which ran counter to the development of productive forces and which harmed the interests of the other. When analyzing class composition, Marx solved for us the problem of whom to compare. He said: "The reason single individuals form a class is because they must wage a common struggle against another class." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3 p 61) It can be seen that if a comparison must be made, the class composed of individual members of the proletariat can only be compared with the bourgeoisie against which they must wage a common struggle. If a comparison is not made with the bourgeoisie and a struggle is not carried out against the bourgeoisie, then there is basically no need for the proletariat to form a class. So what is the use of prattling about such things as the proletariat? The reason individual members of the proletariat "must wage a common struggle against the other class" is because they have "similar conditions, similar opposites and similar interests." Moreover, these conditions, opposites and interests are identical and have been determined by the common economic position they occupy in the social relations of production. The reason the proletariat must unite to oppose the bourgeoisie is precisely because the economic position it occupies has determined that its interests are basically opposed to those of the bourgeoisie. Even though the wages of the workers have increased along with the scientific and technical revolution and development of productive forces, and even though there has been a definite improvement in their living condition, they still can never catch up with the profit growth of the capitalists, and the conflict of interests between them will never die. Therefore, the proletariat will also never lose their revolutionary will.

In fact, the new changes brought about by the scientific and technical revolution have not repudiated, but on the contrary, have attested to the unassailability of the scientific truth of Marxism and to the fact that it is a powerful ideological weapon for understanding the world and revolutionarily transforming the world. Precisely because Marx can help the people see through bizarre and complex social phenomena, understand the essence and interrelations of things and distinguish the correct orientation for action, the masses of young people who cannot find their way in the new capitalist development and changes by the scientific and technical revolution, the people who feel impotent over their own destiny, the people who have been hurt and the people who feel lonely and depressed are all turning to Marx. This is the reason for the widespread interest in Marxist studies in the developed capitalist countries of the West.

Marxism Is on the Eve of a Major Development

We should also see that we cannot find ready-made answers to the series of new changes, characteristics and problems of capitalism created by the scientific and technical revolution centered on electronic technology in the works of Marx. Moreover, these new changes, characteristics and problems can instead prove that some of Marx' formulations are already not in keeping or completely not in keeping with actual conditions at present. This has set an urgent and glorious task for all the Marxists of the world, and they must conscientiously study the scientific and technical revolution in the light of the basic principles of Marxism, study the new developments, characteristics and problems of capitalism caused by the scientific and technical revolution, and they must develop Marxism in a forward direction.

When we say that certain formulations made by Marx are no longer in keeping with actual conditions at present, this is not at all surprising. Marxism has told us that practice is the source of knowledge and theory is the summary of practice. All great theorists can only base themselves on the social practice of their time. "Every principle has its own century." All theories must bear the brand of their own time and the limitation of their own time. There is naturally no exception for Marx and his theory. Marx lived in the 19th century, and it was impossible for him to talk distinctly about the new changes, characteristics and problems of the 1960's and 1970's in the 20th century, because he did not have the practice of this era.

When we say that certain formulations made by Marx are no longer in keeping with actual conditions at present, does not mean that because they have mistakes they are no longer or not completely the truth? No. Marxism is the greatest objective truth. It was in keeping with the time which gave rise to it.

However, the truth of Marxism, like any other truth, not only has relativity but also absoluteness which is embodied in relativity. Following the development of social practice, certain formulations formerly in keeping with actual conditions have changed and are no longer in keeping with actual conditions. We cannot separate the relativity and absoluteness of truth, deify Marxist truth, think of it in terms of absolutes, negate its relativity and turn it into absolute and rigid dogma. Marx firmly opposed the dogmatic attitude of "appearing in the posture of an armchair theorist, of holding a set of ready-made principles and shouting to the world: Here is the truth, fall on your knees and pay homage!" He advocated combining theory and practice and called for "elucidating new principles for the world from the principles of the world itself." (Lenin also said: "We do not regard Marx' theory as something complete and inviolable. On the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists must develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 203)

Compared with the time Marx discovered Marxism, a very great change has definitely taken place in the new capitalist development caused by the industrial revolution centered on electronics technology, despite the fact that the societies of these Western countries are still capitalist in character. Many of Marx' formulations are no longer in keeping with present reality. A very great change has taken place in the present condition of the workers of developed capitalist countries of the West compared with the condition of the proletariat used by Marx as his point of departure when he discovered Marxism. The labor of most of the workers consists of pressing buttons and adjusting dials and their basic livelihood is guaranteed. Most of the people have their own cars, TV sets and refrigerators and some even have their own homes. These changes have made some of Marx' formulations obsolete. For example, Marx in "The Holy Family" said: "The properties class and the class of the proletariat present the same human self-alienation. But the former class finds in this self-alienation its confirmation and its good, its own power; it has in it a semblance of human existence. The class of the proletariat feels annihilated in its self-alienation." "It sees in it its own powerlessness and the reality of an inhuman existence." Here, Marx' affirmation of the same human self-alienation of the properties class and the class of the proletariat is correct, but can it be said that the workers of the developed capitalist countries of the West at present with cars, TV sets and refrigerators "see their own powerlessness" and "the reality of an inhuman existence?" Or that their lives do not have the semblance of human existence?

After analyzing the inevitability of the transformation of capitalism into socialism, Engels in "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" said: "Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletariats, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution." Can we now say that the workers of Western capitalist countries with their cars, TV sets and refrigerators are under penalty of destruction? Even though unemployed workers are more impoverished than employed workers, their basic livelihood is guaranteed by social welfare. So where is there "penalty of destruction?" If the proletariat is no longer under the penalty of destruction, there must be a new expression for the motive of carrying out this transformation. What effect and change will this motive have on the form and way of carrying out this transformation. Should we still adopt Marx' formula of violent revolution or must we carry out new theoretical exploration and discussion? This is the problem placed before Western Marxist scholars.

The conclusion reached by Marx and Engels from the study of monopoly capital was that the socialist revolution could only succeed if it were carried out simultaneously in all or most of the capitalist countries. However, the conclusion reached by Lenin in his study of imperialism from the development of capitalism to the stage of monopoly said that the old formula of Marx and Engels was no longer suited to the new historical condition. He said that socialist revolution could be completely successful in a single country first. At that time, opportunists of various countries desperately stuck to the old formula of Marx and Engels and reproached Lenin for deviating from Marxism. However, the victory of the October Revolution proved that the genuine Marxist who mastered Marxism was Lenin and not the opportunists. It proved that Lenin had advanced Marxism and that the opportunists who tenaciously defended the words of Marx were instead holding this theory back and turning it into a dogma. At present, seven to eight countries in Westerp Europe have formed an economic alliance and many multinational companies have appeared in the capitalist world. They are breaking national and state confines and becoming cosmopolitan in capitalist private ownership of means of production. In this new situation, can a revolution carried out by the proletariat of a country succeed independently? Is Lenin's teaching of the proletarian revolution succeeding in a country first still suitable for Western Europe at present? Should Western Europe return again to Marx' conclusion that the proletarian revolution must succeed simultaneously in all major capitalist countries? This is an important lesson Marxists must theoretically explore and discuss.

Some people thought that the rapid development of productive forces caused by the scientific and technical revolution in developed capitalist societies of the West and the cosmopolitan transformation of ownership of means of production by monopoly capitalists confirmed that the capitalist system would live on forever. Actually this is the proof that the capitalist system is heading toward its own destruction. In "German Ideology," Marx long ago pointed out that communism is preconditioned by the high development of productive forces and the universal development of global contacts. Only when individuals who represent narrow regional history are replaced by individuals who represent global history can proper material and spiritual conditions be prepared for the victory of communism. In terms of the victory of communism, the present ratio of multinational companies in developed capitalist countries of the West is still small and productive forces are still not fully developed relatively speaking. Communism implies the ample flow of all sources of social riches so that everyone will have a great deal of leisure and can fish in the morning and paint and draw in the afternoon. The development of productive forces in developed capitalist societies of the West will promote the gradual ripening of communist revolution. As to the specific conditions under which this revolution will take place, its characteristics, the form it will adopt and the road it will take, thoroughgoing study must still be carried out on the basis of the immediate new conditions in the developed capitalist countries to arrive at a theoretical conclusion corresponding to reality. We cannot indiscriminately apply the effective revolutionary formula of the East to the West.

The industrial revolution centering on electronics technology also raised new questions for Marx' theory on the conflict between town and country and the course of the elimination of this conflict and his theory on the conflict between physical and mental labor and the course of its elimination. In modern developed capitalist countries, the benighted country does not exist anymore. Agriculture is being industrialized and becoming more and more scientific--so much so that in Italy the population of agricultural workers has been reduced to less than 10 percent of the total number of workers. In Britain it has been reduced to 1 percent. In 1979 the total number of agricultural workers in West European countries came to only 12.1 million. These workers deal with highly complex technical equipment and have a certain cultural level. The ignorance of several thousand years has vanished. The bourgeois governments also pay attention to moving industry from town to country, actively strive to solve the problem of pollution by taking strict measures, actively launch mass sports activities and raise the level of health among residents of urban areas. This results in a new trend of integration of town and country. At the same time, due to the revolution in science and technology, industrial and agricultural labor itself requires that workers possess a considerably high level of knowledge in science and culture and a considerable level of technical know-how, that is the integration of physical and mental labor. Thus, on the one hand, there is "white-collarization" of blue collar workers with the blue collar workers catching up with the technological level of intermediate level intellectuals, while on the other hand, most experts, technicians and intellecuals in the technological fields have become employees of monopolistic corporations, with their position becoming closer and closer to workers and their employment and working conditions losing clear distinctions with workers. The majority of the rapidly growing number of university students have become a reserve army of the proletariat. Therefore, there is also a growing trend of integration between intellectuals and workers and between physical and mental labor. Sticking merely to the old formula of contradiction between mental and physical labor under the conditions of capitalism can no longer explain this new phenomenon.

Furthermore, the historical conditions prevailing at the time Marx presented his theory of absolute impoverishment of the proletariat (including working conditions and conditions for reproduction of productive forces) were quite different from present historical conditions. At present, because science has become a direct productive force and because other factors of the productive process are involved, Marx' theory on the absolute impoverishment of the proletariat also has to be reevaluated.

The technological revolution has greatly enhanced human capacity to understand and change nature. For example, man-made intelligence (sophisticated electronics technology) is becoming closer and closer to human intelligence (the human brain). This raises the question of whether an organic fusion of the human brain and computers would come into being and of the proper delineation of artificial reasoning power. Experiments are being performed on artificial cell fusion. Experiments on test tube babies have been successful. Research on asexual reproduction has also been fruitful. New species of beings and even "monsters" could appear in great numbers. How humankind would propagate its species and what would become of ethical and moral concepts is still unimaginable at present. The astronavigation industry has been progressing rapidly. Man has already succeeded in landing on the moon. Humankind's knowledge of celestial bodies has achieved unprecedented progress. Man's knowledge of the secret of the inner structure of atoms and of the basic particles has also developed tremendously. The epochmaking progress of science and technology in the past 20 years is indeed the greatest revolutionary force which has shaken the very foundation of the world. This force will surely give impetus to a great development in Marxism. Today, Marxism is on the eve of enormous progress. Like Lenin, who developed Marxism after encountering the new situation of imperialism, we are today confronted with a situation similar to that which confronted Lenin before. Faced with the new situation of the scientific and technological revolution, we must also push Marxism forward as Lenin said!

Therefore, we must not only study the works of Marx and the new changes brought about by the scientific and technological revolution more thoroughly, but we must also study relevant works by Marxists in other socialist countries and works by scholars of Marxism in the West. They have raised many new questions on the works of Marx which they think ought to be studied based on new changes in capitalism brought about by the scientific and technological revolution. Even though most of their conclusions are wrong, the questions and viewpoints they present assist rather than obstruct our efforts to correctly analyze reality from the basic viewpoints of Marxism and to develop Marxism. As long as we take the analytical attitude of Marxism, theoretical works of Western scholars of Marxism will be good references.

Stalin was right when he said: "Opportunism does not always mean a direct denial of the Marxist theory or of any of its propositions and conclusions. Opportunism is sometimes expressed in the attempt to cling to certain of the propositions of Marxism that have already become antiquated and to convert them into a dogma, so as to retard the development of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat." Stalin also pointed out the great significance of kicking away this dogmatism to the revolutionary cause. He said: "What would have happened to the party, to our revolution, to Marxism, if Lenin had been overawed by the letter of Marxism and had not had the courage of theoretical conviction to discard one of the old conclusions of Marxism and to replace it by a new conclusion affirming that the victory of socialism in one country, taken singly, was possible--a conclusion which corresponded to the new historical conditions? The party would have groped in the dark, the proletarian revolution would have been deprived of leadership, and the Marxists [words indistinct] The proletariat would have lost, and the enemies of the proletariat would have won." ("History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks): A Short Course," conclusion) We must take Lenin as an example and the failure of the dogmatists who clung to the letters of Marxism as a warning!

CSO: 4005

'XINHUA' INTERVIEWS GHANA FINANCE MINISTER ON FOREIGN LOANS

OW161946 Beijing XINHUA in English 1936 GMT 16 Oct 80

[Text] Accra, October 16 (XINHUA)--Around seven hundred million cedis worth of foreign loans to Ghana have been contracted since the Limann civilian administration assumed office a year ago, according to statistics provided by the country's Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.

The loans mainly coming from West Germany, the World Bank, the United States, OPEC, EEC and other international organizations provided for the financial backing of a number of agricultural, industrial and transport infrastructural projects in Ghana.

Amon Nikoi, minister of finance and economic planning, told XINHUA recently that the flowing-in of foreign loans as well as the improvement of the country's investment climate which led to renewed interest from some big international companies especially in oil prospecting and the mining sector, and the prospects of resumption of brisk activity in trade are all encouraging developments pointing to a gradual revival of international confidence in the Shanaian economy.

As part of the government's efforts to gain this confidence which is essential in obtaining necessary external assistance to supplement the resuscitation of the shattered economy, the Limann administration has managed to settle a significant amount of foreign debts with countries concerned.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

NEW MINISTERS IN BURMA--Rangoon, 16 Oct (XINHUA)--The sixth session of the Second Burmese National Assembly today formally approved the election of three new ministers. The session yesterday elected U Aung Kyaw Myint minister for information and culture to replace U Mahn San Myat Shwe, U Kyaw Nyien minister for education to replace Dr Khin Maung Win who resigned earlier, and former Vice-Chief of Staff (Navy) Admiral Chit Hlaing minister for labour and social welfare to replace Brigadier General Khin Ohn. U Mahn San Myat Shwe and Brigadier General Khin Ohn were elected members of the Council of People's Justices by the assembly on October 14. In addition, Captain Maung Maung Win has been appointed as vice-chief of staff (navy). Meanwhile, the session has also approved unanimously the agreement on the delimitation of the Burmese-Thai maritime boundary signed by the foreign ministers of the two countires here last July. Commenting on the agreement at the assembly session, some members of the assembly said it was a timely one and would ensure a peaceful solution to any problems that might arise and would strengthen the friendship between the two countries which was conducive to peace in the Southeast Asian region. [Text] [OW170116 Beijing XINHUA in English 0105 GMT 17 Oct 80]

MALTA, BANGLADESH OBSERVE PRC NATIONAL DAY--Beijing, 11 Oct (XINHUA)--Dom Mintoff, prime minister of the Republic of Malta and Mirza Gholum Hafiz, speaker of Bangladesh Parliament recently sent messages to Chinese leaders, congratulating them on the 31st anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. [OW111515 Beijing XINHUA in English 1508 GMT 11 Oct 80]

CSO: 4020

LOOPHOLES IN HUA GUOFENG'S ASSESSMENT OF MAO ZEDONG

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 pp 24-31

[Article by Lu Zhongjian [4151 0022 1017]]

[Text] I. On Assessing Mao

Necessity of Assessing Mao

Recently, the Chinese Communist leaders made some public comments on Mao Zedong, affirming his great achievements on the one hand and pointing out his mistakes on the other. It was most noteworthy.

Mao Zedong was closely linked with China's fate of the past half a century. No one had made greater contributions to the creation of the PRC, nor had anyone, when building the nation after 1949, committed graver errors and caused more serious damages to the country and the people. This was one aspect. In the other aspect, for decades, Mao Zedong's each word and each idea, be they true Marxism-Leninism or unsound "leftwing" thinking, were revered as the compass of action, and his tremendous influence in the ideological realm was peerless. Today, to bring order out of chaos and clarify the right and wrong, Mao must be assessed; to learn the lesson and know the course to follow, he must be assessed; to emancipate thinking and boldly create, he must be assessed; to eliminate the remnant ultraleftwing poison and purge the "whatever" influence, he must be assessed. In short, "only by assessing Mao will progress become possible."

One point is easily overlooked by the CCP: The tremendous international significance in assessing Mao. In the past, the ultraleftwing appearance and ultraleftwing line blocked international intercourse, hampered unity against hegemony and produced an undesirable effect in international struggles and the international communist movement. By means of assessing Mao and rectifying the line, China's image will improve, international affairs will develop even more, and a favorable influence on international struggles and the international communist movement will ensue.

First Step: De-deification

Correctly assessing Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes is an arduous and enormous task. To perform it properly, a series of conditions is required. The relatively easier one to accomplish is to restore the true features to Mao Zedong and his ideology. This may be called the first step in assessing Mao, but it is an important one.

What is restoring the true features to Mao Zedong and his ideology? It is: from a deity to a human; from a savior to a revolutionary; from a meritorious and flawless superman to a mortal with serious mistakes as well as great achievements; from the red treasure book of all truths to a work with fallacious words as well as real knowledge and deep insight.

Hua Guofeng's Failure to Be Matter-of-fact

To de-deify Mao and restore him his true features, the principle of seeking the truth from the facts must be strictly observed. Failing to do so, or hemming and hawing and covering up, making Mao Zedong into a demigod or a deity and mortal in one will not be restoring to him his true features. Assessing him in this way will only produce negative results, without any positive significance.

What is regrettable is that CCP Chairman Hua Guofeng, in his assessment of Mao, failed to follow completely the principle of seeking the truth from the facts.

On 26 July, Hua Guofeng answered a series of questions posed by (Dala Yanaikeweiqi), a reporter of the Yugoslavian (XINSHI BAO). A part of his written answers concerned the assessment of Mao Zedong. Reading it, I feel that, in his assessment of Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes, there are four points requiring deliberation.

II. Four Loopholes

First, Hua Guofeng was not comprehensive enough on the relatively grave mistakes made after the founding of the nation.

The main content of his assessment of Mao was:

"According to our party history, from 1935, after establishing Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership position in the party, to 1957, we won the anti-Japanese and the liberation wars, gained national political power, and launched the socialist reform of the production means ownership system while pursuing large-scale socialist construction. From 1958 to the eve of the Great Cultural Revolution, relatively serious deviations appeared in our work. We were impatient for success, and we made the mistake of magnifying the class struggle on some issues. In spite of such problems, the party line, generally speaking, was correct.

"From the second half of 1966 to the second half of 1976, in the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution, the party made distressingly grave mistakes.

"As the chairman of the party, Comrade Mao Zedong naturally had his responsibilities for such mistakes."

The comment in this article on Hua Guofeng's assessment of Mao basically refers to the passage cited above. Simple and concise, the passage contains some points which should be affirmed, but his view was not comprehensive enough, and one cannot agree with some of the points.

Why do we maintain that Hua Guofeng was not comprehensive enough when he said that Mao Zedong made "relatively serious deviations" and "distressingly grave mistakes" in those years?

He at least omitted the "anti-rightist struggle" of 1957.

Over 500,000 Unjust and Wrong Cases

In 1957, the Chinese Communist cadres' practice of acting as bureaucrats and overlords was quite serious, and various defects existed in all aspects of government work. At that time, Mao Zedong encouraged the people to "express themselves freely" in aid of the rectification of the CCP. Thereupon, many patriotic people immediately responded to the appeal and expressed their views, making suggestions one after another. It was an excellent thing for the country as well as for the CCP. To their surprise, they were denounced as rightists and encountered criticisms and struggles. A total of 550,000 persons throughout the country were classified as rightists, implicating even their families. Probably around 2 million people were victimized. In recent years, the classification of the 500,000 "rightists" was almost all rectified. The "major rightists" who had never had their classification changed included only Luo Longji [5012 7127 1015], Zhang Bojun [4545 0130 6874], Chu Anping [0328 1344 1627] and others, a total of five individuals. As for the "minor rightists," the number of those whose classification was not rectified was very small.

Actually, even if some individuals within the people made rightwing mistakes, as long as they were not guilty of acts in violation of the criminal code, they were merely "ideological offenders" and "opinion offenders," and should not be regarded as true criminals or labeled as rightists. Those who had undergone severe tempering in the revolutionary struggles might also have made all kinds of mistakes, even line mistakes, and the consequences of their mistakes would be a hundred times more serious than the mistakes of ordinary people. If they must all be labeled, one would like to know just how many of the CCP leaders are exempt. Even if there was the need to oppose rightism in 1957, would not a gentle and mild critical education on the ideological front, without roll call, be adequate? Why must there have been the anti-rightist struggle?

Six Serious Consequences

The consequences brought by the anti-rightist struggle to the country and the people were too drastic:

1. Around 2 million people were victimized, including many outstanding individuals in the Chinese people.

2. Many suggestions beneficial to the national economy and the people's livelihood were rejected and negated.

3. The CCP could have obtained the help of non-party personages to rectify the party style, but the anti-rightist struggle not only caused the rectification movement to be abandoned midway, but fostered the bureaucraticism and other evil trends in the party, leading to even greater mistakes in the future on the part of the CCP.

4. The very superficial democratic life grew even more tenuous. The people could not express their feelings or make suggestions.

5. The intellectuals and patriotic figures encountered particularly severe blows. Their enthusiasm dropped from near boiling point to almost zero.

6. After completing the three great reforms, the hostile classes had basically vanished. The CCP, at its "Eighth Congress," stressed the importance of "rallying all strengths at home and abroad which can be rallied to struggle for a great socialist China.... In our various government organs and all kinds of social endeavors, we must rely on non-party personnel to perform a large amount of work. If we are not adept in relying on the masses and cooperating with non-party personnel, it will be impossible to perform the work properly." (Mao Zedong's inauguration speech at the Eighth Congress). However, the "anti-rightist struggle" ran completely counter to the "Eighth

Congress" line and Mao Zedong's appeal and sowed the seed for the subsequent arbitrary "class struggle." It was too terrible!

In view thereof, was the mistake of the "anti-rightist struggle" not a "relatively serious deviation?"

Different Views in the Party

The CCP's well-known expert in party history Liao Gailong [1627 5556 7127] talked about anti-rightism in Tianjin and indicated that some of the people in the CCP disagreed with it. He said:

"On the anti-rightist struggle of 1957, the views today are not completely identical. According to one view, the struggle itself was not wrong, but the mistake was in magnifying it. According to another view, rightists did exist, but did they constitute a great threat--a threat to our state? According to these comrades, it was not so. As stated by Chairman Mao long ago, as we had a powerful state machine in our hands, we had no fear of the rebellion of the national bourgeoisie. How should we handle the few rightists such as Zhang Bojun and Luo Longji who proposed taking turns serving as the banker? All you had to do was to say no to them! If you pointed out that they were wrong, when there was the Communist Party leadership, would they be able to take the polotical power away from you? Did they have such strength? By resorting to the means of attaching labels on a national scale, 550,000 people were classified as rightists, and the issue has only been solved now. How many of the 550,000 rightists have now had their classification corrected? The answer is 93 percent of them. In other word, over 500,000 were erroneously classified. They were not rightists to start with, but were arbitrarily labeled as such, and 93 out of 100 were erroneously classified. Thus, the extent of magnification was considerable."

Was the attitude scientific when so many unjust and wrong cases were excluded from the "relatively serious deviations?"

According to the foregoing analysis, to call the "anti-rightist struggle" merely a "relatively serious deviation" is rather inadequate. It should be considered a mistake, or even a grave one.

The Person Mainly Responsible

Next, in regard to the mistakes of impatience for success economically and the magnification of the class struggle politically of many years and the error of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Hua Guofeng declared that they were the responsibilities of the party. Without indicating that Mao Zedong should be mainly responsible, he only said: "As the chairman of the party, Comrade Mao Zedong naturally had his responsibilities for such mistakes." His view calls for deliberation.

After 1958, the country experienced three setbacks, viz., the "great leap forward;" the "anti-rightist struggle;" the "Great Cultural Revolution." The CCP must be responsible for the first and second, which were serious mistakes, and the third, which was unusually serious. However, the one mainly responsible should not be the party, but Mao. Mao should be mainly responsible, not just as the party chairman, but mainly as the agitator or initiator of the three movements.

The "Great Leap Forward"

The "great leap forward" was launched by Mao Zedong between the end of 1957 and the first half of 1958. At that time, some members of the Party Central Committee showed support, while others were cool toward it, and were branded as "regressives." Most of the party committees of the various levels bent with the wind and became hotheaded. Deviating to the "left," the party mobilized the entire people to make iron and steel. Immediately thereafter, the people's commune movement was launched, also in a great hurry and with spectacular achievements. Assistant Chief Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028] of the China Social Science Insitute, who served as Liu Shaoqi's secretary before the Cultural Revolution, said in a speech at the institute:

"Our mistakes were made by Chairman Mao.... One was the people's commune movement. In many areas, this one supplied and that one supplied, and Chairman Mao was very happy at the beginning. In 1958, not long after the Beidaihe meeting, Xushui in Hebei was the first to advance to the communist society. It introduced the total supply system. The chairman was indeed very enthusiastic and wanted to find out how Xushui accomplished it. Taking Chen Boda [7115 0130 6671] and Zhang Chunqiao [1728 2504 2890] with him, he asked the county party committee secretary to make a report.... Chairman Mao added the following passage to the decision on the people's commune at the Beidaihe meeting: By introducing the people's commune, 3 or 4, or 5 or 6 years later, the collective ownership system will change to the popular ownership system.... He also agreed to setting high quotas and doubling the output.... It was decided at the Beidaihe meeting that the iron and steel output would be doubled, and the target for 1958 was set at 10.7 million ton and published. Thereupon, the entire country refined iron and steel on a large scale."

Yu Guangyuan's Report to Mao

Before 1958, the overwhelming majority of the Chinese Communist cadres was hotheaded, as illustrated by the following two instances:

One was Yu Guangyuan's [0060 0342 6678] report to Mao Zedong that apples could grow as big as pumpkins. In his talk at the rotational training class of the cadres of the Sichuan Provincial Institute of Philosophy and those of the provincial and bureau levels and above, he mentioned the incident: "I was the chief of the science office of the Central Ministry of Propaganda during the great leap forward. The position was not high. A member of the Central Science Group was an even higher title. At that time, there were Zhang Jinfu [1728 0513 1133] and Han Guang [7281 0342], and then there was I. At that time, I actually became convinced by a report and had Comrade Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271] take me and Comrade Zhang Jinfu to report to Chairman Mao that, when an apple was inserted in a pumpkin, the apple would grow with the pumpkin and become very big. I studied natural science, and graduated from the Physics Department of Qinghua University. It was really ridiculous when I think of it." From his words, one can see that he was modest, and courageous in self-analysis, but what is even more important is that a scientific mind may also become unscientifically hotheaded.

Deng Xiaoping and the "70,000-Jin" Hoax

The second instance was that Deng Xiaoping was once tricked by unfounded spectacular achievements. This was mentioned by Deng Liqun in his talk in Beijing University. He said: "There was a false labor model in Tianjin's Xiaozhan (a famous rice producing area) who compressed the rice output of 70 plus mu into 1 mu and claimed the mu output to be 70,000 jin. When asked about ventilation, he said that fans were used. Comrade Deng Xiaoping went to see for himself. He said: We saw it; we were convinced. A picture was taken, and placed under glass upon his return. Who could have imagined that it was untrue? Lack of experience, enthusiasm and hotheadedness. There was a popular remark at that time: Whatever can be thought of can be accomplished. As proved by experience, it is no way to run industry and the economy."

Mao Zedong's Self-Criticism

All the data cited above explain one point: For the great setback of 1958, Mao Zedong made a mistake, and the entire party made a mistake. However, Mao Zedong was the promoter of the great leap forward and the people's commune. Therefore, he should be more responsible than others. His self-criticism and admission of error at the central enlarged meeting (a mass meeting of 7,000 people) in January 1962 embodied this idea.

"Anti-Rightwing"

The "anti-rightwing opportunism" campaign of 1959 was yet another serious setback.

At the Lushan Conference in the summer of that year, Peng Dehuai [1756 1795 2037] brought up the issues of the great leap forward and the people's commune. Mao Zedong launched anti-rightism in the whole country, and Peng Dehuai and his supporters Huang Kecheng [7806 0344 6134], Zhang Wentian [1728 5113 1131] and others were denounced as an anti-party clique. Actually, Peng Dehuai was correct and Mao Zedong's anti-rightism was wrong, and it was also wrong to denounce Peng, Huang, Zhang and others as an anti-party clique. Mao Zedong should be mainly responsible for this setback. Naturally, the Party Central Committee must also share the responsibilities. At that time, the supporters of Peng Dehuai consisted of only a minority such as Huang and Zhang. Had the open supporters constituted the majority, the situation might possibly have been reversed. Therefore, the Party Central Committee must also be responsible.

The "Great Cultural Revolution"

An even greater setback was the "Great Cultural Revolution" launched in the second half of 1966.

In his answers to a Yugoslavian reporter, Hua Guofeng said: "The party made mistakes in the Great Cultural Revolution, mainly in making unrealistic assessments of the domestic and party situations and in adopting erroneous policies and methods of struggle." One may affirm that the two points mentioned by Hua Guofeng were two serious mistakes of the Cultural Revolution. However, he failed to point out two other serious mistakes. One was the theoretical mistake: Anti-revisionism was launched when even the meaning of revisionism was not understood. The other was the organizational mistake: The decision to launch the Great Cultural Revolution was made by Mao Zedong personally in disregard of democratic centralism and without going through the Party Central Committee and the Politburo.

Mao's Theoretical and Organizational Mistakes

Hua Guofeng's omission of the two mistakes was very important. In regard to Mao Zedong's organizational mistake, if it is not affirmed, the responsibility for the 10-year calamity, at least, cannot be clarified. Hua Guofeng generalized the issue, feeling that Mao Zedong's responsibility for the mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution" was limited to his position as the party chairman, while actually, his organizational mistake (just this point alone) was the important basis of his responsibility, the main responsibility. As everyone knows, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was "personally launched and personally led" by Mao Zedong. At that time, the party organizations of all levels were actually in a state of paralysis and collapse. There was a slogan which said: "Kick aside the party committee and make revolution." Many old cadres were placed under supervision, or even jailed. Even if they became aware and wished to resist the "Great Cultural Revolution," it would have been by no means easy.

It was thus with the "Cultural Revolution," and it was more or less thus with the movements prior thereto.

From 1958 to 1976, Mao Zedong's patriarchal style became ever more serious, and intra-party democratic life was extremely abnormal, or even nonexistent. Secondly, the political movements one after another were mostly initiated by him. Therefore, he must be responsible not just because of his chairmanship of the party.

The Fundamental Reason for the Mistake of the "Cultural Revolution"

Thirdly, Hua Guofeng did not mention the most fundamental reason for the mistakes made by Mao Zedong in the later period of the "Cultural Revolution." He said: "Comrade Mao Zedong became sick in his late years. Before his death, his physical condition deteriorated, and he had difficulty with speech and movement. The 'gang of four' took advantage of the situation, deceived him and concealed the truth of their conspiratorial activities, which could not but seriously influence his leadership of the party and the government." The impression conveyed by the statement is: Had Mao Zedong remained healthy in his late years, the "gang of four" would not have been able to deceive or hoodwink him, and the mistakes in the later period of the "Cultural Revolution" would not have been made, or to such an extent. Was Hua Guofeng's view compatible with the practical situation?

One may say that Mao Zedong's ill health in his late years made it easy for him to be hoodwinked, thereby affecting his work. However, it was not the fundamental reason for his mistakes.

What was the fundamental reason?

One must look for it in his ideology.

"Leftism" and the Savior Idea

Mao Zedong had indeed been "leftwing" for a long time. The manifestation of such "leftism" in political work was the failure to distinguish the enemy and the friend and the two different kinds of contradictions (though Mao Zedong himself often reminded people to distinguish the contradictions within the people and those between the enemy and ourselves). Thus, "class struggles," "continuous revolution," "resisting and preventing revisionism" and "punishing the capitalist roaders" were continuously and arbitrarily launched, resulting in extremely unfortunate consequences to the state and the people. In economic work, it was manifested in impatience and recklessness and in overestimating the abilities in violation of the objective laws. This has been extensively discussed above.

In addition, Mao Zedong had, for a long time, entertained the savior idea. As early as in Yanan, he once happily accepted without embarrassment an inscription with the characters "People's Great Savior" written on it given to him by the masses. Even though he proposed a ban on celebrating the birthdays of leaders and naming places, streets and enterprises after them, the whole world knows that "East Is Red," which referred to Mao Zedong as the "people's great savior" and was contrary to the principle that "there has never been a savior" of the "Internationale," was sung throughout the country everyday and everywhere. Instead of abhorring and opposing personal worship, Mao Zedong's reaction was basically affirmative. The substance of the savior idea was subjectivism plus personal heroism. Combined with the feudal ideology and the ideology of royal power, the style of dictatorship, autocracy, arbitrariness and patriarchy was created.

The development of "leftism" and the savior idea led to four mistakes: 1. the wrong assessment of the situation prior to the "Cultural Revolution;" 2. the wrong understanding of revisionism; 3. the organizational mistake in deciding to launch the "Cultural Revolution;" 4. the wrong policies and methods of struggle adopted in the "Cultural Revolution." All these resulted in the grave error of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

"Leftism" Fostering "Leftism"

Hua Guofeng's emphasis on the "gang of four's" utilization of the "mistakes made by the party" and its deceipt of Mao Zedong failed to explain any issue. He never mentioned the real reason for the "gang of four's" ascent to China's political arena and its arrogance and power. Actually, it was inseparable from Mao Zedong's appreciation, promotion and protection. The fundamental reason for Mao's high regard for the gang was his "leftist" thinking, and the "gang of four" was also "leftist." In mathematics, two minuses make one plus; in politics, "leftism" and "leftism" foster each other. Naturally, it was not the sole reason for Mao's good relationship with the "gang of four," but it was the most fundamental one.

Though Mao Zedong finally recognized the problems of the "gang of four," he had no intention to purge them from the Politburo. The veterans of the CCP had long recognized this point. Deng Liqun indicated semi-overtly: "Many comrades said that the 'gang of four' problem must be solved. Chairman Mao did mention it, but what he said was that, if it was not solved the first half of the year, it would be solved the second half of the year; if not this year, it would be next year; if not next year, it would be the year after. However, when it came to Comrade [Deng] Xiaoping, it was solved in one sentence. How does one explain it? The chairman pointed out that Jiang Qing had ambitions and wanted to become the chairman of the state, and that the problem was very clear: She wanted to usurp the party. Yet his criticism of such an individual was very polite in tone."

The Suspicion of Avoiding the Vital to Dwell on the Trivial

Naturally, the CCP high level also had a considerable responsibility in Mao Zedong's promotion of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to important positions. At that time, Mao Zedong followed the partiarchal practice on the one hand while, on the other, certain people blindly worshipped an individual, taking his every word as gospel truth, raising their hands to show support and acting accordingly. Deng Liqun admitted: "Lin Biao and the 'gang of four's' rise to power was linked with Chairman Mao's mistakes and with his supreme authority. With one word, Lin Biao rose; with one word, Comrade Deng Xiaoping fell. Such authority was not false. On my part, I had long felt that Lin Biao was the best successor to the chairman. Therefore, the moment the chairman named him the successor, I was sincerely happy." Lin Biao had long regarded Liu Shaoqi as an enemy, yet the latter's secretary actually felt such a great admiration for him. It indicated that the number of people in the party deceived by illusions was absolutely not small. Nevertheless, Mao Zedong's power, especially his ultraleftwing line and his patriarchal practice, was, after all, the fundamental reason for Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" rise to power.

By mentioning only that Mao Zedong was deceived due to ill health, Hua Guofeng attended to trifles to the neglect of essentials and ran the suspicion of avoiding the important to dwell on the trivial.

"The Party Line, Generally Speaking, Was Correct?"

Fourthly, Hua Guofeng summarized the course of the CCP of so many years into one point: "The party line, generally speaking, was correct." This summation was also incompatible with reality.

The summarizing statement has been cited above. The final sentence, "the party line, generally speaking, was correct," was not clear in the time concept. The time "generalized" in "generally speaking" could possibly refer to the interval "after 1958 and before the Great

Cultural Revolution" or after the liberation of the mainland to 1966 or, as a third possibility, from 1935 on. The choice among the three possibilities leaves one baffled. In any case, the statement that "the party line, generally speaking, was correct" is perhaps somewhat exaggerated.

What was the line of the CCP from 1958 to 1966? In the 8 years, the CCP deviated from the line proposed by the "8th Congress" of 1956. On the one hand, not only it failed to shift the emphasis of work to construction, but it continued with the class struggle recklessly (the anti-rightism and punishment of Peng Dehuai of 1959; the "four clean-ups," cleaning up politics, the economy, ideology and organization, also known as the socialist education movement, of 1964, to rectify the "capitalist roaders in the party"). On the other hand, it violated the principle of seeking the truth from the facts, which is a fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle, and the objective economic laws and launched economic ventures. Such venturousness and rashness were "leftwing" manifestations, and such "leftism" became fairly pronounced by 1957. Was it not "leftwing" to condemn several hundred thousand as rightists when they were not so? After 1957, every political movement was "leftwing." In other word, it was not just "leftwing" at one time or in one instance, but ever more "leftwing" step by step. By the time of the "Cultural Revolution," it developed to "ultraleftism." Obviously, it was not merely an error of tendency, but a mistake of the line. What line? The leftwing line.

The Year 1949, the Beginning of "Leftism"

When discussing Mao Zedong's leaning toward the "left," one should actually begin with the founding of the nation. Before then, Mao Zedong time and again declared that, after the creation of the new China, the capitalist economy must be permitted to develop for a considerably long period of time. It was a view which was compatible with the state of the country. To put it more concretely, under the situation where the production force was low, the capitalist economy should be permitted to develop to a certain extent and the individual economy should be permitted to exist for a considerable period of time. It would benefit the development of the national economy, the growth of the production force and the improvement of the people's living standard. However, after the founding of the PRC, Mao Zedong changed his original intent. Disregarding the objective laws and the fact that the production force was far behind the production relationship, he attempted to change immediately the coexisting situation of the private capitalist and the individual economies with the state-owned and the cooperative economies. Both the private capitalist and the individual economies were eliminated too hastily, while cooperativization and communization were introduced too soon. Like a potful of half-cooked rice, the national economy encountered many problems and difficulties. Chinese communist theoretician Zeng Yanxiu [2582 1750 0208] made an academic report last year entitled "the Issue of the Popularization and Elevation of Marxism." The passage on the relationship between the CCP and the peasants was relatively matter-of-fact. Though rather lengthy, it is worthwhile reading.

Cooperativization, Communization and Half-Cooked Rice

"Generally speaking, land reform was nominally completed in the whole country in 1952, but actually it was not completed in South China until 1953. However, the decision on cooperativization was made in 1953. Chen Boda made the announcement: In the sphere of the entire country, be they new, old or semi-old liberated areas, cooperativization was to be introduced by the same method, and elementary agricultural cooperatives were to be created. At that time, land was made into shares, and some dividends were distributed. With more and better land, the middle peasants received some dividend besides the labor force. It was called the elementary cooperative. However, the new areas at that time were not liberated until after 1949 or 1950, and the peasants of more than half of China had just received their land. They had barely begun to form an attachment to the land distributed to them, and some of them did not even have any feeling of attachment, as land had not yet been distributed to them. Let us draw an analogy: The situation is the same as when a young man has not even seen his prospective bride, who has been referred to him by a third party, and he is asked to father a child the next day and change the relationship drastically. The land had not been completely distributed, and the peasants were told to cooperativize. Neither the peasants nor the cadres knew what it was all about. The situation in the old liberated areas was different. In the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia region and North China, there was more than a decade of work foundation, and the land issue had been basically solved. The Northeast base also had had a history of 4 or 5 years. However, in the provinces south of the Changjiang River, when land had barely been distributed to the peasants, and the cadres and peasants did not know what it was all about, they were told to cooperativize. Elementary cooperatives were created in 1953, which were completely transformed into advanced cooperatives in 1956. There was no more land dividend, and large farm tools, large animals and land were all turned into shares and became the property of the cooperative. Inevitably the enthusiasm of the middle and well-to-do middle peasants was dampened. One cannot blame them for their dissatisfaction. Thereafter, the middle peasants were criticized for following the capitalist path. It was called the spontaneous force, which was criticized. When the advanced cooperative was not yet consolidated, and some areas still did not know what it was all about, communization was launched simultaneously in the whole country in 1958. JENMIN RIBAO at that time made the appeal to 'set up the framework promptly,' saying that, while experimenting was required in other work, it was not necessary for this kind of work, and all that was required was to set up the framework promptly. No one knew anything about this new thing, not even its name, yet, without any experimental unit, communization was suddenly launched in the whole country. Each covering one route on bicycles, the secretary, assistant secretary and standing committee members of some county party committees, and the unit chiefs and assistant chiefs would organise 3 people's communes in 1 day, and 20 or 30 communes of an entire county in 2 or 3 days. No one knew just what it was all about. All they knew was to share the rice in the large cauldron. They received their grain rations and ate them all up in 2 or 3 months."

The Relatively Successful First 5-Year Plan

In the fifties, as the formulation and implementation of the First and Second 5-Year Plans were fairly successful, the national economy made a certain development. However, it was indivisible from assimilating the Soviet experience. The Soviet experience was not necessarily correct. For a long time, China copied it and followed the Stalin model, and suffered greatly as a result. However, when formulating the First 5-Year Plan, the Soviet experience was indeed useful. Before its formulation, Chen Yun [7115 7189] personally went to Moscow for instructions from Stalin. Discussing the Soviet experience, Stalin said: "You are the first socialist country in the East to launch the First 5-Year Plan. The success or failure of its implementation will have a great impact on your domestic and international influence. One of the Soviet experience is that, when making long-range plans, the target should be set relatively low." Setting the target relatively low meant to refrain from reaching beyond one's ability and departing from reality, and to leave a margin of safety. The CCP Central Committee accepted Stalin's suggestion, and the First 5-Year Plan was arranged accordingly. While speed was sought, attention was given to proportions in planning. When the Second 5-Year Plan was formulated, some margin of safety was left. The plan completion in 1958 was relatively successful. However, precisely because of this, many people in the party were carried away, and the ambitious "great leap forward" was launched. Once started, it became unmangeable. Long-range planning and objective economic laws were brushed aside, and the demand to complete the Second 5-Year Plan in 2 years was made. On the face, the Second 5-Year Plan appeared to be completed in 1958 and 1959, but actually, there were misrepresentations. Originally, after the 1959 Lushan Conference, the CCP should have readjusted iron and steel production as well as the economy. However, the CCP at that time was too hotheaded, claiming that

China's steel output would reach 400 million tons within a given number of years that the 1959 output would be 40 million tons. Subjectivism was indeed rampant.

"Leftism," the Main Aspect

In view of the above, one can see that Mao Zedong and the CCP leaned toward the "left" in economic work right after the founding of the nation. They were also thus in the realm of political ideology. Several political struggles of a relatively small scale were launched in this period, including the movements against "Gao Gang's [7559 1511] anti-party clique," "Hu Feng's [5170 7364] counterrevolutionary clique," the "Biography of Wu Xun," the "Study of the 'Dream of the Red Chambers,'" etc. Looked at today, such struggles were possibly excessive, not very matter-of-fact, or completely wrong.

One can thus see that, from 1949 to 1976, Mao Zedong started with "leftwing" mistakes, continued with a "leftwing" tendency" and developed to the "leftwing" line. Even though the CCP did have some correct policies in this period, especially the "8th Congress" line and the 8-character policy (readjusting, consolidating, reinforcing and improving) on economic readjustment from 1962 to 1964, such lines and policies were short-lived. Relatively speaking, leftwing mistakes and leftwing lines constituted the major aspect, and their dominance was relatively long. Even when we begin with 1935 (the Zunyi Conference), the situation was basically the same. Relatively serious "leftwing" mistakes were also made in the period prior to the founding of the nation, such as the Yanan rectification movement, the land reform of the old liberated areas, etc.

Then, how could it be said that "the party line, generally speaking, was correct?" If the situation was truly as described by Hua Guofeng, today's China should be close to a modernized nation. Hua Guofeng's summation would be quite applicable to Yugoslavia. Their "party line, generally speaking, was correct." For this reason, there is prosperity in today's Yugoslavia. For a long time to come, our country will be too far behind to even see its dust.

III. Whitewashing History

"Adequate; Penetrating; Accurate"

On 14 July this year, the CCP Central Committee called a national propaganda work conference in Beijing. When discussing the issue of assessing Mao in his speech at the conference, Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] said: In regard to Mao Zedong, we must be adequate in listing his merits and penetrating in naming his mistakes. Deng Xiaoping also expressed his opinion on the issue, saying that Mao Zedong brought great misfortunes to the party and the state in his late years. When discussing Mao Zedong's mistakes, he indicated that Mao was severed from three things in his late years, viz., the masses, reality, and the collective. We cannot expect Hua Guofeng to be "adequate" and "penetrating" in his brief written assessment of Mao in answer to the questions of the Yugoslavian reporter, but I feel that he could have been "accurate." To be accurate means accuracy. His assessment of Mao was apparently not sufficiently accurate and matter-of-fact. Generally speaking, he consciously or unconsciously glossed over Mao Zedong's mistakes and the CCP's faults. Actually, history cannot be whitwashed, nor Mao Zedong's historical features and his merits and mistakes. China has an old saying: Trying to be smart only ends up with a blunder. There is also a proverb which states: Trying to hide a mistake only makes it more conspicuous. Anyone who is not accurate and matter-of-fact when assessing Mao, whether negating his merits or concealing his mistakes, is covering up the truth of history, or revising it. It will not be ratified by the people.

The foregoing stresses Mao Zedong's responsibilities for the mistakes made by the CCP for many years. Though the responsibilities of the Party Central Committee and the entire party are mentioned, no analysis of the issue has been made. The following are some supplemental points.

The Scarcity of Peng Dehuai-Type Figures

First, the series of mistakes made by the CCP had a strong and direct link with its line error. The "leftism" of the party line was not a transient thing. Why did it fail to arouse comment or extensive resistance in the party? In the central government, Peng Dehuai had the courage to speak out; at the basic level, Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] openly expressed his views. However, individuals like Peng and Zhang were too few. If the Peng Dehuai- and Zhang Zhixin-type figures constituted the overwhelming majority in the party, would the party line have remained for so long in the "leftwing" quagmire and sunk ever deeper? In the history of the CCP of almost 60 years, Wang Ming's [3769 2494] "leftwing" line which caused great damages to the party dominated for 5 years, yet Mao Zedong's "leftwing" line was in control for around 20 years. Why was it that the 1935 Zunyi Conference could end the Wang Ming line which started in 1931, yet Mao Zedong's "leftwing" line was not abolished until the "gang of four's" political coup, some 20 years after the "8th Congress?" Does such history not call for deep thinking by each and every member of the CCP?

Problems in the Party's Organizational System

Next, the organizational system of the CCP came from the Soviet Union, from the Stalin model, yet the Soviet model contained many improper things. When the CCP transplanted it, many big problems emerged. The unwritten life tenure, for instance, was a big problem. (In the history of the international communist movement, Stalin originated life tenure). Some cadres became old and infirm, their thinking ossified, and subjectivism and other negative factors hampered their leadership work, yet they still held on to their posts, neither taking a leave of absence nor retiring, and causing many problems in work. It was this life tenure which pushed Mao Zedong to the wrong direction. Had he retired when he became old and infirm, would it not have been a different picture for the party and the state? Though many serious defects were revealed in the organizational system of the CCP, not many party members demanded reform. Thus, outmoded conventions were followed and evil practices were retained. Should the CCP not be responsible for them?

Removing Only Half of a Big Mountain

Thirdly, the CCP devoted itself to the revolution for several decades. In the beginning, it was to resist imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. At the founding of the nation, the CCP vociferously declared in its propaganda that imperialism, feudalism and capitalism (bureaucratic capitalism), the three big mountains, had been removed. Actually, only a part was removed for one of them. Though land reform was carried out, it remained almost untouched in the ideological realm. This big mountain was feudalism. The feudal mentality in the party was very strong, which served as the soil for patriarchy, despotism, hierarchy, life tenure, bureaucraticism and special privileges. The CCP, for many years, only mentioned "eliminating capitalism," but not feudalism. Naturally, not just one or two individuals in the party should take the whole responsibility for this mistake.

The Deification Movement and Patriarchy

Fourthly, there were some people in the CCP who promoted the personality cult and vigorously flattered Mao Zedong, hoping to win his favor and climb to high places. There were many others who followed. When Lin Biao held up the Book of Quotations, everyone followed by waving the "Red Treasure Book." Such individual worship and personality cult deified Mao Zedong even more, aggravating further his savior idea and arbitrary practice.

The Low Marxist-Leninist Level of the Party

Fifthly, the Marxist-Leninist level of the entire CCP was not high, and mistakes were easily made which were difficult to correct. Before the founding of the nation, Mao Zedong solved a serious of problems in China's revolution with Marxist-Leninist principles. He was then a relatively outstanding Marxist-Leninist in the CCP. However, after the founding of the nation, the CCP was unable to solve many of the new problems confronting it with the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method. One may say that, even in the seventies, the CCP was still immature in the concrete practice of Marxism-Leninism. In regard to the series of tendency and line mistakes made by Mao Zedong, many people in the party did not have the qualification to detect them, let alone analyzing and criticizing them according to Marxist-Leninist principles. Compared with the Yugoslavian Communist Party and Tito, the low Marxist-Leninist level of the CCP would appear even more obvious.

Unsound Party Style and Innumerable Ills

Sixthly, due to the serious problems existing in the organizational system of the CCP, its party style often became unsound. Bureaucraticism and special privileges, in particular, entangled the party like ghosts. At the founding of the nation, there was a campaign against bureaucraticism, and the party style improved. However, in less than a few years, bureaucraticism again became widespread. The "anti-rightist struggle" had a hundred ills and not one benefit. One of the ills was fostering the unsound trend in the party. On the eve of the "Great Cultural Revolution," bureaucraticism and the practice of special privileges further swelled, producing a strong reaction and dissatisfaction among the people. It was one of the objective reasons for Mao Zedong to receive such a powerful response to his appeal, initiate the "Cultural Revolution," and launch indiscriminate criticisms and struggles.

Judging from the above six aspects, we find that Mao Zedong must be mainly responsible for the series of mistakes made by the CCP in the past several decades, while other central leaders, even leaders of the various levels, all had their responsibilities to various extents. Though it will not be matter-of-fact to cover up the mistakes and defects for Mao Zedong, blaming him for all the mistakes will not be seeking the truth from the facts either. Such unscientific attitude must be opposed.

Engels had a famous saying: "No matter where it learns from, a great class, just like a great nation, will learn fastest from the consequences of the mistakes made by itself." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 22 p 325).

Undoubtedly, no matter where it learns the revolutionary principles, the CCP will learn fastest from the consequences of the mistakes made by Mao Zedong and itself.

6080
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LIU SHAOQI'S TALK ON 'MISTAKES' REVIEWED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 80 p 52-57

[Article by Zhou Kang [0719 2123], Jiang Zhaoyi [5592 3564 5030], and Jin Wen [6855 2429] of the Institute of Philosophical Research, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences: "It Is Hard for People To Avoid Making Mistakes"]

[Text] "Why Do People Make Mistakes?" was the title of a speech given by Comrade Liu Shaoqi in October 1941 at the Central China Party School.

In view of the lessons on mistakes with regard to our line that we learned several times in the history of our party, and for the sake of improving the whole party's perception of the Marxist-Leninist ideological line, Comrade Shaoqi applied the basic principles of dialectical materialism and made a careful and exhaustive analysis of such questions as why it is hard for people to avoid making mistakes, how people can make fewer mistakes and avoid making big mistakes, and what the correct attitude should be toward those who have made mistakes. As we come to review this speech of Comrade Shaoqi given 40 years ago, it still refreshes us and also enables us to discern that it has an important meaning for us.

"Any Person Is Bound to Make Mistakes" Is an Uncontestable Scientific Dictum

In his speech, Comrade Shaoqi first of all brought forward the question that everybody makes mistakes. He said: "We may say without fear that he who does not make any mistake is not a man, and that any person is bound to make mistakes." Why did Comrade Shaoqi choose to talk about this question at the time? Because in the history of our party there were precisely those who called themselves "100-percent Bolsheviks" and regarded themselves as the animation of truth, incapable of making mistakes. But it was exactly these animators of truth who made mistakes repeatedly yet stubbornly refused to admit them, thus bringing great injuries to the cause of the party. Therefore, in order to sum up the lessons of history, it was necessary first of all to answer this question clearly.

Comrade Shaoqi made the statement "without fear." It fully demonstrated the fearless, thoroughly materialistic spirit of a communist and the theoretical courage in daring to declare war on deeprooted traditional concepts. It debunked the whole falsehood fabricated by the ruling class in history for the sake of fooling the people as to the worship of sages and idols; it debunked the whole myth with which those opportunists within the party attempted, for the sake of hoodwinking party members, to propagate superstition with respect to outstanding leaders such as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; it also punctured the muddle-headed concepts of those who thought that the higher their rank, the more the truth would be on their side, and who thus resorted to superstition about themselves; and at the same time it gave a warning to certain obsequious and toady characters.

The statement made "without fear" by Comrade Shaoqi is not a dogma. Instead, it is based on a foundation of scientific analysis and, furthermore, has been proved by man's historical practice. In his speech, Comrade Shaoqi said, with Marx and Lenin as his examples: "Some say that Marx and Lenin did not make any mistakes' actually, Marx and Lenin also made mistakes of various degrees. If we look at the original drafts of their writings, they are often revised in a topsy-turvy manner; had they made no mistakes, why did they need to revise their drafts? In the second and third edition of 'Das Kapital,' Marx had to make revisions on both occasions; and to the very first sentence in the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party,' 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles,' Engels later had to attach a footnote." There has been an ancient saying in our country which suggested that "not every man is a sage, so how can anyone have no faults?" This was putting the sage in opposition to the ordinary man, as if a sage was not a man and hence could not make mistakes. In reality, this is the superstitious belief of posterity; it was intended as a way of establishing certain idols in order to deceive the people and control their thinking. Who can offer one man from the past and present history of man who has made absolutely no mistakes? This is obviously impossible. Objective facts indicate that any correct perception has to be preceded by many erroneous perceptions, and any success has to be preceded by many failures. In this sense, as long as one is a man, it will be hard for him to avoid making big and small mistakes. Therefore, Comrade Shaoqi suggested that only a dead man no longer makes any mistakes, but a dead man cannot be considered a man. Also, a man who does not do any work likewise would not make any mistakes. But if a man feeds on the people and yet does nothing for the people, is he not going to become a walking corpse and be just like a dead man?

This truth as to how any man is bound to make mistakes has always been acknowledged by Marxists. Genuine Marxists harbor no superstition about anyone; nor do they do so about themselves. Not only do they avoid talking about mistakes, but they treat mistakes from the attitude of seeking truth from facts. However, there are those who look upon themselves as Marxists but try very hard to avoid acknowledging the above truth; while they have obviously made mistakes, they still stubbornly adhere to them. Although some also orally acknowledge that it is always hard for people to avoid making mistakes, for the sake of "educating" others they do not include themselves among those people! Such comrades all regard themselves as superhuman, absolutely correct, and forever correct great theorists, but precisely on this point they have fallen into the pit of mistakes, completely deviating from the standpoint, viewpoint, and methodology of Marxism.

Comrade Shaoqi also took a step further in ascertaining from the root sources of philosophy the reason why it is hard for people to avoid making mistakes. He said: "The reason why it is impossible for people to avoid making mistakes is because in practice their subjectivity runs into contradiction with objectivity." Also: "The contradiction between subjectivity and objectivity and the fact that subjectivity often falls behind objectivity are fundamental reasons why man cannot avoid making mistakes."

Man has developed through the processes of understanding the world and changing the world. According to the Marxist theory of cognition, the world can be perceived, but the road of perception is dialectical, tortuous. Because the objective world is complicated and complex, even the same kinds of things come out in many forms and the same kind of laws manifest themselves in many ways, while people's perception is at the same time constrained by many kinds of conditions. Consequently, people's perception of objective things always proceeds from ignorance to knowledge, from little knowledge to more knowledge. In other words, it always proceeds from a partial state to an overall state, from shallowness to profundity, and from an abstract state to a relatively concrete state. In a word, it proceeds from incorrectness (mistake) to relative correctness. This tortuous course of perception is thus reflected in action as a path from repeated failures to eventual victory. Therefore, in the course of people's understanding of the world and changing the world, contradiction between subjectivity and objectivity constantly occurs; if people cannot manage this contradiction well, they are bound to make mistakes in their actions. We must never think that subjectivity reflects objectivity. This seems "as easy to understand as turning over the palm of one's hand" or that one can "see through it at a glance." After we understand this truism, we are unlikely to think we are always right or to resort to subjectivity and domatism; nor are we likely to feel discouraged or downtrodden once we make a mistake. On the contrary, mistakes are likely to prompt us to engage in careful investigation and study with greater consciousness, and thereby humbly to absorb experience and lessons from such mistakes.

However, the solution of the contradiction between subjectivity and objectivity is not something that we can find once and for all, because the objective world moves forward indefinitely. After repeated practice, people's perception of a certain specific thing may reach a state of consistency between subjectivity and objectivity, but along with this, new situations and new contradictions are likely to emerge. Hence, the phenomenon whereby thinking falls behind reality also occurs regularly. Precisely because of this, people's perception must likewise develop along with the development of objective things; if it becomes stagnant, they are bound to make mistakes. Therefore we must cultivate the habit of conducting investigation and study, turn it into our working style, adhere to it in a sustained way, take the initiative to continuously solve the contradiction between subjectivity and objectivity, and also rectify the many or few mistakes resulting from this contradiction. The great enemy which sabotages our fine working style of resorting to investigation and study is none other than pride and complacency. Generally speaking, when we find ourselves under difficult conditions, we are often more humble and cautious, pay attention to investigation and study, and proceed from reality. Under conditions of victory, on the other hand, it becomes easy for us to have feelings of pride which tend to make us exaggerate the role of individual subjectivity and refrain from respecting objective laws. Then, practices of deviating from reality and deviating from the masses are likely to be followed. It is precisely then, too, that an individual's subjectivity falls far behind objectivity. Falling behind is not so bad by itself, but the problem lies in one's unwillingness to admit it and to catch up with reality accordingly, while an inclination is shown even to think that one is right and that one can do whatever one pleases by oneself. Thus, subjectivity parts company with objectivity, and it becomes inevitable for one to fall into the pit of idealism and metaphysics and become subject to punishment by objective laws! Ordinarily, the mistakes that come about because one's subjectivity falls behind objectivity are hard to avoid in the people's course of advancing, and they are also relatively easy to rectify. But the mistakes that result when subjectivity parts company with objectivity because of pride and complacency can be entirely avoided and should be avoided.

Consequently, we do not harshly require that people never make any mistakes. Just as Shaoqi said: "We only ask that people not make mistakes purposely; that they not repeat their mistakes; that they not make serious, consistent mistakes on matters of principle; and that they make fewer mistakes. We only ask that people courageously and speedily rectify their mistakes."

Comrade Shaoqi's scientific dictum that "any person is bound to make mistakes" is in fundamental opposition to the obscurantism or modern superstition perpetrated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who purposely exalted the party leader to the status of a man of foresight and vision, omniscient and omnipotent, and a man whose "every word is truth." The reason why the thinking of certain of our comrades becomes petrified is precisely because they are stultified by this suggestion that "every word is a truth"; they dare not believe the truth that "any man is bound to make mistakes," especially with respect to party leaders. Not only do they bind themselves like silkworms within cocoons without knowing it, but they also want to restrict and suppress other people's thinking. There is always poor synchronization between those comrades and the pace of their time.

"Any person is bound to make mistakes"; this is an uncontestable scientific dictum. Our party has for several decades paid a bloody price for this, and so it should be understood by us today.

Only by Following the Dialectical-Materialistic Ideological Line Can We Make Fewer Mistakes and Greater Contributions

The purpose of our studying the question that "any person is bound to make mistakes" is not to propagate a theory of predestination but to ascertain how can we make fewer mistakes and not make big mistakes. Comrade Shaoqi suggested in his speech that all men necessarily make mistakes. However, this is not the same as saying that there is not truth in the world. Truth is objective; what it designates is the norm (law) by which objective things develop. On the one hand, man is under the control of, and subject to determination by, natural norms and social norms. But on the other hand, what makes man different from other animals is that man can master the objective norms of nature and society, possess the mobile function of perceiving truth, and achieve the unity of subjectivity and objectivity. Therefore, on the one hand we need not avoid recognizing the fact that it is hard for people to avoid making mistakes, but on the other hand we must see that people are not helpless before objective laws but are capable of perceiving those laws and making use of them so as to succeed in making fewer mistakes and greater contributions. Such a dialectical-materialistic viewpoint on treating the question of mistakes helps to break down such superstitious conceptions as those which seek to deify certain people, on the one hand, and to do away with the conception of predestination that presupposes people to be capable only of obeying objective laws submissively, on the other hand. It also points out to us a fundamental means of striving to make fewer mistakes and greater contributions.

In order to master objective laws and make fewer mistakes, it is not enough to have subjective desires. We must also place our perception on the basis of scientific methods. This was what Comrade Shaoqi pointed out in his speech: "Our approach to observation is to proceed from objectivity and not from subjectivity; from the developing and not from the static point of view; from the mutual connection and comparison of things and not from their isolation; and, at the same time, not only from the external but also from the internal contradictions of things in observing and perceiving those things." This scientific approach is nothing more than the principle of seeking truth from facts and our party's dialectical-materialistic ideological line.

What Comrade Shaoqi suggested here as proceeding from objectivity, and not from subjectivity, in observing and perceiving things also means that we must perceive those things according to their original outlook, and do things according to objective laws. He said: "Although man's actions are subject to control by his thinking, man's actions often run counter to his subjective desires, because things develop according to their own norms of development and not because of man's subjective desires." Therefore there can only be subjectivity obeying objectivity, and not vice versa. But those who are inclined to be subjective always think that man's will can be absolutely free and enable him to do whatever he pleases. In the history of our party, lessons in this regard have been rather numerous. After the First Five-Year Plan was fulfilled ahead of time and the three great transformations were basically accomplished, there gradually appeared, under such an unprecedented situation of triumph, a tendency to partially exaggerate the mobile function of subjectivity. This tendency exaggerated the reaction of the senses into decisive action under any circumstances; it exaggerated the thinking of the leaders into a substitute for all material power; and it exaggerated the wisdom and zeal of the masses into random action irrespective of objective conditions: on this basis, certain extreme leftist slogans and policies were put forward. On the surface, there seemed to be a situation of great enthusiasm and great activity, but in reality, it was a case of fantasy and blind action deviating from reality and operating in violation of science and objective laws. It was a reflection of idealism. Thereafter, such subjective, idealistic thinking was again saliently reflected in the realm of political ideology by ignoring new changes in the class situation, repeatedly whipping up turbulent class struggles, resorting unrestrainedly to a broadening of class struggle, and substituting class struggle for concrete laws in all realms. These historical lessons tell us that in order to give scope to the mobile function of man's subjectivity, and to gain freedom of action, we definitely cannot just rely on our subjective desired. Such goals can be established only on the basis of a perception of inevitability or, specifically, on the basis of a perception of objective laws. Otherwise, such freedom constitutes merely a kind of blind action. Just as Comrade Shaoqi profoundly expounded: "Only within the norms of nature and society can man have prescribed freedom. He cannot have any freedom beyond those norms, and there can be no freedom at all without perception of such norms." He who lacks this perception is bound to be punished by objective laws. During the 10 years of disturbances, did not Lin Biao and the "gang of four" make use of this subjective, idealistic tendency with exterior purpose in carrying out their sinister activities?

In order to observe and perceive things from objectivity and not from subjectivity, it is also necessary to carry out specific, concrete analysis about specific, concrete things; otherwise, we will still be liable to make subjective mistakes. Just as Comrade Shaoqi pointed out, the method of thinking of some of our comrades is not one of "looking at problems in a concrete manner" but of "proceeding from concepts," "looking at problems in a general way." The order of their perception is turned upside down, proceeding not first from the specific to the general, and then again from the general to the specific, but proceeding, instead, from the general, and substituting the general for the specific. They fail to understand that "all things are specific, or concrete, because all contradictions are specific, or concrete; there are no so-called general things in the world." Nor do they understand that only the specificity of contradictions constitutes the foundation of our perception of things. Therefore, since they are unable to correctly perceive things from the combination of the generality and specificity of contradictions, they often grasp the former while abandoning the latter. Consequently, it is necessary for us to reverse this order of their perception, which has been turned upside down.

On this question, people have for a long time formed an erroneous conception, as if the universality, commonality, and generality of contradictions can both exist apart from the specificity, individuality, and concreteness of contradictions and also encompass the specificity, individuality, and concreteness of all contradictions, and even take their place. Such an erroneous conception obviously runs counter to the dialectical viewpoint of Marxism. Lenin clearly pointed out: "Individuality, definiteness, and generality exist in relation to one another. Generality can exist only among individualities and through individualities." He also pointed out: "Any generality only roughly includes all individual things; any individuality cannot be entirely included in a generality." What Comrade Shaoqi mentioned as general character "is only one aspect of a thing, and not the totality of that thing." This is consistent with the statements of Lenin. Therefore, if we look at problems merely from their general character and from concepts, it will be impossible for us to really perceive the essence of diversified concrete things. Such an approach can only lead people to the pitfall of static, abstract, shallow study, taking theory as something petrified or wilted.

Then how are we going to perceive the specificity of things? Comrade Shaoqi summarized this in the following passage: "It is necessary to perceive the specificity of a contradiction during a definite time, in a definite space, and under definite conditions, and to perceive the internal structure and internal connections of this contradiction, its totality, its past, its present and future, its inevitable path ahead and accidental path ahead--i.e., the concrete state of this contradiction." In other words, it is necessary for us to analyze a contradiction concretely and historically, all depending on time, place, and conditions.

The reason why the thinking of some of our comrades has become petrified is, in terms of the philosophical root source, precisely because such a method of thinking deviates from reality and violates the practice of analyzing contradictions concretely and historically. Looking back at the history of our party, such petrification of thinking has appeared many times in different forms. The leftist dogmatism of the 1930's, the extremely exaggerated mobile function of subjectivity and "left" deviation in the work of the late 1950's, the ill effects of modern superstition instigated by the sinister plot of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10-year disturbance, the viewpoint of the two "whatevers" after the smashing of the "gang of four," and the various manifestations of opposition to practice as the only criterion for testing truth: all of these have been closely connected with this metaphysical method of thinking. And among these manifestations, the most dominant has been to freeze Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought into unchangeable dogmas and not take them as a guide to action, not study and apply them in combination with specific conditions and the concrete development of history. Whatever is not said in the book, nobody would dare to say or to think about; everything that is said in the book, on the other hand, is honored as golden rules, and nobody dares to deviate even slightly from them, even if they are proved by practice to be erroneous, no longer applicable, or subject to a new development in connection with actual conditions. Such petrification of thinking may be reflected in a rightist form or it may be reflected in a "leftist" form; however, that which has for a long time been stubbornly adhered to by these comrades within our party often consists of certain "left" and extremely leftist stuff, which they contrarily regard as "revolution." This is a question which must command our special attention.

On the question of opposing the petrification of our thinking, promoting the emancipation of our thinking, and insisting on the four principles, we need to conduct concrete and historical analyses about the four principles; we cannot treat them from an abstract, static point of view. On the one hand, there is a need to return to order from the disorder caused by the distortion of the four principles by the extreme leftist line of the "gang of four," but on the other hand, along with the advance of history, the four principles are bound to have a more accurate and a richer content. For example, in the case of the theory of scientific socialism, when Marx and Engels founded it they still had no practice in this regard; after Lenin and Stalin carried out their practice in the Soviet Union, its content became greatly enriched. After another 30 years of China's positive and negative experiences and lessons in building socialism, our perception of socialism has become even more profound. Hereafter, it can be readily believed that in the new historical period, our perception of socialism will also become more concrete through our practice and through our exploration of the laws of socialist development. Therefore, if our understanding of the four principles is ensnared in certain erroneous propaganda of the "gang of four" or the past, it is of course incorrect. Neither is it correct, however, if we think that, after our return to order from disorder, our perception can again become static or stagnant. If we fail to apply or develop in conjunction with concrete historical conditions the relevant principles expounded in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, but only cling to certain "definitions" and "concepts" and exploit them in arbitrary use everywhere, this would also be incorrect, because all this would be but a reflection of the petrification of our thinking. Therefore, if we really wish to insist on the four principles, whether in connection with a return to order from disorder or in connection with a specific, concrete application and development of the principles of Marxism, it is necessary for us to continue to emancipate our thinking. Of course, we must also make clear that advocating the emancipation of our thinking is decidedly not advocating "free" will; emancipation means enabling our thinking to break through such petrification, from various subjectivities, and thereby advance along with the forward movement of history. Both the aim and the ultimate destination of the emancipation of our thinking should be to bring our thinking more in line with the laws of the development of objective things.

Therefore, when we observe anything we must carry out concrete and historical analyses and dialectically unify the universality and the specificity of the attendant contradictions. This will enable us to perceive the essence of a thing and master the laws of its development, on the one hand, and to continue to enrich and develop our perception of the universality of the material world so that we can more accurately guide our concrete practice, on the other hand. To sum up, only by following such a dialectical-materialistic path of perception can we really emancipate ourselves from the petrification of our thinking and thus make fewer mistakes and greater contributions on our way to revolution and construction.

A Communist's Fundamental Attitude in Treating the Question of Mistakes Is Seeking Truth From Facts

Comrade Shaoqi divided mistakes into two categories, according to different causes: one category consists of contradictions arising between subjectivity and objectivity because of subjectivity's falling behind objectivity; the other category consists of contradictions between subjectivity and objectivity resulting from the irrelevance of standpoint, viewpoint, and methods. The former category is hard for anyone, including theorists or practitioners at the highest levels within or outside the party, to avoid; the latter category, however, is something different and, insofar as we communists are concerned, it should be avoided and we can also strive to avoid it. But in either case, once a mistake is made, we must do our best to correct it. We Communists should especially do so. Comrade Shaoqi put it well: "Man has developed precisely through such processes of continuing to make mistakes and continuing to correct mistakes." Therefore, in order to enable ourselves to move ahead and our cause to develop, we must not be afraid of making mistakes, and still less of correcting mistakes! In order to achieve this, the key lies in seeking truth from facts; we must adopt such an attitude both toward our own mistakes and toward other people's mistakes.

Between dealing with our own mistakes and other people's mistakes, it is more important to deal with our own mistakes by seeking truth from facts. This is even more true for comrades who have positions of leadership.

For a communist, to be courageous enough to admit and expose one's own defects and mistakes is a requirement of his party character, a reflection of the party's high sense of responsibility toward the people, and a reflection of his personal frankness and lack of reserve. However, if a man lacks a dauntless, thorough materialistic spirit, it will be very hard for him to achieve this. Lenin said: "The attitude that a political party takes in regard to its own mistakes is the most important and the most reliable yardstick for measuring whether or not that party is really fulfilling its obligation toward its own class and laboring masses" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 213). This famous passage obviously also applies to every communist. Comrade Shaoqi set a good example for us in this regard. In certain articles and speeches during his lifetime, Comrade Shaoqi more than once publicly examined the defects and mistakes in his own work. He said earnestly: In a spirit of self-criticism, I should make public all of these mistakes of mine, to the fullest extent that I understand them, and I should deliver them to the party members and the masses as the party's internal teaching materials. I should also resolutely struggle against these mistakes on the basis of the party line. He maintained that this is a responsibility every comrade who has made mistakes must fulfill. From these facts, we can see that Comrade Shaoqi's article "Why Do People Make Mistakes?" also includes his own personal experience and lessons while summing up the party's experience and lessons. It was intended not only to educate others, but also to educate himself. Such an attitude of seeking truth from facts in treating his own mistakes cannot but deeply move us.

However, not everyone within our party ranks can do this. There are those who would avoid talking about their mistakes; there are those who would embellish their errors and dress up their wrongdoings; there are those who would sing their own praises to suggest that they have always been correct; there are those who attribute all merits to themselves and relegate all mistakes to others; and there are those who, in the face of victory, feel so proud that they cannot tolerate a single ounce of criticism. In the person of these comrades we have lost the most precious spirit of self-criticism of a Marxist-Leninist party and have lost the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts in treating our own mistakes. History has more than once revealed to us this fact: because feudalistic ideas still exist in the minds of certain leading cadres of our party, with the result that in the face of their own mistakes they lack the spirit of self-criticism, this has led to a breakdown of democratic centralism within the party, has made it impossible to develop normally the criticism of those above by those below, has caused the enthusiasm and creativity of the party members and the masses to be subject to suppression, and has made a feudalistic, patriarchal working style grow within the party ranks. In such an atmosphere, people dare not speak the truth and dare not express different opinions. The habit of regarding "the superior as always right" and "the book as always right" begins to prevail, and idealism and metaphysics also begin to spread. The ultimate aftermath of this development is bound to be the emergence of personal dictatorship or oligarchic autocracy within the party. Such conditions would provide ambitious characters and sinister plotters with opportunities to practise their trade. They would cringe and flatter, do what they are expected to do, create personal superstition, propagate without restraint this kind of vulgar, corrupt working style, and thereby cause the disintegration of our party. This shows that, insofar as a party or a party's leading cadres are concerned, once the spirit of self-criticism is lost and the individual in question cannot treat his own mistakes by seeking truth from facts, he is bound to lose his credibility in the eyes of the people and in the eyes of the party. If this were allowed to develop, nothing else could result except the destruction of our great cause.

He who is unable to treat his own mistakes correctly is likewise liable to be unable to treat the mistakes of his comrades correctly. Within our party there have always been two contrasting principles in treating this question: one is the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient"; the other is the principle of the so-called "cruel struggle, relentless attack." As for the fascist method of political frameups on the basis of trumped-up charges and factionalism within the same party, as practised by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," that is still a question of an altogether different nature. Comrade Shaoqi always insisted on an attitude of seeking truth from facts in treating others as well as in treating himself, and under this principle he advocated treating himself more strictly while treating others with leniency. He resented very much the cruel, excessive struggles practised by the leftist opportunists.

Comrade Shaoqi suggested that one must put oneself in another person's place and observe a problem from various angles. When a party member makes a mistake, he himself is of course responsible and cannot keep passing the buck or shift it to objective causes. But as a party organism, as a leader and a comrade, his attitude should always be one of seeking truth from facts when analyzing party members' mistakes. In an environment of complicated struggle, in particular, simplification cannot be attempted. By stressing putting oneself in another person's place, Comrade Shaoqi meant precisely for one to compare one's own heart with the hearts of others, to place oneself in the environment of others, so as to experience and examine the conditions at the time the mistakes were made, and thereby to put oneself in other people's places and do some thinking on their behalf. In so doing, clear analyses must be made as to which mistakes were due to problems of subjectivity by the persons involved, and which ones resulted from objective conditions; which ones should be the responsibility of the collective, and which ones resulted from individual arbitrary actions; which ones came about because of execution of directives from above, and which ones resulted from their own doing. After the causes and nature of such problems are made clear, a warm attitude should then be adopted in helping the comrades understand their mistakes and correct their mistakes, thus demonstrating the party's warmth, care, and education in respect to the comrades. We should understand that the aim of criticizing or liquidating the mistakes of a given comrade is entirely to clarify our thinking and unify all our comrades; to learn lessons from these [mistakes], educate our comrades, and take such mistakes as the wealth of the whole party. The purpose is not to use them as a pretext to cause the downfall or death of that given comrade.

Comrade Shaoqi also suggested that one must observe a problem objectively and not confine oneself to one's own standpoint. When comrades within the party make mistakes, theirs is a situation fundamentally different from that of the plotters and ambitious characters who have sneaked into the revolutionary ranks. Therefore we must allow the cadres to make mistakes and also allow them to correct their mistakes. The emphasis that Comrade Shaoqi placed on our not confining ourselves to our own standpoint was to educate the whole party not to base ourselves on "our own individual standpoint" in terms of personal gratitudes or grievances, personal likes or dislikes, and personal gains or losses, and thus not to substitute personal feelings for policy. Instead, we should base ourselves on the party's standpoint, the party's character, and the party's policies. This was originally a fine longstanding tradition of our party, but some of our comrades often took their own will as the standard of right and wrong. Whether you were correct or mistaken, so long as your conduct did not suit those comrades' will, so long as you failed to follow the mold they had conceptualized, you would be subject to exclusion and attack. Political labels such as rightist would also be attached with the slightest excuse. In reality, their own conduct might not have been correct, and the conduct of others might not have been mistaken. In worse cases, one would develop one's own individual standpoint to the extreme, substitute a private motive for public cause, pile insult upon injury, exaggerate or fabricate the mistakes of comrades at random, and thereby frame such comrades. Such examples deviated infinitely farther from the principle of seeking truth from facts. The individual standpoint of such people had acutally already been converted to the side of our class enemies. During the 10-year disturbance, some of our comrades based themselves precisely on such individual standpoints, and they often resorted easily to persecuting their comrades to death. This was mainly because they were fooled by the "gang of four"; these comrades themselves should carefully sum up their experience in this regard.

As we come once more to read Comrade Shaoqi's article "Why Do People Make Mistakes?" we feel especially close to him, but we also experience pain and regret. On the question of how to correctly treat mistakes, we have had both the painful lessons of the 1930's, 1950's, and 1960's and the good experiences gained during the period of rectification in Yanan in the 1940's. With such positive and negative aspects of our experience, we are bound to be able to do better from now on. Revolutionaries are good at learning from their mistakes. As Engels said: "A great class is like a great people; it can learn from the results of its own mistakes faster than from any other aspect" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 285). As long as we absorb lessons from our mistakes in the manner of seeking truth from facts, and as long as we correct our mistakes in the manner of seeking truth from facts, our future is bound to be full of hope and brightness.

9255
CSO: 4005

TRIAL OF LIN BIAO, JIANG QING DISCUSSED

HK170327 Hong Kong TUNG HSIANG in Chinese No 25, 16 Oct 80 pp 4-6

[Article by Chu Chung-yi: "Sixty Charges in the Lin Biao-Jing Qing Case"]

[Text] "The whole town is talking about the Lin-Jiang case." This sentence is the most appropriate description of Beijing's current atmosphere.

Following the conclusion of the third session of the Fifth NPC, taking advantage of Beijing's atmosphere of favoring the promotion of democracy and the legal system, the NPC Standing Committee immediately held a meeting which decided to set up special procuratorate and a special court to prosecute and try the defendants in the case. This is the most important case since the founding of the PRC and will also be the CCP's first trial of disgraced political opponents. This case has caused a sensation throughout the country and attracted worldwide attention. Therefore, this case has made a deeper impression on Beijing residents.

I left Guangzhou for Beijing by a civil airline Trident. When I arrived in Beijing, the city was already in the dusk of the evening. After checking in at a hotel, I left the hotel in a hurry to visit my friend. Out of my concern for the Chinese political situation, I was eager to find some answers to the following questions? Is there any undisclosed inside information about the NPC Standing Committee's decision to hold open trials of the Lin-Jiang case? Is there any new development?

After entering my friend's house, I discovered a group of people. I was told that they were my friend's fellow workers who had dropped in for a chat. Bosom friends always drop into each other's houses for a chat. This is a common practice established after the Cultural Revolution.

Although I was a guest from afar, they did not look ill at ease in my presence. This was because they are intellectuals who are concerned with the political situation. After exchanging a few words of greeting with one another, we naturally changed the subject to the Lin-Jiang case.

They said that Public Security Minister Zhao Cangbi personally presided over the pre-trial of the 10 principal defendants in the case, which began last April. During the NPC session in early September, this case was turned over to the Supreme People's Procuratorate for the purpose of starting a prosecution against the defendants.

To state succinctly, the Pulbic Security Ministry has charged the 10 principal defendants with the following four major counts:

1) sedition and conspiracy to overthrow the political power of proletarian dictatorship; 2) frame-up and persecution of party and state leaders and usurpation of party leadership and state power; 3) persecution and suppression of cadres and the masses of people and practice of a fascist dictatorship; and 4) plotting to murder Mao Zedong and engineer a counterrevolutionary armed rebellion. According to a special bill of indictment, there are 60 charges against the 10 principal defendants including conclusive evidences of the major crimes directly committed by them.

On the four major counts of major crimes, all 10 principal defendants are charged with the first three and the second half of the fourth. The Jiang Qing clique is not accused of plotting to murder Mao Zedong. The special procuratorate led by its director Huang Huoqing is examining the 60 charges in order to file charges in the special court. Following the special procuratorate's examination, if evidence of some of the 60 charges is found to be insufficient, such charges will be dropped. However, it is also possible that the special procuratorate will also bring new charges against them after its examination. It is believed that everything will be clear when the trials open.

Beijing's judicial circles disclosed that following the special court's acceptance of the special procuratorate's bill of indictment, it is estimated that a court session will open in the middle 10 days of this month. The trials are scheduled to last 1 month and will close at the end of November.

....It was very warm in the small house. Some of the friends talked about what they had heard and some gave their own views. It was a lively discussion with everybody trying to get a word in. We were all in an unconstrained atmosphere. All of us were very interested in the following subject: of the 10 principal defendants, with the exception of Jiang Tengjiao, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, Chen Boda, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo were all persons of weight whose crimes are inexpiable. However, Jiang Tengjiao seemed to be a nobody as compared with the above nine principal defendants. He was just a political commissar of the Fourth Air Force stationed in Jiangsu and Zhejiang and was also just a political commissar of the Nanjing Air Force. His political status was far below the illustrious positions those nine held when they were running rampant. How does he come to be numbered among the 10 principal defendants? Nobody can figure this out. The only explanation can be that he was in direct command when Lin Biao and Jiang Qing planned to launch an air attack on Mao Zedong's train during his tour of south China; this would enhance Jiang Tengjiao's negative political status.

I said: "I feel that the name of Jiang Tengjiao has been changed to someone else, which might be more appropriate."

"Who?" "Correct, Mao Yuanxin's several friends seemed to exclaim simultaneously. People find it interesting that Mao Yuanxin is not numbered among the 10 principal defendants. However, the fact that Mao Yuanxin is not included among them certainly does not mean that this gentleman can remain at large. According to a well-informed friend, he will be tried with Sun Yuguo and others in the Shenyang Municipal Higher People's Court.

It is the first time in 30 years that the NPC Standing Committee has organized a special court to try a case. In future, the heavy burden of specifically trying the case will fall on Zeng Hanzhou and Wu Xiuquan, presidents of the number one and number two courts.

According to my information, Zeng Hanzhou is a veteran political and legal man in the CCP. In 1950 he was appointed director of the administrative office of the supreme people's court. After that he was president of the number one criminal court of the supreme court for rather a long time, during which he handled innumerable major criminal cases from all parts of the country, thus gaining abundant experience. He is said to be an upright man who persists in principles, and is also well-versed in the law, with sharp intelligence and eloquence. Therefore, although those on trial before him include the fiery Jiang Qing and the sinister Zhang Chunqiao, while this is the first trial of its kind to be held in China, it is believed that he will be able to handle the matter well. People in judicial circles say that the confrontation between him and the fiery woman Jiang Qing will be absorbing.

Wu Xiuquan is also an extremely appropriate choice for trying Huang Yongsheng and the other military figures. Wu's qualifications go back a long way; during the period of the Cunyi conference, he was an interpreter at the Politburo conference. He is a talented son of the army, who is familiar with both military and legal affairs and should be adequately equipped to deal with Huang Yongsheng and the others.

People are watching and waiting for the opening of the trial of the Lin-Jiang case with great excitement. What then do they think of the CCP's decision to try the case?

Generally speaking, there are three points:

First, it assuages the people's anger. During the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company worked hand in glove, caused great misery and suffering, and committed innumerable crimes. It is really intolerable that this bunch of savage and bestial counterrevolutionary criminals should merely be arrested according to CCP custom, interrogated separately, and go on enjoying good food and comfortable quarters costing 200 yuan a month. How then could the millions of souls they persecuted to death be faced? What would be the use of talking about strictly observing state law and promoting uprightness?

Secondly, it shows determination to strictly enforce the legal system. The CCP has talked a lot in recent years about strengthening the legal system. Frankly speaking, the results of carrying it out really fall short of people's wishes. A number of cadres who have clearly committed crimes are still merely punished by a warning or party disciplinary action. This causes a lot of talk among the people. This is obviously placing party members and cadres above the masses, so how can it be said that "everyone is equal before the law?" Trying the Lin-Jiang case proves with facts the determination of the central authorities that nobody, no matter how high his position, can expect to escape punishment by state law if he commits a crime.

The people of Beijing are particularly pleased and surprised that the special court has decided that the trial of the Lin-Jiang case will be a public one. This is because ever since the CCP revealed 2 years ago that the Lin-Jiang case would be tried, it was always said that the trial would be held in camera because state secrets were involved, and only the final verdict would be published. This original intention was eventually changed at the NPC Standing Committee meeting. This probably has something to do with the assault by the tide of democracy at the NPC.

Apart from that, XINHUA director Zeng Tao's answer to a reporter's question at his press conference in which he said that the trial of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company would be held according to law was also very popular. This is because he virtually negated Hua Guofeng's prediction made to the British writer Green 1 year ago that they would not be condemned to death. This shows that the CCP now understands that it is improper to substitute words for law and policy for law. Can this not be described as a step forward?

Of course, it is still too early to say that trying the Lin-Jiang case is a hallmark of establishing people's democracy and the legal system in communist China. We will have to go on awaiting proof of that from facts. This is because in this public trial, the degree of "public" will still be limited; only provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, democratic parties, popular bodies and the PLA will be allowed to send representatives to listen to the trial. The local masses will not be able to enter the special court on a "first come first served" basis. However, no matter what, it is clearly a pleasing step forward towards democratization and establishment of a legal system to progress from a secret or military court trial to a semi-public one and from deciding cases according to policy to judging crimes according to law.

Thirdly, it signifies progress from political strife to civilization. Most people living abroad would agree with the above two points, but the writer had not thought about the question of political strife and civilization. The people of Beijing, living in the capital, have come to feel profoundly from the events of the past 30 years, from the Gao-Rao incident, the anti-rightist movement, the Peng Dehuai incident, the incident of Peng, Luo, Lu and Yang, and the Liu Shaoqi case right up to the Deng Xiaoping case of opposition to the rightist wind of reversal of verdicts, and from the storms and savage political strife in the councils of the CCP: when a bigshot is toppled, the matter is kept a close secret, and people can only gain some gleaning of what has happened from scanning the lists of names attending a reception or a funeral. The loser has no chance to make a self-defense or explanation of what happened and the rights and wrongs of the matter, so the masses are kept even more in the dark. This cannot but give people the impression that "the winner is king and the loser is a bandit." A socialist state system that stresses that it is far more civilized that the capitalist system actually remains in the barbaric conditions of feudal society on the question of political strife. Should this not cause people deep reflection?

The 10 principal defendants of the Lin-Jiang case are now to be tried, and the other criminals involved will be tried by local courts in the provinces and municipalities. Although the trial will be only semi-public and despite the fact that pre-trial preparations have been carried out in many respects, the masses will anyway have another opportunity to view these people after their fall and to listen to their expositions (whether true or false). This is the first time this has happened in the history of the CCP. In addition the defendants will also be allowed to engage lawyers and request that others give testimony for them. Is this too not a great step forward, compared with the past?

The CCP completed the peaceful transfer of cabinet power at the third session of the Fifth NPC, and afterwards rapidly issued a decision on trying the Lin-Jiang case. These two major affairs will have far-reaching influence in the history of the development of the CCP.

At the national day banquet this year, Premier Zhou Ziyang expanded on the previous content of building a powerful modern socialist state. He formally proclaimed "building a modern socialist state with a high level of democracy and civilization," adding the words "high level of democracy and civilization." There is indeed great significance in these words.

CSO: 4005

REMNANTS OF FEUDALIST THINKING MUST BE ABOLISHED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 12 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Wei Keming [7614 0344 2494]: "Pernicious Influence of Patriarchism Must Not Be Overlooked"]

[Text] Our present discussion of patriarchism and the person who lays down the law is directed at the manifestation of the pernicious influence of feudal patriarchism in our family life, social life, as well as inner-party life. Then, what is the substance of feudal patriarchism? How has it changed over the past few years? What are the various measures taken to defend patriarchism?

Feudal patriarchism is a reflection of feudal autocracy, special privilege mentality, and hierarchy in a family. The head of a family has absolute power. His words are regarded as the "infallible rule" ("Golden Rule") which members of a family should unconditionally obey; under no circumstances can it be violated. When Mengyizi asked about filial piety, Confucius said: "Do not disobey." ("The Analects of Confucius.") Mencius also pointed out that "to obey means filial piety," using specific examples. They also stated that the head of a family, when he has made a mistake in words or deeds, may be subject to remonstration, just as officials in the feudal times did toward the monarchs. Then what can we do if the remonstration is ignored? To an emperor, "one who has remonstrated three times but has failed must run away" (Han Fei felt that to run away also meant guilt; he really deserved execution); to the head of a family, "one who has pleaded thrice without success cannot but cry loudly and obey" ("The Book of Rites"). That is the way it was. A variety of "rites" were formulated by the feudal ruling class so as to disguise patriarchism with a veneer of logical. To obey the head of a family unconditionally was thus described as the norm of human conduct.

In order to give the head of a family undisputable power, the feudal ruling class, aside from formulating a set of family rules and disciplines and a variety of "rites," utilized the invisible shackles of feudal blind worship to fix people's conduct. They spread lies by telling people that there are heaven and hell, and the law of causation. They said that if the children of a family should disobey the order of the patriarch, they would sink into a hell beyond redemption after death; on the contrary, if they obeyed in every respect, not only would they be rewarded after death, but miracles could also take place immediately. For instance, one who lay on the ice could get fish from it, or one who cried at the bamboo could see the bamboo shoots grow. In the preliberation period, many families enshrined and worshiped the sacred tablets of ancestors. This meant that, as the head of a family, a deceased could still be enshrined to issue orders to exercise his remaining influence.

Why should the power of the patriarch be strengthened this way? In feudal society, the family was a unit of production and livelihood, on the basis of the small-scale peasant economy which was the social foundation of feudalistic rule. The feudal dynasty depended mainly on the system of political power to rule the people, yet the system of clan authority was also indispensable. They always put "governing a nation" and "governing a family" on a par, and regarded the latter as the foundation of the former. It is said in "The Great Learning" that "those who would order their national life must set about ordering their home life...The ordering of national life depends on the regulation of one's home life, and the restoration of peace in the world depends on ordering national life." They went all out to strengthen the authority of the head of the family for the purpose of unifying the country by commanding thousands upon thousands of families through the patriarchs. It is thus obvious that, in essence, the power of the head of the family was an extension or incarnation of the absolute imperial authority. As other feudal systems, patriarchism has seriously injured the people, particularly women, physically and mentally, stifled their intelligence and wisdom, dampened their enthusiasm for production, and restricted the development of social productivity. The protracted stagnation of feudal society in China is inseparable from the existence of patriarchism.

The feudal economic foundation and political system were abolished following the victory of the new democratic revolution. The socialist reform and socialist construction that were carried out immediately after that have prepared the ground for abolishing patriarchism. In December 1958, the "Resolution on a Number of Problems Concerning People's Communes" adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee, stated: "We advocate abolishing the unreasonable patriarchism left over by history and developing a democratic and united family life." The person who lays down the law has carried out some criticisms of patriarchism and lessened its influence to a certain extent; therefore we cannot say that patriarchism has been retained intact.

It is, of course, not possible by means of a document or a few movements to completely eliminate the deep-rooted patriarchism and the person who lays down the law. It is a protracted and tortuous process of struggle during which there may be minor reverses as well as major setbacks. The 10-year period of the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a major setback. During that time, patriarchism and what I say goes reached their limits.

The patriarchism incited by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" can be traced to the same origin as feudal patriarchism, as both of them were designed to carry out a policy of obscurantism, to strive for a personality cult, and to foster special personal privileges. Yet, aside from carrying forward feudal autocracy, they also inherited a fascist legacy. It may be said that theirs was a combination of the Chinese and the West which was bound to have new features of its own.

What they mainly utilized to safeguard patriarchism and the person who lays down the law was not the feudal blind worship but the modern blind faith. They directed an unprecedentedly large-scale new deification movement to make the revolutionary leader a deified personality, so that they could utilize the love and esteem of the masses toward him. They not only made every word of the revolutionary leader an eternal tenet, but they also tried to make "one word tantamount to 10,000 words." They required that "passing on information must not be delayed overnight," "everything must get instant results," "one must not alter things under any circumstances," and "one should ask for instructions in the morning and submit reports in the evening." If Confucius and Mencius were still alive, they would probably become dumbfounded and have a sense of inferiority to hear them say so.

For the purpose of safeguarding patriarchism, Confucius and Mencius formulated a variety of "rites"; however, in execution of these rites, at times they adopted a flexible attitude. In the "Canon of Filial Piety," it says that if a father's act is unjust, his son may argue with him. It goes further to praise the "arguing son" who dares to try. Tradition has it that Shun was not on good terms with his father. He did not make it known to his father that he had married the second daughter of Yao and made her his imperial concubine. When asked about the reason by Wan Zhang, Mencius says: "If it were reported, he would not be able to marry. The marriage of a man and a woman is an important human relationship. If it is reported, the important human relationship will be lost." ("Mencius," First Chapter of Wan Zhang.) In order to safeguard this important human relationship, he regarded that it was correct not to report the event. However, under the rule of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," was it allowed to "argue?" Was it allowed to "leave without saying goodbye?" It is evident that the patriarchism envisaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was based on feudal patriarchism, but it went still further. They greatly strengthened patriarchism.

Owing to the fact that patriarchism like this was masked with Marxism-Leninism and carried with is a seriously fraudulent nature, it still has its market today. Of course, we should not obliterate the successes achieved in eliminating the pernicious influence of the past, or should we exaggerate how dangerous it is; but it is more important that we should not lower our guard or become careless and ignore its harmfulness. In order to ensure that this historic calamity will not be repeated, and to create the essential ground for building a socialist nation having a high-level material and spiritual civilization, the only way is to eliminate the pernicious influence of patriarchism step by step, to fully develop socialist democracy, and to replace "what I say goes" with letting everyone have his say.

In order to eliminate patriarchism like this, it is necessary to continually criticize feudal autocracy, special privilege mentality, and hierarchy, because they are the roots of patriarchism. At the same time, we must also continually criticize the modern blind faith and the two viewpoints of "obedience in every respect" in order to unmask patriarchism and restore its true features. In the past, when the ultraleft trend of thought was criticized, some of our comrades were afraid of getting into trouble and tried to shield shortcomings. They were rather reticent and intended to cover up, which resulted in endless trouble for the future. Lessons like this must not be allowed to be repeated.

In capitalist countries which have advanced technology and science, feudal patriarchism has been overthrown by bourgeois democracy, but not in a thoroughgoing way. Only by fully developing socialist democracy can feudal patriarchism be completely abolished. The essence of socialist democracy is to make the masses masters of their own country. The day when the masses really become masters will be the day of doom for patriarchism. Some of our comrades just cannot understand this point correctly. They do not pay enough attention to socialist democracy. For instance, they deem that democracy is merely a means. Certainly, democracy as the superstructure may be called a means, with regard to its function in giving service to the foundation of the economy. Yet at the same time it is an end in itself. Since the essence of democracy is to make the people the masters of their country, how can it merely be called the means but not the end? Various misunderstandings and misinterpretations must be clarified and democratic centralism must be correctly implemented. Following the development of the four modernizations, it is necessary to strive to bring patriarchism and "what I say goes" to the museum of history at an early date.

9560
CSO: 4005

MASSES' RIGHT TO RECOMMEND WORTHY PEOPLE SHOULD BE RESPECTED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Have Complete Respect for the Masses' Democratic Right to Recommend Worthy and Capable People"]

[Text] The selection of cadres is the same as other party work, it necessitates unswervingly following the mass line and completely respecting the masses' democratic right to recommend worthy and capable people. Only by completely following the mass line and allowing hundreds of millions of people to act as "Bo Le" and select "horses that run a thousand li a day" can tens of thousands of worthy and qualified persons be discovered and selected from among the masses and so adapt to the daily increasing need for qualified people in building the four modernizations.

At present, the major obstacle influencing our choice of cadres who completely follow the mass line is the problem of "making a mystery of the handicraft industry form." The so-called "making a mystery of the handicraft industry form" is the feeling that the selection of cadres can only be handled by a small minority of a few people and that we cannot boldly and fully follow the mass line. If they follow the mass line a little they cannot be too careful and they must add on various limitations. For example, letting the masses criticize the good and bad points of cadres is permissible but to let them discuss cadre appointments and removals is not; to allow the leadership group to fix a name list and seek views from the masses is permissible but to allow the masses to break through conventions and widely select qualified people is not; to seek to have individuals talk with the masses or to hold discussion meetings is permissible but having popular elections and letting the masses recommend cadres is not. This type of selection of cadres is very narrow and cannot contribute to the timely selection of qualified people from various areas and sometimes it results in seeing or using people incorrectly.

To change the work method of making a mystery of the handicraft industry, the mass line must be followed completely for the selection of cadres and we must eliminate these types of thoughts and misgivings:

1. Fear of divulging secrets. In the selection of cadres there are secrets. The strict guarding of secrets is an organizational rule for cadre work. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" incited anarchism and ultraleftist thought making it impossible to keep secrets within the party and the results were very serious. We cannot forget the lesson learned from this bitter experience. Yet, there are, after all, it should be made clear which secrets should be guarded in cadre work and which

restrictions should be eliminated. The present situation is that, on the one hand, some affairs that should be kept secret are not well kept and "communications between the inside and outside" have not been completely removed. On the other hand, there are also some secrets that need not be maintained but are still kept secret. Some comrades often excessively stress the specific characteristics of cadre work and see it as totally secret work as if the employment and appointment and removal of cadres was only the affair of the organization and leadership. In this way, they need not boldly and fully follow the mass line. They even go so far as to suggest that the recommendations by the masses to the organization are also secrets. The normal practice of democracy whereby the masses, within a specific sphere, discuss the appointment and removal of cadres, is also said to be divulging secrets. We should see that the preservation of cadre work secrets and the selection of cadres following the mass line are not contradictory but complementary. Our discussion of preserving secrets in cadre work is completely for handling well cadre work and is not for binding the hands and feet of the masses. If preserving secrets obstructs our work then this kind of guarding of secrets is more often than not a synonym for making mysteries. It is an old restriction that binds the hands and feet of the individual and the masses and should be eliminated.

2. Fear of confusing things. After the masses are aroused, it is difficult to avoid everybody talking at once and varying opinions. This is a common phenomenon and cannot be taken as peculiar. Historical experience has proven that on any question total concensus is very uncommon. For differing views on the masses by the leadership, including approval and opposition, the correct and the wrong, it is first necessary to hear both at the same time for the purpose of examining and understanding cadres from various angles and so avoid one-sidedness and blindness. Secondly, it is necessary to do work well and if the masses do not understand matters we must give suitable explanation; it is necessary to carry out patient and painstaking ideological education work to counter the incorrect views among the masses; we must promptly analyze, study and draw systematic, comprehensive and correct conclusions concerning the unsystematic, uncomprehensive and scattered views among the masses. The facts show that only if within the process of the masses recommending cadres, the leadership of party committees is continually strengthened, and we do not use the pretext of "what the masses say counts," refuse to have anything to do with matters or let things drift, then not only will there be no confusion of things but on the contrary it can bring new vitality to cadre work so that cadres can do their work even better. To arouse the cadres to carry out popular elections of cadres, the provincial public security office held seven leading party group meetings and party enlarged meetings within a month. These meetings promptly analyzed and studied conditions that had arisen in the process of selecting cadres by public appraisal and, vigorously guided the selection and insured that selection activity proceeds smoothly. The provincial agricultural bank, in launching the recommendation of cadres by all of its staff and workers, paid attention to doing well all types of ideological and political work, overcame some incorrect ideological understanding and muddled views, strictly accorded with the new viewpoint and standards for employing people, enthusiastically recommended worthy and capable people for the four modernizations and established a name list of outstanding reserve cadres.

3. Fear of the rise of factionalism. This problem is worth watching out for. The factionalism in some units is "usually invisible but shows up when things crop up and comes into strong play at critical moments." The selection of cadres is a

critical moment and at that time factionalism is very likely to be exhibited. We cannot give factionalism an opportunity to arise and even more so should not allow some people the opportunity to give rise to factionalism. Yet, we cannot be overcautious over the rise of factionalism and hesitate and vacillate in following the mass line. It should be known that the form of the recommendation of cadres by the masses is multifaceted and the path is very wide. To have the masses have individual heart-to-heart talks is one form and holding discussion meetings is another. Democratic voting is a new way to recommend cadres and should be encouraged and expanded. Whatever form is employed in the various districts and units and whenever they carry out the activity of the masses recommending cadres, it should be decided by the party committee based on real conditions and not be done in just one step. When the power of many leaders is weak, factionalism is serious, and the holding of district and unit popular elections for recommending cadres is temporarily inappropriate; various other forms can be adopted and the mass line can be and boldly and fully followed. In reality, it is only necessary that the great majority of the masses uphold party spirit and oppose factionalism. If there are individuals who persist in factionalism but seek to be fish in troubled waters, this rarely results in success. Only if they can fully reveal themselves will it be easier to do work within the organization with a definite purpose and thoroughly resolve the problem of factionalism.

4. Fear that the masses will not recommend the cadres the leadership chooses. The leaders are the same as the masses, both have the democratic right to recommend cadres to the organization. Yet, the recommendations by leading comrades must also be investigated and understood by the organization's personnel unit and they must listen attentively to the views of the masses which must be collectively discussed and decided upon by the party committee. Under no circumstances should an individual or a minority have the final say; this is an important rule in cadre work. If the cadres the leading comrades choose are outstanding it is believed that the great majority of masses will recommend them. If they are temporarily not recommended, after patiently presenting the facts and reasoning things out to clarify the situation the masses will be able to approve. If the cadres the leading comrades settle on are not outstanding persons, the masses will recommend a better cadre, which should be welcomed. If the cadres the leading comrades settle on do not conform to conditions, the failure of the masses to recommend them is beyond criticism. All of the leading comrades who keep the public interest in mind and do not practice favoritism should readily accept good advice, be completely convinced and enthusiastically uphold the recommendations of the masses.

Many units have proven in practice that there are many advantages to boldly and fully arousing the masses to recommend cadres. Firstly, it is beneficial to expanding one's outlook, liberating thought, smashing old conventions and opening wide paths for talent. Generally speaking, the masses lay more stress on the actual manifestations and ability of cadres and with less conservative thought they can objectively perceive the cadres. Many brains thinking of a problem will be more thoughtful than a few brains. Millions of pairs of eyes looking at a cadre can look more completely and accurately than a few pairs of eyes. When the masses are mobilized to recommend cadres, it is easy to discover and recommend all types of outstanding people. Furthermore, boldly and fully allowing the masses to recommend cadres is also advantageous to arousing the enthusiasm of the masses and cadres. The masses did not have much of a right to speak in past selections of cadres.

The present situation is different as they feel that they themselves have the right to participate in managing national affairs, and the affairs of their own unit, to strengthen their sense of being the masters of their own affairs, to begin to have initiative and concern and enthusiastically participating in the work of selecting successors. Because the cadres are selected by the masses themselves they have increased their faith and support and the close relationship of the cadres and the masses has been restored. Leading cadres also feel that their own power is given by the masses, and that they must closely conform to the interests of the people, so that they can always win the trust and support of the masses thereby making increasingly strict demands of themselves, closely uniting with the masses, showing concern over the suffering of the masses and wholeheartedly serving the people, and being good public servants and servants to the people. This greatly advances the growth of cadre ranks and the building of each level of the leading groups. On another level, boldly and fully allowing the masses to recommend cadres can also effectively prevent and overcome malpractices in cadre work. The arbitrary appointment and removal of cadres by an individual or small minority of leaders, the formation of cliques, the building up of trusted followers, the engaging in malpractices for selfish ends and the carrying out of retaliation can all be greatly decreased. A minority of persons who are opportunistic, have very bad work style and crave office are hard to exploit to advantage and have infiltrated our leadership group. Because of the deficiency in the work of a minority of leading comrades and the organization personnel departments, the selection of capable people was done improperly but this is easily overcome.

9480
CSO: 4005

ANGRY HEBEI MASSES RESIST COURT CADRES' UNJUST ACTION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO correspondents Liu Fangchen [0490 2455 6591], Tan Fang [6151 7364] and Cai Nengren [2580 5174 0086]: "Cadres of Xingtai County People's Court Violate Law and Discipline, Arouse Popular Indignation"]

> [Text] Editor's Note: The people have hoped that the laws of the land will be strictly observed, their violators will be punished and law enforcement officials will act as models in this field. The recent case involving the Xingtai County People's Court's deputy chief judge Fan Jingchen [2868 2529 5256] and other cadres who touched off a civil disobedience for illegally tying and beating up the people in the course of settling a civil dispute over the property ownership reminds us that some of our law enforcement officials still don't know how to respect the law. Their deliberate attempt to punish the masses through the framing of false charges as a measure to preserve the judicial dignity backfired because they provoked a new dispute with the masses before the civil dispute in their hands was settled. This incident teaches us this lesson: The law enforcement officials should act as models in strictly abiding by the law.

Last February, nearly 1,000 people in Dajiaxiang brigade of Xingtai County, Hebei Province, angrily surrounded a group of court cadres for almost 8 hours for illegally tying up the people. The higher authorities have ordered the Xingtai County People's Court to temporarily dismiss its deputy chief judge Fan Jingchen from office so that an investigation of this case can be conducted. Comrade Sun Zhihong [1327 1807 1347], deputy secretary of the Xingtai County Party Committee, has led the cadres of the court to openly discuss the case with the masses at the Dajiaxiang brigade. This action has been praised by the people throughout the county.

The civil case that was brought to the Xingtai County People's Court's attention was a dispute over the property ownership involving a female commune member of the Dajiaxiang brigade Zhang Sanni [1728 0005 1200] and her adopted son

Zhang Laxiang [1728 2139 4382], a dispute that occurred after she remarried her present husband (a staff member of the Xingtai County Revolutionary Committee). She sued Zhang Laxiang at the Xingtai County People's Court with her new husband's help. When deputy chief judge Fan Jingchen arrived at the Dajiaxiang brigade at the head of a group of investigators to look into the case on 9 February 1980, he first summoned Zhang Laxiang to his temporary office for an interrogation, which was followed by a visit to his home. While on the way to his home, court clerk Li Shiju [2621 1102 5282] pushed Zhang Laxiang from behind and kicked him twice because of his slow motion. At this time, some people shouted: "Is there any law that empowers the court to beat up the people?" When the effort to settle the dispute failed, Fan Jingchen and his companions placed the property in dispute at Zhang Laxiang's home under the court's custody. This unfair court action immediately touched off a protest from the crowd gathering around Zhang Laxiang's home. Aware of this, Fan Jingchen asked: "Is there anyone who wants to say anything about the court's handling of the case?" Female commune member Yin Xianni [1438 0341 1200], Zhang Laxiang's mother, stepped forward and said: "Your honor, when my husband Zhang Tingai [1728 1694 0366] presented his case against Zhang Sanni at the Nanshimen court last spring, he was kicked several times by the court cadres. After leaving the court, he was very upset, and became sick. He died a few months later." Fan Jingchen replied: "Do you have any evidence? Any accusation without evidence to back it up is a slander." No sooner had he said this than he ordered Li Shiju and three other court cadres to arrest Yin Xianni and take her away. When her daughter Zhang Xiuling [1728 4423 3781], who had just married only a day earlier, tried to protect her mother, Li Shiju and a court guard pushed the young lady into an alley, and then knocked her to the ground and tied her arms behind her back with ropes before escorting her to the Dajiaxiang commune. The crowd who watched this take place pleaded with the court cadres, saying: "They are not supposed to be good speakers. Please free them." The court cadres warned: "We will arrest everyone who is up against us!" Another female commune member Guo Sini [6753 0934 1200] angrily said: "I have never seen such arrogant law enforcement officials, not even in movies!" Fan Jingchen said to his companions: "Book that woman too." Li Shiju and a court guard grabbed Guo Sini by the arms and pulled her into an alley. When her mother tried to plead for her daughter's freedom, she was pushed aside, and knocked to the ground. At this, the angry people closed in from all directions and swarmed into the alley, tightening their circle around Fan Jingchen and his men, dressing them down with these questions: "When you arrest people, don't you need warrants? If you know the law, can you arrest the people without warrants?" Fan Jingchen and his men were stunned by such questions, which forced them into an awkward position from which to extricate themselves. Fan Jingchen and his men were held up by the masses for 8 hours--from 6 pm on 9 February to 2 am on 10 February--until they were freed by cadres and party members of the Dajiaxiang commune and brigade who spent a long time pleading with the masses for their release.

As soon as they returned to the Xingtai County People's Court, Fan Jingchen sent his three companions to a hospital for treatment as an indication that they were injured by the mob. He then filed a report to the Xingtai County

Party Committee accusing Zhang Laxiang, Zhang Xiuling and their close relatives of launching premeditated and well-organized attacks against them, holding them legally responsible for any bodily injuries that the court cadres might have sustained as a result of that incident. But thorough medical examinations showed that the three hospitalized court cadres were all in good health except for light bruises on their faces and legs. On the third day of their stay at the hospital, the three court cadres were released at their own request. At the same time, the Xingtai County Party Committee organized and conducted an investigation into the case on the recommendation of the report from the court. Following a month's stay in Dajiaxiang, the investigators concluded that the aforementioned incident was caused by the court personnel's irritating behavior rather than being "a premeditating and well-organized action" as charged by Fan Jingchen; it was a spontaneous action by the masses instead of being instigated by some bad elements.

Finally, Fan Jingchen and his companions were severely criticized for refusing to acknowledge and correct their mistakes and for ignoring the conclusions of the Xingtai County Party Committee's investigation report by appealing their case directly to the Hebei Provincial People's Superior Court. The Xingtai County Party Committee has also called on county court cadres to launch a self-criticism campaign in connection wiht the Dajiaxiang incident.

9574
CSO: 4005

ANCIENT STORIES STILL PROVIDE LESSONS FOR TODAY

Arrogant, Foolhardy Persons

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by He Yu [2688 5148]: "Heading South To Go North, and Letting the Ignorant Exercise Great Power"]

[Text] Volume 6 of the national elementary school language text has a story written in the vernacular entitled, "Trying To Go South by Driving the Chariot North." During the summer vacation, when my child was reviewing this lesson, he suddenly asked me seriously: That man wanted to go to the state of Chu, which is clearly in the south, but he insisted on heading north. Why was he so foolish? Are there still such foolish people? My child's asking this brought to mind some real-life incidents of "Trying To Go South by Driving the Chariot North."

For example, when building a factory we must first have a blueprint and we must consider the supply of raw and processed materials, the market for the product, and a whole series of other questions. This is just commonsense. In the past few years, however, several construction projects did not consider these things. The so-called "simultaneous planning, construction, and putting into operation" was praised as an advanced experience and for a time was spread to all areas. There are other such examples: in the mountains it is possible to plant and grow trees and grass and have a diversified economy. However, under the slogan of spreading ideal experiences, the people were made to whittle away mountain tops and move the loess to build "manmade plains." I could offer many more examples of stupidity. Most typical are the two incidents which were recently revealed in the papers, the "Bohai No 2" incident and the project to "shift the westward-flowing water east." Aren't these incidents just like the story "Trying To Go South by Driving the Chariot North"? I certainly think so. First, they have something to do with the ignorance of some leaders who do not even understand the rudiments of commonsense. Second, because [these leaders] have definite authority in their hands, they can rely on this authority to do what they wish.

Ignorance, of course, is not a good thing, but it is not frightening. No one is born with knowledge. If we study with an open mind, then we can gradually change from being ignorant to being knowledgeable, and gradually change from possessing little knowledge to having abundant knowledge. If we are ignorant and at the same time think we are great, do not study, and in addition mess things up by giving wrong orders, then that is very frightening. As for that fellow who wanted to go to the state of Chu, if he did not know whether Chu was in the south or north, and if he had asked someone or, after being reminded by someone, if he had changed course, he would not have had so much trouble. However, he didn't do this. The reason was because he relied on his authority (the authority to direct the carriage), and his situation (the horse was good, funds for travel expenses were sufficient, and his driving skills were good). As a result, we have the story of the man who, by "Trying To Go South by Driving the Chariot North," made himself an immortal laughingstock.

As for being ignorant and, in addition, having authority, the man who drove north in order to go south cannot compare with the leaders of the petroleum industry department and the former responsible persons of the Xiyang County Party Committee. Obviously there are many cold currents during the winter in Bohai Bay, and heavy seas and the offshore oil rigs have no defense against the cold and are easily tossed around. However, the leaders concerned did not even consider these basic facts, and they refused to listen to the correct opinions of the foremen and team leaders, but instead used their power and influence to force the workers to act recklessly, under the slogan "Sitting out the winter or working through the winter" and other seemingly revolutionary slogans. As a result, the oil rig capsized and many lives were lost. The rivers of Xiyang clearly enter the Huanghe flowing westward; however, they wanted to make it flow east. It is easy to see that this is a case of hurting others to benefit oneself, and a waste of money and manpower. However, they insisted on their way, and those who offered different opinions were labeled plotters and anti-Dazhai. Their persisting in acting blindly brought about widespread indignation and discontent.

The man in this story who drove the chariot north in order to go south actually has lovable traits. One reason is that he did not come down hard on or put label onto those who raised differing opinions. Another reason is that he himself was responsible for any losses that came. The few real-life individuals today who continue to head south by driving north are actually not like this at all. First, they are overbearing and will show you their fierceness. Or else, after a project has failed, they give specious arguments to cover up their errors and faults. Secondly, their positions are high, their authority is great, and they command hundreds and thousands of people. Whatever loss is brought about is far from being their individual loss. It is the party and the people who lose. Based on this, it is the latter which appear abominable.

Ignorance plus authority are the reason that things went wrong in both the present and the past instances of driving north to go south. In order to resolve this problem, we will first need to advocate study, and secondly we must have a guaranteed system. At present, everyone is discussing the four modernizations. If we do nothing more than discuss and do not seriously study the experiences of modern scientific technology and management, or if we do not research ways to change our cadre system, then we will be in a dangerous position. If we do not do a good job, we may end up like that fellow who wanted with all his heart to go to the state of Chu but did not know where he was going. This could lead our great undertaking, the four modernizations, down the wrong road.

Frauds, Charlatans

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 80 p 8

[Article by Shao Yue [6730 6885]: "Mr Nan Guo Yesterday and Today"]

[Text] I was very moved after reading the paper and felt compelled to make some comments.

Several coworkers gathered to chat one evening after dinner. They praised the new practice of some older comrades, which appeared in the paper, as being in the tradition of China's sage kings Yao and Shun. These older comrades, who had been first in command, gave their position to other comrades in the prime of their life and willingly accepted the number-two position. Afterward they again voluntarily stepped down, this time to the number-three position.

This reminded me of the time I was in elementary and middle school and read the entire history of our country four times and the teachers extolled the abdication of Tang, Yao, and Shun. What the teachers emphasized was that Yao and Shun did not worry about their personal loss but considered the benefit of the people most important, and on their own initiative gave the throne to worthy and capable young people who had passed a period of trial (practice). This of course is an instructive anecdote. Many of our older comrades are doing exactly this right now.

However, in ancient times there was also the story of "The Man Who Passed Himself Off as a Player in the Band"--about a Mr Nan Guo who played poorly but joined an old emperor's band pretending he could play the yu, an ancient wind instrument. After the old emperor died, a new one ascended the throne, and when he wanted to examine each person individually, Mr Nan Guo was unable to get by and so he deserted and ran away. Nowadays we often use this idiom to describe phony experts, or we say someone is a "Mr Nan Guo." No doubt the main reasons for Mr Nan Guo's fleeing was his fear of being accused of lying to the emperor, plus the danger of being beheaded. On the other hand, he knew his own limitations to some extent and was apprehensive about their effects. During the era prior to the destruction of the Chinese classics by Shi Huang Di of the Chin Dynasty, when there were numerous feudal states, Mr Nan Guo was still able easily to go to other states in order to make ends meet.

Although there are very few Nan Guos around today, they have not disappeared altogether. However, historical conditions today are, after all, not the same as in the past. First, we now have organizational discipline, and there is no way to desert. Second, the country is united, and there are no feudal states to escape to. This is not permitted by objective circumstances. Subjectively speaking, I'm afraid the Nan Guos of today are lacking a little in self-knowledge and in addition they rest on the superiority of socialism. They hold their steel rice bowls in both hands and steadfastly refuse to relinquish the latrine. These present-day Nan Guos have really become a burden on the road to the four modernizations, and they may turn out to be something more than just a burden. Another type seemed for a period to have remarkable abilities, they were very persuasive speakers, and as a result their positions were very secure. They could not play the yu, but they disguised themselves as theoreticians of the instrument or stood in front of the band pretending to be the leader. They did not feel disgraced because they were unable to play, but instead thought that their social status had been raised. Actually the masses have a pretty good idea of what's going on: no matter how high your position or how glorious your history, if you don't know the ropes and you don't respect those who do, then you won't be allowed to "pass yourself off as a member of the band."

If all the Nan Guos possessed self-knowledge and were realistic, they would first cut out all their big talk and stop their boasting self-appraisal of their qualifications and expertness. At the same time, on the basis of their lack of knowledge, they would stop putting on airs and seriously and honestly make up the lessons they have missed and learn about their professions. If they worked diligently to make up for their lack of skills, they eventually could learn to play the yu, and in addition they could hope to become a famous player of that instrument. Otherwise, Mr Nan Guo the bricklayer could request a return to the profession he was trained for, and give his position to someone who really knows how to play!

When that time comes, the masses will naturally cast off the Mr Nan Guo labels and will call them leaders who know the ropes.

9686
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

BEIJING STUDENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN--Beijing City has recently been holding district democratic elections of people's deputies. The candidates have issued election manifestos in their districts and have also held question-and-answer sessions. This is the first time such a thing has happened in Beijing. It has caused tremendous response in society. On 16 October, the day after the list of candidates for the Xicheng District was promulgated, Li Shengping [2621 0524 1627], a history student of class 76 of the No 1 Branch School of Beijing University, announced his candidacy and also published tracts such as "What I will do if elected" on a blackboard in the school. This evoked very great interest among the teachers and students of the school. On the afternoon of 17 October, at the demand of the various faculties and classes and the students, the students' association of the school organized a "Li Shengping candidacy question-and-answer session." At the session, Li Shengping made a speech entitled "The Times We Are Living In," and answered over 100 questions put to him by teachers and students. This is the first time such an election campaign method has been adopted in Beijing. Yesterday ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE specially transmitted two photographs of the Li Shengping candidacy. (see this page) [The paper prints one of these photos. It shows a young man probably in his early 20's standing behind a table in a courtyard, addressing a large number of young people through a microphone. Another young man at his side is apparently helping to sort out papers on the table. The caption reads "Li Shengping answers questions put by teachers and students at his candidacy 'question-and-answer session'"] [Text] [HK190254 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 19 Oct 80 p 1]

EXTRAVAGANT ENTERTAINMENT--According to our sources, the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee's discipline inspection commission and the provincial financial bureau recently conducted a survey on the reception work in our province. They discovered that unhealthy tendencies such as lavish wining, dining and sending gifts are still very serious problems. According to preliminary statistics, [words indistinct] million yuan in the entire province from the beginning of January to the end of July. Some units and leading comrades disregarded the repeated instructions and directives of the central authorities on strictly forbidding extravagance and waste and on sending gifts, wining and dining. They continue to practice their old ways. Some inspection, visiting and check-up groups ate free meals, placing great burdens on the grass-roots units. The masses are disgusted. Some enterprises used public funds to wine and dine lavishly when they held meetings to order goods or to exhibit their products. In a 2-day sale exhibition alone, a unit in Shenyang Municipality spent some 9,000 yuan for wining and dining and for sending gifts to some 200 persons at the exhibition. Departments concerned are now conducting thorough investigations in several units which have serious problems. They are preparing to deal with these cases sternly. [Excerpts] [SK161954 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Oct 80]

NEW MONGGOL YOUNG LEADER NOTED--Beijing, 18 Oct (XINHUA)--China's policy of promoting younger and more expert officials to leading positions continued to receive top coverage today when all of Beijing's newspapers carried the success story of a 31-year-old cadre who has transformed the ailing economy of a state farm in Inner Mongolia. The policy of lowering the average age of leading officials and increasing the level of competence in leadership and management was articulated at last month's National People's Congress by Chairman Hua Guofeng. He called for the promotion of younger experts. Today's papers gave prominence to the story of Zhai Xinhua, director of the Jianfeng farm in Bayannur League, Inner Mongolia, who devoted himself to the study of farm production, planning, finance and supply and marketing. Last December he began delegating responsibility to individuals for particular tasks and also improved the wage scale. The farm earned 52 percent more in the first half of this year than in the same period last year, cut spending by 26 percent and has steadily increased its output. A XINHUA editor's note, carried in the Beijing papers, calls on all young officials to study and become expert as Zhai Xinhua did. [OW181333 Beijing XINHUA in English 1240 GMT 18 Oct 80]

CSO: 4020

VETERAN RED ARMY SOLDIERS STILL CONTRIBUTE TO SICHUAN

OW201342 Beijing XINHUA in English 1236 GMT 20 Oct 80

[Text] Chengdu, October 20 (XINHUA)—Many former Red Army soldiers—the "rebels" described by U.S. journalist Edgar Snow in his book "Red Star Over China" four decades ago—are spending their old age in comforts.

As "veteran Red Army soldiers"—an honorary title given to those who joined the revolution before or during the long march in the mid-thirties—they are highly respected and cared for by the Chinese Government.

There are several hundred such veterans in Chongqing, Sichuan Province, Southwest China. The city government recently moved 110 of them into new apartments in the suburbs or at scenic spots.

Most of the veterans in Chongqing are either advisers or retired, but all continue to get full pay from their former jobs.

A long march veteran and 83-year old Zhu Yufeng, former regimental political commissar of the People's Liberation Army, and his wife live in a two-storey, 6-room villa at the foot of a hill outside Chongqing. Their five children, all government workers, spend weekends or holidays with them. A boy peasant before he joined the workers and peasants Red Army led by General He Long in 1934, Zhu Yufeng was wounded several times on the battlefield during the long march.

Many veterans are still active—such as 64-year old Liao Qikang, deputy chief of the city steel works, who was an aide-de-camp to Zhou Enlai from 1936 to 1940. Using his spare time, he had been working on a memoir of Zhou Enlai.

Another veteran, Liu Keming, retired from his job at a chemical plant, organized over a hundred dependants of plant workers into a workshop manufacturing semi-finished chemical products out of the wate fluid of the plant. He has been honored by his fellow workers as a model cadre.

The veterans also give lectures to young people on their experience in the revolution, with a view to inspiring them to work harder. Last year they spoke to a total of more than 10,000 people in Chongqing.

CSO: 4020

IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONALITY POLICY DISCUSSED

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITY UNITY] in Chinese No 5, 15 May 80 pp 22-24

[Article: "Recognize the Protracted Nature of the Nationality Issue, Resolutely and Correctly Implement the Party's Policy Towards Nationalities"]

[Text] (Office of the State People's Commission on Policy Research)

Having gone through all the above lectures, we have elucidated from every aspect the party's policy towards nationalities. In that case, is the party's policy towards nationalities an expedient measure for the present time, or it is a protracted policy? Without any question the party's policy on nationalities is decidedly not an expedient measure for a time, but is a protracted and resolute policy. This has not arisen from some person's subjective wish, but is decided by the protracted nature of the nationality question.

Marxism-Leninism has all along considered the problems of nationalities as a long-term problem. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago: "The problem of nationality may exist for a long period of time." Not only in the present process of building modernized socialism would the nationality problem be in existence; during the entire stage of socialist history, even up to a certain phase of communism, as long as nationalities are in existence there will be problems.

Why is the nationality question a long-standing problem? This is decided by the following several factors:

First of all, the existence of nationalities is protracted. "A nationality is a stable common body formed by people in the course of history and having a common language, a common region, a common economic life, and which manifests itself in the common psychological qualities of a common culture." ("Collected Works of Stalin" vol 2 p 294) People develop from tribes into a nationality, passing through a long and slow historical period. Therefore, a nationality--this common body of people possesses a very great stability; it's dying out also of necessity requires the passing through of a very long historical period. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "First there is the dying out of classes, and after that the dying out of states, and after that the dying out of nationalities; the whole world is like that." Lenin also said that differences among nationalities "even after the dictatorship of the proletariat class is put into effect throughout the entire world, will still be maintained for a very, very long time." ("Collected Works of Lenin" vol 4 p 246) All this clearly indicates that the existence of differences among nationalities is very protracted. Since differences between nationalities exist, naturally the problem of nationality will exist.

Secondly, the real inequality between nationalities, both economic and in terms of cultural development, that history has left with us will still exist for a long time. Although in our country after liberation the system of oppression of [minority] nationalities was abolished and all the nationalities acquired the rights of political and legal equality, nevertheless the real inequality between nationalities, economic and in terms of cultural development that history has left with us still exists, and it is still the root source that produces mistrust, and the oppression of nationalities. If we want to gradually overcome these real inequalities, it still requires a very long period of time; this shall be an important task for us when, in future, we solve the nationality question within our own country.

Thirdly, owing to the long period of oppression, exploitation, bullying and prejudice against minority nationalities by the reactionary ruling classes throughout history, especially reactionary ruling classes of Han nationality, a strong feeling of estrangement among nationalities has been created, and this kind of influence also requires a very long period of time before it can be completely eradicated.

Fourthly, the class struggle both within and outside the country may also be reflected in the relationship between nationalities. In our country, although the exploiting class has already been abolished, the landlord class and rich farmer class have already died out as classes, and the capitalist class as a class already no longer exists, nevertheless all kinds of class enemies will still exist for a long time, and the class struggle has definitely not been concluded. Moreover, our domestic class struggle is also very closely connected with the international class struggle; in particular, the Soviet revisionists are still bent on subjugating our country. Class enemies both within and outside the country will inevitably foment discord between nationalities in a vain attempt to destroy unity, and the unity of nationalities, of our great ancestral homeland. The influence of capitalist class ideology and feudal ideology will also continue to exist for a long time (in the relationship between nationalities these manifest themselves as Han chauvinism and local nationalities chauvinism). In the face of these influences and their reflection on the relationship between nationalities, it is still necessary to carry out a long period of education and struggle.

Among the elements mentioned above, the most fundamental is that the protracted nature of the differences between nationalities determines the long-standing existence of the nationality question.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" publicly denied the objective fact that there are many nationalities existing in our country. They opposed the scientific thesis of Marxism and Leninism and Mao Zedong thought that the issue of nationality would be a long-standing problem. They nonsensically declared that "Everything has become socialized; how can there be any question of 'nationality'?"; they did not allow any policy on nationalities to be discussed, did not allow any work on the nationality issue to be proposed and, on the pretext of a "fusion of nationalities," put into effect a forced assimilation. That was extremely absurd and extremely reactionary of them. The reactionary fallacies and practice of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were carried out; in addition to the nationality issue and the class struggle, they carried out a ruthless persecution against the people of the minority nationalities, and created an extremely great disaster for them.

True, Marxism-Leninism foresaw that at a certain stage in the development of communism, nationalities will tend to merge and disappear altogether. Lenin said: "The aim of socialism is not only to eliminate the phenomenon of humanity being divided up into many small states, and all the conditions that tend to keep the various nationalities apart; it is not only to cause the various nationalities to come close to each other but, moreover, to cause all the nationalities to mix together." ("Complete Works of Lenin" vol 2 p 719) Regarding this question of the fusion of nationalities, and eradicating the differences among nationalities, Marx, Engels, and particularly Lenin spoke a great deal. Without accepting this truth, it is not possible to have an accurate Marxist view on the nationality question.

From another aspect, however, Marxism-Leninism also considers that the blending of nationalities, and the elimination of differences between nationalities, is a long and slow historical process. During the stage of socialism, not only is it not possible to realize a blending of nationalities or the dying out of nationalities but, moreover, there will still be a historical period of the development and flourishing of nationalities. Lenin, in refuting Pi-da-ke-fu's fallacy in proclaiming that he wanted to abolish nationalities, pointed out: "Of course, this is an excellent thing, and even a realizable thing, but it can only be at a different stage in the development of communism." ("Complete Works of Lenin" vol 29 pp 165-166). Stalin, in elucidating Lenin's viewpoints, also pointed out: "Lenin did not consider the process of the dying out of differences between nationalities and the merging of nationalities as [something that would happen within the] time frame of socialism becoming victorious in a country, but merely as something that would happen after the dictatorship of the proletariat was put into effect throughout the entire world; that is to say, he considered it as something that could happen only after socialism was victorious in all countries, i.e., after the basis of a world socialist economy is already established." "On the contrary, during the first stage the oppression of nationalities will be completely eliminated; this stage will be a stage in which the nationalities that were formerly oppressed, and their national languages, will develop and flourish; it will be the stage in which the right of equality for all nationalities will be established; it will be the stage of the elimination of suspicion between nationalities; it will be the stage of establishing and consolidating international relations among all nationalities." ("Complete Works of Stalin" vol 11 pp 298-299) It is extremely clear then, that in this historical stage of socialism it is not a question of a nationality being phased out, but it is a period for all nationalities to develop and flourish together. Taking up the situation of our country, before liberation our country was a semi-feudal, semi-colonized country in which all nationalities together including the Han nationality were oppressed by imperialism; the minority nationalities were at the same time oppressed by the Han chauvinism of our domestic reactionary ruling classes. A great many minority nationalities were not even recognized as nationalities. Of the 55 minority nationalities in our country, more than 90 percent were all overlooked for a long time and only recognized after liberation. After liberation, when they were recognized as nationalities, and enjoyed the right of equality, and autonomous regions were set up in the areas they inhabited, how overjoyed and heartened they were, considering it as the greatest affair in their nationality's history and the most meaningful holiday to be celebrated. Is this not a strong reflection of their nationality consciousness? Under socialism however, the multiplicity of nationalities not only cannot diminish, on the contrary it can still greatly increase because of all those heretofore unknown small and weak nationalities mounting the political platform; special characteristics of nationalities not only cannot disappear very quickly, on the contrary they are still to reach their fullest development. And only after undergoing the development and prosperity together can all nationalities benefit in the unity, mutual trust and closeness of all nationalities, thereby gradually eliminating estrangement and barriers between nationalities. We must strengthen the contacts in addition to differentiating the differences between the present practice and the long-range evaluation of mankind in nationality integration and the elimination of differences among nationalities. During this present historical phase, we definitely cannot take the blending of nationalities as a program to be put into practice. Comrade Zhou Enlai said in 1957: "Our policy on nationalities is a policy of allowing all nationalities to flourish. Since all nationalities want equality, and also want to flourish, everybody will flourish. The flourishing of nationalities is a fundamental standpoint of socialism in its nationalities policy." If someone wanted to run counter to this fundamental standpoint, and insisted on making the blending of nationalities a program to be put into practice during the socialist period, in a vain attempt to use the method of coercion to eliminate differences between nationalities, in such a case what he would be implementing would essentially be a reactionary policy of assimilation of nationalities, and not a socialist, proletariat policy. The result of it could only be to increase estrangement and barriers between nationalities, and to create opposition and conflict between nationalities.

In recognizing the protracted existence of nationalities and differences among nationalities, it is necessary in the course of nationalities work to adhere to the principle of integrating theory with reality, and in everything to proceed from the realities existing in the areas where the minority nationalities live. Lenin pointed out: "As long as differences between nationalities and differences between countries still exist among all nationalities and all countries (these differences, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat is put into effect throughout the entire world, will still be maintained for a very, very long time), the unity of the international strategy of the communist workers' movements of the various countries does not require the elimination of multiplicity and the elimination of differences between nationalities (this at present is an absurd illusion) but requires, when applying the basic principles of communism (political power [in the hands of] the soviets, and the dictatorship of the proletariat), taking these principles in detail and correctly changing them so that they may be accurately adapted and applied to the differences among nationalities and nation-states." ("Selected Works of Lenin" vol 4 p 246) Lenin is demanding that when each country adopts a concrete way for resolving [their role in] the unified international task, "they must all investigate, research, explore, guess, and get a grasp of their nationalities' characteristics and traits." (Ibid.)

Our party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong combined Marxist-Leninist theories on the nationality question with the characteristics of nationalities in China, and formulated a complete policy and guiding principle for us to [use to] solve our domestic nationality question. In all nationality work, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized the necessity of giving due consideration to the special characteristics and needs of the minority nationalities. He stated that "work must be carried out in accordance with the situation of the differing areas of the various nationalities." He opposed mechanically applying the experience of Han nationality areas and other countries to the minority nationalities.

Practice is the sole standard for testing truth. In the 30 years since the founding of the PRC both positive and negative experience in nationalities work tell us that our party's entire guiding principle and policy for solving our domestic nationalities question are correct. The crux lies in whether or not we can correctly recognize the protracted nature of the nationalities issue, persevere in proceeding from reality in all [our work] and be good at combining and uniting socialism with the special features of nationalities. Whenever we followed this way, the party's nationality policy as a result was implemented comparatively well and there has been success in the work, and the unity of nationalities can be developed and strengthened. Otherwise, the party's nationality policy might be distorted, and ruined, and the unity of nationalities will be damaged. After liberation, we carried out a cautious and steady policy in the minority nationalities' areas. Based on the differing conditions in each minority area, we adopted policies, methods and procedures that the masses in the area were able to accept and conform to the realities in the area. We victoriously carried out a democratic reform and socialist transformation, enabling all minority nationalities to enter into socialism. However, at the end of the 1950s a trend of nationality integration began to stir up, and minority areas were erroneously criticized using theories to the effect that the inhabitants were the special products of special circumstances, or were backward. As a result, in some minority areas the party's policies on nationalities and religion were violated, special characteristics of minority nationalities were overlooked, and the minority nationalities' partiality for the rights of equality and self-government was damaged, causing the work to suffer a loss it should not have suffered. As for the serious bad results caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"'s fundamental denial of the nationality question and ruining of the party's nationality policy, the lesson was even more bitter.

At present, we have entered the new historic period having the four modernizations as the central task, and in the same way we must adhere to the principles of integrating theory and reality, seeking truth from facts, and proceeding from reality in all our work. We must not only proceed from China's special characteristics and start out on a path of building a Chinese-style socialist modernization but, moreover, in building the four modernizations in the nationality areas, we must persevere in carrying through the implementation of the party's nationality policy, pay attention to the minorities' special characteristics, and give due consideration to the needs and advantage of the minority nationalities. In this, in the same way we cannot mechanically apply the experience of foreign countries and Han nationality areas.

As long as we adhere to the materialistic principle that practice is the only standard for examining truth, adhere to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint that the existence of the nationality question is protracted and persist in correctly carrying through the implementation of the party's nationalities policy, proceeding from reality in all our work and paying due consideration to the special characteristics of the minority nationalities, the party's nationality work will be continuously victorious, and the party of the new socialist period's task regarding the nationality question can definitely be brought to a successful conclusion.

9634
CSO: 4005

FOUR MODERNIZATIONS CALLS FOR EMPLOYEES EDUCATION

Tianjin TIANJIN SHIYUAN XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF TIANJIN NORMAL COLLEGE] in Chinese No 2, 20 Apr 80 pp 14-18

[Article by Li Zongfang [2621 1350 5364]: "Employees Training Is One of the Strategic Tasks in Four Modernizations"]

[Text] In order to build our motherland into a powerful modern socialist country, it is urgent significantly to raise the entire nation's scientific and cultural standard. It is far from enough to depend on the existing system of colleges, middle schools and primary schools alone to accomplish the task. Also of vital importance is that we direct our efforts toward the development of worker education. This can be clearly seen when we look back on the state of worker education in our city since its liberation 30 years ago.

I

Tianjin declared its liberation in January 1949. To turn a new cultural page without delay for large numbers of workers who had already found a new day politically and economically, the General Labor Union and the Education Bureau of the city, together with the concerned departments, organized in September of that year the "Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of Spare-time Schools in Tianjin for Laborers," and established the first such school in our city. Since then, there has been a rapid advance in the development of worker education in our city. By 1965, Tianjin had established a fairly adequate system of worker education that included literacy classes, spare-time junior and senior middle schools and spare-time colleges and universities (classes). From an accumulation of experiences, there has emerged a set of clearly defined ideas as to the purpose for the development of various classes and types of spare-time schools, the content of the different courses, the range of the curriculum, and the program of instructions, etc. As to the methods of teaching, certain special methods suitable for adults have gradually been devised from the system of examinations. As regards the makeup of teaching materials, textbooks for various courses, ranging from anti-illiteracy textbooks to textbooks for spare-time senior middle schools, have been compiled. To promote research on teaching and to continue to upgrade the quality and quantity of teaching, a department for teaching research has also been set up in Tianjin for the education of laborers and farmers.

In conformance with the guideline set by the policy of "readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement," the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee decided in 1962 to emphasize that workers' schools "should henceforth place technical education in its rightful place," that "they should make an all-out effort to set up a curriculum for political, cultural and technical education," and that "this is a mission of strategic significance." Since then, the various units have shown an even more positive attitude in organizing education for employees. The various industrial and business bureaus followed suit in establishing spare-time universities. As a result of the continual development of worker education, and in view of the need to upgrade the quality of teachers at the workers' schools, the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee also established "a class for teachers of spare-time schools" for the training of such teachers.

In short, during the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution, our city had, in the field of worker education, hewed closely to the party line, the party principle and the party policy, and had achieved outstanding results. It produced a marked effect in raising the political consciousness of large numbers of workers elevating their scientific, cultural and technical levels, and making worker education a vitally important component of the entire socialist education system. The students enrolled in the various levels and types of schools for workers reached a peak of 690,000 persons, or over 50 percent of the total number of employees. Between 1949 and 1961, the development of worker education brought about two notable results. First, the worker illiteracy rate took a dramatic plunge from 78 percent in 1949 to less than 10 percent in 1961. Secondly, the number of workers with at least a junior middle school education soared from less than 30 percent in 1957 to over 50 percent in 1961. Worker education was also instrumental in the development of technician and business management cadres. These people have now become leaders in the march toward the four modernizations.

For a period of 10 years after 1966, worker education in our city was brought to the brink of collapse as a result of the rampage of destruction unleashed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The management of employees education at various levels was "crushed to a pulp." The engineering college for part-time students, the industrial and agricultural education research institute and the research department for teachers of adult education were decimated. The school buildings were occupied. The laboratory center was smashed to pieces. The teachers were scattered. As a result of the complete destruction of the worker education system, the scientific and cultural level of workers throughout the city took a nose-dive. All that ran counter to the constructive needs of the four modernizations. According to a survey of 1.4 million workers conducted in 1979, 2.8 percent of the workers had the equivalent of a college education, 5 percent had a trade school education, 8.5 percent had a senior middle school education, 50 percent had a junior middle school education, 26.6 percent had a primary school education, while 7.4 percent were illiterate (5 percent of those under 45 alone were illiterate). According to the figures, 85 percent of the workers had only a junior middle school or a lower level of education. After 1968, the 700,000 young workers constituted over one-third of the total number of workers in our city. Their actual average education level was equivalent to that of primary school graduates. Most of them received no proper technical training after being employed by the factories. A survey of young laborers conducted by seven industrial bureaus revealed that only 57 percent of them were equal to the demands of their jobs, while the other 43 percent were not. That is one important factor accounting for the number of production-related accidents, the low quality of the products, the waste of materials and power and the low rate of production.

After the "gang of four" was smashed to pieces, education for workers was gradually restored and developed, and the situation began to take a turn for the better. By the end of June 1979, 1,400 schools of various types and levels for city workers had been restored or established. The number of students came close to 420,000, or 20.5 percent of the total number of employees. Among those schools were 148 institutions of higher learning (classes) with 68,000 students. A vital part of the higher education system, they are certain to exert a positive influence on the development of talented persons for the implementation of the four modernizations.

II

We have learned from experience over the last 30 years that workers' education is not only a must, but that it must be made to succeed.

According to relevant documents, 125,000 students graduated from workers schools in our city prior to the Great Cultural Revolution. These people helped greatly to strengthen and reinforce the contingents of technical workers, engineering technicians and managerial personnel. In their various capacities, they all achieved outstanding results in technical renovations and technical revolutions. Some of them improved the quality of products, some made outstanding contributions in renovating the processes of manual labor, and some exerted an important influence on workers education. Many of them have been promoted to engineers, machinists and technicians, and have become the backbone in the technical area. Some of them have assumed managerial duties and have achieved leadership positions. The Tianjin Salt Factory offers a good example. During the 17-year period prior to the Cultural Revolution, 40 of the workers, after a period of training in worker education, were promoted to engineers. Over 100 were promoted to technicians, and over 500 were promoted to business management cadres. We have learned from experience that worker training has produced many talented persons, and that it is also a major method for developing talents rapidly, adequately, economically and in large numbers.

Our nation has now embarked upon a new historic period of development. Our present mission is to proceed with economic reconstruction with a sense of urgency. This mission represents a reform movement of momentous historic significance. To fulfil this mission, we urgently need a contingent of talented persons who are both red and expert.

Where do we get these talented persons? Obviously, we cannot expect sizable numbers to come from abroad. Likewise, we cannot expect the state to assign to us the people we need from among those who graduate from the universities and colleges each year. Since the number of our university graduates falls far short of the number needed for our production needs, we must adopt a double-barreled course of action to achieve our objective. From 1975 to 1977, the state assigned to the industrial and communications system of our city only 2,040 college graduates, or only 0.18 percent of the total number of our employees. Since there were 3,000 factories and enterprises in the city, each unit was assigned less than one college graduate during the 3-year period. What are we to do? We must stand firmly on our own feet in developing the qualified people we need. To meet the needs of the four modernizations and of the development of industrial production in our city, it is absolutely necessary that we continue to raise the scientific and cultural standard of the people in order to bring about a technical revolution, a renovation or an improvement of the existing enterprises, and an infusion of advanced scientific and technical know-how and modern methods of management. In this regard, the present scientific and cultural standard among the employees in our city falls far short of the needs of the constructive projects of the four modernizations.

As has been noted above, 84 percent of the city's workers have had only a junior middle school or an even lower standard of education. The younger employees, who comprise one-third of the total work force, have had only a primary school education. Unless this situation is reversed, what can we expect? Let us now take a look at the technical grades of our city employees. According to statistics released in June last year, the average grade among the 810,000 city employees was 3.17. Those below grade 3 comprised 66 percent of the total. Those between grade 4 and grade 6 comprised 30.3 percent of the total, while those between grade 7 and 8 comprised only 3.7 percent of the total. As for the engineers and technicians employed in the industrial and communications sector in our city, they comprised only 4.1 percent of the total number of city employees. Among these engineers and technicians, only about 47 percent have had a college education. This contingent of engineers and technicians is not only small in number, but their standard is also not sufficiently high. Not a few of them have only reached the technical standard of the 1940's and 1950's. Furthermore, many of our leadership cadres in the enterprises and in the field of management are lacking in the expertise and experience required for managing modern socialist industrial enterprises. In short, the status of our workers, as characterized by "the three substandards and one shortage," (substandard culturally, technically and in management, and shortage of engineers and technicians), is most untenable. This situation runs counter to our objective of increasing production and of strengthening our productive potentiality.

Under the present situation, the factories and enterprises in our city are faced with a common malady, namely, the high percentage of unfit products, the large amount of waste, and the high rate of accidents. There are also some enterprises which, despite the availability of advanced equipment and modern techniques, are incapable of making use of them because they do not have the personnel of a sufficiently high scientific and technical calibre to do the job. The equipment is left to rust, or dismantled or cannibalized much in the manner of a man who pares his foot to fit the shoe. The advanced equipment is rendered incapable of performing at its best, and enormous waste results.

We have learned from past experience and the present existing conditions that it is a matter of the greatest urgency to expand and to raise the scientific, cultural and technical standard of our employees and that, therefore, the rapid expansion and elevation of workers education is a task that brooks no delay.

In this regard, certain systems have already taken a giant step in the right direction and have been duly rewarded. For example, the chemical engineering system of the city, in view of the low cultural and technical standard of its employees, the obsolete methods of business management, the inexperience of its leadership cadres, the shortage of engineers and technicians and the outdated technical procedures, has in the past few years spared no effort in developing workers education. Up to the second part of last year, over 170 units in the system have set up schools for employees and 30 percent of the workers have enrolled in such schools. After undergoing a period of training, a large number of employees, having achieved a higher scientific and technical standard, have helped to solve a number of problems and have achieved creditable results in increasing production. The North China Oxygen Factory, for instance, increased its production in August last year by over 75,000 cubic meters, or 11.5 percent over the quota.

If we are to keep pace with the phenomenal advances in science and technology, we must redouble our efforts in developing workers education.

Many countries in the world place great importance on the education of their workers. There has emerged a new concept of education, namely, "lifelong education," or "adult education," or "non-stop education." The rationale behind the concept is that education should be a continual process from the moment of birth to the moment of death, and that one must continue to supplement and renew what one has learned if one is to be equal to the demands of one's job. It is a fact that a person spends over 10 years of his early life from his first day in primary school to his graduation from college primarily in building a foundation, and that he acquires most of his special knowledge from actually working on his job. This is especially true at the present time when science and technology are progressing at such a rapid pace that what one has learned soon becomes outdated. How can we cope with this situation unless we keep up with the latest developments? In foreign countries, the idea of "the obsolete rate of knowledge" has already gained currency. According to a survey conducted by some Americans in the early 1970's, 50 percent of what a college student has learned in 1976 will have become outdated by 1980, and that by 1986, all that he has learned will have become obsolete. Although we are not prepared to vouch for the authenticity of such a claim, it is indisputable that unless we continue the learning process, we are certain to fall behind.

At the present time, the development of science and technology in the world is proceeding at an unprecedented pace. According to relevant statistics, there were in the 16th Century a total of 26 discoveries and inventions. The number increased to 106 in the 17th Century, to 156 in the 18th Century, to 546 in the 19th Century, and to 961 in the first 5 years of the 20th Century, or 37 times the number for the entire 16th Century. The rate of development during the past 10 years or so has been even more astounding. The number of new scientific and technical discoveries and inventions has surpassed the total for the past 2,000-odd years. It is projected that in the next 10 years, the number will be twice that for the past 10 years. Furthermore, the period between an invention of a technical nature and its application has been progressively shortened. It took 80 years to put to use the steam engine after its invention, 56 years after the invention of the telephone, 20 years after the invention of the airplane, 3 years after the invention of the crystal tube, but only 2 months after the discovery of laser technology. As new discoveries continue to be made, the old is continually being eliminated. It is said that during the past 10 years, 30 percent of the technical manual labor in the industries has been dispensed with and that 50 percent of the technical manual labor in the electronics industry has been eliminated.

This phenomenal development in science and technology tells us that, in the long run, if we are to keep pace with the rapid development in science and technology and to succeed in modernizing our projects of reconstruction best suited to our particular needs, we must offer large numbers of our workers proper training while there is still time and acquaint them with the new advances in science and technology as well as new manual procedures and new production methods. The fulfilment of this mission calls for the development of workers education.

From the standpoint of improving the distribution and structure of our education system, workers education must also be taken into consideration.

Although we have made great strides in education during the last 30 years, we still lag behind the more advanced countries in the world, and we are far from being capable of meeting the needs of our socialist reconstruction projects. Taking the ratio of college students as an example, the ratio is 295 per 10,000 in Canada and 185 per 10,000 in Japan, whereas in our country, the ratio is only 9 per 10,000, a ratio lower than that of India and Vietnam. We still have 140 million illiterates in our country. In our suburbs and our county alone, there are 500,000 illiterates. The only way to remedy the situation is for us to develop education for our laborers and farmers to the best of our ability. In the city, the factories and enterprises must take upon themselves to initiate education programs in order to raise the scientific and technical level of large numbers of their workers.

III

The urgent need for developing workers education has already been discussed above. To make workers education a success and to meet the challenge posed by a number of problems, we must have a clear sense of purpose, a great deal of determination, and we must adopt the correct methods.

First of all, we must have a clearer understanding of the principle and the purpose of workers education.

At a meeting of the National Workers Education Conference held in Zhengzhou in September last year, it was pointed out that workers education must continue to implement the policy set forth by Chairman Mao that "education must be of political service to the proletariat," and "it must be integrated with productive labor," and that, in answering the call of Chairman Hua to raise in a positive way the scientific and cultural standard of the entire Chinese people, it must offer training to all workers. At the present time, we must "direct our efforts toward development to meet the requirements o the four modernizations, to set a system of priorities in the context of the overall situation, to exercise flexibility in order to achieve actual results, and to work in cooperation under a unified leadership," and to provide our employees spare-time or non-job-related education in science, technology, economic management and cultural matters. It is the responsibility of employees education to provide training on a rotation basis to all leadership cadres and management and technical personnel to continue to raise their standard in scientific management and operational techniques, to raise the scientific and cultural level of vast numbers of workers, and to spare no effort in making higher education for workers a success.

The four modernizations reconstruction program is now a matter of primary political importance. To direct our efforts toward the development of workers education and to develop a large contingent of qualified personnel who are both red and expert for the four modernizations is to serve the political cause of the proletariat. Employees education and productive labor must, in the final analysis, be correlated in such a way as to be in keeping with the level of development in the national economy. For this reason, workers education obviously should not be developed by any unit without regard for the production development level of its own unit or system. We must, in other words, take the actual situation into consideration in the fulfilment of our tasks.

Many things remain to be done. Workers education should be a part of our program and should be taken into account in our overall planning. While attending to our immediate needs, we must also consider our needs in the future. It was Vice Chairman Deng who said, "Our national economy is developed according to a plan and a system of priorities. The development and training of our experts and labor reserve forces should also be undertaken according to a detailed plan that is closely related to the plan for the development of our national economy." In consideration of the actual situation in our city, we should, in providing training to all our employees, raise the political, scientific, cultural and technical level of those young workers who were hired by the factories after 1966.

Secondly, under the readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement policy, we should establish and gradually perfect the network of workers education in our city.

During the 3-year period of readjustment of the national economy, it is hoped that, under the guidance of the readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement policy and on the basis of the existing foundation, we may bring about a further development by setting up a workers education system ranging from the junior to senior middle school level that will take shape as a workers education network which is capable of taking up the responsibility of providing training for the entire contingent of employees.

In order to implement the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement and to restore and develop workers education in our city in a sound and proper manner, it is necessary for the reestablished and newly established schools for workers to set up a proper relationship between production and training, technical training and cultural education, mass education and higher education, and the quantity and quality of products. Faced with this new situation and new mission, we can neither adopt a wait and see attitude, nor can we make a great fuss without regard for the actual circumstances. There are those who have no great confidence in the merits of higher education for workers and who are rather dubious as to whether such schools are capable of producing the qualified personnel that we need. That is due primarily to a lack of understanding. If we only have the unshakable determination to make higher education for workers a success, if we have full confidence in our ability to do so, and if we go about our job steadily and with an eye on the minutest details, these comrades will learn, from what we have accomplished, to change their opinions.

To make workers education a success, we need a contingent of teachers, the school premises and the necessary equipment and facilities. To build up step by step a contingent of full-time teachers to form a framework for workers education, we also need a sizable number of part-time teachers. Some of the part-time teachers may be recruited from the engineers and technicians within the existing system or from veteran workers. The school themselves may also arrange to hire the teachers they need from the institutions of higher learning and middle schools in the city. As to the problem of school premises, equipment and facilities, arrangement can also be made with the various concerned parties to meet the need on a reciprocal basis. Regarding school premises, for instance, we should ascertain whether arrangement can be made with the middle schools in the vicinity, or a contractural agreement can be made with middle schools to jointly set up spare-time middle schools or technical middle schools (classes). In any case, the difficulty can be overcome if we would only explore all the possibilities.

One of the important requirements to make workers education a success is to boost the positive attitude of those in charge of workers education as well as that of the students. In the process of developing workers education, it is necessary to set up step by step a promotion system for full-time teachers in the trade schools. As for the part-time teachers recruited from the factories and enterprises, we should, aside from paying them the wages agreed upon, also take into account their record as teachers as a factor for promotion. As for the students enrolled in the trade schools for workers, once they have passed the examination and have attained the level set by the state for graduates of middle trade schools, senior trade schools and main course colleges, we should take their educational achievement into consideration as an important basis for promotion and advancement.

Thirdly, strengthening party leadership in workers education is the best guarantee for making it a success.

Workers education has a long row to hoe. It has a heavy responsibility. It is involved with a wide range of issues and the situation is most complicated. It is only when the party leadership is strengthened and workers education is placed high on the agenda of the party committee that we can raise the positive attitude of and work in concert with all the concerned parties in order to make employees education a success in our city, produce the qualified personnel that we need, and make the contributions expected of us to the four modernizations.

9621
CSO: 4005

HENAN CCP COMMITTEE DISCIPLINES TEACHERS FOR CHEATING

OW210918 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1516 GMT 20 Oct 80

[Excerpts] Zhengzhou, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--A serious case of violating law and discipline has taken place in Luyi County, Henan Province. During this year's college entrance examination, a senior class teacher, Sun Guangqian, and Wang Leguan, deputy assistant principal of the Luyu teachers training school, encouraged and helped students engage in fraudulent practices and besieged and fluing abuses at the proctors. Sun Guangqian has been arrested in accordance with law. Wang Leguan has been dismissed from his post as deputy assistant principal. And, Guo Dianmin, who numbered the students at the examination room, has been given an administrative demerit.

It was no accident that the students who took the examination at the Luyi teachers training school openly engaged in fraudulent practices and violated examination regulations. The case was closely linked to the erroneous ideas and educational methods of certain leaders of the county education bureau, who had unduly emphasized having a high proportion of students enter colleges and universities.

At a county educational work conference held earlier this year, the director and the deputy director of the education bureau put forth a target for students entering colleges and universities and made it a rule that half of the senior classes should prepare for the college entrance examination. A deputy director even threatened that, if the target were not fulfilled, he would "show no mercy" toward those responsible.

The case of violating the college entrance examination system at the Luyi teachers training school has aroused strong repercussions among the masses. A joint investigation group formed by the discipline inspection committees of the Henan provincial, the Zhoukou prefectural and the Luyi County CCP committees investigated the case and arrived at initial decisions.

CSO: 4005

HEBEI EXPERTS PROJECT POPULATION GROWTH

HK180618 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0430 GMT 11 Oct 80

[Text] (Sun Xiao) and (Sun Lianyou) of the Hebei Provincial Automation Association and Comrade (Li Yangxi) of the provincial population association have applied systematic engineering, cybernetics, mathematical models and computers to study and project the present state of population in the province and the development trends over the next century. They have also issued a forecast. The work was based on abstract investigation material on the province's population.

According to their projections: if there is a gradual fall from the 1.8 children produced per couple of child-bearing age in 1979, and only 1 child per couple is produced after 1985, the province's population will go on increasing for 20 years; if every couple produces 1.5 children after 1985, the population will show a sustained increase for years; if each couple produces 2 children from 1982 onwards, there will be a sustained increase for 64 years; and if each couple has 3 children from 1985 onwards, the province's population will go on increasing and will exceed 100 million by the year 2023.

Their projection shows that the province must vigorously advocate that each couple must have only one child, and resolutely control population growth. Otherwise the population provlem will act as a drag on building the four modernizations in the province.

The projection of these three comrades also shows that there is no basis for worries about ageing of the population, exhaustion of the labor force, and excessive burdens. Such worries are unnecessary. This year old people and juveniles account for 38.6 percent of the provinces population. If we attain one child per couple from 1985 onwards, the numbers of old and young will gradually decline and the numbers of laborers will gradually rise. By the year 2000, about three laborers will be bearing responsibility for one other persons; the laborers' burden will be at its lightest that year. After 2000, there will be a gradual rise again, and the present level will be reached again in 2023. From this it is evident that after the province has reached a state in which each couple has only one child, there will be no problem of excess burden on the laborers within 50 years. In addition, after reaching a state in which each couple has only one child, the labor force will gradually increase for 20 years and will be at its highest level in 2000, reaching

39.42 million. By 2022, the labor force will have declined to about its present level. It is thus evident that after the province has completely reached a state in which each couple has only one child, there will be no problem of exhaustion of the labor force within 50 years.

Comrades (Sun Xiao), (Sun Lianyou) and (Li Yangxi) appeal for vigorous publicity of the significance of population control and successful implementation of planned parenthood work.

CSO: 4005

SHANDONG ISSUES CIRCULAR ON POPULATION CONTROL

SK170006 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Oct 80

[Excerpts] According to our sources, the Shandong Provincial CCP Committee recently issued a circular urging all party and CYL members throughout the province to earnestly study and implement the open letter of the CCP Central Committee on controlling population growth in China.

The circular states: provincial party organizations at all levels must actively respond to the call of the party Central Committee, consider the study, publicity and implementation of the CCP Central Committee's open letter as an important matter and grasp it earnestly in light of the current work.

1. It is necessary to universally and earnestly publicize and explain the open letter of the party Central Committee to all party and CYL members and cadres and urge them to thoroughly study and discuss it. All party and CYL branches should hold special meetings to study and discuss this open letter and the related parts of Comrade Hua Guofeng's speech at the third session of the Fifth NPC.

It is necessary to make the broad masses of party and CYL members and cadres understand that the urging of the party and the state on raising one-child families is an important measure concerning the speed of the four modernizations, the future of the country and the health and happiness of coming generations and to encourage them to voluntarily serve as models and vanguards in this work. Young comrades should set themselves as examples by their conduct. Aged comrades should educate and supervise their children to marry late, have children late and have only one child.

2. It is necessary to publicize birth control to make the open letter known to every family and clear to every person. Propaganda departments of the party committees at all levels must grasp the publicity of this open letter as one of their important current tasks. Efforts should be made to carry out all forms of mass propaganda activities and use all available mass media—press, radio, television, movies, slide shows and theatrical performances. Mass organizations such as the CYL committees, the trade unions and the women's federations must extensively mobilize and organize the masses to respond to the call of the State Council and the party Central Committee. The cultural, educational and public health departments must actively publicize this letter in light of their business so that the importance of birth control will penetrate people's hearts.

3. It is necessary to put this letter into practice while publicizing it. We should grasp birth control work firmly and well by using this letter as a motive force.

Party and CYL organizations at all levels should earnestly examine and sum up birth control work in each specific unit and locality commend all party and CYL members and cadres who take the lead in practicing birth control and draw up next year's population plans.

It is first necessary to realistically strengthen the ideologies of those persons who have pledged to raise only one child and to educate and persuade them patiently and meticulously. We should also strictly guard against and correct such phenemona as coercion and the violation of law and disciplines.

CSO: 4005

WRITERS, ARTISTS URGED TO SERVE PURPOSES OF MODERNIZATION

Beijing BEIJING WENYI [BEIJING LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 4, Apr 80 pp 76-79

[Article by Liu Shaotang [0491 4801 2768]: "A Few Points I Feel Are Worthy of Attention in Literary and Artistic Works At Present"]

[Text] I

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's report "On the Current Situation and Our Tasks" is a scientific review of various tasks carried out by the party and state since the downfall of the "gang of four" and a highly instructive document for the 1980's and beyond. Like the workers on other fronts, writers and artists must use this document as a guide to review their works published over the past 3 years, and to analyze the problems they now face, so that they can take concerted steps in support of the four modernizations program and strive for new and greater victories in the days ahead.

During the past 3 years, and especially during the past year following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, rich fruits have been reaped from the garden of literature and art. In a congratulatory speech to the Fourth National Cultural Congress, delivered on behalf of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping praised "literary and artistic circles as one of commendable departments, and writers and artists as workers deserving trust, support, and respect from the party and people." This is an honor bequeathed to our writers and artists, who should treasure and take a correct attitude toward it.

The rich fruits they have reaped since the PRC's founding should be attributed to the guidelines of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Party Central Committee's correct leadership.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, writers and artists have smashed the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," eliminated their pernicious influence, and implemented the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." They have also promoted democracy in the artistic field and implemented the principle of "three don'ts" and the party's policy toward intellectuals. The result is a booming socialist garden of literature and art in which old and middle-age writers are eager to make contributions, young writers are growing in strength, themes are diversified, and artistic standards have been further improved.

Without the party's correct guidance and leadership, we could not possibly have achieved such remarkable success in such a short period of time. Ignoring or disregarding this point as the most important factor contributing to this success is certainly a mistake.

In his speech greeting the Fourth National Cultural Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The party's leadership over literary and artistic work does not mean dictating orders or subordinating literature and art to a provisional, specific, direct political mission. It means aiding literary and artistic workers to create conditions for constantly enlivening literature and art in conformity with the laws governing their development, to raise the levels of literature and art, and to produce outstanding literary and artistic works and performing arts that will glorify the great Chinese people of this great era. We encourage our leaders to exchange views with literary and artistic workers on an equal footing. The bureaucratic workstyle must be discarded; no more administrative orders concerning literary and artistic creations and reviews should be issued. A literary and artistic work results from a complicated process of mental labor, which calls for a display of creative spirit by individual writers and artists. What to write and how to write it is a problem of exploration that should gradually be solved by writers themselves through practice. Any unjustified interference in this direction seems unnecessary." Comrade Deng Xiaoping added: "We will persist in upholding the double-hundred policy and the principle of three don'ts. We promise that the slogan that literature and art are part of politics will not be mentioned again in the future, because this slogan can easily be used as a theoretical basis for unjustified interference in the affairs of writers and artists. Years of practice have proved that this slogan will damage rather than benefit the development of literature and art." As writers and artists who grew up into maturity at the time of the birth of new China, and who have carried with them ever since a fresh memory of the trepidations of 1957, we want to take comfort in the fact that the Party Central Committee has decided to improve its leadership over literary and artistic work after summing up 30 years of its experiences in this field. We also deeply appreciate today's democracy in political and artistic fields, which was denied to writers and artists when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, and which pales into insignificance that form of democracy practiced during the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution. Taking this into account, all writers and artists should strengthen their sense of responsibility for the revolution and place greater demands on themselves.

Aware of the aforementioned fact, all progressive and revolutionary writers and artists should demonstrate greater determination to support the party leadership and advance along the course charted by it. They should consciously do everything possible to overcome any temptation to divorce themselves from the party's leadership or to go it alone and deliberately steer clear of the course charted by the party.

II

During the past 3 years, and especially during the past year or more since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, a number of talented young writers have emerged in our country and have come up with many outstanding works welcomed by the masses. This reminds us of the 1950's, when a large number of young writers came to the fore like bamboo shoots after a spring rain. These young writers of olden days, who have survived 20 years of the acid tests of the revolutionary storms, are now in their 40's and 50's. A general survey of the works published by them during the past 30 years shows that they have not in any slightest sense let the party and people down; their present significant role in the development of socialist literature and art should be recognized.

The average age of the young writers who have come to the fore in the wake of the downfall of the "gang of four" is comparatively greater than that of their peers of the 1950's. The former are better educated and more experienced in dealing with people than the latter. It is no wonder that they have outproduced their peers of the 1950's by providing the reading public with more outstanding works. Bright, sharp-minded, and energetic, they belong to a generation of writers capable of bringing hope to their country and serving the people well.

Nevertheless, we must also realise that they grew up into maturity at a time when our country was torn by political turmoil. They are among the people who personally watched the drama of the stormy Great Cultural Revolution take place and plunge the country into 10 years of upheaval. This is bound to have a profound impact on their minds, their political stance, and their works. This is why they have produced works which focus on exposing the towering crimes of the "gang of four" and the dark side of society, and which keep reminding us of the unhealed wounds of our time. The role played by these works in the emancipation of the mind in the field of literature and art will long be remembered by people throughout the country.

Undeniably, some young writers who suffered miserably, along with their families, from long years of political turmoil still carry a memory of their bitter past, brumbling that they have been unjustly treated and have been deprived of opportunities to demonstrate their professional writing skills. Since they could not push this unhappy memory behind them, and since they have been fed up with the dark side of society and violence, they have taken a critical attitude toward the party and socialism. For this reason, their affection for the party and socialism is almost nil. This is a feeling we can understand. But since the downfall of the "gang of four," the party has led the people to eliminate chaos and restore order, wherein the aforementioned young writers can again demonstrate their professional literary skills. This is another manifestation of the party's greatness and of the superiority of socialism. Aware of this, they should push that bitter memory behind them. Instead, they should courageously, earnestly and confidently look forward to working together with the people again so that they can introduce to their works lofty revolutionary ideals, vitality, and forward-looking spirit.

The Party Central Committee has repeatedly reaffirmed its determination to implement the principle of three don'ts. During the past 3 years, instead of wielding the big stick, it has invited authors of works with serious defects to exchange views in a solemn but democratic manner in the hope of amicably settling problems concerning literature and art. This is a stark contrast to the days when I and other young writers were threatened with sticks. Today, I envy all young writers' enjoyment of full democratic freedom of expression. Nonetheless, I also hope that this right to practice democracy in the political and artistic fields will not be misunderstood or abused, and that no one will regard this as an opportunity to promote anarchism and extreme individualism. Our literary and artistic works are the concerns of the party and people and are part of the socialist cause, rather than the property of any private enterprises.

Gone are the days when sticks and conspiracies worked wonders. Facts prove that both violence and flattery are counterproductive. Comrades who are in a position to lead literary and artistic workers and to review their works should demonstrate loving care for young writers. But a demonstration of loving care in this case does not mean showering them with flattery. To a writer, the pursuit of literature and art is a lifetime career that bears a striking resemblance to a marathon race. Although at the beginning some racers may run faster than others, none of them should be declared the winner of the championship before the race is over. When a young writer publishes a few relatively successful works, he may deserve encouragement and support. But too generous presentation of cheap honors to young writers may lead them to go astray. During his lifetime, Lu Xun loved young writers and went all out to support them. In writing prefaces to works by Rou Shi [2677 4258], Ye Zi [5509 4793], Xiao Hong [5618 4767], and Xiao Jun [5618 6511], he even took into consideration the possibility that his wording might affect their sales. While praising these works in a general way, he implicitly pointed out imperfections therein that needed to be improved. Comrades who are in a position to lead writers and artists and to review their works are advised to evaluate young writers with a scientific attitude based on the principle of seeking truth from facts rather than prejudices.

Old and middle-age writers should pay special attention to the influence they may have on young writers. It seems that young writers are more susceptible to the influence of the middle-age writers who have benefitted from many years of education provided by the party and who have accumulated rich experiences in writing should act as models rather than teachers in literature and art. If the middle-age writers do not behave themselves, the young writers will become unruly. Great attention must be paid to the ideological aspect of the works of all writers.

III

Literary and artistic works are a reflection of life. But this does not mean overly emphasizing the dark side of life. Nor does it mean that writers and artists can take a political stand inconsistent with that of the party.

To begin with, does our future become increasingly brighter or increasingly darker? A comprehensive and thorough observation of life today shows that darkness is now gradually giving way to brightness, and a more bright future is in sight. If a writer wants to truly reflect real life in his or her works, how can he or she depict only the dark side of society? Any plot to portray individual, local, and temporary social phenomena as reflections of an overall and unchanging situation is a violation of the laws governing the development of literature and art.

Although literature and art are not part of politics, they cannot possibly be alienated from politics. Every patriotic and revolutionary writer must take into account the effect his works may have on the interests of the people, the country and the party, and on politics and society. During the 1980's, our general task is to concentrate our resources on promoting the four modernizations. We must strive to accomplish this task without wasting a single day, as this task will have a direct impact on the destiny of the Chinese nation as a whole. Our writers and artists should also assume an important role in consolidating and developing political stability and unity and rallying 1 billion Chinese people behind the common endeavor to realize the four modernizations. If our writers and artists consciously or unconsciously sow seeds of suspicion, pessimism, disappointment, and mistrust among the people, they will certainly divert the attention of the party and people from the central task of the four modernizations. Acting in this way would be not only harmful to our nation but also immoral.

Since literary and artistic works can play a great role in shaping the ideas of the people and youths, our party has asked our writers and artists to concentrate their efforts on portraying the new socialist personality as a step in raising the levels of literature and art. Our party has also emphasized that the role played by writers and artists in raising the ideological, cultural, and moral levels of our society is a task that cannot be carried out by people of any other professions. Thus far, their performance in this direction remains far from satisfactory. Many works that sympathize with and glorify swindlers, thieves, hippies, and other decadent characters have appeared in society, along with works depicting murder, robbery, cheating, mental disorder, and other social ills and crimes. These works have been called by their writers or by some book reviewers a reflection of the emancipation of the mind. This is a point of view that is unacceptable to me. As far as literature and art are concerned, we cannot wall our country off from the rest of the world, and we must encourage cultural exchange with other countries. Nevertheless, we must clearly understand that modern Western literary and artistic works are faring worse daily and are trailing behind their peers of the 18th and 19th centuries and early 20 century in terms of qulaity. Even new professional skills invented by today's Western writers cannot cover up the spiritual decadence and low artistic quality of their works. Although some of their techniques may be worthy of emulation by us, we should not mechanically copy them. Nor should we be perplexed by their grotesque fantasies. We may go astray if we do.

It must be noted that an outstanding literary and artistic masterpiece should take deep root in the soil of its author's native country.

IV

Although our literary and artistic circles have been praised by the Party Central Committee for their recent remarkable successes, all comrades dedicated to literature and art should remain modest and free from arrogance and should conscientiously review their works.

We have reaped some fruit from our garden of literature and art, but we still have a long way to go to attain the goal of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. There are many imperfections in our literary and artistic works in terms of their theme and style. Serious attention must be paid to the fact that during the past 3 years, only a few works directly reflect the life of the workers and peasants, who, as everyone knows, form the backbone of our society, the main force of the revolution, and the huge contingent for the four modernizations today. For this reason, writers and artists should come up in the future with more works that portray the activities and struggles of workers and peasants and reflect their sorrow and happiness, and that extol and praise their industriousness, courage, fortitude, and tenacity, as well as their virtue of cherishing the party, the motherland, and socialism and of bearing the overall interest in mind and observing discipline. Also worthy of praise are their excellent human qualities, their noble spirit in defiance of sacrifice, their wisdom, ideals and creative ways of thinking. Literary and artistic works, newspapers, and journals must lend prominent space to stories about workers and peasants.

"A writer must consider it necessary to keep in close touch with the grassroots units if he wants to improve the quality of his work." It will be impossible to improve his work if he does not want to do so. No writer can depict and reflect the lives of workers and peasants in his work if he does not spend time living and working together with them. In other words, a writer must keep in close touch with workers and peasants as an absolutely necessary step in revitalizing and developing socialist literature and art. Upon entering the 1980's, writers and artists must do everything possible to resolve problems left over from the 1970's. Only in this way can they introduce a new spirit and a new style to their work and can they scale new peaks of literature and art in the coming decade.

9574
CSO: 4005

TOMB OF QING DYNASTY EMPEROR OPENED IN HEBEI

OW160300 Beijing XINHUA in English 0233 GMT 16 Sep 80

[Text] Shijiazhuang, October 16 (XINHUA)--The tomb of Emperor Guang Xu of the Qing Dynasty, built in 1909 and the last of the imperial tombs, was recently opened. Archeologists are studying the underground palace and the unearthed relics.

This tomb is a part of the Western Qing tombs located in Yixian County, Hebei Province, about 120 kilometers southwest of the center of Beijing. The above-ground buildings of the tombs cover an area of half a million square meters. There are over 1,000 rooms of wooden and brick structure, more than 100 stone buildings and many stone sculptures.

Emperor Guang Xu's tomb, built one year after the emperor's death, was completed in 1915. The buildings are magnificent despite the fact that the Qing Dynasty was overthrown in 1911. The department for preservation of ancient sites has repaired 30 of the main buildings in the past two years.

The underground palace, 41.75 meters long, has four stone arches and four pairs of stone doors. A Buddhist figure is carved in relief on each door. Found in the underground burial chamber were the inner and outer coffins of Emperor Guang Xu and Empress Long Yu and a number of funerary objects.

The tomb was robbed in 1931. When the underground palace was excavated, all the stone doors stood half open. The outer and inner coffins of the emperor and the empress were damaged. A hole was dug through Emperor Guang Xu's coffins and the lid of the coffin of the empress was opened. Four sets of chests were beside the coffins but the funerary objects inside are gone. Only a pair of green jade rings linked together and a jade object shaped like a duck on the front and looking like a lotus flower on the back were found in Emperor Guang Xu's tomb and some 70 pearls in his wife Empress Long Yu's tomb.

In the eastern part of the tomb are buried two sisters, imperial concubines of Emperor Guang Xu.

Archeologists believe that the opening of the tomb, called the Cong tomb, will aid the study of the Guang Xu reign and the history of the later years of the Qing Dynasty.

Seventy-six persons are buried at the western Qing tombs, three other emperors, three empresses, seven imperial concubines and princes and princesses. This is the first tomb to be opened there.

The State Council in 1961 listed the western Qing tombs among the first group of monuments and cultural relics to be given national protection and has allocated funds for its maintenance.

The other Qing tombs, the eastern Qing tombs, are located 125 kilometers east of Beijing on the southern slope of the Changrui Mountains in Zunhua County, Hebei Province. It has 15 imperial tombs of the Qing Dynasty, holding the remains of five emperors, four empresses, and imperial concubines and princesses. Two of these tombs have been opened.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

SICHUAN MINORITY LANGUAGE JOURNAL--Chengdu, 15 Oct (XINHUA)--LIANGSHAN WENYI [LITERATURE AND ART IN LIANGSHAN] started publication in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture of Sichuan Province last month. This literary quarterly, the first literary journal in the Yi language in China, is edited by A-lu-si-ji, a poet of Yi nationality. The first issue contains literary works written in the Yi language, folk literature of the Yi nationality and literary works of the Han people translated into the Yi language. The first issue also carries excerpts of Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech delivered at the 1979 national conference on propaganda work translated into the Yi language. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0119 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

XIZANG WRITERS ASSOCIATION--To promote literary work in Xizang autonomous region, the preparatory group of the Xizang regional federation of writers and artists held an enlarged meeting on 23 September and approved the first group of members to be admitted into the Xizang branch of the All-China Association of Writers. Among the 17 members to be admitted are 13 writers of Tibetan nationality, including workers, teachers and other literary workers. [Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Oct 80 OW]

SHENYANG SCHOOLS MISUSED--According to LIAONING RIBAO, some 84,900 square meters of building space of secondary vocational schools in Shenyang Municipality are occupied by other units. These units either turn a deaf ear to the directive of the State Council and the decision of the Liaoning provincial and Shenyang municipal party committees or make only empty promises that they will return the school buildings. Only 16,700 square meters of space have so far been returned. As a result many schools fail to fulfill their enrollment plans. At a recent forum called by the provincial higher education bureau, leaders concerned at right schools including Liaoning provincial printing school, light industry school, goods and materials school, meteorological school, opera school and Shenyang first technical school, urged that the occupied school buildings must be promptly returned because the shortage of school buildings has wrought havoc to student enrollment work for several years. [Text] [SK171815 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 15 Oct 80]

LIAONING EDUCATIONAL REFORMS--According to our sources, the Benxi Municipal CCP Committee has heeded educational work and has performed three deeds this year. First, it has vigorously grasped the reform of the secondary educational structure by developing secondary vocational schools. By the end of September, Benxi Municipality as a whole had established 61 vocational middle schools and 17 agricultural middle schools with enrollments of 9,000 new students. Second, it has actively prepared for establishing universities so as to increase the number of students to be enrolled in institutions of higher learning. The Benxi Municipal CCP Committee had appropriated 350,000 yuan from the local financial funds to run a university. The Benxi Municipal Elementary University was thus established. It began to enroll students this year. Third, it has earnestly grasped education for staff and workers. According to initial statistics, some 2,500 study classes of various subjects had been set up, accepting some 100,000 people. This accounts for 26.2 percent of all staff members and workers in Benxi Municipality. [Text] [SK170756 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Oct 80]

MOVIE PUBLICATIONS DISCUSSION MEETING--Beijing, 14 Oct (XINHUA)--A discussion meeting of editors of movie publications in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions was held in Beijing by China Film Company from 7 to 14 October. Participants at the meeting called for improving the quality of publications and enriching their contents. According to incomplete statistics, some 40 movie journals are now published in China with a total circulation of nearly 10 million copies. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1254 GMT 14 Oct 80 OW]

TEACHERS ARRIVE IN XIZANG--From 14 provinces and municipalities 517 teachers recently arrived in various parts of Xizang to help in developing education in Xizang. During their journey to Xizang, many teachers studied the Tibetan languages hard for everyday and teaching use. Some teachers began their teaching jobs before they could get over mountain sickness after their arrival in Xizang. They are the fourth group of teachers to come to assist Xizang in teaching since 1974. More than 1,100 teachers from Sichuan, Jiangsu and Shanghai came to Xizang earlier. Some of them have completed their teaching assignments in Xizang and returned to their original localities. The teachers from other provinces and municipalities come to Xizang to primarily help in teaching at colleges and prefectural or municipal middle schools. They help in compiling and writing teaching materials and help Tibetan teachers improve vocational skills. Over the past few years, the teachers who have come to teach in Xizang have made remarkable contributions and won the praise of Tibetan people. [Text] [OW131324 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Oct 80]

RESTORATION OF GARDENS URGED--Beijing October 18 (XINHUA)--A draft proposal urging the restoration of the Imperial Garden in the northwest suburb of Beijing, which was destroyed in 1860 by British and French forces, was adopted at a two-day research meeting, which closed here today. The proposal to restore the garden and protect and use the ruins was signed by vice-chairmen of the Chinese National People's Congress, Soong Qing Ling, Xi Zhongxun, Xu Deheng and Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain and 500 professors, scholars and specialists in the fields of architecture, garden landscaping, city planning, culture, science, education and tourism. Eight hundred others also signed the proposal. A seven-day forum to discuss the restoration of the garden was held in August this year and preparations are being made to form a society for research of the garden. [Excerpt] [OW181225 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 18 Oct 80]

END

CSO: 4020

JPRS 76746

3 November 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILIARY AFFAIRS

No. 135

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76746

3 November 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 135

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Carter, Muskie Comment on U.S.-Iranian Relations
(XINHUA, 21 Oct 80) 1

Iranian Prime Minister Addresses Security Council Meeting
(XINHUA, 18 Oct 80) 2

Report on UN Security Council Iran-Iraq Debate
(XINHUA, 24 Oct 80) 3

Economic Losses in Iran-Iraq Conflict Evaluated
(XINHUA, 23 Oct 80) 5

NATO Members Urged To Cooperate on Defense Production
(XINHUA, 17 Oct 80) 7

Greece To Return to NATO's Military Wing
(XINHUA, 21 Oct 80) 9

'AFP' Reports on Giscard's PRC Visit
(Laurent Chenard; AFP, 17 Oct 80) 10

Polish Party Leader Cited on Economic Reform
(XINHUA, 19 Oct 80) 12

'XINHUA' Cites Burma's Attempts To Diversify Education
(XINHUA, 20 Oct 80) 13

Pakistani Paper Discusses Karmal's Dilemma
(XINHUA, 18 Oct 80) 14

Shanghai Radio Talk Comments on FRG First Lady's Good Deed
(Yu Chong; Shanghai City Service, 23 Oct 80) 15

Omani Sultan Discusses Soviet Expansion, Bilateral Relations
(RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Oct 80) 16

Warsaw Court President on 'Unity' Trade Union Cited
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 21 Oct 80) 18

Sihanouk Sources, Others on Prem PRC Visit Cited
(Francis Deron; AFP, 24 Oct 80) 19

Britain's Carrington Quoted on USSR Afghan Policy
(XINHUA, 23 Oct 80) 21

Italian Premier Presents New Program
(XINHUA, 23 Oct 80) 22

Portuguese President Calls for United European Stand
(XINHUA, 22 Oct 80) 24

Poland To Boost Farmers' Production
(XINHUA, 23 Oct 80) 25

Geng Biao Attends Concert by Trinidad Steel Band
(XINHUA, 22 Oct 80) 26

Acrobats Perform at Somali Celebration
(XINHUA, 22 Oct 80) 27

Briefs

Iraqi President on Peace 28
Raja'i Discusses U.S. Hostages 28
Islamic Conference Official on Gulf War 28
India, Bangladesh Boundary Pact 29
Muskie Reaffirms Gulf War Impartiality 29
Japanese Paper on Soviets in Afghanistan 29
USSR Afghan Atrocities Reports 29
USSR's Milk, Meat Decreases 30
Norwegians Support Strong Defense 30
Thailand Ready To Defend Itself 30
Warsaw Chopin Contest 31
'PAP' Criticizes Western Media 31
Polish Trade Union Leader 31
Brussels Antifascist Demonstration 32
Milan Demonstration Condemns Fascism 32
UK's Heath on Anti-Soviet World Strategy 32
Yugoslav Writers Group 33
Romanian, Australian Delegations 33
Dancers in Yugoslavia 33
Brazilian Musicians' Performance 33
New Zealand Military Exercise 33
Equatorial Guinea Independence Day 34
Soviet, Cuban Interference 34
Polish Official Meets Cardinal 34
Islamic Leader on Iran, Iraq 34
Two Jailed for Taiwan Attempt 35
Documentary on Polish Strike 35
Harbin-Harvard Academic Exchanges 35

PARTY AND STATE

Struggle Against Exploiting Class Ideology Emphasized
(Li Zhun; LILUN YU SHIJIAN, 1 Jan 80) 36

Leadership Changes To Take Place in Guangdong
(SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, 24 Oct 80) 42

Train Outstanding Young, Middle-Age Cadres
(XINHUA RIBAO, 13 Jul 80) 44

Nine Jiangsu Institutes Given Task of Training Cadres
(XINHUA RIBAO, 13 Jul 80) 45

Leftist Influence on Literature, Art Attacked
(Tang Ming; CHANGJIANG WENYI, 25 Jul 80) 47

Briefs
Guangxi Minority Nationality Cadres 52
Zhuhai Public Trial 52
Guangxi Chemical Industry 52
Shanghai Tea Party 52
Xizang Visiting Delegation 53

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'Ba Yi Radio' Urges Zhang Aiping To Oppose 'Erroneous Line'
(Ba Yi Radio, 18 Oct 80) 54

'Ba Yi Radio' Comments on Outdated Military Equipment
(Ba Yi Radio, 20 Oct 80) 56

Briefs
Shanghai Theft Case 58

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Contention of Different Schools of Thought Discussed
(Lin Hanbiao;ANHUI WENXUE, No 4, 1980) 59

Nei Monggol Convenes Discussion on Teacher Shortage
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 22 Oct 80) 63

Hunan Increases Educational Budget, Allocations
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 4 Sep 80) 65

Educator Calls for Legislation on Education
(Wu Fusheng; GUANGMING RIBAO, 4 Sep 80) 66

Warning About Backwardness of Education in Guangdong
(NANFANG RIBAO, 13 Aug 80) 68

Foreign Artists Praise Minority Art Festival in Beijing
(XINHUA, 17 Oct 80) 71

'RENMIN RIBAO' Editorial on Success of Minority Art Festival
(Editorial; XINHUA Domestic Service, 21 Oct 80) 72

Proposal on More Recreational Facilities for Youth
(XINHUA, 22 Oct 80) 74

Shandong Meeting Discusses Contraceptive Techniques
(Shandong Provincial Service, 15 Oct 80) 75

Briefs

Fujian Literary, Art Soiree 76
Jiangsu Art Exhibition 76
Shandong Birth Control 76
Zhejiang Family Planning 76
Hunan Cadre Training Schools 77
Guizhou Trade Union Meeting 77
Guizhou Congress on Education 77
Qinghai Relic Conference 77
Zhejiang Family Planning 77
Shanghai Minority Group 78
Shanghai Youth Work 78
Nanjing Christian Church 78
Jiangsu Key Middle Schools 78
New Anhui University 78
Anhui Teachers College 79
Liaoning Colleges, Universities 79
Education, Science Outlays 79
Development Fund 79
Greater Role for Women 79

CARTER, MUSKIE COMMENT ON U.S.-IRANIAN RELATIONS

OW210744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 21 Oct 80

[Text] Washington, October 20 (XINHUA)—U.S. President Jimmy Carter declared today that it is in the U.S. interest "to have a strong Iran. It is to our advantage to have a united Iran."

During a campaign stop in Youngstown, Ohio, Carter also said: "If Iran should release the hostages, then I would unfreeze their assets, which are several billions of dollars in banks here and in Europe. I would drop the embargo against trade with Iran and work toward a resumption of normal commerce with Iran in the future."

U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie speaking in Chicago today said, "We are opposed to the dismemberment of Iran. We believe that the cohesion and stability of Iran is in the interest of the stability of the region as a whole. The integrity of Iran is today threatened by the Iraqi invasion. We note the government of Iraq has consistently stated that it has no claims to Iranian territory."

He continued to say, "In light of Afghanistan, we must also be concerned about the possibility of new intervention presented by any instability in the region."

He expressed the belief that "the conflict can and must be resolved through respect for cardinal principles of international law—that territory must not be seized by force of arms; that disputes should be settled by peaceful means."

In a television program here yesterday Muskie reaffirmed U.S. impartiality in the Iraq-Iran conflict but said that this position "may have to be adjusted as circumstances develop."

CSO: 4020

IRANIAN PRIME MINISTER ADDRESSES SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

OW180747 Beijing XINHUA in English 0725 GMT 18 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 17 (XINHUA)--Prime Minister of Iran Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i reiterated at the Security Council's meeting today that his country would not accept any ceasefire proposal but will continue to fight.

The Iranian prime minister pleaded his case for the first time in regard to the conflict with Iraq before the Security Council as it resumed its consideration of the Iran-Iraq conflict this afternoon.

Raja'i stated that a ceasefire would only condone the aggressor and allow it to consolidate its position.

"Our people are resolute and determined to fight even if the war must be prolonged and if it must be a people's war," he emphasized.

On the issue of the American hostages, he asked: "How is it that the United States sees in this attack an opportunity for the hostages to be freed?"

Following Raja'i's statement, Iraqi Foreign Minister Sa'dun Hammadi, who already pleaded his case before the council day before yesterday, spoke in exercising the right of reply. He reaffirmed his government's position that "we have no territorial claims on Iran," "but we insist on our territorial integrity on our land and on our waterways," and on non-interference in Iraq's internal affairs.

U.S. permanent representative Donald McHenry in his brief statement urged Iran to release the 52 American hostages. He said, "We expect the hostages to be freed on the same principles of humanity, law and justice the prime minister made in his own appeal." "On the basis of these principles the hostages should not have been seized," he stressed.

The Security Council had held three meetings on the conflict between Iraq and Iran. The most recent meeting was held on October 15. The September 28 meeting adopted a resolution calling on Iraq and Iran "to refrain immediately from any further use of force," and urging them "to accept any offer of mediation or conciliation or to resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice."

CSO: 4020

REPORT ON UN SECURITY COUNCIL IRAN-IRAQ DEBATE

OW240736 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 24 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 23 (XINHUA)--Member states of the U.N. Security Council continued to call for an end to Iran-Iraq hostilities and a peaceful settlement of the conflict as the 15-nation council resumed consideration of the situation between the two warring countries this afternoon.

Bangladesh Foreign Minister Mohammad Shamsul Haq said that the war between Iran and Iraq was a matter of grave concern to his country and to all peace-loving countries.

The conflict showed, he said, that it was not an isolated phenomenon but "an emerging trend of widening areas of tension and conflict all located in Third World. We are, therefore, naturally both disturbed and alarmed."

"Restoration of peace in the region through an immediate ending of this conflict is imperative in the interest of global peace and security," he emphasized.

Bangladesh, he said, assured the council of "its fullest cooperation in performing its charter responsibility in ending the hostilities between Iran and Iraq and ensuring peace and security."

U.S. permanent representative Donald F. McHenry declared that "all of us must be opposed to the dismemberment of Iran. The United States believes that the cohesion and stability of Iran is in the interest of the stability and prosperity of the region as a whole. The national integrity of Iran is today threatened by the Iraqi invasion."

To further clarify the U.S. position on the Iran-Iraq conflict, he continued, "we will not take sides. But to declare that we will not take sides is not to declare that we intend to remain aloof, or that we do not recognize our responsibilities to this organization."

The United States hoped, he said, "the conflict be resolved with respect for the cardinal principles of international law that territory must not be seized by force, and that disputes should be settled peacefully and not by armed invasion."

"The council must work vigorously to assist Iran and Iraq to achieve a cease-fire, to begin withdrawal, and to initiate a process of negotiation in a manner acceptable to both," he maintained, adding that "only a settlement which Iranians and Iraqis can both regard as fair and equitable will create the conditions for lasting peace."

Porfirio Munoz Ledo, representative of Mexico, declared that his country supported the call of the council president for a ceasefire.

The steps to be taken in the future must come through dialogue and consensus, he said. The council should define accurately the principles for a settlement of the conflict. All efforts at mediation must continue to be encouraged, and a specific forum for negotiations should be established, he continued.

Representative of Norway Ole Algard appealed to both Iran and Iraq to cease all armed hostilities and to reach a peaceful settlement. He called for withdrawal of all foreign forces from territories "acquired by force" and respect for the principles of territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence of the countries concerned.

Exercising their right of reply, representatives of both Iraq and Iran reiterated the positions of their respective governments.

The Security Council will continue to consider this matter tomorrow afternoon.

CSO: 4020

ECONOMIC LOSSES IN IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT EVALUATED

OW231927 Beijing XINHUA in English 1906 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 23 (XINHUA correspondent)--The full-scale war between Iraq and Iran has entered its second month. It is likely to drag on for some time, bring untold agony to the people of the two countries and play havoc with the economy of the two belligerants.

AP reported on October 9 that losses in the war for both sides reached 40 billion U.S. dollars (24 billion for Iran and 16 billion for Iraq). Oil installations have been the main targets of attacks mounted by each side. The oil industries vital to the survival of the two countries have suffered unspeakable damage. The WASHINGTON POST has said that "both sides in this destructive war surprised observers by the ferocity with which they attacked, with planes and artillery, each other's oil installations."

To restore these installations destroyed in the war would cost 8 to 9 billion dollars, THE ARAB OIL AND GAS BULLETIN published in Paris said. It added that losses sustained by Iran's oil and gas installations amounted to 4 to 5.5 billion dollars and 3.5 to 4 billion for Iraq. The halt in oil exports is costing Iraq 100 million U.S. dollars a day and Iran 31 million dollars.

Iran's Abadan refinery, one of the biggest of its kind in the world, which refined two-thirds of the country's crude oil output "has reportedly been flattened." All the 152 oil tankers in Abadan were destroyed or damaged. It would take at least four years to repair or rebuild them, a western industry source estimated.

There has been vast damage to the installations on Kharg Island, Iran's biggest loading port. The Ahvaz oil center and pipeline juncture were badly damaged by Iraqi fighter-bombers. Dezful which controls the flow of oil from Khuzestan to Tehran was bombarded by surface-to-surface missiles. The oil pipeline between Khorramshahr and Ahvaz has been blasted. A REUTER report said that the port of Khorramshahr is in shambles.

Iraq's petroleum installations, too, have become the sacrifices of this war. It is reported that "Iraq's prides in developing economy--Baghdad chemical integrated complex, Basra refineries, Kirkuk natural gas factory and pipelines" were bombed and half of that country's eight refinery centres have been attacked. The main Kirkuk and Mosul oilfields north of Baghdad have come under repeated bombing. The oil shipping terminals at Al-Amoya and Al-Bkr, two main Iraqi ports for the export of oil, were not operating because of damage inflicted on them by Iranian warplanes. Tank farms at Al-Muftiyah, Kut and Fao in the Basra region and the costly Basra petroleum chemical integrated complex went up in flames under Iranian air raids.

Oil output of these two major OPEC countries have been reduced to a trickle. Before February 1979, Iran was the world's second largest exporter of crude. The daily peak was 6 million barrels and before the war, daily average had been down to 1.7 million barrels. Three days after the war, it dropped to 500,000 barrels, not enough to meet the domestic demand of about 700,000 barrels a day.

At the beginning of the war, the Iranian authorities were forced to stop gasoline and diesel oil rations to private consumers. Now, they have to buy jet fuel and diesel and fuel oil from other countries.

Before the outbreak of war, Iraq was the world's second largest exporter of crude after Saudi Arabia. Iraq's production had been 3.6 million barrels a day, mostly for export. It dived to one million barrels at present. On the second day of the war, Iraq stopped exporting oil through the gulf and on the fourth day, it stopped oil export to Western countries through the pipelines across Turkey and Syria, thus bringing the flow of this black gold to a complete standstill.

There is no denying the fact that the hostilities between Iran and Iraq grieve their own people and friends and gladden their enemy. That is why the Islamic and other Third World countries are doing everything within their power to mediate, end the conflict by peaceful means and restore peace and stability to the Gulf region. They are doing so also to prevent the superpowers, contending for world domination from profitting from this tragedy.

CSO: 4020

NATO MEMBERS URGED TO COOPERATE ON DEFENSE PRODUCTION

OW171741 Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 17 Oct 80

[Text] Brussels, October 17 (XINHUA)--"The need for cooperation within the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in the field of defence production has never been greater than it is today," said Joseph Luns, NATO's secretary general, here today at the first annual symposium of the AFCEA (Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association).

The AFCEA is the only professional association linking military, government and industry in the field of communications, electronics, command and control, computer sciences, teleprocessing and intelligence systems. It is a non-profit organisation with members from the relevant enterprises and organisations in West Europe and North America.

Luns pointed out to the members that cooperation is an imperative since "the immediate economic future for the NATO allies will be marked by continued high inflation rates, increasing unemployment, low economic growth and prolonged balance of payments problems." "Furthermore," he stressed, "there is little comfort to be drawn from an analysis of Soviet defence expenditures, where the trend is ever upward."

He pointed out that the Soviet defence budget is rising at the rate of 4 to 5 percent in real terms each year and stands now at the equivalent of about 160 billion dollars. Moreover, a disproportionate share of that budget is allocated to research and development, to armaments procurement programmes and to operations and maintenance, as compared to personnel. 20 percent of the Soviet defence budget is devoted to research and development and 42 percent to the procurement of equipment. Only 11 percent goes towards personnel costs. This means that the Soviet Union allocates something in the order of 142 billion dollars per year to the armaments industries and to training costs, more than the whole of the U.S. defence outlay of about 132 billion dollars, of which nearly 50 percent goes towards personnel.

"The net result has been an all-encompassing Soviet military build-up, which has added steadily and impressively to the Soviet arsenal, both nuclear and conventional, and, concomitantly, to the Soviet ability to wage highly sophisticated war on land, in the air and on and under the sea," he said.

On NATO's long-term defence programme, Mr. Luns told the meeting that NATO's investment in commonly-funded infrastructure over the next ten years or so will be measured in billions of dollars. "The need for cooperation and rationalisation between NATO nations, and particularly between European and North American members, will be essential if we are to obtain the best dividend from this enormous investment," he added.

CSO: 4020

GREECE TO RETURN TO NATO'S MILITARY WING

OW210740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 21 Oct 80

[Text] Athens, October 20 (XINHUA)--The Greek cabinet today unanimously approved the country's reintegration into NATO's military wing on the basis of the latest proposals submitted by NATO Supreme Allied Commander of Europe General Bernard Rogers.

This was announced in a statement issued at the end of a cabinet meeting tonight.

The statement said that the same proposals had also been submitted by Rogers to the alliance's Defense Planning Committee and were accepted this morning.

The government believes that this would strengthen "our international position and the country's defense capabilities, and for this reason, is seen as a positive step," said the statement.

It added that the decision was made under conditions which Greece considered acceptable and which had the unanimous approval of the country's military leadership.

The arrangements decided upon, the statement said, do not concern matters of operational control over the country's territorial waters and air space which, now as in the past, is the exclusive responsibility of Greece's armed forces. With respect to international waters and air space, the decisions taken are considered absolutely satisfactory.

It said that the government believes that Greece's full EEC membership has created favorable prerequisites for the country's economic development and its participation in the building of a united Europe, and that its return to the NATO military integrated structure will also strengthen its defenses at a time of world-wide anxiety and instability.

"These developments open good prospects for the future and the government is certain that this view is shared by the majority of the Greek people," the statement said.

CSO: 4020

'AFP' REPORTS ON GISCARD'S PRC VISIT

OW171424 Paris AFP in English 1407 GMT 17 Oct 80

[Report by Laurent Chenard]

[Text] Beijing, Oct. 14 (AFP)—French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing today announced that a tentative agreement has been reached for France to help build two nuclear-fueled electric power plants in China.

Summing up the first three days of his official visit, the president said the positions of China and France on the major international issues were "close and in some cases alike."

Chinese leaders have not alluded to the possibility of seeking military equipment from France, he told a press conference after his second meeting with Premier Zhao Ziyang.

Chinese strongman Deng Xiaoping said in a 90-minute talk today with the French president that peoples should "unite to oppose (Soviet) hegemonism, postpone the outbreak of a world war and safeguard world peace," Mr. Deng told newsmen afterward.

Mr. Deng said of their discussion on global strategy: "We feel uneasy about the current international situation, but at the same time we are full of confidence.... We are in agreement on many points."

At the press conference, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing underscored the need of developing relations with China politically, but also economically, scientifically and culturally.

He said his trip here amounted in part to "recognition by France of China's importance at present and in the future.... Much of the world's future will be designed and modeled here."

The French consider China "an important factor of balance and peace in the world," he continued, after stressing the "open and confident" relationship between Paris and Beijing.

"In the world such as it is," the president commented, "the existence of such relationships is a factor of optimism and confidence."

When asked if France and China might work together for peace, he indicated that was a possibility.

He said the two countries "converge in analyzing" the Kampuchean crisis and its "solution." He confirmed that he will meet with Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Kampuchea on Saturday morning before leaving this capital.

Concerning the Iraqi-Iranian war, the president said he did not think "there is a will to enlarge that conflict." The Chinese shared that opinion, he said.

He praised the "extreme cordiality and extreme simplicity" of the Chinese leaders in their talks with him.

The two proposed nuclear power plants would generate 900 megawatts each.

As to the Chinese economic situation, he said it was "without an equivalent in the world and could constitute a new and original solution to development."

The president said the Chinese people's "qualities of delicacy, goodwill and discretion" were destined to play a "considerable" role.

At a dinner in the French Embassy for Premier Zhao, the French president assured him France was ready to "participate in (China's) effort to equip itself and progress."

"It is in our common interest to continue the action started 16 years ago and increase it to give our relations the substance called for by friendship and confidence," Mr. Giscard d'Estaing said.

Earlier, he and Premier Zhao attended the signing of an agreement to open a French consulate in Shanghai and a Chinese consulate in Marseilles.

CSO: 4020

POLISH PARTY LEADER CITED ON ECONOMIC REFORM

OW190712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 19 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, October 18 (XINHUA)--A top Polish party leader exchanged ideas with a group of economists yesterday evening and told them that economic restructuring must be carried out without delay. He added that this was dictated by the political, social and economic conditions prevailing in this country.

Stefan Olszowski, member of the Political Bureau, and secretary, of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party, stressed that reform of economic management, too, "is necessary either from the economic or politico-social point of view."

He went on to say, "Workers must be drawn to take part in the management and the role of the self-management of the workers must be expanded in all important aspects of the activity of the enterprises. Meantime, the guidance and the strategic significance of central planning must be upheld. The two (workers' self-management and central planning) are complementary to each other and constitute the guidelines of economic reform."

In view of the present dire economic difficulties, Olszowski said, a program for "small-scale reform" should be devised and put into effect as of January 1, 1981. The program is to be submitted to the Committee for Economic Reform under the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and the government on October 22.

He said that Poland would make use of the proven theories in the sphere of economic reform of other socialist countries and their rich experience. The reform would not be confined to changes in the economic-financial structure or the system of planning. "The reform must cover all vital problems of socio-economic life. It is particularly important to show the younger generation prospects for development and a wide range of possibilities," Olszowski said.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' CITES BURMA'S ATTEMPTS TO DIVERSIFY EDUCATION

OW201520 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 20 Oct 80

[Text] Rangoon, October 20 (XINHUA)--The Burmese Government has managed to open more spare-time schools and popularize correspondence schools while energetically developing full-time schooling.

The country's annual population growth rate of 2.2 per cent has resulted in an average yearly increase of 200,000 pupils and students in recent years. Boosting the appropriations for education as much as possible, the government has built more schools and stepped up the training of teachers. According to official figures, the country's educational expenditures rose to 560 million kyats (about 104 million U.S. dollars) in the fiscal year 1979-80, up 48 million kyats from that of the last fiscal year. 2,200 primary schools, 80 junior middle schools, 20 senior middle schools and two regional colleges were set up in the year. Over 5,600 more teachers were appointed and the number of students was brought to a new height of 5.1 million.

The spare-time education was developed to give further schooling to those junior middle school graduates who failed to get into the limited number of senior middle schools. The Ministry of Education has opened many evening schools for the youngsters. It will issue diplomas to those who pass the graduation exams. The 28 evening schools in Rangoon Division have a total enrollment of more than 15,000.

Higher education has also made rapid progress in the country. The number of senior middle school graduates receiving correspondence education rose to 380,000 in fiscal 1979-80 as against 16,000 in 1975-76. Correspondence refresher courses have been initiated in 26 townships across the country. A special department has been set up in the Ministry of Education to take care of correspondence education.

Some government departments undertook to run their own spare-time schools and training courses to raise the educational level of their employees.

Meanwhile, the government has attached much importance to the campaign to eliminate illiteracy among the adults. To date, illiteracy has been wiped out in 100 townships in the country.

CSO: 4020

PAKISTANI PAPER DISCUSSES KARMAL'S DILEMMA

OW181638 Beijing XINHUA in English 1624 GMT 18 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 18 (XINHUA)--The Pakistan daily THE MUSLIM today carried a PPI (Pakistan Press International) report from New Delhi entitled "Karmal's Days Appear Numbered."

The report said that Babrak Karmal, hand-picked by the Kremlin, arrived in Moscow on October 16 for a visit just ten months after the Soviet occupation of his country.

The uncertain situation in Afghanistan, it noted, will force Babrak Karmal to adopt a defensive line in the Kremlin. His days appear numbered.

It said that the situation in Kabul has increasingly deteriorated in the immediate past, according to foreign reports there. Rebel forces around the capital have mounted repeated attacks on the aggressors. Soviet officials and their Afghan counterparts are only able to leave the city in convoys protected by tanks. The KABUL TIMES carries daily reports of bloody conflicts outside the capital. The curfew hours there have been extended by two hours beginning October 12. The tight curfew has resulted in dissatisfaction and unrest. As the days have gone by, the freedom fighters have become bolder and more daring. A Soviet major and a number of other Russians have been murdered in the last few days, in and around Kabul.

It said that the Afghan forces have lost two-thirds of their original strength and now consist of no more than some 30,000 troops, which tend again and again to mutiny and are exposed to contempt and ridicule from their nationalistic countrymen.

Faced with these problems, the Kabul regime is attempting to increase its prestige by trying to rebuild the Afghan Army, the report added.

CSO: 4020

SHANGHAI RADIO TALK COMMENTS ON FRG FIRST LADY'S GOOD DEED

OW240747 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Radio talk by (Yu Chong): "The News Value of the President's Wife Giving First Aid to a Patient"]

[Text] The news concerning Mrs Carstens, wife of the West German president, giving first aid to a patient was carried by broadcasting stations and in newspapers, winning much praise from people and becoming a story on everyone's lips. Where lies the value of this news? I think it lies in the fact that she is the wife of a chief of state, especially the wife of the president of a capitalist country. The news would not be as significant if she were the wife of a minister. It would not be anything special if she were the wife of a commoner.

In a socialist country, the wife of a chief of state giving first aid to a patient should not have any news value because cadres at all levels, regardless of their positions, are all public servants. What is there to be surprised at when the wife of a public servant cares for a patient? However, in our socialist country, news concerning the wife of a chief of state has aroused wide interests. True, there have been quite a few scandals involving women in our country. There was one who called herself the "matriarch" and abused her power. There was one who bullied people by flaunting her powerful connections. There was one who engaged in pervasive and unbridled behavior without considering the consequences. For example, the wife of the director of a certain research institute frequently applied for an audience with the higher authorities to appeal for help and, if her requests were not met, she would roll on the ground before a big crowd and so forth.

Therefore, news concerning the good deeds of the wife of the West German president, which has been praised by the Chinese people, has a higher news value.

CSO: 4005

OMANI SULTAN DISCUSSES SOVIET EXPANSION, BILATERAL RELATIONS

HK230934 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 80 p 6

[Special dispatch from Muscat by correspondent Lin Jiaoming [2651 4109 2494]: "The Sultan of Oman Talks About Soviet Expansion in the Gulf Region and Sino-Omani Ties in Interview With a RENMIN RIBAO Correspondent"]

[Text] Muscat, 14 Oct--His Majesty the Sultan of Oman, Qabus Ibn Sa'id, sent a written reply on 14 October in answer to this correspondent's questions. The questions and answers are as follows:

Question: Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Gulf area and other oil-producing regions have been threatened successively by Moscow. This is a fact which is becoming more apparent. How do you view this threat and estimate its development?

Answer: The Soviet Union is currently pushing forward a scheduled and fixed policy of expansionism in this region. This policy is in no way different from the savage acts of the old colonialists during their time. This has been obvious for some time. Undoubtedly, the Soviet Union has two intentions: ultimately gaining control of the Middle East and, in particular, the oil regions; and secondly, carry out expansion towards the Indian Ocean in order to control the African countries and then the entire Far East.

Question: The Strait of Hormuz is a very important channel for international oil supply. What is the current situation along this passageway? And [what] safety measures have been taken?

Answer: The present situation of the Strait of Hormuz is that international ships are still free to pass through. As you know, the deep waterway of the Strait of Hormuz used by international ships is within the territorial waters of Oman. Oman is determined to do its utmost to keep this passageway open for all peaceful international shipping.

Question: China and Oman maintain friendly diplomatic relations. The recent visit of Chinese Vice Premier Ji Pengfei to the Oman Sultanate proved to be successful. Can you give us your opinion on the future of Sino-Omani relations?

Answer: Vice Premier Ji Pengfei's visit was a promising symbol of the friendly relations between the two countries. Our relations are built on the basis of mutual respect and noninterference in each other's domestic affairs. Since the two countries established diplomatic relations 2 years [ago] and through numerous useful and constructive talks of state delegations during their visits to the other country, I believe that Sino-Omani relations will grow and flourish to a further extend amid the good intentions of our countries.

CSO: 4005

WARSAW COURT PRESIDENT ON 'UNITY' TRADE UNION CITED

OW230934 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1736 GMT 21 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--According to a report by the Polish press on 20 October, President (Stanislaw Paveri) of the Warsaw Provincial Court said: The Polish independent and self-governing "unity" trade union has been unable to complete its registration with the government because the court has yet to reach a consensus concerning certain articles in the charter of the trade union.

(Paveri) said: The main issue is that the trade union charter does not clearly state Article 2 contained in the agreement reached by the government committee and the Gdansk strike committee; that is, "the new trade union does not intend to play the role of a political party and, based on the principle that public ownership of the means to production is the foundation for the Polish socialist system, recognizes the Polish United Workers Party's leading role in the country and will not disrupt the international alliance system that has already been formed."

The president of the Warsaw Provincial Court held that it is "inconceivable" that the independent and self-governing "unity" trade union did not include in its charter the above-mentioned article of the Gdansk agreement, and that it is difficult for him to accept the union's explanation of this question.

The Polish independent and self-governing "unity" trade union applied for its registration on 24 September. The union holds that the court's instruction, which "involves political affairs and does not meet the requirement of law, should not be implemented."

Moreover, the union's draft charter stipulates that leaders of production enterprises and political organizations at all levels cannot play a leading role in the union. President (Paveri) pointed out that this stipulation deprives some union members of their right to vote, thereby providing unequal rights for union members. He said that owing to the above-mentioned situation, the independent and self-governing "unity" trade union cannot complete its registration, although 12 other trade unions have already done so.

The independent and self-governing "unity" trade union, with its headquarters in Gdansk, is the largest new trade union in Poland. Its leader is Walesa.

CSO: 4005

SIHANOUK SOURCES, OTHERS ON PREM PRC VISIT CITED

OW241045 Paris AFP in English 0954 GMT 24 Oct 80

[Commentary by Francis Deron]

[Text] Beijing, Oct 23 (AFP)--Thai Prime Minister Gen. Prem Tinsulanon begins a five-day visit here on Sunday which Western observers, in the light of this week's United Nations vote in favour of holding a conference next year on Kampuchea, expect to prove of capital importance in the Indochinese crisis.

Starting Monday, General Prem will have three days of talks with China's top leadership, including the new prime minister, Zhao Ziyang, Communist Party Chairman Hua Guofeng, and party Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping, who notwithstanding his recent resignation from the vice-premiership remains the strong man of the regime.

According to observers here, Gen. Prem's visit should provide Beijing with a useful opportunity to renew its promise of defending Thailand in the event of an attack by Vietnam--an eventuality China's leaders have been expecting since last June's incursion by Vietnamese troops across the Thai-Kampuchean border.

That Kampuchea will top the agenda of these talks is all the more likely, in that China and Thailand are far from agreeing over the stance to be adopted towards Vietnam.

The Chinese are demanding that an international conference on Kampuchea along lines envisaged by the United Nations must be preceded by initial withdrawals from Kampuchea of the 200,000 Vietnamese forces currently there, and Beijing is intent on obtaining a phased timetable for complete withdrawal.

It is understood that Gen. Prem for his part will urge the Chinese to effect changes in the leadership of the ousted Khmer Rouge "Democratic Kampuchea," so as to make their proteges more acceptable to Hanoi and to signify a willingness to compromise.

Chinese pressure has already improved the international image of the Khmer Rouge in bringing in Khieu Samphan as prime minister in place of Pol Pot, whose past "errors" are now coming in for public attack here, observers noted.

Already exiled Kampuchean leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk, currently living in Beijing, has indicated that a reconciliation with Mr Khieu is more likely than it ever was with his former "goalers" Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. However, despite discreet overtures to the prince by the Thai Government, there seems little chance of any meeting between him and General Prem here next week, sources close to the prince said.

It is understood that Gen. Prem's talks here will also touch on the campaign launched by ASEAN (The Association of South-east Asian Nations comprising Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines) to keep Kampuchea represented in the United Nations by China's protegee, the ousted Khmer Rouge regime.

Another item on next week's agenda will reportedly be the guerrilla activities of the Thai Communist Party, which at one time had the backing of Beijing.

The Thai Communist Party is hard-line Maoist in its ideology, has no dealings with the "revisionist" Soviet Union, and has been guardedly non-committal towards Vietnam's communist regime.

That Chinese support for the Thai communists has recently diminished is evidenced by the decision to close down the "Voice of the Thai People," the radio station in southern China that beamed communist propaganda at Thailand.

At the same time Beijing is wary of abandoning the Thai communists entirely in their fight agaisnt Mr Prem's government in case the Vietnamese should step in and fill their place.

The question is a tricky one for Beijing, which has a similar situation on its hands in the case of neighbouring Burma, where it gives moral support to communist guerrillas there and at the same time was able this week to give a cordial welcome to visiting Burmese Premier U Ne Win.

In the area of bilateral relations, Mr Prem and Chinese leaders are expected to seek to extend existing economic cooperation, notably in the public construction sector, according to Thai sources here.

The two governments have already a number of cooperation agreements dating from the 1978 visit here of then Thai Premier Gen. Kriangsak Chamaman, including a Sino-Thai air service which has just recently come into operation.

General Prem, who is the third Thai prime minister to make an official visit to Beijing since normalization between China and Thailand in 1975, is scheduled to leave Beijing next Thursday for the southern provincial capital of Yunnan.

He will return to Bangkok on Friday.

CSO: 4020

BRITAIN'S CARRINGTON QUOTED ON USSR AFGHAN POLICY

OW230726 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] London, October 22 (XINHUA)--Pressure on the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan must be maintained, said British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington in a statement issued here today.

The Soviet Union had not so far shown a readiness to negotiate seriously for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan, he added.

He declared that "The British Government has continued to condemn the occupation of Afghanistan and to call on the Soviet Union to end it."

"Any prudent Western policy must take account of the Soviet Union's evident willingness to use any means, including force, to further its objective of gaining influence in other countries at the expense of the West, particularly in areas where the latter's interests are intimately involved," the foreign secretary stressed.

He pointed out that NATO countries which had the resources "should take steps to defend the interests of the West wherever these may be threatened." "The Soviet forces are closer to the Gulf and this has made a significant difference to the balance of forces in the region," he stated.

Lord Carrington declared that the British Government favoured cooperation among Western and like-minded countries in a three-part policy: first, economic measures taken against the Soviet Union should be continued; second, military deterrence should be extended into new areas by means of member states' individual measures, and third, key states in the developing world should be better supported, by concerting political and economic efforts.

CSO: 4020

ITALIAN PREMIER PRESENTS NEW PROGRAM

OW230749 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Rome, October 22 (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Arnaldo Forlani today reiterated Italy's loyalty to the Atlantic Alliance to maintain the balance of forces and security.

Presenting his new government's program to parliament, he said his country will work for the pursuance of a policy of peace and detente.

He condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

As an EEC member country, he continued, Italy hopes for the contribution of the Islamic conference to the settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict and supports the efforts of the U.N. Security Council to this end.

The American hostages in Iran should be released as soon as possible, he added.

Forlani stressed the importance of the solution of the mid-East crisis and the necessity of participation by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The prime minister said it is of great significance to maintain relations with the United States. Italy should also make use of its positive ties with the Soviet Union and East European countries to deepen and develop dialogue in bilateral political and economic relations.

He praised China's policy of being open to the West and expressed his readiness to contribute to the further development of the existing cooperative relationship which, he said, has been promoted due to the president's recent fruitful visit to China.

"The Italian Government will do its utmost to strengthen its relations with various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America," Forlani stated. These countries, he added, are playing "an important role" in "promoting and defending peace."

The prime minister said Italy "will pay attention to the reinforcement of political and economic relations with its neighbours." Its ties with Yugoslavia, "characterized by mutual trust and understanding," "have been strengthened through frequent contacts," he noted.

Forlani stressed, "another objective of Italy's foreign policy is furtherance of security in the Mediterranean area."

The part dealing with domestic affairs in the program includes the issue of system and the economic policy. [sentence as received]

"The present decisive task," the prime minister said, "is to maintain public order, fight terrorism and raise the efficiency of judicature."

He spoke at length about economic issues. "Our country faces great problems and difficulties," he said. The focus of the economic policy is to stem inflation. In fighting inflation, he noted, recession and lira devaluation should be avoided, production cost reduced, productivity increased and the competitive power of exports strengthened.

The debate over the program will began in parliament tomorrow. A vote of confidence is expected to be held early next week.

CSO: 4020

PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT CALLS FOR UNITED EUROPEAN STAND

OW221704 Beijing XINHUA in English 1644 GMT 22 Oct 80

[Text] Lisbon, October 22 (XINHUA)--Portuguese President Antonio Ramalho Eanes stressed last night that a unified West European defence means a common stand must be adopted by West European countries in all fields.

The president made the statement at a reception in honour of Admiral Robert Falls, chairman of the military committee of NATO on a visit to Portugal.

Reaffirming Portugal's ties with NATO, the president said, "Our continued stay within NATO, our determination to cooperate in the common endeavours in defence of the cultural values that are models for Europe and North America, and our long-lasting unity with our allies--all these are indisputable facts."

"The events taking place in recent years and our experiences in the course of negotiations show that a case of chronic suffocation harmful to the Western bloc may change from a theoretical assumption into a reality which we must face, because there has been doubt about the West's ability to maintain a geo-political equilibrium," he said.

In view of this, the president added, it is necessary for the Western bloc to adopt a common stand not only on military matters but also in the fields of mutual economic and political support.

"The economic crisis that we are facing and that is going to further deteriorate," the president went on, "is a crucial factor shaking the determination of the Western bloc and diminishing its ability to adopt a common stand. This factor will also render many Western countries extremely vulnerable in face of the events that are evolving before us."

He stressed in conclusion that a firm answer to this reality must be sought in closer and unified action by West European countries.

Admiral Robert Falls arrived in Portugal on October 20. Yesterday he was received separately by the vice chief of the General Staff of the Portuguese Armed Forces, the army, navy and air force chiefs of staff and the minister of defence.

CSO: 4020

POLAND TO BOOST FARMERS' PRODUCTION

OW230758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0737 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, October 22 (XINHUA)--Poland will distribute the increased part of the mineral fertilizer output among individual farmers next year. The supply of cement to them will be increased to 6.5 million tons.

These are part of the measures to be taken to boost the production of individual farmers in the country, which were decided by the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish United Peasants' Party. The positions of the two parties on key problems of agricultural and food policies were made public by the party organ TRYBUNA LUDU on October 20.

It was also decided that the purchasing prices of farm produce from the farmers will be raised: that of milk from November 1, and that of other produce in the first quarter of next year. All state purchasing units must try to save the farmers' time and be honest in evaluating their products.

The two parties declared that the agricultural policy guarantees the correct development of state farms, agricultural cooperatives and other allied bodies. These units should turn out means of production for agriculture.

The decision said that big steps should be taken to speedily change the state of self-management of the cooperatives and individual farmers. Agricultural groups and mass organizations are the factual representatives of the farmers and are playing the role of federations of farmers' unions. They should be given appropriate authority.

The actual state of social life in the countryside must be changed quickly and the existing indifference must be overcome. At the same time, services and education must be improved, the decision said.

CSO: 4020

GENG BIAO ATTENDS CONCERT BY TRINIDAD STEEL BAND

OW221843 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 22 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 22 (XINHUA)--Stirring applause greeted the visiting musicians from Trinidad and Tobago at their premiere here this evening. Their steel orchestra music, popular within the Caribbean, was an entirely new but delightful experience for the Chinese audience.

The 40 amateur musicians, ranging from 16 to 50, of the Trinidad Catellic All Stars Steel Band, played steel-made musical instruments in the shape of drums originally made from oil barrels, cello pans, guitar pans and ping-pong with drum sticks covered with rubber. [as received]

The audience were spellbound by the symphonic rhythm produced in the rendering of a varied program of European classics, U.S. pop, Latin American pop and African music.

Vice-Premier Geng Biao and Minister of Culture Huang Zhen were among the packed audience of 2,000 who enthused over the lively and swinging atmosphere that prevailed.

During the intermission, Vice-Premier Geng Biao met with members of the visiting Trinidad and Tobago government delegation who attended the concert, leader of the band Clement James and 53-year-old conductor Jemmot Fitzgerald.

One of the leading members of the band, Mr. Everton Smith, introduced the audience to the seven sections of music presented to enable them to appreciate its specific features.

Also present tonight were Zhang Wenjin, vice-minister of foreign affairs; Zhou Weizhi, vice-minister of culture; Madame Lei Jieqiong, vice-mayor of Beijing; Li Huanzhi, vice-chairman of the Union of Chinese Musicians, and Wang Yanchang, Chinese ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago.

The band will give two more concerts in Beijing and two in Tianjin City.

CSO: 4020

ACROBATS PERFORM AT SOMALI CELEBRATION

OW220746 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 22 Oct 80

[Text] Mogadishu, October 21 (XINHUA)--A mass rally of about 100,000 people was held here on October 21 to celebrate the 11th anniversary of the "October 21 Revolution."

The rally was attended by President Mohamed Siad Barre, First Vice-President Mohamed Ali Samantar, Second Vice President and Assistant to the President on State Affairs Hussein Kulmiye Afrah, chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Assembly Ismail Ali Abucar, commandant of the National Security Service and presidential adviser on security affairs Ahmed Suleiman Abdulle as well as government ministers.

A grand parade was held at the rally. Tens of thousands of workers, peasants, herdsmen, students, government functionaries and residents in colourful national costume, singing and dancing, passed before the reviewing rostrum. They acclaimed the achievements made by the Somali people over the past eleven years.

The rally concluded with a military review.

Delegations and observers from 50 countries who attended the third congress of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity as well as well as diplomatic envoys of various countries were also present.

President Siad Barre and other Somali leaders watched in the evening the performances given jointly at the National Theatre by the visiting Shaanxi Provincial Acrobatic Troupe of China and Somali artists.

The sixth Somali national fair opened yesterday. Exhibits showing the Somali peoples' achievements in the past 11 years were displayed at the fair.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

IRAQI PRESIDENT ON PEACE--Baghdad, October 17 (XINHUA)--Iraqi President Saddam Husayn affirmed yesterday evening that Iraq was ready to stop the fight with Iran if its sovereignty over its territories was recognized, the press here reported today. Husayn made the statement during a meeting with Secretary General of the Islamic Conference Organization Habib Chatti, who arrived here yesterday. Husayn also said that Iraq was ready to respond to the calls of the Islamic Conference Organization and the Non-Alignment Movement for a just and peaceful settlement of the Iraq-Iran dispute. [Text] [OW171312 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 17 Oct 80]

RAJA'I DISCUSSES U.S. HOSTAGES--United Nations, October 18 (XINHUA)--Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i said today that a decision on the release of the 52 American hostages is "not far away." Speaking at a press conference at the U.N. headquarters this morning, the Iranian prime minister said that the decision of the Iranian Parliament on the release of the American hostages will not be far away if right conditions are met. When asked if the issue could be solved before the American presidential election on November 4, he said that "the question will be finally solved." Raja'i said he had come to New York "only to present his country's complaint of Iraqi aggression" to the U.N. Security Council and that he would not meet with American officials on the hostage issue. "Neither the hostages nor any other questions have been negotiated with American officials," he said. [Text] [OW181925 Beijing XINHUA in English 1907 GMT 18 Oct 80]

ISLAMIC CONFERENCE OFFICIAL ON GULF WAR--Islamabad, October 17 (XINHUA)--Habib Chatti, secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organisation, said here tonight that big powers' interference in the Iraq-Iran conflict was very much there. "This is a danger which is inevitable if the war continues," he observed. Dr. Chatti who arrived here at about midnight today from Baghdad, told newsmen at Islamabad Airport that any incident in the Strait of Hormuz could invite intervention by outside powers. Its repercussion would be very grave, he added. The secretary general said he would report to President Ziaul Haq tomorrow about his talks in Baghdad with President Saddam Husayn. Asked if he hoped to visit Tehran soon, Dr. Chatti said, "I hope to go tomorrow after I contact them." He said the Islamic Conference goodwill mission headed by President Zia was still continuing and he had visited Baghdad as a member of the mission. Replying to a question regarding the possibility of President Zia's visit to Tehran and Baghdad, Dr. Chatti said at the present phase he himself was establishing contact with both sides as secretary general of the Islamic Conference. He did not visualise an early visit of President Zia at this stage. [Text] [OW180147 Beijing XINHUA in English 0135 GMT 18 Oct 80]

INDIA, BANGLADESH BOUNDARY PACT--Beijing, October 18 (XINHUA)--India and Bangladesh have agreed to complete the demarcation of their land boundaries in the next two years under the provisions of the 1974 boundary agreement, says a report from New Delhi quoting a report from New Delhi today's INDIAN EXPRESS. The understanding was reached yesterday at the end of three days of official-level discussions between the two countries. Certain apprehension regarding the implementation of the agreement was removed during the discussions which were held in a "friendly and cordial atmosphere," the report added. According to informed sources, it was agreed that the present status in the Muhuri Char area in the Belonia sector of Tripura will be maintained till further surveys are conducted to demarcate the area finally. [Text] [OW180848 Beijing XINHUA in English 0833 GMT 18 Oct 80]

MUSKIE REAFFIRMS GULF WAR IMPARTIALITY--Beijing, October 20 (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie yesterday reaffirmed American impartiality in the Iran-Iraq conflict. But this position "may have to be adjusted as circumstances develop," he added. Answering questions on ABC's "Issues and Answers" about the Iranian prime minister's accusation that the U.S. sent intelligence to Iraq gathered by its AWACS planes stationed in Saudi Arabia, Muskie said the reconnaissance planes were dispatched there at the request of the Saudis and they were "a pure defensive piece of technology." The information the planes gather about Iranian and Iraqi air strikes goes solely to the Saudis and not to either of the belligerents. He emphasized that the U.S. feels no one's interest would be served by widening or prolonging the war. Talking about the U.S. hostages being held in Iran, he said that the measures the United States has taken against Iran, including the enforcement of a trade embargo and the freezing of Iranian assets, would be reviewed once progress is made toward the release of the hostages. [Text] [OW201837 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 20 Oct 80]

JAPANESE PAPER ON SOVIETS IN AFGHANISTAN--Tokyo, October 21 (XINHUA)--"Far from going to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has made it clear that it will further strengthen its military presence there. This Soviet attitude of obstinately trying to wrest 'international recognition' of the fait accompli of its aggression is most regrettable," the YOMIURI SHIMBUN said editorially today. Commenting on the joint statements signed between the Soviet Government and the Babrak Karmal regime on October 19, the paper said that by inviting Karmal to visit the Soviet Union, the Kremlin aimed at "taking this opportunity to establish its rule in Afghanistan by further increasing its military and economic aid to the Karmal regime." With Afghanistan as a base, Moscow seeks greater military and political influence in the turbulent Middle East and the Islamic world. The paper went on to say that "no matter what this Soviet move may turn out, Afghanistan will remain a heavy burden to the Soviet Union for a long time to come." Another disturbance will undoubtedly take place sooner or later within the Karmal regime, it added. [Text] [OW210944 Beijing XINHUA in English 0806 GMT 21 Oct 80]

USSR AFGHAN ATROCITIES REPORTS--Beijing, October 20 (XINHUA)--About 200 men, women and children were reportedly killed and 50 per cent of the houses destroyed in Farza, north of Kabul, early this month when Soviet MiG-21s and helicopter-gunships pounded the tiny valley town, reported today's EXPRESS quoting an eyewitness, according to a report from New Delhi. Orchards and standing crops in the town have been totally destroyed, said the eye-witness who had arrived in Delhi. Most of the residents there have taken to the mountains. Farza is part of the grape valley of Khodaman. Soviet planes, he said, have reportedly flown a total of 107 sorties from the nearby Bagram military airbase under the Russians' control. The eye-witness said that a Soviet MiG-21 was seen in flames over the mountains behind Farza. Some helicopters were also hit by ground fire. According to an Afghan journalist who hailed from Farza and lives in Delhi, the valley town is famous for its multi-variety grapes and is inhabited by Pathans mostly belonging to the Nasiri tribe. [Text] [OW201212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 20 Oct 80]

USSR'S MILK, MEAT DECREASES--Moscow, October 16 (XINHUA)--The total meat and milk output of the state and collective farms in this country in the first nine months of this year was three per cent lower than that in the same period last year, the output of pork went down by six per cent. These figures were disclosed by the Soviet weekly ECONOMIC GAZETTE which said that during the nine months, livestock and poultry sold to the state were 460,000 tons less than those in the corresponding period of last year, and dairy produce 1.71 million tons less. By October 1, the number of cattle on the hoof was 720,000 head more than at the same time last year, but the number of pigs was 300,000 head and sheep 204,000 head less. The decrease in meat and dairy produce was largely due to fodder shortage. The GAZETTE reported that farmers on the whole had not yet managed to overcome the consequences of the difficult winter and the lack of fodder in spring. Recent press reports lead one to believe the country's fodder stores for the coming winter are again inadequate. Hay stores in many regions can only meet 60-70 per cent of the needs, and green fodder stores in many regions are well below half of the demand. The fodder situation is particularly disappointing in the Russian Federation, the largest Soviet republic. [Text] [OW170306 Beijing XINHUA in English 0249 GMT 17 Oct 80]

NORWEGIANS SUPPORT STRONG DEFENSE--Stockholm, October 17 (XINHUA)--A public opinion poll showed that the Norwegian people favour a strong national defence. A convincing 86 per cent majority of Norwegians questioned in an opinion poll for the organization, "People and Defence" by Norges Markedsdata answered that Norway should have a strong military defence, according to a recent report reaching here. This is the greatest recorded support in the country since the first opinion poll on the public's attitude towards defence in 1969. The poll was carried out last April among a selected group of about 1,450 people. Support for a strong Norwegian military defence has increased from 75 per cent in 1969 to 84 per cent last year and 86 per cent this year. According to another report reaching here, it is for the first time in three years that the Norwegian Government's defence budget proposal for 1981 involves a real growth of 3 per cent. This accords with the obligations Norway has assumed as part of the NATO Pact. The total defence budget framework for 1981 is 9,300 million NOK, registering an increase of 1,300 million NOK compared with the defence budget for 1980. [Text] [OW172012 Beijing XINHUA in English 1939 GMT 17 Oct 80]

THAILAND READY TO DEFEND ITSELF--Bangkok, October 18 (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon said yesterday that in face of the threat from the external enemy and the turmoil prevailing in the region, Thailand's armed forces must strengthen their combat capabilities and be always ready to defend the country. He was speaking at a ceremony of receiving a number of U.S. planes at Don Muang Airport near the capital. These include three Hercules C-130H transport planes, three Merlin 4-A reconnaissance planes and six trainers. He went on to say that to strengthen national defence, remains an important policy of his government because upon it depends the survival of the Thai nation and its people. He said, "We don't want war. But if necessary, we are capable of defending ourselves and defeating the enemy." On the same day, Phaniang Kantarat, deputy defence minister and commander of the Thai Royal Airforce, said in an interview with the Thai paper MATICHON that Viet Nam is likely to renew its attacks on Thailand and that the Thai Airforce is ready to repel such act of aggression. [Text] [OW181311 Beijing XINHUA in English 1232 GMT 18 Oct 80]

WARSAW CHOPIN CONTEST--Warsaw, October 20 (XINHUA)--The final competition of the Tenth International Chopin Piano Contest closed here yesterday. According to an announcement of the panel committee, the top three winners were Thai Son Dan of Viet Nam, and Tatiana Szebanowa and Arutiun Papazjan of the Soviet Union. Akiko Ebi of Japan and Ewa Poblocka of Poland shared the fifth place. Erik Berchot of France and Irina Pietrowa of the Soviet Union tied in the sixth. Special awards went to Alexander Lonquich of West Germany, Chen Hongkuan of China's Taiwan Province and Kevin Kenner of the United States. Pianists from Canada, France, the United States, Romania and Yugoslavia were awarded honourable titles and Liu Yifan of China was awarded a prize for his excellent rendition of Chopin's Humoresque. The Chopin piano contest came to an end formally this evening. At the closing ceremony, the panel committee presented prizes to the winners. Among the more than one thousand people attending the closing ceremony were J. Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland; J. Waszczuk, secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; and J. Tejehma, minister of culture and art. [Text] [OW211220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 21 Oct 80]

'PAP' CRITICIZES WESTERN MEDIA--Warsaw, October 19 (XINHUA)--The varied interference in Poland's internal affairs by Western mass media and radio in particular, certain political parties and trade union centres in the past weeks have impeded Poland's process of change, exacerbated the tension and disturbed the country's current efforts to overcome the difficulties, POLISH PRESS AGENCY (PAP) said yesterday. PAP went on to say that these acts and the spread of tendentious news injured the interests of Poland and the Poles, adding that the motives behind them were to intensify popular unrest and tension, and impair Poland's position in the world. The Polish authorities firmly opposed the attempt against the national interest of Poland and demanded that some Western countries refrain from such acts of interference. [Text] [OW201913 Beijing XINHUA in English 1843 GMT 20 Oct 80]

POLISH TRADE UNION LEADER--Warsaw, October 20 (XINHUA)--The leader of the independent trade union has announced during his tour of southern Poland from October 18 to 20 that his union has no plans to call a new strike and that it intends to function with or without the court's recognition. A POLISH PRESS AGENCY report said that at the head of an activist delegation of the independent and self-governing trade union, Lech Walesa visited Krakow, Katowice and four other cities, where he met with representatives of local trade unions, spoke at mass meetings and gave press conferences. Speaking to Polish reporters, Walesa said: "Trade unions are supposed to defend the interests of not only the working class, but also the intellectuals and all professional groups." He declared, "We certainly want to cooperate with other trade unions, youth movement and the party," adding that "as to the form of the cooperation with the party, I have not yet thought about it." According to another report, Walesa, in his speech at a miners' meeting at a coalmine town, said that his union did not intend to give in before the court on the issue of registration. "Solidarity" (the name of the independent union--editor) will function no matter whether the law recognizes it or not, he added. [Text] [OW211855 Beijing XINHUA in English 1847 GMT 21 Oct 80]

BRUSSELS ANTIFASCIST DEMONSTRATION--Brussels, October 20 (XINHUA)--50,000 people demonstrated here this afternoon to voice opposition to racism, fascism, terrorism and anti-Semitism and demand the banning of the private militia of fascists and the adoption by vote of an efficient anti-racist law. The demonstration, sponsored by the National Youth Council, was attended by people from political parties throughout the country, nearly all government ministers, representatives of hundreds of trade unions and cultural, youth and immigrants' organizations as well as ex-internees of fascist concentration camps during World War Two. The placards and streamers held by the demonstrators read: "No fascism," "Fascism and racism, stop" and "Belgians and immigrants, fight for liberty together." The fascists have reportedly committed a series of murders in France, Italy and West Germany in recent months. In Belgium, an ultra-right organization sponsored a "demonstration" on October 4. These fascist actions aroused public indignation in this country, where many mass rallies and demonstrations against fascism and racism have been held in the past few days. [Text] [OW210934 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 21 Oct 80]

MILAN DEMONSTRATION CONDEMNS FASCISM--Rome, October 20 (XINHUA)--Over 3,000 young people held a street demonstration in Milan this evening in protest against the terrorist incidents aimed at restoring fascism. The incidents included the bombings at the Bologna railway station in Italy, on the Munich Beer Festival in West Germany and at a Jewish synagogue in Paris. The Milan demonstrators held streamers which read: "No to fascism," "No to anti-Semitism," "Paris, Bologna and Munich, by the same hand, the same shame!" They shouted slogans denouncing the Nazis for setting up death camps and committing other crimes. The demonstration was sponsored by the Jewish Communal Council of Milan and received widespread support from the affiliated youth organizations of the Christian Democratic Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Republican Party, the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party. Municipal government officials met a delegation of the demonstrators after the march. [Text] [OW211216 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 21 Oct 80]

UK'S HEATH ON ANTI-SOVIET WORLD STRATEGY--Geneva, October 21 (XINHUA)--Former British Prime Minister Edward Heath said here yesterday that Americans and Europeans should jointly adopt a world strategy to counter the Soviet challenge, according to press reports today. Heath made the remarks at a joint meeting of the International Club of Americans and the Swiss-American Chamber of Commerce. To effectively counter the Soviet challenge, he stressed, European countries should shoulder a greater share of NATO military activities so that the U.S. forces would be free to cope with the tasks outside Europe. He also emphasized the importance of the West's relationship with the developing countries. Western European countries should give priority to North-South dialogue, he maintained. [Text] [OW220840 Beijing XINHUA in English 0827 GMT 22 Oct 80]

YUGOSLAV WRITERS GROUP--Beijing, 19 Oct (XINHUA)--The Chinese Pen Society gave a tea party on 19 October in honor of a visiting Yugoslav writers' delegation. The Chinese and Yugoslav writers briefed each other on literary and art developments in their respective countries. Chen Huangmei, leading member of the Chinese Pen Society, and the leader of the Yugoslav writers' delegation spoke at the party, expressing the hope for more cultural exchanges between the two countries. [OW231031 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1429 GMT 19 Oct 80]

ROMANIAN, AUSTRALIAN DELEGATIONS--Xia Zhengnong, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee, on 19 October met and feted Romanian party workers visiting group headed by (Alexandalu Bugnalu), first secretary of a Romanian municipal communist party committee. Hn Zheyi [as printed] vice mayor of Shanghai, on 17 October met and feted Australian journalist delegation headed by (Johan Hall). [OW201113 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Oct 80]

DANCERS IN YUGOSLAVIA--Belgrade, October 16 (XINHUA)--The China Nationalities Song and Dance Ensemble gave its premiere here this evening to the warm applause of the audience. Young artists from nine nationalities of China performed Tibetan, Mongolian, Li, Dai and Uygur songs and dances and music with different instruments of their own. The items vividly depicted the bravery and industry of the people of the minority nationalities and their patriotism. Young soprano Fang Ming, male soloist Jiang Xunzhi and Mongolian woman soloist Dedema were especially warmly applauded when they sang Yugoslav folk songs in the Yugoslav language. The Chinese ensemble led by famous Mongolian dancer Bovinbatu arrived here on October 14. During its three-week stay in the country, the ensemble will tour the republics of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, and will give 13 performances altogether. [OW201113 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 16 Oct 80]

BRAZILIAN MUSICIANS' PERFORMANCE--Beijing, October 19 (XINHUA)--The trio artists, comprising noted Brazilian pianist Arnaldo Cohen, violinist Cussy de Almeida, and cellist Peter Dauelsberg, presented a programme of European classics and modern Brazilian music to a Beijing audience at their premiere here this evening. This is the first time that musicians from Brazil have performed in China since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1974. Among the over 1,000 audience this evening were Chinese Minister of Culture Huang Zhen and Brazilian Ambassador to China Aluizio Napoleao and Mrs. Aluizio Napoleao who mounted the stage at the end of the performance and congratulated the Brazilian musicians. The trio arrived in Beijing on October 17 as guests of the Ministry of Culture. During their two weeks' performance tour of China they will give solo recitals in Beijing, Nanning and Kunming and two more trio concerts in Nanning and Kunming. [OW201113 Beijing XINHUA in English 1842 GMT 19 Oct 80 OW]

NEW ZEALAND MILITARY EXERCISE--Wellington, October 21 (XINHUA)--Warships and aircraft of the United States, Australia and New Zealand started a five-day joint exercise off New Zealand's northeast coast yesterday, it was reported here today. The exercise, code-named "Autex '80," is based on the hypothesis of an Anzus naval task force under submarine and air attacks as it sails through a hostile zone. The exercise involves eight surface vessels and one submarine. The United States is represented by three destroyers, including the spruance-class "Oldendorf," the flagship of destroyer Squadron 21 of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. Australia has sent a submarine and two destroyers while New Zealand sent three frigates. The Australian submarine "Onslow," as well as New Zealand and Australian air force planes will simulate attacks from the "bad guys" on the allied naval task force, which will have live-firing practice in the Bay of Plenty, New Zealand, during the exercise. The American and Australian ships will visit some New Zealand ports after the exercise. [Text] [OW211548 Beijing XINHUA in English 1532 GMT 21 Oct 80]

EQUATORIAL GUINEA INDEPENDENCE DAY--Beijing, October 23 (XINHUA)--The 12th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea was marked at a reception given by the Equatorial Guinean Embassy here this afternoon. Among the guests were Qian Xinzhong, Chinese minister of public health; Gong Dafei, vice-minister of foreign affairs; Cheng Fei, vice-minister of economic relations with foreign countries; Mao Henian, vice-minister of power industry; Cheng Wang, vice-minister of communications; Luo Shuzhen, vice-minister of telecommunications; Zeng Delin, vice-minister of education; and Luo Shigao, vice-president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. Diplomatic envoys of various countries to China were also present. [Text] [OW231302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 23 Oct 80]

SOVIET, CUBAN INTERFERENCE--Bogota, October 22 (XINHUA)--Colombian Defence Minister Luis Carlos Camacho said in a Senate debate yesterday that Colombian guerrillas are financed and trained by the Soviet Union and Cuba. The Colombian minister said that at least 749 Colombians had received guerrilla war training in Cuba. He named 17 of them. By doing this, the Soviet Union and Cuba created "disorder and subversion" in Colombia, he added. Financial aid to the guerrillas was given through the Prague-Paris-Bogota channel and in the name of scholarships granted by the Soviet Union's Lumumba University. [Text] [OW230832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0757 GMT 23 Oct 80]

POLISH OFFICIAL MEETS CARDINAL--Warsaw, October 22 (XINHUA)--Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, met with Roman Catholic Primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski here yesterday. They discussed matters of great importance for the internal peace and development of the country, says a PAP report today. "A unanimous view was expressed that constructive cooperation of the church with the state serves well the interests of the nation and therefore will be continued on behalf of the welfare and security of the Polish People's Republic." [Text] [OW230838 Beijing XINHUA in English 0759 GMT 23 Oct 80]

ISLAMIC LEADER ON IRAN, IRAQ--Islamabad, October 22 (XINHUA)--Iranian leaders have promised to study the proposal for the formation of a committee of six leaders of Islamic countries and convey their reply later, secretary-general of the Islamic conference Habib Chatti said today. Speaking to the press at the airport upon his arrival here this evening from Tehran, Chatti said that there had been definite improvement of atmosphere for talks in

Iran. His discussion with Iranian leaders was frank and in good spirit, he added. He told newsmen that Iranian leaders maintained that there could be no negotiations so long as the Iraqis were present on Iranian territory. "They want to find out if the proposal regarding the formation of the committee is compatible with their position," Chatti said. On Iraq's side, he said that Iraq had agreed in principle to the proposal on condition that their claims are guaranteed. Chatti said he would fly to Lahore tomorrow to report to President Ziaul Haq on the outcome of his visit. He also planned to leave for Jidda, Saudi Arabia. [Text] [OW230334 Beijing XINHUA in English 0215 GMT 23 Oct 80]

TWO JAILED FOR TAIWAN ATTEMPT--Beijing, Oct. 22 (AFP)--Two men have been jailed for trying to emigrate illegally to Taiwan from Hainan Island, the newspaper HAINAN RIBAO reported in an edition received here today. Li Hongyu and Xing Fuxian were sentenced to one year and six months imprisonment. Their first bid to emigrate in August 1979 was foiled when their boat ran into a storm and developed mechanical trouble. They were arrested last May when they made a second attempt with 11 other persons. Three of the latter received minor sentences of detention. [Text] [OW220501 Hong Kong AFP in English 0454 GMT 22 Oct 80]

DOCUMENTARY ON POLISH STRIKE--Warsaw, 16 Oct (XINHUA)--A news documentary recording Polish workers' strikes was recently shown at various movie theaters in Warsaw. The film was warmly welcomed by large audiences. Aside from recording the workers' strike that had apread throughout Poland last August, the documentary made by the Warsaw News Documentary Studio also recorded scenes of the Polish Government suppressing a Gdansk workers' strike in December 1970--Soviet-made tanks and armored cars patrolling the streets, armymen and policemen in full battle gear throwing teargas grenades at unarmed workers on strike and aiming their guns at the masses in the streets. The film strongly contrasted the violent suppression of 1970 and the talks and negotiations in 1980. The audiences are profoundly impressed with this contrast. Since the documentary was shown, it has drawn large audiences in the capital of Poland. Many movie theaters draw larger audiences than usual. [Text] [OW200604 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1137 GMT 17 Oct 80]

HARBIN-HARVARD ACADEMIC EXCHANGES--Harbin Engineering College, Heilongjiang, has agreed on academic exchanges with Harvard University of the United States. Harvard agreed to give free short-term training courses to 10 teachers and high-level management personnel of the province each year. According to this agreement, three people have been sent to Harvard University this year. Harbin Engineering College also sent a delegation to the United States to inspect education work on 8 October. [SK170540 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Oct 80]

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITING CLASS IDEOLOGY EMPHASIZED

Shenyang LILUN YU SHIJIAN [THEORY AND PRACTICE] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 pp 15-18

[Article by Li Zhun [2621 0402]: "A Talk on Ideological Class Struggle"]

[Text] How can we assess and what attitude should we take toward the ideological class struggle? This has become a subject of study by many comrades. Contained in this article are some of my initial views on this subject, which are presented in hopes of stimulating further discussion.

I

The theory of class struggle in the economic, political and ideological fields was first advanced by Engels, one of the co-founders of Marxism. In this connection, he pointed out: "The theoretical, political and economic aspects of struggle (against capitalists) began with the birth of the workers movement, and were carried out in coordination with one another and in a well-planned manner." ("Collection of Works by Marx and Engels," vol 18, p 566) A series of similar theses can also be found in works by Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong. Nevertheless, what does "the ideological aspect of class struggle" really mean? What is its content and effect on society? I feel that these questions need to be straightened out and should be analyzed from the basic historical materialist standpoint in the following three ways:

First, basically, the so-called ruling class means a group capable of controlling the labor of another group. In scientific Marxist terms, class struggle refers to a struggle between two rival classes whose economic and political interests are diametrically opposed, or a struggle between exploiters and the exploited. Class struggle should not be interpreted as all forms of struggle and contradictions among all different groups or conflicts among the people of different shades. Although there are conflicts and contradictions between two different exploited and oppressed working classes--for example between the workers and peasants--such contradictions and conflicts, including the ideological struggle, do not stem from any fundamental clash of interests, and therefore should not be interpreted as a form of class struggle.

Second, it is man's social being that determines his thinking. The ideology of every class is determined and affected by its social status (primarily economic status). Class ideology often patterns after class status. Strictly speaking, the class struggle in the ideological field is only one aspect of class struggle as a whole. Through such struggles, rival classes or their members will use their respective ideologies as weapons to defend their interests. The ideological aspect of class struggle will fade out in a society where the two rival classes with a fundamental clash of political and economic interests cease to exist. The existence of the ideological aspect of class struggle depends on whether the two contending sides involved in it are really in rival and irreconcilable positions. Materialists will never pick up a few isolated remarks on both sides of contention as a basis for starting an ideological aspect of class struggle.

It must be pointed out that in slave-owning and feudal societies, where the modes of production were limited and the means of mental labor were controlled by the exploiting classes, the exploited slaves and peasants had never been in any position to challenge the ideological system of the exploiting classes because they lacked spontaneity to organize themselves into an ideologically competitive force to be reckoned with, although they formed the majority of the population at that time. For this reason, the ideological aspect of class struggle was nonexistent in the minds of the exploited. The scientific ideological system that has been used by the proletariat as a spiritual weapon to combat the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes did not take shape until the birth of Karl Marx. At the core of the proletarian ideological system (Marxism) is authentic materialism or a form of totally disinterested collectivism which opposes any form of exploitation and oppression. At the heart of the ideological systems of the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie was the concept of the division of society into various classes, which regards the commoners as "beasts," and extreme egoism which regards everything as commodity. All exploiting classes, however, have at least one thing in common, that is, they all consider their exploitation and oppression of the majority justified. This form of ideological struggle takes place only between two rival classes with a fundamental clash of economic and political interests, (or between their members). Such struggle will never occur within a single class.

Third, during a protracted class struggle, some members of one class may be invariably affected by the ideology of another contending class. For this reason, it must set its ideology in competition with the ideology of another class or its influence. Should we regard this as part of the ideological aspect of class struggle? I feel that the two forms of struggle are related but should not be regarded as the same struggle. The reason is that the influence of the ideology of one class remains an influence that is not necessarily capable of converting members of another contending class. On the other hand, some members of one class are unlikely entirely to give up its ideology and become converters of the ideology of another contending class as long as they display no intention of radically changing their class stand. Furthermore, the ideological struggle between those elements of one class who are influenced by the ideology of another contenting class and its staunch supporters should in no way be construed as a direct ideological struggle between two rival classes. As long as the two groups in the same class are not diametrically opposed to each other in terms of political and economic interests, their debate can be interpreted as a reflection of the ideological struggle in that same class. If the two forms of struggle are viewed as the same struggle, the so-called ideological aspect of class struggle will become a strife likely to go haywire. But only after the aforementioned wavering elements are determined to desert their class to another rival class after being exposed to the ideology of the latter can we call the ideological struggle between the infidels and staunch supporters of that class an ideological aspect of class struggle.

II

Lenin said: Socialism means annihilating classes. Since the founding of new China 30 years ago and especially since the establishment of the socialist system of public ownership over 20 years ago, not only have the classes of landlords and rich peasants been eliminated, but also capitalists as a class have ceased to exist in our country. This being the case, what is the content and characteristics of the current ideological class struggle in our country?

I feel that since the exploiters as a class have ceased to exist in our society, our current ideological class struggle, just like similar struggles that have taken place in the economic and political fields, is no longer a class struggle between the exploiters and the exploited but an ideological struggle between workers, peasants and intellectuals (part of the working class) on the one hand and remnants of the exploiting classes and new class enemies on the other. It can be called an unfinished business of the ideological aspect of class struggle under the new historical conditions or a special form of class struggle in the ideological field, which can be spelled out as follows:

First, it is an ideological struggle between workers, peasants and intellectuals dedicated to socialism on the one hand and a few unreformed landlords, rich peasants and remnants of the old exploiting classes on the other. Since the system of private ownership has been eliminated, these remnants of the old exploiting classes have never wanted to give up their class ideology. In addition, they have carried out various antisocialist economic and political activities, thus continuously placing them in a position hostile to that of the working class. The ideological struggle carried out by the broad masses against them can certainly be called a part of class struggle.

Second, it is an ideological struggle between socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals on the one hand and embezzlers, speculators and other new exploiters on the other. As new exploiters, these embezzlers and speculators still act and think in the same way as the members of the exploiting classes did in the old society. Certainly, the ideological struggle carried out against them by the broad masses is a class struggle in the ideological field.

Third, it is an ideological struggle between socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals on the one hand and saboteurs of social order and other criminals and degenerates on the other. Just as those elements who were found guilty of felonies can no longer be treated as ordinary criminals within the ranks of the proletariat and the working people, neither can the degenerates. They act and think in a way detrimental to the interests of the proletariat. In short, their political and economic interests directly contradict that of the proletariat and the working people. The ideological struggle carried out by the broad masses against them undoubtedly takes the form of class struggle.

Fourth, it is an ideological struggle between socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals on the one hand and a few counterrevolutionaries (including some remnants of the "gang of four") and enemy agents on the other. Enemy agents from the enemy camps, and counterrevolutionaries (no matter whether they are old or new) are vicious class enemies. They often use the reactionary ideologies of the exploiting classes to instigate the people to create public opinions to serve their counterrevolutionary aim of subverting our country and overthrowing the socialist system. The ideological struggle waged by the broad masses against them has developed into a sharp class struggle in the ideological field.

In short, the objective existence of various class enemies in our society justifies the necessity of carrying out the current class struggle in the ideological field. Facts remind us that it is only class enemies who dare to take a radical position against the proletariat and the working people, openly defend the ideologies of the exploiting classes and wage ideological struggle against the proletariat. The focus of the struggle is over whether to preserve and develop or destroy and overthrow the socialist system aimed at eliminating the vestiges of exploitation and serving the basic political and economic interests of the proletariat and the working people. This ideological form of class struggle will automatically die out as soon as class enemies cease to exist, along with the basic contradictions between ourselves and class enemies in the political and economic fields. An assessment of the activities of the class enemies that still exist in our country, and class struggles at home and abroad reveals that the influence of the ideologies of the exploiting classes over the people, including the working class, will exist for a long time to come. Among them are the ideology of exploitation of man by man, the concepts of the division of society into various classes originating from feudalism, autocratic ideas, and extreme bourgeois egoism. For this reason, a protracted struggle is anticipated between the proletarian ideology and the influence of the ideologies of the exploiting classes. As I have mentioned earlier, it is more scientific and realistic to call this form of struggle a reflection of ideological class struggle among the people and members of the proletariat rather than a direct struggle between the proletarian ideology and the ideologies of the landlord and capitalist classes. At the same time, it must be further pointed out: judging from the current domestic situation, a variety of backward non-proletarian ideas still exist among the people, including members of the proletariat. But their emergence cannot be attributed to the influence of the ideologies of the exploiting classes. Nor do they reflect the ideological class struggle among the people. At this point, I must also point out that every specific problem must be analyzed in concrete terms. For example, bureaucracy and the idea of using executive power to control everything have been described by some comrades as a reflection of the resurging influence of the feudal landlord class. As an individual, I do not agree with this observation. As a matter of fact, the idea of using executive power to control everything resulted from the feudal system of production or small-scale peasant economy on which the feudal system of production was built. Just as Marx once pointed out: "Because small-scale peasant economies were geographically isolated from one another, their respective representatives were also their masters and supreme power holders or unrestricted government authorities. In the final analysis, the political influence of the small-scale peasant economy could become an executive power which could be used to control the society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" vol 1, p 693). Today, some people in our midst still like to exercise their leadership by dictating orders to their subordinates, and to use power that is delegated to them to serve their private interests. This conduct of public affairs reminds the people that the influence of the old small-scale peasant economy remains deeply rooted in our country. There are many other comrades who mistake the "me first" idea for the bourgeois ideology. They must understand that no classes except for the proletariat can produce that disinterested form of collectivism; the "me first" idea is not only popular with the small peasants, but also with small handicraft producers and small venders (who belong to the petty bourgeoisie); the backward "me first" idea that exists among the people should be listed as part of the traditional petty-bourgeois ideology; only unscrupulousness and extreme egoism embody the influence of the bourgeois ideology. Undeniably, we must uphold the proletarian ideology and struggle against the petty-bourgeois ideology and the influence of the small peasant economy. But this form of struggle has nothing in common with the ideological struggle between the proletariat and various class enemies.

III

The question of how to carry out the class struggle in the ideological field that has come in the wake of the establishment of the socialist system of public ownership is not only a theoretical but also a practical problem. We must conscientiously sum up rich experiences we have accumulated in this field over the past 20 years or more and draw lessons from them. Since the limited space allowed to me by this journal has prevented me from reviewing such experiences and lessons in detail, I can only discuss this problem on a selective basis.

First, it is necessary to apply Marxism to assess the general trend of ideological class struggle that has taken place since the establishment of the socialist system of public ownership. Since the establishment of the socialist system of public ownership in our country, and since the exploiters as a class have been eliminated, the ideological class struggle as part of the class struggle should no longer take the old form of large-scale struggle. Although a hot debate over many problems cannot be avoided in the future, all signs indicate a toning down rather than an escalation of the class struggle in the ideological field. But for a long time, many comrades have predicted that after the system of private ownership is eliminated, the ideologies of the exploiting classes will grow in strength and the class struggle in the ideological field will become sharper and sharper, thus clearing the way for a large-scale class struggle. This view is not in conformity with the basic materialist principle. Facts powerfully prove that if this idea is adopted and put into practice, it will certainly lead to the escalation of class struggle, providing careerists and conspirators with an opportunity to stage a comeback. As everyone knows, it was precisely this idea that once inspired Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to concoct an ultraleft line along with a reactionary formula "from democrats to capitalists." Their aim was to divide the people into various classes according to their "ideological standards," to condemn anyone with a slip of the tongue as "class enemy" and to bring catastrophe upon our country. Inspired by this painful lesson, we must do everything right in the future. No matter what happens in the days to come, we must never forget the basic materialist viewpoint that with the system of private ownership dying out and the system of public ownership gaining strength, class antagonism will certainly give ground to public interests and the class struggle in the ideological field will gradually be tapering off. Only by bearing this general trend in mind can we achieve a clarity of thought.

Second, we must distinguish the ideological system of the exploiting classes and its influence from the popular backward ideas. In real life, there are generally three forms of struggle, notably ideological class struggle between socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals on the one hand, and various class enemies on the other, struggle between the proletarian ideology and the influence of the ideology of the exploiting classes over the people, and struggle between the advanced and backward ideas among the people. These three forms of struggle are closely related and interconnected. For this reason, we must clearly define the three forms of struggle and adopt a different attitude toward the ideological struggle of different nature. Only in this way can we handle every problem properly. Facts show that if the three forms of struggle are not clearly defined, we may mistake the popular backward ideas for the ideological system of the exploiting classes or its influence and may lend credence to the proposal for the exercise of the "ideological dictatorship" over the people (whose damage to the nation has been well known to all), and to the argument that why can't we adopt the "left" logic to exercise the "dictatorship" over the followers of the ideological system of the exploiting classes which is aimed at protecting the interests of the class enemies and which is diametrically opposed to the proletarian ideological system? Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, the real target of their so-called "ideological dictatorship" was not the ideological system of the exploiting classes but that of the proletariat. At present, we must strictly distinguish the ideological system of the exploiting classes and its influence from the backward ideas among the people and clearly declare that the ideological system of the exploiting classes has no chance to stage a comeback, although it still makes its influence felt among the people. As long as we can do this, careerists and conspirators will absolutely have no chance for exercising the "ideological dictatorship" over the people. Nor can they change the target of the "ideological dictatorship." We must attach great importance to this matter.

Another problem is that we must rapidly develop the productive forces in order to create a better material condition for triumphantly carrying out the class struggle in the ideological field. The existence of classes is determined by the development of production while the class struggle in the ideological field is a process that can be affected by the level of the development of productive forces. Over 20 years of practical experience tell us that the ideological struggle against class enemies will not triumph unless we give first priority to the development of productive forces instead of the ideological struggle, following the establishment of the system of public ownership in our country. It is a well-known fact that failure in production and the existence of poverty will provide class enemies with an opportunity to spread the ideologies of the exploiting classes and will induce some people to become new exploiters, and to break and violate the law; feudal superstition, autocratic ideas, bourgeois laissez-faire tendencies and extreme egoism will become widespread and will prevail over the proletarian ideology wherever production fails and the masses lose their sense of security in terms of economic well-being. Is this fact clear enough to all? Lenin said: socialism must demonstrate its superiority over capitalism by bringing greater labor productivity to the world. Stalin said: the aim of socialism is to eliminate poverty. Only by greatly increasing the labor productivity and by improving the material well-being of the masses can we induce more and more people to spontaneously follow the socialist road, uphold Marxism and prevent class enemies from preaching and spreading the ideologies of the exploiting classes. In short, efforts must be made to promote the modernization program with the aim of creating greater material wealth for the proletariat to take a giant step forward in defeating the ideological system of the exploiting classes and its influence on the people.

9574
CSO: 4005

LEADERSHIP CHANGES TO TAKE PLACE IN GUANGDONG

HK240246 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 24 Oct 80 p 10

[Text] The incumbent governor of Guangdong, Mr Xi Zhongxun, and the mayor of Canton, Mr Yang Shangkun, will shortly be transferred to Peking to assume new responsibilities in the capital, it was reliably learned yesterday.

Both have been elected vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress while 72-year-old Mr Yang is the Standing Committee's new secretary general.

There is as yet no official word on who their successors will be. However, there has been much speculation that Mr Xi will be succeeded in one of his concurrent post as provincial party first secretary by the incumbent party chief of Liaoning, Mr Ren Zhongyi.

Mr Ren may also hold Mr Xi's other concurrent post of first political commissar of the Canton Military Region while a government minister may be transferred to head the provincial government.

Mr Yang also holds other posts, including vice governorship of the province and first secretary of the Canton municipal party committee.

Although he is generally referred to as Canton mayor, the official title remains the chairman of the Canton Revolutionary Committee, a legacy of the Cultural Revolution.

The municipal people's congress has yet to be held and the municipal people's government remains to be organised, under which the new mayor will be named.

Preparations are also actively underway for the holding of provincial party congress when a reorganisation of the party committee is expected to take place.

Other similar meetings are expected to take place at the municipal, prefectural and county levels both for a restructuring of the party organisations at these levels and to elect delegates to the coming 12th national party congress later this year or early next year.

Earlier this year, there were talks of appointing the eldest son of Marshal Ye Jianying, 52-year-old Mr Ye Xuanping, either to be the Guangdong governor or the mayor of Canton. However, recent inquiries in the provincial capital indicated that a decision has yet to be made on the choice.

It is believed that Marshal Ye, who is a vice chairman of the party and chairman of the National People's Congress, has opposed his son's appointment.

Mr Ren is an experienced party and administrative official who spent most of his career in the northeast since the people's republic was founded. He was purged during the Cultural Revolution, and returned to his posts after the "gang of four" was arrested.

Together with Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang and senior vice premier Wan Li, Mr Ren played an important role in the ideological contest with the "whateverism" faction two years ago when he championed the concept that "practice is the sole criterion in examining truth." A battle that ended with the resounding defeat of the "whateverism" faction.

Mr Ren's appointment to preside over party matters in Guangdong indicates the importance the party centre places on the southern province.

Meanwhile, the Japanese JIJI Press reported that Wan Li, an agricultural expert, has taken over as the executive vice premier, a post once held by Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping, and recently by Mr Zhao.

CSO: 4005

TRAIN OUTSTANDING YOUNG, MIDDLE-AGE CADRES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Vigorously Grasp the Work of Training Good Cadres"]

[Text] In order to confidently increase the level of education and professional knowledge among cadres, the [Jiangsu] Provincial Party Committee has decided that, starting this year, it will entrust to a number of institutions of higher learning the establishment of classes for cadres. These classes will specialize in training outstanding young and middle-age cadres. This will be an important measure in training and bringing up people of ability.

At present, one prominent question exists in our leading groups and cadre teams. That is, the educational level is on the low side and there are too few persons who possess professional knowledge. This is not suitable to the needs of modernized construction in socialism. If this type of situation is not changed, it will undoubtedly affect the course of the four modernizations and will adversely affect our cause.

"It takes 10 years to grow a tree, but 100 to rear a person." With regard to the strategic question concerning the training of cadres--a question which has bearing upon the overall situation of the four modernizations--we comrade leaders at all levels must possess vision, act decisively, and grasp things early and quickly. Only if we work hard from the beginning will we be able to quickly develop people of ability. During the 1950's, several of our cadres were selected to be sent to institutions of higher learning for advanced study. Now they are all considered expert leaders on all fronts. This is a successful experience. We should proceed from the overall situation, with an eye to the future, and be willing to send our outstanding middle-age and young cadres for study.

If we wish to carry out the training of cadres, party committees at all levels should earnestly strengthen their leadership and conduct overall planning. Aside from support for in-service study, we must also adopt all types of ways to fully utilize educational fronts presently in existence, such as planned organization of cadres going to party schools on all levels, cadre training schools, all types of middle-level vocational schools, all types of part-time universities, correspondence schools, and college TV to engage in study. We must adopt effective measures to bring about a new upsurge of cadre training on a large scale and allow everyone to study diligently so as to help the four modernizations and advance toward scientific education. We firmly believe that within a few years, through the joint efforts of the entire party, the scientific educational levels of the vast number of cadres will have shown a significant increase and the situation of the cadres will have changed greatly.

9686
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

NINE JIANGSU INSTITUTES GIVEN TASK OF TRAINING CADRES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 80 p 1

[Article: "Train Oustanding Young and Middle-Aged Cadres"]

[Text] Beginning this year, the Provincial Party Committee has entrusted to Nanjing University, the Nanjing Industrial Institute, the Nanjing Chemical Industry Institute, the Suzhou Silk Industry Institute, the Yangzhou Industrial Training School, the Zhenjiang Agricultural Machinery Institute, the Huadong Water Conservation Institute, the Nanjing Agriculture Institute, and the Jiangsu Agriculture Institute--the above nine institutions of higher learning--the task of setting up classes for cadres. The purpose of the classes is to conduct comparatively systematic professional training for a number of young and middle-age cadres and to raise their educational level. These cadre classes will be run continuously in the future according to plan.

The fields to be offered by the nine institutions of higher learning are: economic management, radio technology, chemical engineering, textiles (silk cloth), industrial management, machinery manufacturing, agricultural machinery management, water conservation, agricultural economics, agriculture, and other subjects. A total of 300 students have been enrolled.

The concerned institutions of higher learning all enthusiastically support the Provincial Party Committee's entrusting them with the task of running these classes. They feel that these classes will meet the needs of the four modernizations and will be an important strategic measure in reforming the makeup of cadres, and they have indicated that they are resolved to do a good job. Leading cadres from higher institutions of learning have had personal discussions with responsible leaders from the educational administration, logistics departments, and concerned teaching and research sections and have conducted a specific study of ways to implement the above program. Under the promise of not affecting the nation's enrollment plans, they have enthusiastically tapped latent potential, overcome the problems of finding qualified teachers, dormitories, and other difficulties, and have made preparations so that the classes for the second half of the year may start on time. Concerning the problem of how to adopt teaching plans to the special needs of the cadres, comrades from the provincial education bureau and higher institutions have repeatedly conducted studies and have decided, through mutual consultation, that in setting up specialized fields of training and in planning the content of instruction, importance must be attached to the management aspects of specialized fields, doing all that is possible to strengthen adaptability and to widen the range of knowledge. The Nanjing Chemical Industry Institute, in order to improve teaching of cadre classes, has specially interviewed several older comrades who previously enrolled in the above-mentioned schools as cadre students during the 1950's, and has sought their opinions concerning the raising of the quality of education. In view of the fact that the cadres had been away from a learning environment for a long period and were rusty in math, physics and chemistry, all of the concerned institutions prepared, after school began, to first have tutoring in basic courses available, or to combine it with professional education. They adopted a method of starting at a low level and progressing slowly with a longer period of time in order to solve this contradiction. At present, Nanjing University, the Nanjing Industrial Institute, and the Zhenjiang Agricultural Machinery Institute have already formulated teaching plans. The remaining institutions are now in the process of working out their plans. Concerning the students' management work, some schools are preparing to provide full-time assistants and the necessary administrative cadres in order to reduce the administrative work of students in the cadre classes. At present, the preparatory work of starting cadre classes in schools is already more or less completed.

In choosing the students for study in higher institutions, the Provincial Party Committee required that all students must have a correct ideological and political line, be honest and upright in their ways, be full of vigor, be willing to study intensively, have practical experience and organizational ability, be under the age of 40, be in good health, and be a high school graduate or have an equivalent educational level. All local and municipal party committees and provincial party units are attaching great importance to the selection of students, and they have all organized special strengths, supported the terms, and painstakingly chosen students. In addition, they have selected two students for every opening and have submitted a student list to higher authorities. The great majority of students who were chosen are responsible personnel from communes and basic-level factories and mines. Some are key leaders from organizations above the county level, and their average age is around 35.

In the first part of August, the province will assign Nanjing, Suzhou, and four other areas as testing districts, in order to carry out educational testing. Afterward, excellent students will be chosen for enrollment, based on political, educational and other considerations. Presently, all areas are in the process of organizing students to review and prepare for tests. Nanjing, Suzhou, Changzhou, Yangzhou, and other localities and municipalities are also inviting experienced middle school teachers to coach these students.

9686
CSO: 4005

LEFTIST INFLUENCE ON LITERATURE, ART ATTACKED

Wuhan CHANGJIANG WENYI [CHANGJIANG LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 7, 25 Jul 80 pp 9-11

[Article by Tang Ming [0781 2494]: "Literature and Art Must Not Be Restricted by Leftist Interference"]

[Text] During the last 3 years, in literary and artistic creations, we have made breakthroughs in numerous prohibited areas and many excellent pieces have appeared which have been enthusiastically welcomed by the masses. This type of vitality in the literary and artistic world is becoming brisker by the day and is unprecedented since liberation. Yet, in the last 3 years the promotion of a thriving literature and art to serve the people and to serve socialism has often been ignored. The policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend has often been censured and in its implementation it has met with a good deal of resistance. This is a problem worthy of our study and attention.

Resistance to our advances comes mainly from the leftists. Because the literary and art world had been under the poison of ultraleftist ideology for a long time, prohibited areas became numerous for creations, and in criticism, the enemy and ourselves were not separated. This caused many people to become accustomed to handling problems in literature and art according to the will of senior officials and administrative orders. These long time ultraleftist influences can be said to be very deep and firm and even after several sessions of criticism they cannot by any means be eliminated. A very small minority of remaining "gang of four" forces, as always taking pleasure in the misfortunes of others, keep a close watch on trends in the literary and art world. They do not hope for the flourishing of creations in literature and art but wait for us to make mistakes and have flaws and long for the complete failure of the double-hundred policy so as to prove that they are correct. Then, they will be able to restore prohibited areas and order people about. These conditions further explain that the ultraleftist poison cannot be underestimated in the literary and art world.

These interferences coming from the left are sharply revealed in the separation or the tendency in literature and art to serve the people and serve socialism from the double hundred policy. On the one hand, this disregards and negates the socialist direction of literature and art. On the other hand, it also isolates the double-hundred policy and misrepresents it as a thing that is classless, without ideological and political inclinations and that can be used by all classes. It is an extremely unsafe policy and if we are not careful it can lean toward the capitalist class. Because of this, they use various excuses to personally interfere:

For example, the four basic principles are the basic standpoint we have maintained over a long period of time. Yet, there are still people who oppose it to the double-hundred policy and say such things as "now we talk of the four upholds, we are unable to 'let go' again so we should 'accept'." In a discussion of "accepting," the voices censuring the double-hundred policy will be very loud.

There is also the view of commanding the double-hundred policy by "fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology" and raising "the struggle to continually pay attention to utilizing this policy to develop 'the fostering of proletarian ideology and the elimination of bourgeois ideology'" and only in this way "can we not lose direction when implementing the double-hundred policy." Whether or not the "fostering of proletarian ideology and the elimination of bourgeois ideology" can replace the socialist direction of literature and art is a question that needs continued discussion and study. Here, we should explain that firstly, literature and art have class character and also possesses its own special characteristics and patterns. This is reflected in the special characteristics and patterns of the creative works, which existed and developed long before the appearance of the capitalist and proletarian classes. After the dying out of classes in the future, as long as there is literature and art, they will still exist. This explains that there is a difference between the class nature of socialist literature and art and its own special characteristics and patterns. In the same way, the struggle between the proletarian and capitalist classes cannot be the same as the question of right and wrong of literature and art itself. The former cannot replace the function of the latter. Secondly, although the controversies and the disputes of the literature and art field includes the struggle of the two classes, yet it is not its total content. If the questions of form, style and schools could be freely discussed and freely compete all would be the site of "endless" class struggle and be completely brought into the proletarian struggle against the capitalist class. That is actually equivalent to abolishing free discussion and contention. Thirdly, when one part has mistakes, and goes so far as to be a seriously flawed work, if the reason arises from the author's understanding, it cannot be viewed as a manifestation of class struggle and it is not beneficial to use class struggle to handle it. It is necessary to put an end to the former malpractice of using class struggle to handle literature and art problems. It has been practically proven that that type of method can never deal heavy blows to the capitalist class or can never deal blows to it at all, but can only wrongly drag out ones own comrades to be ruthlessly criticized and struggled against, and lower the stick so that many will be "destroyed." Therefore, in bringing forth this problem, I feel that if the "using of the class struggle as the guiding principle" is continued, the double-hundred policy will exist in name only.

Another view is that we must think of implementing the double-hundred policy by "placing the task before us" and "drawing a clear boundary line with bourgeois liberalization." Our socialist literature and art must naturally clearly distinguished from bourgeois liberalization. The problem is that in the present situation in literature and art of "placing the task before us" we must clearly define what belongs to bourgeois liberalization or else who will do the demarcating! ["HUA" 0553--"transformation"] is change which shows a certain quantity of something transforming into a certain type of quality. Does the present literary and artistic world already have a certain quantity or "transformation" forming capitalist class things? If it does, we must certainly distinguish it clearly and if we cannot find these "transforming" things, should this policy be implemented? In view of the numerous past criticisms of bourgeois liberalization by the literary and art world and the nonexistence of authors and works with who suffer from the corrosive and degenerative influence of the capitalist class, the bitter lessons of those who "transformed" to the side of the capitalist class by means of a rod cannot be forgotten. Because of this, we should use reality as the starting point and seek truth from the facts on this question of demarcation. We cannot draw circles out of thin air and obstruct the pace of advance.

The ideological feeling of a small minority of works that have appeared are not sound enough and their sentiment is gloomy. They even go as far as to depict the vulgar and the effect on society is naturally bad. We should conscientiously deal with the problems that exist in these works, use the double-hundred policy to handle them correctly; using the method of free discussions and contention, carry out analysis, criticism and assistance and give them enthusiastic guidance. If the result of people criticizing certain works is bad, this is completely correct. Workers in literature and art should use a high sense of responsibility to seriously and conscientiously consider the effects of their own works on society and try harder to offer the best spiritual food to the people. Yet, there are people who grasp a hold on certain questions and do not let go to the point of exaggerating, seeing the nonessentials as the essentials and the part as the whole. Certain unstable factors and crimes in society are also blamed on literature and art to the point of considering them to be disastrous effects created by the implementation of the double-hundred policy. This type of behavior is obviously wrong.

Some comrades are full of worries about the double-hundred policy, are apprehensive about opening the flood gates and not being able to draw in, fear the appearance of differing views, fear they might make wrong comments and fear coming out with bad works. Because of this, they suggested that we enlarge the insurance coefficient of works, require works to take praise as their main principle and to only write about new people, new matters and new practices, and even make praise or exposure as the criteria for accepting or rejecting a work. They took a negative attitude toward works that touched upon negative and gloomy aspects. This type of mental condition of fearing this and fearing that is also not advantageous to the implementation of the double-hundred policy.

There are also some people who feel that the double-hundred policy is unreliable and not trustworthy. As a result, they often pay attention to the direction of the wind, try to find out the climate, try to find out leadership intentions, chime in and curry favor, turn their boats according to the wind and cast aside formal decisions of the Party Central Committee and do things based on hearsay. They sometimes want to "let go" and sometimes want to "accept." They can even praise as good the same work but as soon as events change they let out with a flood of curses. This type of vacillating, unsteady and changeable behavior is really a bit like the actions of many opportunistic scholars. In this type of troubled situation where hearsay has a market, some people often grasp a few words to suit their own intentions and add inflamatory details, exaggerate their works and indulge in unbridled propaganda so as to disturb and confuse the public. They even stir up trouble and create a "little climate." This kind of evil work style runs totally counter to the party's ideological line and also shows a lack of faith in the party's direction and policies.

The lack of understanding, inadequate faith and opposing behavior towards the double-hundred policy mentioned above has these common points: to negate the double-hundred policy is to resolutely adhere to serving the people and to serving socialism but not to see this policy as a firm class policy of the proletariat, a basic long-term policy to develop the socialist literature and art, and a scientific policy that is formulated according to the law of the unity of opposites. The dialectical materialist world view first and foremost demands that we see the objective world as a material world that constantly develops through the movement of self-contradiction. Our methodology then is to use this type of world view to observe things, analyze problems and guide work. The law of the unity of opposites is the essence and core of dialectical materialism and is also the powerful ideological weapon used by the proletariat for understanding the world and transforming the world. The double-hundred policy is the concrete application of this basic law to ideology and culture. Because new and old, correct and wrong all have the relationship of unity of opposites, they depend on each other for existence, exist through comparison with each other and develop through mutual struggle. Any correct thing always develops by struggling with a wrong thing. Marxism also develops by struggling with non-Marxism and anti-Marxism. Moreover, only after struggle can a thing develop. It is just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "This type of struggle can never be finished. This is the law of the development of truth and naturally is the law of the development of Marxism." Because of this, the double-hundred policy is essentially the struggle of developing opposites and is a policy that helps objects to move in a direction that benefits socialism. If we fear exposing contradictions and fear struggling with wrong and negative things, this is also equivalent to stripping the double-hundred policy of its essence. This is not helping contradictions to transform themselves through struggle for the benefit of socialism, but retareating in defeat in the face of wrong and antagonistic things, compromising and getting along, and allowing them to spread unchecked. The problem is that some people use this type of compromising attitude of evading the struggle of contradictions to censure the double-hundred policy. Isn't such "letting off" and giving the green light to wrong things completely ridiculous?

Wrong and even opposite things exist objectively and since they exist, they seek an opportunity to manifest themselves. In the process of implementing the double-hundred policy, letting out many wrong things should be viewed as a normal phenomenon. It is not a problem for us to fear but of how to more conscientiously apply the double-hundred policy, to firmly grasp the driving power of the struggle and to enthusiastically and effectively struggle with them. This demands that, on the one hand, we let go. Resolutely letting go includes letting go of certain wrong things. On the other hand, it demands that we struggle, and resolute struggle naturally requires struggle with those wrong, harmful things. If we only let go and don't struggle we will certainly help wrong things to spread unchecked and bring about the danger of bourgeois liberalization. By both letting go and struggling and enthusiastically guiding the great masses to participate in this type of struggle we bring the people into contact with the wrong and negative things. By having discussion and criticism, recognizing their nature and harm, and undergoing training, we can raise ideological consciousness and strengthen immunity to these wrong and negative things. This is effectively transforming disadvantages into advantages and is the dialectical method of the mutual relationship of the correct and wrong. Furthermore, by implementing the double-hundred policy, enthusiastically supporting the growth of new objects and weakening and speeding up the elimination of old objects, we constantly develop and expand the strength of socialism and strengthen and consolidate the leading position of Marxism in the areas of ideology and culture. This causes the proletariat to vanquish the capitalist class and the thinking of all exploiting classes in the realm of ideology. At the same time, this will necessarily greatly advance the flourishing of socialist literature and art, further help the broad masses of literary and art workers to establish the Marxist world outlook and completely arouse our enthusiasm and creativity to serve the people and serve socialism.

The ideological and political line of the Party Central Committee is firm and unshakable and its determination to implement the double-hundred policy is unswerving. At present, it can be said that the outcome is a foregone conclusion and each of our literary and art figures must believe in the party line and the resolution of the Central Committee, uphold the four basic principles, eliminate misgivings and follow the party's direction and policies on literature and art so as to quickly forge ahead. Because we necessarily will encounter new problems, new difficulties, interference and obstruction when forging ahead, we should be completely prepared mentally and must face up to the test of struggle. Yet, no matter how much difficulty and how many setbacks we encounter, under no circumstances can we retreat one step. Because we use fighting troops armed with Marxism and Mao Zedong thought we should clearly place ourselves in an offensive position and enthusiastically praise new people and new things that benefit socialism, benefit the people and benefit the four modernizations. We must also dare to criticize those old things, bureaucracy, the "special privilege" mentality, anarchism, extreme egoism and all things that run counter to socialism. We should have the courage to touch on the dark and negative side of real life and we have the power to force them to change for the good and transform the negative elements into positive elements. This accords with the interests of the party and the people and is loyal to socialist work. It is also where the force of revolutionary literature and art propelling socialist history forward lies.

The double-hundred policy reflects the world view and methodology of the proletariat and we should earnestly study and consciously increase our use of it. Its socialist orientation is firm and unshakable and its fighting power cannot be discredited. By penetrating through the shortsighted ridicule and the various accusations imposed on the double-hundred policy, we can see its strong vitality. It is just like a gentle breeze and mild rain urging on spring and urging fresh flowers to compete in a riot of colors throughout the vast lands of the motherland.

9480R
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

GUANGXI MINORITY NATIONALITY CADRES--Guangxi region now has some 170,000 minority nationality cadres, 5.8 times more than in the preliminary period of liberation. Of these, some 18,000 have been promoted to leadership posts at all levels, accounting for 24.7 percent of the number of cadres at the same level. Some 52.4 percent of the secretaries of 32 county and municipal CCP committees are minority nationality cadres. [Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 5 Oct 80 HK]

ZHUHAI PUBLIC TRIAL--The Zhuhai Municipal Intermediate People's Court held a public trial on 6 October and sentenced (Zhang Xuxian) of the Zhuhai Municipal Aquatic Products Purchase and Supply Company to life imprisonment for practicing corruption. (Zhang) had obtained 220,000 yuan by deception during his service in the Aquatic Products Purchase and Supply Company as a cashier. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 7 Oct 80 HK]

GUANGXI CHEMICAL INDUSTRY--Between January and August this year, the Guangxi chemical industrial front fulfilled 74.92 percent of the chemical industry quota for 1980 and earned profits of 13.36 million yuan. [Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 3 Oct 80 HK]

SHANGHAI TEA PARTY--Shanghai, 17 Oct (XINHUA)--The double ninth festival--the 9th day of the 9th lunar month in China--falls on 17 October. On this day, more than 30 former Kuomintang military and government personnel in Shanghai as well as Taiwain Kuomintang military and government personnel's relatives in Shanghai happily came to the Shanghai mansion (formerly known as the broadway mansion) by the Huangpujiang River and held the double ninth festival tea party. The tea party was presided over by Zhao Zukang, Shanghai municipal vice mayor, chairman of the Shanghai municipal committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and former acting Shanghai mayor of the Kuomintang. Zhang Xiuqing, sister of Zhang Qiyan, member of the Taiwan Kuomintang Central Committee Standing Committee, and Sun Mingjiu, councillor of the Shanghai municipal people's government office of councillor and former garrison battalion commander under General Zhang Xueliang, spoke. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1705 GMT 17 Oct 80 OW]

XIZANG VISITING DELEGATION--After attending the national day celebrations in Beijing and visiting various parts of northeast China, a 44-member delegation formed by minority nationalities in Xizang Autonomous Region arrived in Nanjing Municipality on 15 October by train. Returning on the same train was the national minority delegation of Jiangsu Province to the national day celebrations in Beijing. The delegation from Xizang will also visit Changzhou, Wuxi and Yangzhou cities. The delegation's visit will definitely play an effective role in strengthening the unity among various nationalities, promoting the friendship between the people of Xizang and Jiangsu, and exchanging experience on industrial and agricultural production. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

'BA YI RADIO' URGES ZHANG AIPING TO OPPOSE 'ERRONEOUS LINE'

OW190515 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 18 Oct 80

[Text] It was quite unusual that Comrade Xu Xiangqian was relieved from his vice premiership. In the past, our country's defense minister was also a vice premier. Serving concurrently as vice premier, a defense minister possessed great power. Why was Xu Xiangqian relieved from his post as vice premier and his power reduced? A large number of commanders and fighters in our army have raised different opinions over this question.

Although Comrade Zhang Aiping has been appointed vice premier, he has yet to independently handle any question related to his position and exercise his power as a vice premier. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has resigned from his vice premiership and retained only the position of vice chairman of the party, but his patriarchal style has remained unchanged, continuing to exert pressure on the army and the government and repeatedly interfering with Vice Premier Zhang Aiping's work. Undoubtedly, Deng Xiaoping's actions are aimed at undermining the position of the army leaders, weakening their power and obstructing their participation in discussion and deciding on important national political and economic questions.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's assertion that the army should return to the barracks and engage only in military training and should not interfere in political and economic affairs is completely erroneous. His criticism of the army's interference in party and government work during the Cultural Revolution is also unfair. The army's involvement with the Cultural Revolution and its interference in the party and government was carried out in accordance with the instruction from the chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee. Therefore, the responsibility should rest upon the "great commander" and should not be diverted to cadres at all levels in the army. It is absolutely impermissible to take revenge on the army leaders and corrupt their prestige in order to give vent to personal spite.

As the people's public servants, representatives of the army have the right to present their opinions on party and government work and safeguard the people's interests. Particularly senior leading comrades assuming important posts should be given the opportunity to take part in studying and solving important national political and economic questions. We earnestly hope that as a vice premier, Comrade Zhang Aiping will actively and firmly exercise his power and use his position in the party and the army in order to serve our party, our army and the people of our motherland.

All the army commanders and fighters firmly believe that with his qualifications, service record, ability and moral character, Comrade Zhang Aiping will be fully competent in his job as vice premier. The whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country still clearly remember that Comrade Zhang Aiping was an old comrade in arms of Comrade Peng Dehuai. During the 1959 Lushan conference, Comrade Zhang Aiping, together with Comrades Zhang Wentian, Huang Kecheng and (Zhu Shouzhou), resolutely supported Chief of General Staff Peng's heroic struggle against the erroneous line. The whole party, whole army and people of the whole country highly evaluated Comrade Zhang Aiping's daring spirit in disregarding his personal safety and detested the "gang of four" and (?their followers) who had persecuted Comrade Zhang Aiping for a long time because of his daring spirit.

Now the people hope that Comrade Zhang Aiping will inherit and carry forward the heroic spirit of Chief of General Staff Peng in daring to safeguard the people's freedom and the vital interests of the country and people. It is hoped that Comrade Zhang Aiping will live up to the expectation, trust and support of the whole party, whole army and people of the whole country and, following the example of esteemed and beloved Chief of General Staff Peng, dare to wage a tit for tat struggle against erroneous lines and policies. We must bear in mind a motto of Comrade Peng Dehuai: If one is afraid to die, he should not become a communist. Even a person (?as old as I am) should dare to make criticism.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI RADIO'COMMENTS ON OUTDATED MILITARY EQUIPMENT

OW210354 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 20 Oct 80

[Text] Judging from a study and discussion of the documents of the third session of the NPC, there is a more democratic atmosphere within the PLA than there used to be. Aside from paraphrasing such stereotyped words as "support," "endorse," etc., many comrades dared to express disapproval or to sharply criticize the documents. A majority of comrades held that the policy of reducing army manpower resources and concentrating all financial and manpower resources on improving military equipment and on studying and manufacturing new weapons with a reduced military budget of 2.94 billion yuan is feasible. Quite a few comrades, especially PLA leading comrades, held that Vice Chairman Deng's call for shifting the focus of our work henceforth to economic construction is above criticism but that we should by no means relax our efforts to modernize the army and national defense.

There is still a long way to go before our army can reach modernization. The month-long Sino-Vietnamese war proves that our country's weaponry and equipment cannot basically meet the demands of modern warfare. As we enter the 1980's today, an overwhelming majority of our troops is still using the 1956 submachineguns, 1958 semiautomatic rifles and light machineguns, 1957 heavy machineguns and 1969 antitank rocket launchers. During the war with Vietnam, some troops even used the 1956 bazookas. A small number of troops is even equipped with the already outmoded 1071mm rocket guns [as heard] and ground-to-ground guided missiles. There is only a limited number of the imported Sidewinder guided missiles and [word indistinct] guided rockets, which can only be used in military training and cannot meet the demands of an actual war.

A certain person in the (?central authorities) has fervently advocated importing modern weaponry and equipment. However, some comrades, in particular leading comrades of the PLA air force and 2d artillery units, have pointed out that it will be impossible to use the new policy on army building to modernize the PLA in the near future. No matter how much modern weaponry and technology we import from foreign countries, we still cannot solve the problem fundamentally. In light of our past experiences, the most urgent task now is to train military cadres to be proficient in their specialized fields and to raise the cultural standards of the commanders and fighters in general. This is the correct viewpoint.

The conscription system, which has been started this year to enlist mainly urban young people, still cannot solve the problem, because, first of all, at the cultural level of a primary or secondary school graduate, most urban young people are incapable of mastering modern [word indistinct] and military training and, secondly, a large number of urban young people have been deprived of schooling and have been unemployed since they became teenagers, which has naturally affected their thinking and style. In view of these two reasons, urban youth are not necessarily better than country youth.

Therefore, in modernizing the PLA, we should not import advanced weaponry and equipment and electronic technology, as advocated by the certain person, but should first train the PLA commanders and fighters with the culture and professional skills needed for studying modern technology. However, according to the new education budget, the per capita education expenditure is merely 2.7 yuan, the lowest figure among all the countries in the world. Next year, the institutes of higher learning in the country will accept only 270,000 students, the same as last year. May we ask where military cadres with professional knowledge are going to come from? The military academies in our country can only satisfy 30 percent of the military technical cadres needed for the next decade. Even if in the next decade, from now on till that certain person dies, we import a large quantity of the most advanced radar and radio equipment and electronic military technology, will we have sufficient proficient technical cadres to operate these weapons and effectively use them in an actual war? Therefore, we should give the question of modernizing the PLA further thought and discuss it later. We should set up a special committee in which cadres from all circles would participate to carefully study and formulate an effective and feasible plan. For this reason, (?no matter who has brought up) the new policy on army building, it should be revised and corrected.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

SHANGHAI THEFT CASE--An investigation team of the local Hongkou public security subbureau on 7 October helped a local PLA unit crack a criminal case of theft of 2 pistols and more than 500 bullets. The thief, (Du Yuanguo), who is a metal worker of the Shanghai battery plant and son of a former section head of this PLA unit, has been arrested and tried. The stolen weapons have been recovered. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

CONTENTION OF DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT DISCUSSED

Anhui ANHUI WENXUE [ANHUI LITERATURE] in Chinese No 4, 1980 pp 74-76

[Article by Lin Hanbiao [2651 3211 5903]: "How to Protest"]

[Text] In an article on the topic "Speaking of 'How to Let A Hundred Schools of Thought Contend'" by Comrade Liu Jin [0495 6855] carried in WEN HUI BAO 26 February, it was mentioned: "How do a hundred schools of thought contend? It is not necessary to be perplexed or to question it. Just go all out and feel relieved to contend and to speak out." This is a very good idea.

However, even though the reason is obvious, and we have drawn benefits from the practice of letting a hundred schools of thought contend, yet it is not to say that the issue of "how to let a hundred schools of thought contend" will go off without a hitch, or it will no longer be perplexing, or it should not be questioned further. The real situation is: The atmosphere of letting a hundred schools of thought contend has yet to be shaped, and it needs protection from all of us. To go all out without any inhibitions or to feel relieved to air or to contend one's thoughts is an ideal which has not been totally realized at present.

In order to implement the principle of letting a hundred schools of thought contend, it is indeed necessary to further expel the interferences from both the "left" and the right.

It is absolutely not a "commonplace" to speak in this way.

Let's first refer to the interference from the right since we are always anti-right.

We do not intend to discuss the so-called "to speak out" which the hostile elements utilized to do damages to the four fundamental principles because it does not fall under the category of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend." Basically they are not entitled to be called a "school." The words and deeds of the hostile elements have only to be banned. This is another issue which may be studied separately. The interference from the right which is mentioned here is mainly directed at the rightist manifestation and interference in ideological lines. I understand that either the "left" or the right are that of the political or ideological lines. At present, what is the rightist manifestation which prevents a hundred schools of thought from contending?

I think the principal manifestation lies in the fact that the remaining organizational and ideological capacities of the "gang of four" have been somewhat underestimated, and that some of our comrades lack Marxist vigilance toward the organizational and ideological remnants of the "gang of four," which pretends to be a "school" to abruptly contend with others. To a certain extent, some of our comrades are soft or have a rightist sentiment regarding them. In letting a hundred schools of thought contend, some of our comrades are indifferent to struggles among the ideological lines, or they do not enthusiastically support straight pointing out of the essence of the divergence of ideological lines and contention for speaking out their opinions in order to bring about a settlement of the issues which involve ideological lines (for instance, the problem of the attitude toward the principles adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee). It is intended to attenuate problems with regard to the nature of ideological lines by terming it so-called "protecting the thought of a school" to relax the struggle against the organizational and ideological remnants of the "gang of four." It is a rightist sentiment not to completely smash the counterrevolutionary ideological system (including the counterrevolutionary ideological system of literature and art) of the "gang of four." Such a kind of rightist sentiment has protected the counterrevolutionary ultra-left ideological system of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and has let off a thorough remolding of the remaining organizational and ideological capacities of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The movement to ferret out the factionalist setup of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has been successfully carried out. Many people who have committed errors have been corrected and redeemed. Comrades who have shown real signs of repentance are, in accordance with our policies, allowed to correct their mistakes and to perform meritorious services to atone for their crimes in implementing the "four modernizations." However, it is absolutely not permissible to unilaterally think that the organizational and ideological remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" no longer have any capacity or that their counterrevolutionary ideological system has already been totally smashed. If the capacity of these remnants is underestimated, a mistake is sure to be made. This is exactly a rightist manifestation. Remnants of this kind should not be regarded as a "school." Their "contending" by launching attacks and mud-slingings on the achievements of our efforts in bringing order out of chaos over the past three years should not be "protected" as "the thought of a school." It is allowing them to do damage to socialism and to the very good situation of stability and unity if such a "thought of a shcool" is "protected." In the world of literature and art, isn't it true that there are still individual remnants of the "gang of four" who confuse truth and falsehood in ideological lines in the name of "contending," or even reverse verdicts? Isn't it true that there are still individuals who raise shouts such as "I do not quite understand whether you are in favor of revisionism at present," or "you are a national literary prostitute?" On this, is it possible that we do not differentiate right from wrong, or that we become soft on them and deviate toward the right?

We now turn to the interference from the ultra-left.

Generally speaking, the interference from the ultra-left is the fear of voicing different views. Fear of voicing different views is to say that there is fear of problems coming out. The time when the people were not allowed to speak out has gone forever. At present, the problems of some comrades in interpreting and treating the issue of letting a hundred schools of thought contend lie in the fact that they do not keep the stand of the proletarian class, or do not keep in line with the Marxist discourse of Comrade Mao Zedong regarding the principle of "dual hundred," but keep the stand of the petty bourgeoisie which is vacillating, advocating one thing today and another tomorrow, looking forwards and backwards, sometimes left and sometimes right, worrying about gains and losses. They may at once jump from the right to the ultra-left, or from their unconcern about struggles among ideological lines in contending for speaking out different opinions to "all views aired must come out from the right." They advocate "limited voicing" or that contending for speaking out different opinions should be relaxed one moment and brought to an end the next," etc, because they refrain from doing something necessary for fear of a slight risk. The fear of voicing different opinions is the professed love of what one really fears. One is anxious when no opinion is aired, but wants to "stop" it when different opinions come out. "To relax at one time and to stop the next" is to distort the principle of the "dual hundred," and, therefore, how can different views be aired or contended? The mistakes of these comrades lie in the fact that they always subjectively, oversensitively, or mistakenly estimate the situation, make groundless accusations, and fail to believe in the leadership of the party and the strength of Marxism. Someone says that the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is for a "relaxation" and the four principles are for a "stop." This is a total distortion! The four principles asked in the first place for adherence to socialism. Isn't adhering to socialism a "stop?" Isn't it true that we are utilizing "stop" to adhere to socialism? This is indeed sheer nonsense of the ultra-left. It is totally incorrect to advance the interpretation that the principles of the party are unstable by saying that they switch all of a sudden from the "left" to the "right," or from "relaxation" to "stop." This is to force the wavering ideology of the petty boureoisie on the principles of the party, and basically this is a dangerous ultra-left ideological tend. Failure to resist the ultra-left interference of this kind will lead letting a hundred schools of thought contend to stagnation at a point of "how to contend." The source of the fear of speaking out different opinions rests with the narrow mind, the wavering, and the "left-wing" infantile disorder of the small producers, and among them is the pernicious influence of the feudal fascism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Only in a struggle to uninterruptedly expel the interferences from both the "left" and the right can we go all out and feel relieved to carry out a real contending and a real voicing.

Letting a hundred schools of thought contend which we uphold is now in the ascendant. It is still necessary to raise it to a corresponding scientific level and to a condition where democracy can be fully developed. In the history of our motherland, there were splendid times such as the period from pre-Qin times to the early years of the Han Dynasty during which the various schools of thought and their exponents were prevalent, and other periods such as the one immediately following the "May Fourth Movement" during which the various schools of thought emerged. Among these schools, there were indeed incompetent ones. However, each of the schools cared about its own scientific level, and those who had high aspirations tried untiringly to found thought of their own until demise in contending with others. Nowadays, the various schools themselves are very humble, and thus they always use self-depreciatory expressions such as "do not regard it as the thought of a school." Humility, of course, is a virtue, but it is absolutely not advisable to be always satisfied with mediocre theory. We must raise both the level of Marxism-Leninism and the level of professional theory of our own. We must set up high aims and lofty aspirations to become an out and out school in contending with others. At meetings, one is sure to say that it is always harping on the same "old tune." He depends on the reputation he built up decades ago for support. He is not eager to make progress, but tends to please the public with claptrap. This is far removed from letting a hundred schools of thought contend. Practice as the sole criterion for testing truth must be used to measure what is speaking out by oneself and to raise the level of what has been said. To fully develop democracy is to say that on the one hand, one has to speak out freely without any inhibitions, to speak in a rational and convincing way, and to seek truth from facts, and on the other hand, it is necessary to carefully listen to different opinions from different schools, to learn from others' strong points in order to abandon one's own weak points, to respect different schools of thought, to carefully avoid envy at the achievements of others, and not to foster evil trends. To develop democracy is to develop a socialist democracy which in the first place needs to follow thenew morality of socialism. To lay emphasis on this point is necessary because in the past few years the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" has not yet been cleared away. Someone who has been profoundly indoctrinated speaks only on the basis of his own individual democracy in contending with others without respecting their democratic rights. Some even give themselves the airs of heroes by hurling insults at others. Is there the least bit of socialist morality in it? Can this be termed letting a hundred schools of thought contend? There are still other evil trends in which they use dirty tricks to start a rumor behind others' backs, to attack others in person, or to incriminate somebody politically. It is important to combat bludgeoning, framing a case against somebody, or seizing on somebody's mistakes or shortcomings, yet it is also necessary to add the following: Be resolute to expose and to puncture hooliganism, which is one of the manifestations of anarchism in letting a hundred schools of thought contend! It can be illustrated by only a few examples: There are people who never speak or write, nor are they courageous enough to participate in a debate, yet they are inclined to hide themselves in dark corners to attack contending for voicing different opinions. They even look upon others as "Khrushchev" and blame others "not on good terms with the aged every day" in a purely fictitious way in order to put others to rout; also, there are people who are unable to come up with any convincing argument. As a result, they fly into a rage out of shame, engage in little tricks, spread fantastic fabrications based on hearsay, make oblique accusations, foment discord, or even face others with drowning brows and angry eyes, or pick a quarrel to make trouble and claim that they will "retaliate." In order to protect letting a hundred schools of thought contend, it is necessary to expose and criticize such hooliganism! So far as I know, some of the people among them were the most effective writers in the years the "gang of four" was in power. They go all out to act indecently and interfere with letting a hundred schools of thought contend because they do not resign themselves to the loss of their "heaven." They want to wage a class retaliation. Therefore, this is not a fear of voicing different opinions, but a tactic which resembles theone employed by the rogues in the old society to pack bullets in envelopes for threatening others. Then, which vocabulary can best be used to describe it? I recall the "bat for deflating arrogance" as depicted in "All Men Are Brothers" and tentatively call it "killing the voice!"

9560
CSO: 40u5

NEI MONGGOL CONVENES DISCUSSION ON TEACHER SHORTAGE

SK241100 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Oct 80

[Text] According to our reporter (Wu Xiannian) and NEI MONGGOL RIBAO reporter (Liu Shanhua), the autonomous regional leading departments concerned and responsible persons from various higher educational institutions recently held a forum to earnestly and painstakingly analyze and discuss the current teacher shortage, low teacher quality and the teachers' professional spirit in higher educational institutions throughout the region. The forum also formulated concrete measures for strengthening teacher contingent building and quickly raising the quality of teachers.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," regional higher education has been restored and developed at a good pace. In addition to the 9 existing schools, we have reopened 2 former schools and built 3 new ones, bringing the total number of institutions of higher learning in our region to 14. A total of 13,400 students are studying in these schools. There are 3,594 higher education faculty members, of which 1,655 or 44 percent are instructors or professors.

Regional higher education suffered serious setbacks during the 10-year turmoil. The teachers contingent had been subject to ruthless attacks. Some teachers were forced to change their profession, while a fairly large number of teachers--among them many backbone--were transferred from the region. The teachers contingent as a whole has become aged, and there are not enough younger teachers to succeed the aged. The education of the younger teachers is poor, and they need further studies. Some schools set up a department and enrolled students only to find that they did not have the teachers for that department. Many schools are unable to teach basic courses--general or specialized. Because of the shortcomings in our work and other practical matters such as poor working and living conditions and low pay, some 20 or 30 percent of the backbone higher education teachers in our region are requesting transfers.

In confronting these problems, the autonomous regional departments concerned held that major tasks for achieving success in our regional higher education must be to achieve success in building a teacher contingent. The forum decided to add 2,000 teachers at the higher educational institutions throughout the region by 1985 in order to meet the needs of teaching tasks for the 30,000 college students throughout the region. The average number of teachers to be added each year is 400.

To fulfill these tasks, the forum urged that efforts should be made to do a good job in selecting promising teacher successors. From now on, various higher educational institutions should choose a number of outstanding students to undergo training for a specific field so as to ameliorate the shortage of college teachers. In particular, attention should be paid to training minority teachers who are proficient in both Mandarin and Mongolian. Beginning in 1981, some higher educational institutions should open 2-year graduate classes or teacher training classes. In coordination with departments concerned, efforts should be made to select a number of outstanding regional students and research fellows who have taken uniform national examinations at colleges and universities outside the region over the past several years and persuade them to become teachers in our regional higher educational institutions following their graduation.

In building the teachers contingent, it is necessary to pay attention to the following tasks: 1) to train experts in a specific course. 2) to raise the professional level of younger teachers. In training experts in a specific course, efforts should be made to discover talented people who are in the prime of life, have scored achievements in work and are conscientious and resourceful. All selected experts in various fields throughout the region should be supplied with assistants and appropriated special funds every year to purchase teaching and research material. Every higher educational institution should adopt measures to enthusiastically train the younger teachers who had graduated from schools during the Great Cultural Revolution and to raise their level of knowledge.

We need to do a lot of work to build and preserve a teachers contingent that is both red and expert. We need to continue to criticize the pernicious influence of the left-deviationist ideology, to implement the party's policy toward intellectuals and to strengthen the ideological-political work. In addition, we should have complete trust in the teachers and harbor no political prejudice against them. Furthermore, we should respect their work and allow them to display their ability.

Middle-aged and young backbone teachers account for more than 80 percent of the total number of higher education teachers. A major problem facing them is that they have too much teaching and research work but receive pay that is inadequate to support their families. We need to improve their working and living conditions and give them appropriate subsidies. At the same time, we need to do a good job in collective welfare to reduce their household chores and enable them to concentrate their time and energy on teaching and on training more capable people for the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005

HUNAN INCREASES EDUCATIONAL BUDGET, ALLOCATIONS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Text] According to Xinhua News Agency correspondent Liu Shixun [0491 6108 6064], the majority of the perfectures, municipalities and counties in Hunan Province, conscious of the need to invest in the development of talented persons, have increased the budget for education as from this year. Up to the present, aside from the increased allocations by the provincial government, 80 out of the 117 prefectures, municipalities and counties in the province have increased their education budgets by over 5.3 million yuan.

Like other provinces, Hunan has had a large deficit in the budget for education over many years. This year is no exception. In order to turn this situation around and to restore and develop educational projects, the Hunan people's government has decided to increase the educational budget by 53.2 million yuan, to be contributed by the local prefectural, municipal and county governments on top of the amount allocated by the state. Because of the lead taken by the provincial government, many prefectural, municipal and county governments have taken an interest in developing educational projects. In the Lingling area, where local revenue resources are limited, not one county has reduced the budget for public education or for basic allocations for education. On the contrary, it has increased the education budget by 450,000 yuan from local financial resources. According to stipulations previously made by the state, each county is to allocate 25 percent of the farm surtax for the development of educational projects each year. However, this has not been done for a number of years. Since the beginning of this year, however, the situation has taken a turn for the better. Up to the present, 14 counties (municipalities) have allocated the full amount to education. Sixty-three of the counties (municipalities) have allocated part of the amount to educational projects.

Earlier this year, seven counties, municipalities and prefectures in the Changde area had reduced allocations for educational projects by 710,000 yuan. Since April and May, such local government units as Changde City, Anxiang, Hanshou, Cili, Lixian County and Changde County have not only restored the entire amount to educational projects, but have increased the education budget by over 560,000 yuan from local financial resources. The various counties in the Hengyang area, which had previously reduced the education budget by 2.6 million yuan, have restored a large part of the amount to educational projects since April and May.

9621
CSO: 4005

EDUCATOR CALLS FOR LEGISLATION ON EDUCATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Article by Wu Fusheng [0702 4395 3932] of the Central Institute of Educational Sciences: "Education Needs Legislation"]

[Text] Many countries in the world attach great importance to the work of legislation on education. In the past several decades, many countries have speeded up the work of legislation on education in order to facilitate unified control and to coordinate educational development. In this respect, the United States is an outstanding example. In the past 100 years (1965-1965), the United States Congress passed a total of 47 important pieces of legislation on education. Among that total, over half (30 acts) were passed between 1958 and 1965, including the "National Defense Education Act" (1958), the "Trade Education Act" (1961), the "Higher Education Facilities Act" (1963), the "Elementary and Secondary Education Act" (1965) and the "Normal Education Act" (1961), etc. Among socialist countries, the Grand National Assembly of Romania passed the "Education Act of the Socialist Republic of Romania" in December, 1978. Yugoslavia promulgated the "United Labor Act" in 1974, giving autonomous power to educational institutions. All socialist countries and autonomous provinces have, according to the provisions of their constitutions, legislated a long list of education acts, including the Preschool Education Act, the Elementary School Education Act, and the Middle School and Higher Education Act. Educational undertakings are placed in the hands of the people themselves according to the law.

Many countries are also very interested in research on education legislation. For example, the Max Planck Institute of Education in West Germany has placed "education legislation" among its important areas of research. In 1962, the Intermediate Education Act was promulgated by Switzerland after a research and trial period of 20 years. West Germany has published "The Study of School Legislation," a book which deals with the legal basis for the education system.

In the interest of educational development, we, too, should greatly strengthen our work in education legislation. In the 1960's we adopted certain temporary working provisions for colleges, middle schools and primary schools on a trial basis. Because these provisions were an accurate reflection of the objective educational discipline at the time, the educational standard was raised both qualitatively and quantitatively and educational development proceeded apace. After the "gang of four" was smashed to pieces, we reactivated the temporary working provisions for colleges, middle schools and primary schools, restored the system of examinations for applicants to institutions of higher learning, and set up uniform regulations for middle school and primary school students. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress has also adopted a resolution for the awarding of academic degrees. We have already done some work in education legislation and have chalked up some experience in that area. However, in order to further strengthen and improve upon the party's leadership in the work of education, to further develop our educational activities according to our plans and priorities, and to elevate education both qualitatively and quantitatively, we should, on the basis of our positive and negative experiences since the establishment of the republic and the existing circumstances of our country, make further efforts in the field of education legislation. Our educational system needs legislation. The structure and the duties of various schools on various levels need legislation. Preschool education, compulsory education, adult education, and education for the national minorities all need legislation. The position of teachers, their duties and responsibilities, their grading and their promotion also need legislation. In short, we need legislation on education if we are to greatly expedite the development of education.

9621
CSO: 4005

WARNING ABOUT BACKWARDNESS OF EDUCATION IN GUANGDONG

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by staff reporter: "All Levels of Society Should Work Together To Improve Education in Guangdong"]

[Text] Education has a dominant position in our province. However, the actual situation is as follows: compared to many other provinces, our educational system is backward; compared to the situation prior to the Cultural Revolution, we have regressed in several areas. At the recently concluded Provincial Education Work Conference, several experienced education workers and experts sincerely said: It has been 30 years since the revolution, but we still do not even have universal elementary education, and the quality of education in both middle and elementary schools is very low. The present situation concerning the four modernizations has put pressure on the people. If we once again fail to make loud appeals and improve education, then the four modernizations will be held back, and we will have to be responsible to history. Not only will we have done a disservice to the elders of the entire province, but we also will have no way of justifying our actions to the coming generations!

Why has education fallen behind? Some comrades say that the horror wrought by the ultra leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" no doubt had a great effect. However, we should now look for more subjective reasons. Most important are: several leading comrades are not familiar enough with the important place of education and its effect on the four modernizations. They do not give education its proper place, nor do they consider it important. Liu Tie [0491 6993], the deputy secretary of the Zhanjiang Prefectural Party Committee, has said that the handling of education is very important. At present, the problem is not that the masses do not understand enough, but that the leaders' understanding is more backward than that of the masses. Several comrades from the Hainan administration area feel that the masses, although very poor, still understand the importance of education, are enthusiastic about running schools, and will use every possible means to send their children to school. Some comrades say that the relationship between education and economics was originally very simple and clear. However, for a long period these problems have not been resolved, or it is said they have not been really resolved. Now it is a matter of the top and lower levels showing interest, while those in the middle turn a cold shoulder. Some local party committees for long periods have no one responsible for education. When the party committee assigns work, everyone fights for industry, communication, and commerce and no one wants to work in education. Prior to the Cultural Revolution, local and county party committees each had a secretary of culture and education, and communes had an assistant for culture and education. Presently, granted that people are assigned by local party committees to handle education, in reality it is in name only, with few people really doing anything. Why isn't education given its proper position? Xiao Yaotang [5135 5069 1016], deputy administrative commissioner of the Huiyang administrative office, made an analysis of this problem. He felt that one reason is that the time it takes to develop qualified people is very long, unlike the ease in industrial and agricultural production, where quick results can be seen. It is easy to neglect education and look on it as a "soft job." After all, if it is not handled well, it won't kill anyone. The second reason is that the development of qualified people through education has proceeded from the overall situation of the country, uniformly distributed according to national needs. This locality or county would not necessarily immediately see any advantage--unlike the distribution of reinforced bars or cement, more practical items. Thirdly, objectively speaking, the development of the economy has not been balanced. There are still many places where it has been temporarily impossible to bring the effects of modern scientific techniques into play, and where the urgent feeling for developing qualified people was never realized. He said that these were all examples of a lack of vision. Along with development of economic construction and active foreign economic exchange, the need for qualified people will become more and more prominent in the future. If we once again fail to grasp the important task of tapping this natural resource of intelligence, then it will be too late for regrets! Many comrades list facts which show clearly that the problem concerning the lack of qualified people is already extremely pressing. Raoping County, with a population of over 700,000 people, is unable to find anyone who is capable of repairing television sets. Yangshan County not only had difficulty disseminating advanced scientific technology in agriculture, but was also hard pressed to find vehicle drivers and tractor drivers. One commune set up a small hydroelectric power station, but it had no one who could operate the machinery. All they could do was to send someone to learn, like digging a well after you are thirsty. Everyone felt that the question of changing the backward face of education in this province and the problem of increasing the speed of developing qualified people had already reached a point where it had to be resolved.

How can we turn around the present backward situation of education in the province? Of all the numerous projects, the most important is to strengthen and improve the leadership of the party in regard to education work. Huang Dafang [7806 1129 0119], deputy director of the Hainan administrative office, and Li Lingbing [2621 0407 0393], deputy secretary of the Shaoguan Prefectural Party Committee, have both said that education should be on the important agenda at all levels of the party committee, with the number one man being responsible for education. This is a key point. Wang Deliang, [3076 1795 0081], assistant principal of Huanan Teachers Institute, Prof Yan Yongguang [0917 3057 2515], of the Guangdong Education and Administration Institute, and other experts in educational circles all feel that a good shock is urgently needed now, but first it should come from all levels of the party committee. Leadership in education definitely may not stop at just making appeals, and it cannot be satisfied by making decisions or issuing documents. We must plant our feet on solid ground, make comprehensive plans, take strong action, and make everything workable. Comrades have put forth many good examples of this type. For the past several years the Qionghai County Party Committee has added education to its agenda, and the top man has taken up the matter of education personally. In addition to assigning responsibility for education to a standing committee, everyone from the "members" of the Party committee are concerned with education, helping to solve practical problems. This has spurred on all communes and professions throughout the county. County local financial authority and the commune brigade collective economy appropriated funds for education. Finance and economic departments have supplied materials needed by the schools. Commune brigade and party organizations have mobilized children of school age to enter schools, and the mass commune members have made respect for teachers a common practice. As a result, the cause of education is thriving in the county, making it one of the most advanced counties in universal elementary education in this province. The Lechang County Party Committee, also due to a "squad" which paid serious attention to education, strengthened leadership and especially assigned former teachers to the standing committee responsible for education, grasping the problem in a down-to-earth manner. Throughout the county a remarkable job was done in all areas, regardless of whether in general education, in spare-time education, or in programs to wipe out illiteracy. Shaoguan Prefecture was among the best of the successful areas. Many counties in Foshan Prefecture increased appropriations from local finances for education funds, enabling education departments to solve quite a few problems. Many comrades have said that if all levels of the party committee had such as good a grasp of education as these areas, then there would be no need to worry that the backward situation of education would not change.

Because education involves a wide area, such as spreading elementary education, reforming the structure of secondary education, running key schools and teacher education, deciding policy concerning intellectuals, and other questions, we cannot rely soley on education departments to solve all the problems. Many comrades feel that if we want to change the backward situation of education in this province, we will need powerful support from all professions throughout society. Comrades from Jiangmen, Xinhui, and Zhongshan have said that in their areas, some key schools had done a better job of starting to take steps to reform the structure of middle schools, and that this was all the result of support from all professions. However, comrades reflected that the actual number of departments enthusiastically supporting education was really very small. In one county, in order to solve the problem of obtaining funds for education, the county education bureau once put forward a plan requesting 600,000 yuan a year from the county's communes. This figure accounted for only 3 percent of the communes' net income, for a per capita figure of 1.50 yuan. This was not a heavy burden, but concerned departments were unable to pass this proposal. Comrades from Hainan said that in order to solve the problem that key teachers had concerning the separation of husbands and wives, the district party committee approved the transfer of close to 100 dependents. The departments concerned could not solve the question of food, however, and so the transfer could not take place. A comrade from the county education bureau said their county has over 200 middle and elementary schools. Each year they receive only 6 tons of steel products and 15 cubic meters of wood products. What problems can this help solve? At a county normal school in Foshan Preferture, a unit occupied half the dormitories during the 10-year period of chaos. Last year the education department appropriated 100,000 yuan and gave it to them for moving expenses. Now, after taking the money, not only have they not left, but they have taken over six classrooms as well. Everyone earnestly hopes that all levels of party committee will be able to give impetus to all professions to proceed with an overall goal in mind. We should think about generations to come, with everyone giving concerned support to education. Working together wholeheartedly, bringing into play the dominant position of education in our province, we all must do all we can so that elementary and secondary education can forge ahead in the 1980's.

9686
CSO: 4005

FOREIGN ARTISTS PRAISE MINORITY ART FESTIVAL IN BEIJING

OW171302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1216 GMT 17 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 17 (XINHUA)--Attending the minority nationality arts festival in Beijing has been an impressive and moving experience, according to James Murdoch, president of the UNESCO Music Council's International Group of Music Information Centers.

The festival, which has drawn 2,000 artists to Beijing from China's 55 minority nationalities, is staging simultaneous performances every night at several theatres throughout the capital. It ends on October 20.

Mr. Murdoch said the festival organizers had made the basic folk arts of the minority nationalities into great theatre entertainment in a "graceful and sensitive transformation."

For him, the highlight of the program was a Tibetan opera. "I never expected to see that," he said.

Artists from Australia, Canada, India, Japan, Romania, Thailand, the U.S., Yugoslavia and Hong Kong are attending the festival at the invitation of the Chinese dancers' and musicians' associations.

The noted Indian dancer, Sonal Mansingh, who is chairman of the Center for Indian Classical Dances, said the festival was a unique opportunity to see and compare minority dances.

A number of the dances, particularly those from Xinjiang, Yunnan and Tibet, were similar to the dances of India, she said. She hoped that the festival would be held every year.

The director and choreographer of Yugoslavia's "Kolo" ensemble, Dragomir Vukovic, called the dances "beautiful works of art." Yugoslavia has sent musicians and dancers to China in recent years and a song and dance ensemble, representing nine Chinese nationalities is now touring Yugoslavia.

A number of forums are being held in Beijing at which visiting artists and performers in the festival can exchange views and experiences.

CSO: 4020

'RENMIN RIBAO' EDITORIAL ON SUCCESS OF MINORITY ART FESTIVAL

OW220420 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1136 GMT 21 Oct 80

[Report on RENMIN RIBAO 21 October editorial: "Enliven the Literature and Art of Minority Nationalities"]

[Text] Beijing, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--The editorial says: After 1 month of magnificent and vigorous presentations, the National Minority Art Festival has come to a victorious close. It was a minority art festival on the largest scale since the founding of new China 31 years ago, as well as a grand review of the literary and art work of China's minority nationalities after the downfall of the "gang of four." During the festival, more than 400 acts, including music, dances and theatrical works, were presented to a Beijing audience by literary and art delegations from 17 provinces and autonomous regions and by a nationalities song and dance troupe in Beijing. Those troupes are composed of some 2,000 literary and art workers of 56 nationalities. The programs showed the unique lifestyle of various minority nationalities in China and the revolutionary spirit they display in the struggle for the four modernizations.

The editorial points out: Under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, political, economic and other fronts in China are vigorously and seriously summing up their experience and actively conducting reforms. The literary and art front, too, should further emancipate its mind, conscientiously study how to improve party leadership over literature and art and enliven literature and art. This is an important matter on the literary and art front, as well as a key to the prosperity and development of the literature and art of the minority nationalities. The development of the literature and art of the minority nationalities is an important aspect of nationalities affairs during the new period. We must pay full attention to it. The literature and art of minority nationalities occupies a particularly important position in our national life. A song or a dance is often the cultural symbol of a nationality. As our fraternal nationalities have made great contributions to the development of the culture of the Chinese nation as a whole, the literature and art of minority nationalities of course should occupy a position in China's flowery literary and art garden.

The editorial says: To develop, prosper and enliven the literature and art of minority nationalities, we must keep to the orientation that literature and art serves the people and socialism. We must seriously implement the party's "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" policy and other policies concerning literature and art.

We should continue now to treat the severe wounds inflicted on our national literature and art by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and their ilk. We should eliminate the remaining pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line. We should continue to do a good job of rehabilitating the victims of injustice and to implement the policies concerning literary and art workers and their works. We should resolutely smash the mental shackles put on minority literary and art workers, bring their wisdom and talents into full play and create the necessary conditions for them to continue to contribute to the growth and prosperity of socialist literature and art. To develop, prosper and enliven the national literature and art, the leadership must pay full attention to the salient features of minority nationalities. Each nationality has its own history and character that are different from those of other nationalities. Each nationality has its own preferred cultural and art forms. We should pay full attention to and respect the characters of various nationalities and let them demonstrate their life in their own way and develop their own literary and art style and schools. We should rely primarily on minority literary and art workers to inherit, reform and develop the culture of various nationalities. Success or failure should be judged by the minority nationalities themselves. The leadership at all levels should make great efforts to provide financial and material assistance and support to the literary and art undertakings of the minority nationalities in order to bring about faster development and prosperity of minority literature and art.

CSO: 4005

PROPOSAL ON MORE RECREATIONAL FACILITIES FOR YOUTH

OW221254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 22 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 22 (XINHUA)--The Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Education, the Scientific and Technological Association, All-China Federation of Trade Unions and Communist Youth League have jointly called on the organizations under them to create more recreation facilities for children and young people.

The proposal recalled that above the county level, there were 195 youth palaces and clubs and 6,850 Young Pioneer palaces and centers in China. Up to now only around a dozen youth palaces and 1,500 children's centers have resumed work. The reason was that most of the buildings and grounds had been taken over for other uses. These should be returned or new ones built by the units that had occupied them.

It asked parks, workers' palaces, stadiums and other institutions to provide more facilities and organize more activities for children and youth.

Those now functioning should receive attention from the leadership, be given more funds, and be better staffed. All public places should open their doors to children and young people. For instance, the cinema houses should arrange special Sunday shows for students, especially during school vacations. Special arrangements should be made and tickets sold at reduced prices. Public libraries should provide more reading rooms for children and youth, and arrange discussions. The local cultural palaces, youth league, trade unions and education bureau should jointly organize performances and draw local young people in these performances.

The proposal asked all government departments and organizations to make their facilities available for activities by children and youth, especially recreation for the children of their staff and young people in the neighborhood.

It called on all cities and organizations to put into their construction plan the building of more recreation facilities for young people. In particular, when new districts are constructed playgrounds and other facilities for children should be included.

The proposal pointed out that in the countryside the communes and production brigades should also attempt to provide more recreational facilities.

The proposal said it was not possible for the state to cover all the costs. The public and the young people should be invited to make contributions too.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANDONG MEETING DISCUSSES CONTRACEPTIVE TECHNIQUES

SK170058 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Oct 80

[Text] According to our sources, Shandong Province recently held a meeting to exchange experiences in contraceptive techniques in Jinan. Some 170 theses were received at the meeting.

The meeting noted: Shandong Province has achieved great progress in carrying out birth control work. In practicing birth control, our province has adopted a series of comprehensive measures and succeeded in reducing the natural population growth rate in the province from 27.55 per thousand in 1970 to 10.79 per thousand in 1979, a reduction of some 6.6 million children in 9 years. All localities have strengthened medical work for women and children and popularized new child delivery methods and virtually eliminated newborn baby tetanus. Over the past few years, our province has checked and cured some 12 million patients suffering from gynecological diseases and performed checkups on more than 5.5 million children, promoting the development of birth control work.

The meeting urged the party committees and governments at all levels to further strengthen the leadership over birth control work. All localities should accelerate the pace of scientific research on birth control, study and research medicines or contraceptives that are more safe, effective, simple and convenient and actively popularize new contraceptive techniques. It is necessary to strengthen the training of personnel for performing contraceptive techniques, organize a birth control work network and techniques guiding teams and insure that this work has been regularly and systematically carried out in the grassroots units. It is necessary to raise the quality of contraceptive operations. Medical personnel should improve their techniques and insure patients' safety with the spirit of being responsible to the people. We should also do a good job in giving medical care to women and children, publicize eugenics and insure that all newborn babies are strong and that they will be well educated.

Following the meeting, the Shandong provincial people's government also held a birth control work meeting, stressing the study and implementation of the party Central Committee's open letter so as to lay a good foundation for carrying out birth control work during the winter-spring period.

The secretary of the provincial CCP committee, Li Zichao, and provincial Deputy Governor Wang Zhongyin addressed the meeting.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

FUJIAN LITERARY, ART SOIREE--The Fujian provincial people's government, Fuzhou municipal people's government and the Fujian frontline PLA units held a literary and art soiree on 30 September to mark the 31st founding anniversary of the PRC. Some 5,000 people, including responsible comrades from the party organizations, attended the soiree. Vice governors of Fujian Province Zhang Gexin and Wen Fushan and the secretary of the Fuzhou Municipal CCP Committee Cai Liangcheng also attended the soiree and greeted the performers. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 1 Oct 80 HK]

JIANGSU ART EXHIBITION--An exhibition of calligraphy and paintings by Lai Shaoqi opened in the Jiangsu art gallery on 19 October. Responsible comrades in Jiangsu Hui Yuyu, Chu Jiang, Sun Keji and others visited the exhibition. Lai, a noted artist in China, is now a standing member of the council of the Chinese Artists Association, vice president of the Chinese Society of Engraving Art and president of the Anhui Federation of the Literary and Art Circles. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Oct 80 OW]

SHANDONG BIRTH CONTROL--Shandong Province has scored achievements in birth control. Some 19 million contraceptive operations have been performed in the past 10 years. Births in 1979 declined by some 920,000 as compared to 1970 figures. The birth rate in the province declined from 33.89 per thousand in 1970 to 16.94 per thousand in 1979. About 1.45 million families in the province received one-child certificates. The one-child birth rate is now 62 percent. [SK021124 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Sep 80 SK]

ZHEJIANG FAMILY PLANNING--Commenting on the question of how to grasp well family planning after the promulgation of the marriage law, a responsible member of the Zhejiang provincial leading group for family planning pointed out that marked results have been achieved in promoting family planning throughout the province since February. The total number of new births in the first half of 1980 was 26,000 less than the same period of 1979. The rate of natural population growth in Zhejiang Province is expected to drop to less than 9 per thousand. He urged all departments to thoroughly study a new important task, that is how to promote the marriage law and family planning side by side under the guidance of party and government policies. He also called for better understanding of family planning, a long-range strategic task which has a direct bearing on the overall situation. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Sep 80 OW]

HUNAN CADRE TRAINING SCHOOLS--Hunan has set up 15 cadre training schools throughout the province for the purposes of restructuring the cadre force and improving the standards of the leadership groups. These schools were opened in September and October, and responsible comrades of the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee, provincial people's government and other departments concerned attended the opening ceremonies. The training classes will last for 1 or 2 years and some 955 cadres will take part in the training classes. Their subjects of study include economic management, water conservancy, chemical industry and so on. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Oct 80 HK]

GUIZHOU TRADE UNION MEETING--The Guizhou Federation of Trade Unions held a meeting on ideological and political work in September, demanding that trade unions at all levels attach importance to the education of young workers. The meeting pointed out that the trade unions should be responsible for launching ideological and political education for young workers since: 1) trade unions are closely related to the workers; 2) trade unions can make use of activists to guide young workers toward wholesome development; and 3) trade unions can provide sparetime activities for workers. Responsible comrades from the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee attended the meeting and spoke. [Guizhou GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 80 HK]

GUIZHOU CONGRESS ON EDUCATION--The Guizhou conference of representatives of advanced collectives and workers on the education front closed on 27 September. Responsible comrades of the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee, provincial people's congress Standing Committee, provincial people's government, provincial CPPCC and the provincial military district attended the closing ceremony. Li Tinggui, deputy secretary of the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee and vice provincial governor, presided over the closing ceremony. The meeting commended some advanced collectives and individuals. Su Gang, secretary of the Guizhou Provincial Service Committee and provincial governor, gave the closing speech. [Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 27 Sep 80 HK]

QINGHAI RELIC CONFERENCE--The Qinghai provincial conference on historical relics was held in Xinang in mid-October. The conference pointed out that to value cultural legacy is an indication of the high degree of civilization of the socialist society. Many ancient temples, such as the temple of Princess Wencheng, have been repaired. The provincial archaeological team has carried out large-scale archaeological surveys and excavations in many localities. The conference urged efforts to protect historical relics. [Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 23 Oct 80 SK]

ZHEJIANG FAMILY PLANNING--The Zhejiang provincial conference for exchanging experience in planned parenthood and in material and child care closed on 13 October. It was pointed out at the conference that in order to achieve the goal of one child per married couple, it is necessary to vigorously popularize the comprehensive birth-control devices and bring about a general improvement in health condition of women and children. The contraceptives now in use in Zhejiang are safe and effective. The goal of one child per married couple can be achieved if the masses are constantly reminded of the significance of planned parenthood and are given technical guidance in contraception. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Oct 80 OW]

SHANGHAI MINORITY GROUP--A Shanghai minority people's national day visiting group returned to Shanghai on 15 October after visiting Nei Monggol, Heilongjiang, Jilin and Beijing. It is composed of local people of Hui, Zhuang, Tibetan, Taiwan, Gaoshan, Korean and Mongolian nationalities. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

SHANGHAI YOUTH WORK--The Shanghai leading group for young people's education recently held an enlarged meeting, asking all walks of life of society to take part in young people's education, help employ more jobless youth and in particular understand the work of organizing and educating the 1980 school graduates. The meeting pointed out that the present rate of local juvenile delinquency is still high and the young people face problems of morality. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

NANJING CHRISTIAN CHURCH--A Christian church was formally reopened in Nanjing's (Mochou) Street on 12 October. This was the first Christian church reopened in Nanjing since the Cultural Revolution. The first religious service was held yesterday morning with delegates to the third national conference on Christianity attending. The church was turned into a printing house during the Cultural Revolution. With the implementation of the party's religious policy and the assistance from the departments concerned in Nanjing, the second floor of the church was returned in late September. The rest of the church will be returned by the printing house soon. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Oct 80 OW]

JIANGSU KEY MIDDLE SCHOOLS--The Jiangsu provincial education department recently called a work conference on key middle schools. The meeting decided to run well a group of key middle schools in accordance with the directive on educational work issued by the secretariat of the CCP Central Committee. In order to improve the quality of teaching, train more able persons and do an even better job in running the key middle schools, the meeting called for greater efforts to strengthen the schools' leading groups, establish a contingent of backbone teachers, improve the enrollment methods, run well the key primary schools and provide sufficient funds to key middle schools. Anhui Province has 84 key middle schools. The meeting decided to run well 22 schools within the next 3 years. Vice Governor Wei Xinyi delivered a speech at the meeting. [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

NEW ANHUI UNIVERSITY--The Hefei associated university held an opening ceremony on 11 October. Present were Gu Zhuoxin, secretary of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee; Lan Ganting, deputy secretary; Yang Chengzong, vice chairman of the provincial People's Congress; Wei Xinyi and Yang Jike, vice governors of Anhui; (Zheng Rui), secretary of the Hefei Municipal CCP Committee; representatives of relevant departments and 322 new students. In his speech, Gu Zhuoxin extended greetings to the teachers and students and called for emancipating the mind and conducting educational reforms. [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Oct 80 OW]

ANHUI TEACHERS COLLEGE--An inaugural ceremony for the Anqing Teachers College in Anhui Province was held on 14 October. Speaking at the ceremony, Vice Governor Wei Xinyi urged the college staff to train more and better teachers for improving the teaching quality of primary and middle schools in Anhui. The State Council approved the establishment of the Anqing Teachers College in May this year. More than 1,000 faculty staffs and students participated in the inaugural ceremony. [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Oct 80 OW]

LIAONING COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES--Over the past 2 years, some colleges and universities in Liaoning Province have carried out cultural exchanges with foreign countries. Some 50 foreign experts have been employed by eight colleges and universities as teachers. Some 150 students have been sent abroad for advanced study in 29 countries. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Oct 80 SK]

EDUCATION, SCIENCE OUTLAYS--In his report to the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Finance Minister Wang Bingqian [3769 0014 0051] revealed that for 1980, 148.3 billion yuan had been budgeted for education, health, and science, or 16.2 billion more than for 1979. Wang stated that it was crucial to speed up the development of science and education for the implementation of the four modernizations, that the increase was warranted because of the sizable deficit chalked up over the years, and that a suitable increase for this year had been determined on the basis of the nation's financial resources. He added that the projected budget for education, health and science would reach 169.5 billion in 1981. [Text] [Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 80 p 3] 9621

DEVELOPMENT FUND--In his report to the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Finance Minister Wang Bingqian [3769 0014 0051] announced that the government will set aside a development fund for the benefit of the undeveloped areas as from this year, and that the fund has been budgeted at 5 billion yuan for this year. He said that the development fund for the economically undeveloped areas will primarily be used to speed up the development of productive enterprises in the old revolutionary bases, remote border areas, the minority nationality autonomous regions and areas with comparatively weak economic foundations. [Text] [Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 80 p 3] 9621

GREATER ROLE FOR WOMEN--Beijing, October 22 (XINHUA)--Women should be encouraged to play a greater role in the country's modernization in agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology, said Wang Renzhong, head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at yesterday's enlarged Executive Committee meeting of the Chinese National Women's Federation. He cited barriers holding back women's initiative, such as the feudal notion that women are inferior. Equal pay for equal work must be ensured in the countryside, he said. Women should be represented in administration wherever women hold jobs, he said. There must be full respect for women's rights and interests. Wang Renzhong called for more city neighborhood canteens, service centres, nurseries and kindergartens to help lighten household chores. [Text] [OW220826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0742 GMT 22 Oct 80]

END

CSO: 4005

JPRS 76769

6 November 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 136

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76769

6 November 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 136

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. Reduction of Crude Oil Imports Discussed
(XINHUA, 22 Oct 80) 1

UK's Carrington Opposes Unilateral Disarmament
(XINHUA, 25 Oct 80) 3

British Economic Problems Analyzed
(XINHUA, 25 Oct 80) 4

Poland Takes Measures To Overcome Economic Difficulties
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 23 Oct 80) 6

Polish Trade Union Registration Causes Problems
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 25 Oct 80) 8

Japanese Foreign Minister Views Northern Islands
(XINHUA, 25 Oct 80) 10

Afghan UNESCO Delegate Condemns Soviets
(XINHUA, 26 Oct 80) 11

Afghan Resistance Spokesman Interviewed
(XINHUA, 23 Oct 80) 12

Pakistan President Denounces USSR's Afghan Role
(XINHUA, 23 Oct 80) 14

Pakistan President Discusses South Asia, Mideast
(XINHUA, 24 Oct 80) 15

Pakistan Issues Warning on Iran-Iraq Conflict
(XINHUA, 28 Oct 80) 16

Pakistani Paper Hits Karmal's Visit to Moscow
(XINHUA, 23 Oct 80) 17

'XINHUA' Cites 'AFP' on Protests Against Afghan Regime
(XINHUA, 27 Oct 80) 18

VODK Commentary Calling for SRV Withdrawal Cited
(XINHUA, 28 Oct 80) 19

Thai Papers Comment on UN Resolution on Kampuchea
(XINHUA, 24 Oct 80) 20

Briefs
- Fuzhou Delegation to Japan 21
- Fujian Enterprises in Hong Kong 21
- Malaysian Delegation in Xiamen 21
- Japanese Delegation in Liaoning 21
- Jilin Delegation to Japan 22
- British Visitors 22
- Philippine Agricultural Delegation 22
- Afghan Official Seeks Refuge 22
- Afghan Refugee Camp Attacked 23
- French Independent Defense Policy 23
- France on International Problems 23
- NATO Official on Soviet Threat 24
- FRG Medical Exhibition 24
- Military Action in Somali 24
- Soviets Use Cam Ranh Bay 24
- Nigerian PRC Exhibit 25
- Singapore Photo, Optical Fair 25
- Ito on Northern Islands 25
- Kampuchean Attacks on SRV 26

PARTY AND STATE

Views of Mao Zedong Thought as Collective Wisdom Emphasized
(Jiang Zhesheng; SHEHUI KEXUE, Feb 80) 27

NPC Hailed for Exercising Democratic Right, Starting Reforms
(RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Sep 80) 33

Free Expression of Will, by Chen Ping
Reform in Significant Ways, by Wang Yufeng

Zhao Ziyang's Promotion Examined
(Qi Xin; QISHI NIANDAI, 1 Sep 80) 35

Beijing Calls for Learning From Young Cook Chen Aiwu
(Beijing City Service, 17 Oct 80) 51

Beijing Restaurants Instructed To Bill Officials
(XINHUA, 24 Oct 80) 52

Bureaucracy Blamed for Delaying Kerosene Shipment
(RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Sep 80) 53

Xing County, Xhanxi, Promotes Young, Middle-Aged Cadres
(RENMIN RIBAO, 6 Sep 80) 55

Violations of Party Discipline Dealt With in Tianjin
(Shi Bo, Du Duanchang; RENMIN RIBAO, 12 Sep 80) 57

Ye Jianying Criticized for Not Resigning
(Ba Yi Radio, 25 Oct 80) 59

Inner-Party Peace Called Indispensable
(Li Zhenmin; XIBEI DAXUE XUEBAO, No 2, 1980) 61

Egalitarianism, Peasant Wars in History Discussed
(Dong Chuping; LISHI YANJIU, Jan 80) 73

Ideological, Political Work Should Be Treated as Science
(Yan Qiushi; GUANGMING RIBAO, 11 Aug 80) 88

Briefs
Feast Prices Investigated 93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Good Behavior Praised, Bad Practices Criticized
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 25 Oct 80) 94

Naval School Commandant Works To Master Modern Technology
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 26 Oct 80) 95

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Fine Arts Magazine Introduces Taiwan Painter's Works
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 27 Oct 80) 97

'WENYI BAO' Critic Discusses Success of Yue Fei Radio Program
(XINHUA, 26 Oct 80) 98

'Foolish Old Man Who Removed Mountains' Really Was Foolish
(Liu Maoyin; WEN HUI BAO, 13 Aug 80) 100

Beer Label Exchange Delay Seen as Example of Bureaucratic Timidity
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 24 Aug 80) 102

Bureaucratic Stalling Blamed for Departure of Specialists
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 28 Aug 80) 104

Key Universities Must Train Graduate Students in Science
(Tang Zhixiao, et al.; WEN HUI BAO, 13 Aug 80) 106

Briefs

Vocational Education Development 110

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. REDUCTION OF CRUDE OIL IMPORTS DISCUSSED

OW221536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 22 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 22 (XINHUA)--U.S. imports of crude oil showed a marked drop in the first nine months of 1980 as a result of rising U.S. oil production and lower levels of consumption, according to Washington reports.

The imports of crude oil during this period averaged 5,363,000 barrels a day, a decline of 16.3 per cent from the same January-September period last year. Crude imports averaged 4,948,000 barrels a day in September, donw 22.8 per cent from the same month last year.

Large oil imports have been an important factor accounting for the huge deficits in U.S. foreign trade in recent years. So the considerable decline in oil imports will help correct the adverse balance in foreign trade. U.S. Commerce Secretary Philip Klutznick predicted on October 20 that the country's trade deficit in 1980 would not rise above last year's 37 billion dollars owing to lower oil imports and improved manufacturing and agricultural exports.

The huge cut in oil imports was brought about by reduced oil consumption against the background of economic recession. The American Petroleum Institute (API) reported that oil use in the first nine months was 8 per cent under the levels of a year ago inspite of an increase in oil output. AP also said that for the nine-month period U.S. oil production averaged 8.7 million barrels daily, up 1.9 per cent from the same period last year.

AP reported on October 19 that the current drilling pace in the United States is about 35 per cent higher than last year. It predicted that 59,107 oil and gas wells will be completed in 1980, breaking the previous record of 58,160 set in 1956.

Increases in both production and consumption of coal as a partial replacement of oil were reported.

Coal production in the first six months of this year was also reported up ten per cent over a year ago, with coal providing over 50 per cent of the nation's electricity in the period, which has not happened since 1968 on an annual basis.

The United States has increased its oil inventories in recent years in the face of a steady rise in oil prices and fear of an abrupt stoppage in oil imports which would gravely affect the economic and military interests of the country. AP reported on October 18 that U.S. crude oil inventories rose to a record 394.3 million barrels in mid-October, up 20.1 percent from the 328.2 million barrels on hand a year earlier.

CSO: 4020

UK'S CARRINGTON OPPOSES UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

OW251228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] London, October 24 (XINHUA)--It was a dangerous illusion to think that unilateral gestures of disarmament could bring results, particularly when one was dealing with a power like the Soviet Union, said British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington at the United Nations Association in London today.

"I believe we have brought the Russians to the negotiating table just because the NATO allies have agreed [on] a programme for modernising their own theatre nuclear forces, in parallel with the United States' offers to negotiate," he added.

Lord Carrington stated that he was speaking in the aftermath of a Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, now nearly a year old, which had been a severe blow to detente. The British Government saw no alternative but to continue to maintain the forces and weapons necessary for deterrence, he stressed.

The brutal, calculated use of force by Moscow to occupy another country had damaged the whole basis of public support for arms control, especially in the United States, he pointed out.

"Nobody would be happier than I to abandon our nuclear weapons, if I believed that by doing so I would really be improving the prospects for lasting peace," the foreign secretary said. But he emphasized that he did not believe this. "Experience did not suggest the Russians would respond, except to exploit our subsequent weakness."

Declaring that arms control could not solve defence problems, Lord Carrington told the association: "We must stick firmly our commitment to base United States cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe from 1983."

He pointed out that the difficulty of arms control was that the Russians "declaim a lot" but initiated little of substance. He singled out the need for a comprehensive test ban treaty and urged support for an international convention banning chemical weapons. Unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain would be exploited by the Soviet Union and increase the risk of war, Lord Carrington said.

CSO: 4020

BRITISH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ANALYZED

OW250324 Beijing XINHUA in English 0239 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] London, October 23 (XINHUA correspondent Yang Yi)--Britain's economy remains in straits despite some recent improvements.

Inflation has shown a steady decline since last May. The annual rate has fallen from 21.9 per cent in May to 15.9 per cent. Visible trade has continued to show a surplus every month since last July. Hence, a balance of payments surplus of more than 900 million sterling in the third quarter. However, money supply increased by only 0.6 per cent in September, much less than the 8 per cent increase in the previous two months. British officials hold that these tendencies show that the British economy has begun to turn for the better and the trend will continue.

However, some British economists, businessmen and the press have expressed doubts about the optimistic opinions of the officials. They are deeply disturbed by the fact that unemployment is still climbing as the economic growth rate continues to drop. The official figures show that the number of unemployed in Britain has risen to 2,063,000 or 8.5 per cent in October. Anxiety increases as the number of jobless mounted for the 13th successive month. Industrial production in August fell off 8.5 per cent from that in July. From June to August, the total value of industrial production dropped by 5.5 per cent as compared with the corresponding months last year and by 12 per cent in comparison with last year's average.

Total industrial production is now down to the lowest point since 1975 and the manufacturing industry at its lowest point since 1968.

Some observers here are of the opinion that the falling inflation rate in the past months is due to the economic gloom at home and abroad, shrinking markets and sluggish sales. All this is bound to slash the rate of profit and consequently affects technological renovation and enlarged reproduction. Moreover, the relatively high exchange rate of the pound and soaring public utility charges will make it impossible to keep prices staple in the long term.

The held that the increase in the British balance of payments could be partly attributed to North Sea oil earnings, and more important, to reduced imports as a result of the industrial recession. The value of imports in this year's third quarter was about 900 million pounds and 1,340 million pounds less than the second and first quarters respectively. The annual growth rate of money supply still stood at 17.5 per cent, or much higher than the ceiling of 7 per cent to 11 per cent fixed by the government for the current fiscal year. In the first half of this fiscal year, the government's public debt reached 7,500 million pounds, or close to the original target of 8,500 million for the whole year. Therefore, the government is facing a difficult task to check inflation by means of controlling money supply.

CSO: 4020

POLAND TAKES MEASURES TO OVERCOME ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

OW250617 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1244 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Oct (XINHUA)--To overcome its serious economic difficulties, Poland has recently taken such measures as revising its agricultural policy and reducing the number of capital construction projects.

Regarding agricultural policy, the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish United Peasant Party jointly proposed a "draft directions" on "key problems of agricultural and food policies. The "draft directions" said that the agricultural policy should guarantee the equal development of all agricultural units under different systems of ownership. To achieve this, all units under public ownership as well as individual farmers will be "equally provided" with investment, means of production, loans and other assistance.

The "draft directions" stressed that industrial departments should strengthen their support for agriculture; that land should be utilized in a better way; that products should be increased; and that living conditions for peasants should be improved. The new 5-year plan (1981 to 1985) will, first of all, create conditions for expediting the development of both agriculture and the entire food economy. The "draft directions" said that the purchasing prices of farm produce will be raised--the price of milk will be raised beginning 1 November, and the price of other produce will be raised beginning in the first quarter of next year. At the same time, the tax collection measures will be revised to provide "favorable conditions for the vigorous development of production by small farming units." State-run agricultural units and agricultural cooperatives should promote cooperation with individual farmers on a more extensive scale than ever before.

The Polish United Workers' Party and the United Peasant Party have instructed the government to take the positions of the two parties on agricultural policy into consideration and work out, by the end of this year, a plan for putting these measures into operation.

With regard to reducing the number of capital construction projects, the Council of Ministers made a decision in mid-October suspending construction projects for the state administration in order to reduce expenditures. The same restriction applies to the administrative construction projects for the National Federation of Cooperatives and for social organizations, with the exception of those construction projects that are conducive to the welfare of workers and staff members or that are needed for promoting production. Financial supervision over construction projects by private investment will be conducted and investigations into the source of funds for some construction projects by investment will be carried out.

In addition, Polish press and radio stations have exposed and criticized improper investment in some production projects. For example, the construction of Katowice steelworks with a planned annual output of 9 million tons of steel, has been denounced as a project carried out to satisfy a "desire" by some people. According to the exposure, the investment for the Katowice steelworks was originally estimated at 25 billion zloty. However, the current investment has reached 120 billion zloty and further increases in investment costs are expected.

CSO: 4005

POLISH TRADE UNION REGISTRATION CAUSES PROBLEMS

OW270546 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1723 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--The Court of Warsaw Province, Poland, announced on 24 October that the registration of the Polish Independent and Self-governing "Solidarity" Trade Union was approved after the trade union's constitution was revised. However, the trade union issued a statement on the same day, protesting the court action to change trade union's constitution without authorization.

The issue of registration is one of the principal contradictions between the new Polish trade union and the government. On the basis of the agreement reached on 31 August between the government committee and the Gdansk United Strike Committee, the newly established independent and self-governing trade union must submit an application to the court to register itself within 1 month after the agreement comes into effect. The trade union can function only after its registration is legally approved. The preparatory committee of the independent and self-governing "solidarity" trade union headquartered in Gdansk officially files its application for registration to the Court of Warsaw Province on 24 September, but its application was rejected by the court. According to a court statement, the main reason for the rejection was that the constitution of the new trade union did not conform to the Gdansk agreement and had to be revised. However, the "solidarity" trade union believes that its constitution totally conforms to the Gdansk agreement and it has no intention of making any essential revision.

For a month, the court and the new trade union exchanged their views on the above-mentioned differences, but they failed to obtain specific results. On the afternoon of 24 October, the Warsaw Court started to review the application filed by the independent and self-governing trade union for registration. At the court, Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultation Committee of this trade union, reaffirmed his own basic stand. Later, the legal counselor of the trade union was authorized to make several nonessential revisions to the constitution. Then Judge (Z. Koshichrlniak) announced a court adjournment.

After 1 hour, the judge read a decision on the approval of the registration of the "solidarity" trade union by the court. The decision included major revisions to the trade union constitution. Passages recognizing the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party over the state and those on the socialist system were added, passages on the "right to strike" were deleted, and restrictions on factory administration and party organization leaders assuming leading posts at all levels in the trade union were lifted.

In the evening on the same day, Walesa held a press conference for Polish and foreign reporters and issued a statement protesting the court action to revise the "solidarity" trade union constitution without authorization, and declaring that the revised portion of the constitution was unacceptable. The statement said: the court "made an arbitrary decision on the registration of our trade union, and at the same time, revised our constitution without authorization and in its own way." This "runs counter to aspirations clearly expressed by the plenipotentiary representative of the trade union." The statement stressed that the court action "infuriated" us. It said: "At present we cannot agree with any action to interfere with the independence and self-governing principle of the trade union. Nor shall we agree in the future." It pointed out: "We will act upon the constitution which we have adopted and which has not been revised by the court."

The statement said in conclusion: "The authorities should be held fully responsible for the tension in society created by the issue of the registration of the "solidarity" trade union.

At the press conference, Walesa also said: The "solidarity" trade union will appeal to the supreme court in the near future, and has decided to call a meeting of the National Consultation Committee of the "solidarity" trade union to discuss countermeasures.

CSO: 4005

JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER VIEWS NORTHERN ISLANDS

OW251943 Beijing XINHUA in English 1933 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] Tokyo, October 25 (XINHUA)--Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito said today that for a possible solution to the problem of the northern territories, Japan "has spent 35 years. It should never take a wavering stand again on the issue but should pay full attention to the settlement of the problem."

The Japanese foreign minister made the remarks on an inspection tour near the four Soviet-occupied islands this afternoon, according to a KYODO report.

His tour was conducted by way of watching the four Japanese northern islands from a patrol boat on the sea. This is the third inspection tour by the foreign minister after he took office last July.

Today, the weather was gloomy over the sea off Nemuro, and the Kunashiri Island could only be seen dimly. Braving the chilly wind, Ito watched the four northern islands through a telescope and said with a deep feeling: "Having come to the front line, I have truly felt the sternness of the territorial and border problem and felt for myself how inexorable the history is."

Ito told reporters in Nemuro that one should not be optimistic about the Soviet attitude toward the northern islands. Japan had referred this problem to the U.N. General Assembly. It would seize appropriate opportunities in future to appeal to public opinion of the world, he said.

Ito pointed out that in its diplomatic activities with the Soviet Union in the future, Japan "will not adopt the opinion to separate politics from economy."

CSO: 4020

AFGHAN UNESCO DELEGATE CONDEMNS SOVIETS

OW260728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 26 Oct 80

[Text] Belgrade, October 25 (XINHUA)--The Afghan delegate to the 21st conference of the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) drew warm applause from other delegates but startled the Soviet delegation here this morning by making an impromptu accusation of the Soviet invasion of his country.

During discussions on a resolution on exchange of information at the last session of the fourth committee (culture and exchange) of the conference, Akhtar Mohammad Paktiawal, acting leader of the Afghan delegation and secretary-general of Afghanistan's National Commission for UNESCO, said, "In our country, information exchange is controlled by the Soviet Union."

"Afghanistan," he pointed out, "is not a free country anymore. It is completely dominated by the Soviet Union. The Soviets violated our human rights. Their tanks killed our women and children and one million Afghans have fled the country. We want freedom."

What the Afghan people want is the right to manage their own affairs without external interference, he added.

He called on the international community to help the Afghans obtain such right.

He "would tell the Afghan 'government' the same thing," he said, although his wife and children in Afghanistan would suffer from the consequence.

Previously, when the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was mentioned at the conference, the Soviet delegation or someone from the Afghan delegation who was compelled by the Soviet delegation would argue that the Soviet troops had been sent there upon the Afghan Government's invitation to quell foreign intervention there.

But Paktiawal, as an official delegate of Afghanistan, gave lie to the Soviet allegation.

The Soviet delegates were stupefied by this speech which won warm applause.

The news spread to the conference halls of every committee of the conference within half an hour.

CSO: 4020

AFGHAN RESISTANCE SPOKESMAN INTERVIEWED

OW231840 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 23 (XINHUA)--"Babrak Karmal's visit to the Soviet Union cannot in the least promote his prestige in Afghanistan and the world as well as he wished to. On the contrary, the Afghan people will hate him more and intensify their struggle against the regime," a spokesman of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan told XINHUA over telephone in Peshwar today.

He added, "The peace-loving people in the world can also see more clearly Babrak's true face as a Soviet puppet through this visit."

Babrak Karmal went to the Soviet Union on October 15. This is his first trip abroad since he came to power in the Soviet-engineered coup on December 27, 1979.

The spokesman added that Babrak's Soviet visit is "useless" and "cannot help the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan."

He said that Babrak cannot last very long. The whole nation and people are rising against him and his regime.

He said that the United Nations is going to debate on the Afghan issue in the near future. Through this visit Babrak wanted to give the world some impression that his government represents Afghanistan and the will of the Afghan people. However, he noted, the people the world over are aware of the basic facts: "Babrak regime is only a puppet regime imposed on the Afghan people by the Russians" and "is deeply hated by the Afghan people." He demanded that the Soviet Union "abide by the U.N. resolution on Afghanistan, stop its aggression and withdraw its troops from Afghanistan."

Commenting on Babrak's visit to Moscow, a spokesman of Hazb-i-Islami of Afghanistan, another Afghan Islamic guerrilla group, in Peshwar today said that Babrak wanted to get more Soviet troops and weapons to Afghanistan to kill Afghan people. But he stressed "he will never achieve his aim. Babrak regime will be defeated in the end."

"We will fight to the last drop of our blood for the establishment of a real Islamic republic in Afghanistan. This is our determination," he emphasized.

"Perhaps Babrak wanted to get some consolation from Moscow because his one more minister has been killed in Paktia Province by freedom-fighters recently," he added ironically. [sentence as printed]

CSO: 4020

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT DENOUNCES USSR'S AFGHAN ROLE

OW230742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 22 (XINHUA)--The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the issue might be taken to the world body again shortly, declared Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq in Lahore today.

Speaking at a civic reception held for the president in Lahore, capital of Punjab Province, he said that Afghanistan was a political issue and Pakistan, abiding by the resolutions of the Islamic foreign ministers conference, was seeking its political solution and clouds were expected to clear shortly.

Referring to the country's defence capabilities, President Ziaul Haq said that Pakistan had no aggressive designs against any country. But at the same time, he added, it would fight to the last to protect its honour and self-respect.

He said people must strive to augment their own resources by increasing production so that the country could stand economically on its own feet.

The president said the present government was bound to stay till the completion of its mission--the complete Islamisation of the Pakistani society.

The president denied any consideration to form a political party.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT DISCUSSES SOUTH ASIA, MIDEAST

OW241334 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 24 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 24 (XINHUA)--President Ziaul Haq has stated that the situation in the South Asian region and particularly in the Gulf was becoming more and more complex.

Speaking to newsmen at the Lahore airport yesterday before his departure for Rawalpindi after a two-day visit to the provincial capital, President Zia said that in general, this is a bad trend for the region, "The Gulf is feeling unstable." However, he said that peace and stability prevail in Pakistan.

Answering a question if there had been any change in the Soviet attitude towards Afghanistan, President Zia said that discussions were in progress. "We are trying to find a political solution" there, he added.

Asked about Habib Chatti's visit to Iraq and Iran, he said that it was an effort and that there might be some results, he hoped.

President Zia and Chatti, secretary-general of the Islamic Conference Organization, were chosen by the foreign ministers of the 40-nation organization to try and bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the two Moslem states.

Iraq has agreed in principle to the proposal but Iran has yet to make its decision known.

It was reported that President Zia and Chatti, who left Pakistan for Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, yesterday afternoon, would be in touch with each other in the light of the talks they had in Lahore yesterday. They are waiting for a reply from Iran.

CSO: 4020

PAKISTAN ISSUES WARNING ON IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

OW280132 Beijing XINHUA in English 0117 GMT 28 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 27 (XINHUA)--Pakistan Foreign Minister Agha Shahi warned last night that the conflict between Iran and Iraq "would have an overall debilitating effect on the region and carries the concomitant risk of a superpower confrontation or, in the alternative, of mutual accommodation by dividing the region into spheres of influence."

The foreign minister issued the warning in an exclusive interview with a special correspondent of the associated press of Pakistan (APP) at New York's Kennedy International Airport when he was heading for London after leading Pakistan's delegation to the current session of the General Assembly.

The conflict "could have a profound bearing on the security environment of the region," he added. "Pakistan views the situation with the gravest concern and is most anxious that this conflict between two brotherly Islamic nations, which militates against the ideals and principles of the Islamic conference as well as the non-aligned movement, comes to an end as quickly as possible. The differences between Iran and Iraq do not lend themselves to a military solution. Being neighbours, there is no escape for them from peaceful coexistence."

Talking about the Islamic group-sponsored draft resolution on Afghanistan to be tabled on November 18 for debate in the U.N. General Assembly, Agha Shahi said the draft resolution is based "on the same internationally recognized principles" which include the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Afghanistan. At the same time, the resolution "provides for the possibility of a role for the United Nations secretary-general acting directly or through a designated representative, in instituting an indirect political dialogue."

Agha Shahi said the problem that the world faces in Afghanistan is a grave one. The situation there is worsening steadily and the Afghan people are suffering heavily. The resistance of the Afghan people to the present regime in Kabul, he noted, is continuing throughout the length and breadth of Afghanistan.

CSO: 4020

PAKISTANI PAPER HITS KARMAL'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

OW231909 Beijing XINHUA in English 1901 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 23 (XINHUA)--The conditions reiterated in the joint communique issued at the end of Babrak Karmal's visit to the Soviet Union mean nothing more than that Moscow is bent upon prolonging its occupation and provides itself with a pretext for continued presence of its forces in Afghanistan, said Pakistan's Urdu paper JANG in an editorial yesterday.

It said the communique shows that the Russians have decided to keep their forces and even to refurbish them in that country. Hence, their condition that external aggression must be stopped, is manifestly unacceptable to the world community, particularly to the neighbours of Afghanistan. This condition, besides being extremely ridiculous, indicates the obstinacy of Russia and the Kabul government, it said. Obviously, it added, no neighbour is committing any aggression, direct or indirect, in Afghanistan. The power that has done so is Russia. The Soviet condition that external aggression must stop in Afghanistan is thus nonsensical.

Touching upon the second condition that the neighbours must recognize the Kabul government, the paper pointed out, a government should be a representative one for being recognized or at least it should be free from direct control and domination by foreign forces. However, it noted, if the Soviet forces leave Afghanistan and a government in Kabul is able to maintain itself and wins the confidence of the people and the armed forces, its recognition would certainly be considered.

Without this prerequisite, the paper said, recognizing the Kabul regime would be equivalent to recognizing the Soviet military intervention legitimate.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' CITES 'AFP' ON PROTESTS AGAINST AFGHAN REGIME

OW271712 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 27 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 27 (XINHUA)--Students and professors of Kabul University went on strike on October 24 in protest against the Babrak Karmal regime's forced conscription of students into its nearly depleted army, according to an AFP Kabul report quoting sources of the university.

This is the first students' strike since last April when middle school students turned out in force to demonstrate against the Soviet occupation of their country.

A special AFP correspondent who had just left Afghanistan after a two-week visit wrote in one of his dispatches that the strike and flight of youths abroad to escape conscription "underline the difficulties faced by the regime of President Babrak Karmal in his bid to build up his armed forces."

He reported that "a veritable exodus of students of military age has started, with some classes being reduced by one-third as youths flee abroad to escape conscription."

The Afghan army, numbering over 80,000 men before the Soviet invasion in December 1979, is believed to have been reduced to some 35,000 because of numerous defections and desertions.

Other reports said that the Karmal regime had barely managed to prevent an anti-Soviet strike of Kabul shopowners by threatening them with fines and loss of their licenses. The strike call was issued in "night letters" sent by resistance groups. It urged the people to stage a five-day general strike to protest the Soviet military presence and the "sell-out of Afghanistan to the Soviet Union" by Karmal who was then visiting the U.S.S.R.

"Night letters" were also addressed to Afghan army officers urging them to show their support for the resistance movement by staying at home and in their barracks on October 27.

Meanwhile, there were frequent reports of assaults on Soviet soldiers or Afghan officials in the Afghan capital and other towns. On the night of October 15, two Soviet army officers and a senior official of the Karmal regime's Finance Ministry were shot dead in separate attacks near a Soviet military camp in the capital's suburb of Khiar Khana. On the same day, the information minister of the Karmal regime was said to have narrowly escaped an attempt at his life in the southern Afghan city of Kandarhar.

CSO: 4020

VODK COMMENTARY CALLING FOR SRV WITHDRAWAL CITED

OW280844 Beijing XINHUA in English 0817 GMT 28 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 28 (XINHUA)—Vietnam must withdraw its troops completely from Kampuchea in accordance with the two related U.N. resolutions on Kampuchea before peace and stability can be realized in the Southeast Asia, Radio Democratic Kampuchea points out in a commentary today.

The commentary says the U.N. resolution of October 22, 1980 calling for an international conference on Kampuchea early next year was opposed by Vietnam, the Soviet Union and Cuba and Vietnam intended to submit its own draft resolution on "the question of peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia" for the United Nations General Assembly to vote. But the majority of the member nations did not even bother to take the floor when the question was debated. So the draft resolution became stillborn.

The commentary notes that Vietnam has stationed over 200,000 troops in Kampuchea and deployed much of this force and arms in areas close to the Thai frontier. It has committed armed provocations against and even incursions into Thailand. It has held Laos under military occupation and even dreamed of annexing some one dozen of Thailand's provinces to its "greater Indochina federation." Under such circumstances, can there be any "peace, stability and cooperation" to speak of in the region?

The commentary concluded by saying that if Vietnam has any desire for peace, stability and cooperation in the Southeast Asia, it should first withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea to meet the demand of the great majority of the countries in the world in accordance with the two U.N. resolutions on Kampuchea.

CSO: 4020

THAI PAPERS COMMENT ON UN RESOLUTION ON KAMPUCHEA

OW241536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 24 Oct 80

[Text] Bangkok, October 24 (XINHUA)--Thai papers carried editorials and commentaries today hailing the adoption at the 35th U.N. General Assembly of the ASEAN proposal on solving the Kampuchean problem.

The BANGKOK POST editorially welcomes the passing of the ASEAN draft resolution by an overwhelming majority at the U.N. General Assembly which calls for an international conference on Kampuchea in order to restore peace and stability in Southeast Asia. It writes: "The most optimistic estimate of support by 94 countries has been exceeded. The 97 votes are six votes more than last year's support for the ASEAN resolution calling for total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea."

The editorial points out: "The announcements by Vietnam and other Soviet bloc countries that they would not attend the proposed conference had been anticipated, but as preparations are made for the meeting, these nations can be made to understand that if they fail to attend, their protestations of desire for peace as expressed in a rival resolution are mere hypocrisy."

"TONG HUA YID PAO in a commentary today says the adoption of the resolution sponsored by ASEAN and other countries is yet another proof: "ASEAN's just stand has won widespread international support, while Vietnam has come under condemnation from more and more countries for its aggression against Kampuchea. Vietnam is under the broadside of the public."

The commentary points out that should Vietnam refuse to come to its senses, but instead, stick to its rigid stand, and be a willing subordinate to the big hegemonist and a tool of aggression and expansion to prolong the war in Kampuchea, it is bound to ruin completely in its economy, and its people would lead a more miserable life. As a result, Vietnam will ultimately lose its sovereignty and national dignity, it adds.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

FUZHOU DELEGATION TO JAPAN--With Fuzhou municipal mayor (Liu Guoqing) as the leader, and municipal people's congress Standing Committee chairman Cai Liangcheng as the adviser, the Fuzhou municipal friendship visiting delegation comprising seven persons left Fuzhou for Nagasaki in Japan via Shanghai by plane on the afternoon of 13 October. In July of this year, the State Council approved the agreement making Fuzhou Municipality and Nagasaki sister cities. While the delegation is visiting Japan it will take part in the ceremony for signing the sister city agreement. [HK180436 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 13 Oct 80]

FUJIAN ENTERPRISES IN HONG KONG--Huamin Company, the general agency in Hong Kong for all Fujian economic enterprises opened on 6 October in Hong Kong. The Fuzhou provincial delegation headed by Guo Chao, vice governor of Fujian, arrived in Hong Kong on 3 October to attend the opening ceremony and to investigate the Hong Kong market. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 8 Oct 80 HK]

MALAYSIAN DELEGATION IN XIAMEN--Accompanied by Xing Yimin, deputy secretary general of the NPC Standing Committee, the Malaysian parliamentary delegation arrived in Zhangzhou from Hangzhou by special plane on 13 October at noon and then proceeded to Xiamen by car. When the special plane arrived in the Zhangzhou airport at 1110 hours, Fujian Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Vice Chairmen Cai Li and Hou Linzhou, Xiamen Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee Vice Chairman (Zhang Dushan), Xiamen Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee Vice Chairman (Dong Houying) and his wife, and municipal foreign affairs office director (Zhang Mingtao) welcomed the delegates and shook hands with them. They also accompanied them to Xiamen. When the delegates arrived in and left Zhangzhou, Longxi prefectural administrative commissioner (Zhang Tianying), prefectural foreign affairs office director (Wang Xiezhi) and Zhangzhou Municipal Revolutionary Committee chairman (Liang Caimei) welcomed and saw them off. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 13 Oct 80 HK]

JAPANESE DELEGATION IN LIAONING--The nine-member Japanese friendly delegation from Sapporo City, Hokkaido region and its entourage correspondents arrived in Shenyang 21 October to arrange a talk on relevant matters in establishing friendship ties between Shenyang and Sapporo. After arriving in Shenyang, the delegation paid a courtesy call to the Shenyang municipal people's government. They were warmly welcomed by Song Guang, mayor of Shenyang Municipality, and more than 200 cadres from the municipal level organs. During its stay in Shenyang, the delegation will visit plants, schools and places of historic interest and scenic beauty. [SK240631 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 21 Oct 80 SK]

JILIN DELEGATION TO JAPAN--A seven-member friendship delegation left Changchun for Beijing 16 October. It will fly to Japan 22 October to attend a ceremony for establishing friendly relations between Sendai City and Changchun Municipality. Feng Yingkui, deputy governor of Jilin Province and mayor of Changchun Municipality, is the head of the delegation. (Zhu Wenyu), deputy director of the Jilin provincial foreign affairs office, is the deputy head. [SK210720 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Oct 80 SK]

BRITISH VISITORS--Beijing, 18 Oct (XINHUA)--Professor Zhou Peiyuan, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee and president of Beijing University, met and feted member of British House of Lords Sir (Fulton) [Fu Er Dun 1381 1422 7319] and his wife at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on 18 October. The British guests arrived in Beijing on 15 October at the invitation of Beijing University. During their stay in Beijing, they called on the Education Ministry and toured Beijing University and scenic spots. [OW201113 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1601 GMT 18 Oct 80 OW]

PHILIPPINE AGRICULTURAL DELEGATION--A 13-member Philippine agricultural delegation arrived in Nanjing Municipality on 16 October for a friendly visit. The delegation was received and feted by Vice Governor Chen Ketain of Jiangsu Provincial People's Government. The delegation left Nanjing for Shanghai by train on 17 October. [OW201113 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Oct 80 OW] Chen Zonglie, vice mayor of Shanghai, on the evening of 18 October hosted a banquet in honor of the Philippine agricultural delegation headed by (Manultimu), Philippine vice minister of agriculture, and (Benjamin Pautista), vice chairman of the Philippine Agriculture Council. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 19 Oct 80 OW]

AFGHAN OFFICIAL SEEKS REFUGE--Islamabad, October 27 (XINHUA)--Dr. Abdul Ali, a high official in the Public Works Ministry of the Kabul regime, has recently crossed over to Pakistan from Afghanistan and taken refuge in this country, Radio Pakistan reported today. Dr. Ali, who obtained doctorate in engineering in the Soviet Union, has been serving in the present Babrak Karmal regime, the report said. The radio quoted the former Afghan official as saying in an interview that Soviet advisers were in virtual control of the civil administration in Afghanistan. Under these circumstances, he could not continue in service and decided to quit to take refuge in Pakistan, he added. Dr. Ali repudiated the often repeated claim that the Afghan economy was improving, saying that no public works project had been implemented since the Soviet military intervention in the country. He said that the economic exploitation of Afghanistan was going on and that the projects being undertaken were only those which benefit the occupying military forces. He particularly mentioned the bridge over the Amu River which is being used for the movement of Soviet troops and military equipment in Afghanistan. [Text] [OW280122 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 28 Oct 80]

AFGHAN REFUGEE CAMP ATTACKED--Islamabad, October 24 (XINHUA)--Six gunships attacked an Afghan refugee camp situated between Miranshah and Dattaknel, ten miles inside Pakistan territory in the Northwest Frontier Province at about 15:45 p.m. today, according to official sources here. The camp was strafed for some time, the sources said. It was learned that the gunships came from Afghanistan. [Text] [OW250142 Beijing XINHUA in English 0127 GMT 25 Oct 80]

FRENCH INDEPENDENT DEFENSE POLICY--Paris, October 23 (XINHUA)--French Defense Minister Joel Le Theule today reaffirmed at the national assembly that the primary objective of his country's defense policy is "to maintain under all circumstances the independence and liberty of France to act in the world in the interest of peace." When presenting the defense budget for 1981, Joel Le Theule described it as "conforming to the military programming law of 1976" and giving "priority to the development of our nuclear forces and the modernization of our conventional forces." He stressed, "France is engaged in a major effort which will bring about a new generation of weapons destined to maintain the quality and credibility of our deterrent force." He held that French nuclear technology is "at the level of that of the United States and the Soviet Union." France's military budget for 1981 will amount to 104,443 million francs, a 17.9 per cent increase over 1980, and account for 3.85 per cent of the gross domestic product. [Text] [OW262340 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 24 Oct 80]

FRANCE ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS--Paris, October 27 (XINHUA)--French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet said here today that the action taken by Akhtar Mohammed Paktiawal, acting leader of the Afghan delegation to the 21st UNESCO conference in Belgrade, showed that "the Afghan people are far from submission." In an interview with the French television station "Antenne-2," the French foreign minister said that in Belgrade, the "courageous" Afghan diplomat reminded world public opinion of the fact that military suppression was going on in Afghanistan, so was the resistance movement. Referring to the situation in Poland, Francois-Poncet pointed out that the problem should be solved by the Polish people themselves and other eventualities should not be mentioned. "One should not envisage lightly external interventions which, of course, are unacceptable." The French foreign minister opposed the French rugby team's tour of South Africa. The French Government, he said, has instructed French enterprises in South Africa to assume obligation not to carry out South Africa's racial discrimination regulations, especially in sports. Referring to the U.S. hostages in Iran, the foreign minister said, "I think the international community will finally take more coherent, more rapid and more energetic action to deal with such matters." [Text] [OW280811 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 28 Oct 80]

NATO OFFICIAL ON SOVIET THREAT--Paris, October 26 (XINHUA)--The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan signifies "a new stage in the execution of a colossal plan the aim of which is to strangle the Western economy by cutting off its oil supply from the Near East," said NATO secretary-general Josef Luns yesterday evening. Speaking at a banquet organized by the "Euro 9" club in southeast France, Luns said he was particularly perturbed by the Soviet's naval buildup. "Not only can the Soviet Union disturb or even paralyse the trade between the (NATO) allies within a definite area, but it is highly possible that Moscow has an over-all plan for domination over all the oceans." He said the (NATO) allies have a great superiority in surface fleets, but the Soviet submarine force is at least equal to that of the NATO states." He believed that in the near future the Soviet Union will build "very impressive nuclear-powered tactical aircraft carriers." Luns stressed the need for a "powerful, vigilant and united (Atlantic) alliance to cope with the challenge posed by a more complicated and more dangerous future." He also expressed satisfaction that Greece had returned to NATO's unified military command. [Text] [OW271358 Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 27 Oct 80]

FRG MEDICAL EXHIBITION--Tianjin, October 17 (XINHUA)--A ten-day exhibition of medical apparatus and instruments sponsored by the International Fair and the Exhibition Services Company of the Federal Republic of Germany closed here today. The exhibits, supplied by over 70 industrial enterprises, included medical apparatus, dental and ophthalmological technology, electronic instruments, and veterinary instruments, as well as sophisticated ambulances. The exhibition, which drew 40,000 scientists and medical workers from various parts of China, was the first ever held in Tianjin after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and West Germany. It fostered mutual understanding and friendship, and promoted trade and technical exchanges. Scientists and technicians of China and West Germany had a technical discussion and exchanged their experiences. West German Ambassador Guenther Schoedel attended the opening ceremony. [OW201113 Beijing XINHUA in English 1608 GMT 17 Oct 80]

MILITARY ACTION IN SOMALI --Cairo, October 25 (XINHUA)--Chief of staff of the Somali Armed Forces Major General Omar Haj Mohamed said in an interview with the Egyptian weekly AKHBAR AL-YAWM today that since September 18, Ethiopian forces backed by Soviet and Cuban forces and merceneries are trying to bring about turmoil in Somalia, but they have failed and will never succeed. The Somali general added that the Soviet forces are behind these attacks and are concocting the plots. This was borne out by reactions to the Somali resolution to give facilities to the American forces at Berbara port. Omar Haj Mohamed who arrived here on October 23 to pay a 5-day visit to Egypt, said that he will meet with Egyptian Defence Minister Badawi on Sunday and added that the relations between the Egyptian and the Somali armed forces are stronger than any events. [Text] [OW261311 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 26 Oct 80]

SOVIETS USE CAM RANH BAY--Manila, October 27 (XINHUA)--"Soviet expansion and improvement of Cam Ranh Bah in Vietnam as a triple-threat military base should explode all illusions about the Kremlin's intentions in this area " said an article appearing in today'S BULLETIN TODAY. "Already in the final stages of completion, the base has been serving the military and naval needs of the Soviet Union in this part of the world. Already, the aircraft carrier 'Minsk' with a capacity of 39,000 tons has made its first call there. The military airport has been expanded to enable the big Tupolev transport planes to take off or land," it said. The article pointed out that "from Cam Ranh Bay ships and planes can easily reach Thailand in the West, Singapore and the Straits of Malacca to the south, the Philippines to the east and China to the north. Soviet heavy bombers from Cam Ranh Bay can reach the Straits of Malacca in two hours and seal that vital waterway to traffic." "Opening of the port facilities at Cam Ranh Bay will, likewise, enable the Soviet Pacific Fleet to push south of Vladivostok and give it freedom to roam the South China Sea," it added. The article emphasized that it is now clear to everyone who is threatening the peace in Southeast Asia. [Text] [OW270731 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 27 Oct 80]

NIGERIAN PRC EXHIBIT--Lagos, October 15 (XINHUA)--An exhibition of Chinese sculptures and carvings, sponsored by the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture, opened in the National Theatre here this evening. Over one hundred pieces of bronze, pottery, wood, stone, ivory, jade sculptures and carvings were on display. These works of art indicate how the Chinese artists have developed the art of sculpture and carving on the basis of their rich tradition. They depict of the different facets of life in China and that of various nationalities. Presiding over the opening ceremony, Minister Paulinus Amadike said that both China and Nigeria are members of the Third World community and that there are interesting similarities in the history of their arts. He said, "this exhibition will afford our two countries additional opportunities for further strengthening the already good cultural relations." After the ceremony, the minister and other guests saw the exhibition in the company of Chinese Ambassador Lei Yang. The Nigerian minister held a reception this evening on the occasion. The exhibition will remain open till October 26. [OW201113 Beijing XINHUA in English 0226 GMT 15 Oct 80]

SINGAPORE PHOTO, OPTICAL FAIR--Beijing, 17 Oct (XINHUA)--China's photographic and film equipment and optical instruments are being shipped from Tianjin port to the international photo technology and optical instruments fair to be held in the Singapore trade center from 20 to 23 November, the goods are to arrive by the end of this month. Also attending are Japan, West Germany, Britain, Malaysia and the host country, Singapore. The more than 230 Chinese exhibits include cameras, enlargers, cinecameras, projectors, microscopes and theodolites. Trade talks will be held during the fair. China now has over 20 major factories producing film and photographic equipment, including cinecameras, processors, projectors and optical lens of more than 150 kinds and specifications. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 17 Oct 80 OW]

ITO ON NORTHERN ISLANDS--Tokyo, October 27 (XINHUA)--Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito yesterday expressed once again resolve to recover the four northern islands under Soviet occupation when he inspected Nosappu Cape, Nemuro Peninsula and watched Habomai Islands through a telescope. He arrived in Hokkaido on October 25 and told the press yesterday that a package return of the northern territories is the desire of the entire Japanese people. Japan will continue its talks with the Soviet Union though this is difficult. He said that for the return of these islands, Japan "will not only have to deal with the Soviet Union but appeal to the whole world." When he returned here from Sapporo yesterday Ito made a report to Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki on his tour and conveyed to him the desire of Nemuro citizens for him to make an inspection tour of the northern territories. [Text] [OW271349 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 27 Oct 80]

KAMPUCHEAN ATTACKS ON SRV--Bangkok, October 26 (XINHUA)--The Democratic Kampuchean Armed Forces yesterday destroyed a helicopter parking apron in their attacks on the Vietnamese troops in Malai and Mak Heun mountainous areas. This was the heaviest fighting in these areas in the past two months, according to local press reports. Thai paper BAN MUANG reported today that the armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea mounted a surprise attack on the Vietnamese troops in places within Kampuchea opposite Thailand's Aranyaprathet District, Prachinburi Province early yesterday morning. The battle lasted for one hour and a half. Heavy gunfire could be heard 16 kilometres from the fighting area which extended over ten kilometres. The report said that battalion commander Mitr Thiep of Democratic Kampuchean Armed Forces told Thai correspondents that their battalion had separated into small groups to launch simultaneous attacks on the Osompo Bridge and the surrounding areas, making it impossible for the enemy to repair and build highways and bridges. [Text] [OW261328 Beijing XINHUA in English 1247 GMT 26 Oct 80]

CSO: 4020

VIEWS OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT AS COLLECTIVE WISDOM EMPHASIZED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 1, Feb 80 pp 15-18, 34

[Article by Jiang Zhesheng [5592 0772 3932] of the Historical Research Institute of the Shanghai College of Social Sciences: "A Brief Understanding of Mao Zedong Thought"]

[Text] In his speech on the occasion of the 30th National Day Anniversary, Comrade Ye Jieying pointed out: "The Chinese communists and people regard Mao Zedong Thought as a result of the development of Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese revolution, attributing all our victories to the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought without which there would have been no new China today. This assessment is entirely consistent with historical facts." A study of Comrade Ye Jieying's speech and a review of my own experiences in carrying out the revolution under the party's leadership and tutelage tell us that this speech was an accurate document which assesses events with a serious Marxist attitude and in a way that takes into account objective reality and in a spirit of seeking truth from facts. For this reason, it can withstand any tests in history. This speech should and can be used as a basis for solving some related problems that we face today.

A review of some serious mistakes committed by our party during the past 30 years and especially during the Great Cultural Revolution which began in 1966 has led some of our comrades to raise a series of questions as follows: Are there any imperfections in Mao Zedong Thought? Do we feel guilty of "covering up wrong doings" if we treat Comrade Mao Zedong's works in such a way as to regard their accurate contents as belonging to Mao Zedong Thought and the remainder connected with the mistakes made by the party not as part of Mao Zedong Thought? After Comrade Mao Zedong's death, should we continue to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought?

These questions largely stem from some comrades' misunderstanding of the relationship between Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Ye Jieying's speech explicitly pointed out: "Mao Zedong Thought resulted from an application and development of Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese revolution, and from integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." This remark tells us that Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific theory of the proletarian liberation movement, just like Marxism which came into being after Marx and his close comrades-in-arms such as Engels worked together to apply scientific methods to sum up the experiences of the proletarian political parties--the "Communist League" and the "International Workers' Association (or the First International), and revolutionary people, and to convert them into a law governing a great historical movement and universal truth guiding the revolutionary struggles. This revolutionary theory was named after Marx because he was a great representative of the founders of this branch of science, just as Comrade Mao Zedong was the most outstanding representative of the founders of Mao Zedong Thought. Through the struggles collectively carried out by our party and the people, he and his close comrade-in-arms Zhou Enlai and others worked together to apply Marxism to develop that scientific ideological system--a combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction. It goes without saying that as an individual, Comrade Mao Zedong was not born to be inalienably associated with that scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. Nonetheless, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, in order to attain their counter-revolutionary aim, they set in motion their propaganda machine on a round-the-clock basis to persuade the people to worship Comrade Mao Zedong as God and to regard "Mao Zedong Thought" as "Chairman Mao's thought." As a result, they created a confusion and a modern cult of worship in the people's minds. "The rise of the red sun from Shaoshan marks the beginning of a new era of human history" was a song in praise of Comrade Mao Zedong's birthday. The daily airing of this song over the years led some comrades to treat that scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought as purely a product of the wisdom of Comrade Mao Zedong himself. In fact, one's stand and viewpoint with regard to the development of the world do not originate from one's mother's womb, but evolve from certain ideas one shapes under specific historical conditions long after one's birth. Such stand and viewpoint are subject to changes as the time goes on. As far as his viewpoint was concerned, Karl Marx remained a Hegelian idealist upon his graduation from college. When he discussed his past in 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "For myself, I used to have all sorts of non-Marxist ideas, and it was only later that I embraced Marxism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5, p 382) This is a true story from history. But this does not imply that Marxism contains idealism and Mao Zedong Thought contains non-Marxist ideas. The reason is that the scientific Marxist system was not conceived and adopted by Marx before Marxism was founded. Likewise, all ideas Comrade Mao Zedong had before he became a Marxist differ in essence from Mao Zedong Thought which has been a principle guiding the work of our party.

Marxism holds that no revolutionary leader is God and perfect. In his play "Self-Torture," humorous Roman playwright Teluntius said: "I am a human being. I inherit in my blood all characteristics of mankind." This motto indicates that whoever you are, you are a human being and you have weaknesses just like any other person. Whenever he spoke of his past, Marx quoted this motto. In 1865, he quoted it again in his "rejoinder" to a series of questions raised by the people all over Europe at that time. He repeatedly did so on the grounds that this motto truly reflected his personality and could be used to dispel any misunderstandings some Europeans had about him.

At a time of surveying the mistakes committed by the Marxist classic writers and their shortcomings, and assessing the correctness of the scientific system of Marxism, Lenin set a brilliant example for us to follow. In this connection, Lenin once said: "Surely, Marx and Engels made many mistakes and frequently erred in predicting the events to come. For example, they misjudged the timing of the revolution, and its victory (including the victory of the German revolution of 1848) and of the birth of the Republic of Germany (see Serve the Republic written by Engels after he took up the cudgels for the movement to defend the constitution of the monarch from 1848 to 1849). Nevertheless, such judgments made by these two great revolutionary thinkers, however erroneous, were more decent, valuable, and greater than the clumsy wisdoms of those bureaucrat-libertarians who loudly claimed that the revolution was a meaningless business." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 1, pp 709-170) In addition, Lenin also hailed the Marxist theory as an "omnipotent and correct thesis."

Does Lenin's remark that "Marx and Engels made many mistakes and erred frequently" contradict his statement that Marxism is "correct" and "omnipotent?" No. A realistic analysis clearly shows that the former remark reflects only an insignificant episode or a brief intervening act in a long drama about the activities of the representatives of the founders of scientific theories. In analyzing such episodes, we must realize that their aim was to triumphantly advance the cause of the working class and that few great historical figures could ever avoid mistakes when they stood in the forefront guiding the march of events and, in a sense, their shortcomings can be a legacy beneficiary to the generations to come. In other words, "their shortcomings should be explained in the light of historical conditions so that people can understand; we should not be too critical of our predecessors." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5, p 312) The latter statement was a fair evaluation of our great revolutionary teachers who devoted their lifetime to seeking truth in defiance of frustrations, truth that has been proven universally applicable through practice. Furthermore, we must pay attention to the fact that when Lenin described Marxism as correct and omnipotent, it does not mean an unconditional endorsement of every remark, every thesis or instruction made or issued by Marx and Engels. In discussing his experiences in studying and applying Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Zedong often identified it as "universal truth" "basic theories or principles" as distinguished from other theses and instructions made public by Marx, Engels and Lenin and Stalin. In view of this, Marxism-Leninism deserves to be called "the crystallization of the most correct and most revolutionary scientific thought of the world proletariat." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 3, 994)

We must adopt the same scientific attitude and method in assessing and evaluating Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao Zedong Thought is a theory based on the practical experiences gained by our party and the Chinese people in carrying out the protracted revolutionary struggles under the guidance of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. From the outset, the members of the Chinese Communist Party (Comrade Mao Zedong included) did not know how to apply Marxism-Leninism to destroy the old and build the new in a populous country like ours. At the initial stage of the struggle, they certainly could not avoid making mistakes. They then applied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to sum up their experiences (both correct and incorrect). Through a process of weeding out the rubbish and selecting the essential, discarding the false and retaining the true, they transformed what they intuitively perceived into rational knowledge, put it into practice and tested it out in order to enrich it. By persuading its members and cadres to keep in close touch with the masses, to listen to their voice and to put their knowledge through repeated practices, our party eventually deepened its understanding of the objective laws, and the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and transformed itself from a blind follower of Marxism-Leninism into a political organization capable of consciously applying it. As the "crystallization of the Chinese people's 50-year-old experiences in waging revolutionary struggles and in building a new society," Mao Zedong Thought is not merely a parade or combination of both positive and negative experiences, but quintessence deriving from such experiences. As a result of practice and repeated tests by millions upon millions of Chinese people over the past 50 years, Mao Zedong Thought has gained a reputation as a veritable scientific system--a combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese revolutionary practice. We really have no reason to cast any doubt on its correctness. This objective truth has nothing in common with the extreme form of egoism which influences people to "blame all faults on others and regard themselves as flawless persons" and to cover up their shortcomings.

Certainly, the aforementioned analysis will give rise to a demand for achieving a comprehensive and correct understanding of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought and for applying it properly. During his lifetime, Comrade Mao Zedong consistently stressed the need to seek truth from facts. But toward the waning years of his life, he issued some instructions and decisions incompatible with objective reality. This occurred when he was surrounded by the "gang of four" and other bad elements who prevented him from getting into contact with the masses and reality. During that 10 long years of turmoil, vicious political ambition also drove Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their ilk to deliberately distort, chop up, tamper with and adulterate Mao Zedong Thought, thus creating a confusion in the people's minds about this otherwise comprehensive scientific theoretical system. Today when we endeavor to implement the party's political line and to study and apply Mao Zedong Thought to solve problems resulting from the realization of the four modernizations, we should, as was pointed out in Ye Jieying's speech, regard it as a product of collective wisdom pooled by Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms and the party, and should integrate into a single ideological system major works by Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other comrades and the Party Central Committee's documents concerning our party's line, principles and policies. Only in this way can we systematically study and digest them along with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and fully appreciate and firmly grasp this fundamental ideological system which has been consistently applied by Comrade Mao Zedong and the party to observe and solve theoretical and practical problems in the revolution and has been verified as the truth through practice. Our primary task in the future is to effectively grasp and uphold the dialectical and historical materialist ideological line set forth by our party under Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership during the long period of revolutionary practice. In his speech, Ye Jieying described this ideological line as "the focal point of the proletarian world outlook, the essence of Mao Zedong Thought, the basis for formulating our political line and various principles and policies, and a key to success in correctly understanding and implementing the party's line, principles and policies." Only by persisting in upholding this ideological line of "taking actual conditions into account, seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice," can we fully comprehend and accurately apply the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. The fact that Mao Zedong Thought is not only indispensable to the development of the four modernizations but also cannot be estranged from the practice in struggle at home and abroad testifies to the truth that it is not only "omnipotent, but correct."

In the past, some individual comrades asked: Since Comrade Mao Zedong's death, should we still have to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought? Guided by the commonsense about historical materialism, I have no alternative but to answer this question this way: the proletariat should respect rather than chop up its own history. Marxism--the scientific ideological system of the proletariat-embodies almost everything of value to the centuries-old human civilization and culture. It not only absorbs but also transforms everything of value. This is why it has won a reputation as a thought of universal and historical significance. For example, in the 1970's Engels advised the proletarian leaders to translate works by the bourgeois atheist-thinkers in France like Adren Helvetius, who died nearly a century ago, and to widely disseminate them among the workers, commenting that "these works reflect the French achievements of the highest order both in form and content; even if they are measured by today's scientific standards, they remain highly valuable and are unsurpassed by their modern counterparts both in form and content." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 2, pp 591-592)

As far as the proletariat--the most revolutionary class in history--is concerned, no task is more important than to inherit its own ideological and theoretical system, a system which profoundly reflects the urgent need for the development of material well-being in society, and which can inspire millions upon millions of people to solve the problems of their concern and push society forward along a new course. Over 10 years after Karl Marx's death, Lenin thoroughly criticized and exposed the then Russian national elite group for smearing and distorting Marxism. In this connection, he resolutely pointed out: "The key to quick success in the revolution lies in the Russian socialists' ability to swiftly grasp Marxism as the only revolutionary theory and devote their full energy to apply it in Russia." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 1, pp 82-83) When he reviewed our party's experiences in the First and Second Revolutionary Civil Wars half a century away from Marx's death, Comrade Mao Zedong said: The basic principles of Marxism are "universally true because it is impossible for anyone to escape from its domain in his practice." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 1, p 269) In disputing this essential truth, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" alleged that since Marx and Lenin died long ago, their theories must now be outdated. Their aim was to viciously discredit Marxism-Leninism and to estrange the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism from the Chinese revolutionary practice and to negate Mao Zedong Thought despite their open declaration of "being boundlessly loyal to Mao Zedong Thought." I believe that the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism will be valid for a long time to come and will significantly guide our cause forward; the argument that Marxism-Leninism is outdated is unworthy of comment. On the other hand, we must thoroughly eliminate the influence of this fallacy and forever hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism during our march forward. Marxism-Leninism symbolizes an endless search for truth. It represents a boundless power of vitality at the service of the world's revolutionary people. It can guide them to open a new path toward knowing truth through practice. In other words, Marxism-Leninism can develop only through the expansion of the revolutionary struggles in various countries. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people regard Mao Zedong Thought as a result of the practice of Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese revolution. Furthermore, Mao Zedong Thought embodies significant progress in three major aspects of Marxism. The victory of the revolution and construction won by China over the past 50 years means a victory for Mao Zedong Thought--the Chinese brand of Marxism-Leninism. During the Democratic Revolution, we mainly relied on three magic weapons--the united front, the armed struggle and the building of the Party--to completely overthrow the rule of the three major enemies. A review of our work over the past 30 years following the birth of new China proves our political line to be correct. The four basic principles consistently promoted by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai--allegiance to the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the CCP leadership, and the cause of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the socialist revolution and construction in China; the "On the Ten Major Relationships" and a series of theories, lines and policies on socialist construction published by Comrade Mao Zedong in response to China's needs at that time; the thesis on the correct handling of the two different types of social contradictions; the basic cultural and political policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend;" the basic socialist political requirement for creating a political situation in which there are both unity of will and personal happiness and liveliness in the party and throughout the country; the strategic concept of three worlds and foreign policy--all these will remain to be our victorious banner and powerful weapons to defeat subversive enemies at home and abroad, to correct our mistakes in work, to withstand severe tests, and to build China into an advanced and powerful socialist country so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

In his speech, Comrade Ye Jieying solemnly declared to the world: "The Chinese people will forever remember Comrade Mao Zedong's immortal contributions, and are determined to defend and develop the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought." This remark expresses the aspirations of the entire party and the people throughout the country. Awaiting us now is a great task handed down by Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation to build China into a powerful socialist country with modern industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology. We firmly believe that by holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the people throughout the country under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee and the State Council certainly can conclude this task with better and faster results.

9574
CSO: 4005

NPC HAILED FOR EXERCISING DEMOCRATIC RIGHT, STARTING REFORMS

Free Expression of Will

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 1

[Today's Talk by Chen Ping [2525 1627]: "A Talk on 'One Abstention'"]

[Text] On its closing day, the Third Session of the Fifth NPC adopted a proposed amendment to "Article 45 of the Constitution of the PRC." After the voting was counted, its executive chairman Peng Zhen corrected an earlier announcement, saying: "The vote for the amendment to Article 45 of the constitution was not unanimous, because one deputy abstained." This announcement was very interesting.

When the People's Congress is in session, each deputy is entitled to one vote on any resolution. He may vote for or against it or abstain. This normal exercise of the democratic right must be preceded by careful and serious deliberations. But in our country, the "unanimous passage" of resolutions through the people's congresses at all levels has long been the case most familiar to our ears. Was the voting really unanimous? If the answer is yes in most cases, the soundness of our democratic centralism would be in doubt. Although deputies often unanimously raised their hands in favor of certain resolutions through a roll call, it was not necessarily an indication of "an agreement" from the bottom of their hearts. When Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and company held sway over the political life inside and outside the party, no deputy dared to cast a negative vote. If he did, he would have no way of escaping an investigation which marked the beginning of an end to his political career. In those old days, who could freely express their will?

Although I personally discourage any negative vote against the resolution on amendment to Article 45 of the constitution or abstention, I highly admire the democratic atmosphere in which the Third Session of the Fifth NPC was conducted and the courage displayed by that deputy in expressing an opinion different from others. Political democracy will prevail as long as we uphold the system to grant the people the right to freely express their will.

Reform in Significant Ways

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 1

[oday's Talk by Wang Yufeng [3769 3768 0023]: "Trifling Matters Reflect a New Spirit"]

[Text] In its editorial entitled "A Democratic Congress, A Congress of Reform," RENMIN RIBAO used the phrase "trifling matters reflect a new spirit" to praise the Third Session of the Fifth NPC for pushing through many reforms. These reforms not only touch matters of principle but also trifling and specific aspects of political life. Apart from those minor reforms already published in the newspapers, I would like to point out many others known to me. Among them were the disappearance of slogans from the meeting hall except for a large streamer hung across the rostrum of the Presidium; the resolution on banning deputies from bringing their own secretaries and other aides to the session with the exception of the aging and ailing deputies who could not take care of themselves; the decision to transfer the personnel of nearby government offices to work for the Third Session of the Fifth NPC so that they didn't have to live in hotels and eat at restaurants at government expense; the cancellation of privileges formerly granted to deputies to see movies and Beijing operas free of charge.

When the NPC was in session last year, its deputies and staff were served food at 11 pm every day. During the Third Session of the Fifth NPC, only those comrades who worked late into midnight were served food.

The reform of the unreasonable rules and regulations and elimination of archaic systems call for action and must take into account both long-term and short-term interests. The reform must touch every aspect of political life. Only in this way will the reform not be criticized as "something that can never materialize." As far as the reform is concerned, the Third Session of the Fifth NPC has got off to a good start. I sincerely hope that the reform movement will soon spread to every aspect of life.

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

ZHAO ZIYANG'S PROMOTION EXAMINED

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 80 pp 27-33

[Article by Qi Xin [7871 6580]: "The Background and Outlook of the Advancement in position of Zhao Ziyang--The Bombardment of Chinese Communist Newspapers at the Errors and Failures of the Economic Departments and Their Affirmation of the Economic Reforms Carried Out in Sichuan Are the Main Background of the Personnel Changes This Time"]

[Text] The 14th session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress that came to a close on 16 April this year announced that the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress is to be convened in August this year. Since that time, a series of changes in the ongoing state of affairs has invariably indicated that this Session of the Congress is likely to make a number of important decisions. The most noticeable of these are of course personnel changes such as Zhao Ziyang's succession to Hua Guofeng as premier of the State Council and the resignation of Deng Xiaoping and others as vice premiers. But hidden behind these changes are also many more important, major differences relating to the national economy and livelihood of the people, and economic changes and reforms brought about on account of those differences. The relevant background in this regard has also gradually revealed itself in the course of July and August.

Public opinion overseas in the past usually considered the meeting of the National People's Congress an application of the rubber stamp, since all decisions of the Chinese Communist Party were still usually made by the Party Central Committee or the party's meetings. This is of course also true. In addition, the Chinese Communists time and again indicated that they are going to insist on "leadership by the Communist Party"; this is tantamount to admitting this fact without any attempt to hide it. But, is party leadership, as in the past, a case of control intended for all matters, big or small, or is it now concerned only with the determination of some general orientations by way of so-called "ideological leadership" while leaving administrative matters to the fully authorized autonomous disposal of the State Council? It seems that the Chinese Communist authorities have now woken up from the errors of their former type of practice and thus are inclined toward the latter view.

From the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee concluded in March this year, this tendency toward the separation of the party from the government could already be seen. At that time, two members, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, were elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau; the Central Secretariat was set up, with Hu Yanbang as general secretary; although Zhao Ziyang was a member of the Standing Committee, he did not join the Secretariat, which indicated that he was going to take up an important post on the State Council and carry out "party leadership" on the State Council on the basis of his very status as a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. By the middle of April, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress appointed Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li as vice premiers of the State Council; when Deng Xiaoping accepted an interview by an Italian journalist on 17 April, Zhao Ziyang was vice premier for Standing Affairs on the State Council.

During the 2 or 3 months thereafter, Deng Xiaoping repeatedly indicated to foreign visitors that he was going to retire. By the end of June, Hu Yaobang indicated in a conversation with a Yugoslav journalist that a whole series of measures was being prepared for adoption in order to prevent excessive concentration of power, that the practice of granting lifelong tenure was to be abolished, and that efforts were being made to let younger persons around 60 years of age take up posts of responsibility. On 10 July, Bo Yibo hinted to a visitor that Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping would "lay down their duties as premier and vice premier." Thereafter, on 27 July, Li Xiannian indicated to deputy editor-in-chief Sulzberger of THE NEW YORK TIMES that Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Xu Xiangqian, Wang Zhen and he himself (Li Xiannian) were going to resign from their posts as premier and vice premiers. Besides, NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY reported in a news item that Yao Yilin was chairman of the State Planning Commission and Yu Qiuli was chairman of the State Energy Commission; this revealed that Yao Yilin had already replaced Yu Qiuli at the important post of chairman of the Planning Commission.

During July and August, RENMIN RIBAO and other Chinese Communist newspapers started to bombard the Chinese Communist economic departments. Most sensational was the story about the major event of the capsizing and sinking of the oil drilling rig "Bohai No. 2"; then it was criticism of the Wuhan Steel Plant's importation of the "1.7 meter steel-cutting works," criticism of the Dagang oil field and the civil aviation bureau. Prior to all this, there were also criticism of "promotion of the Dazhai experience" and Bo Yibo's criticism to a Japanese visitor of the Baoshan Steel Plant's importation of foreign technology. This series of bombardments directly or indirectly reproached Communist China's Petroleum Ministry, State Planning Commission, Economic Commission, Capital Construction Commission, Ministry of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, Civil Aviation Bureau; they criticized the policies and concrete measures of the State Council in promoting the "In Agriculture, Learn From Dazhai" movement and in importing foreign technologies between 1975 and 1978.

This expose by the Chinese Communist newspapers of the major errors and failures of the economic departments not only reflected differences on economic policy in the upper strata of the Chinese Communist Party during the past few years, but also reflected forthcoming policy orientation and personnel changes.

Bombardment at the Economic Departments

The oil drilling rig "Bohai No. 2" capsized and sank on 25 November last year. But not until 22 July this year did RENMIN RIBAO report this serious incident, and the newspaper also criticized by name "the Oceanic Oil Exploration Bureau of the Petroleum Ministry." Seventy-two persons died in this incident, and total loss was put at more than 37 million yuan (people's currency). RENMIN RIBAO's report pointed out that the occurrence of this incident "was by no means accidental, but a result of the fact that the Oceanic Oil Exploration Bureau for a long time had overlooked safety work and failed to respect objective laws in its oceanic oil drilling production. According to only incomplete statistics from 1975 to 1979, incidents of various kinds which occurred under the jurisdiction of the Bureau numbered as many as 1,043 (of which more than 30 were major incidents), resulting in the death of 105 persons and serious injury of 114 persons; economic losses were staggering. After the occurrence of these incidents, in most cases, no effort was made to mobilize the masses to seriously sum up experience and to try to solve the hidden causes behind the events."

What was sensational about the incident of "Bohai No. 2" was not the death of people and loss of money but the continuous expose through this incident by the Chinese Communist newspapers of the bureaucracy and bad working style which ignored questions of life and death concerning the workers as exemplified by the Oceanic Oil Exploration Bureau of the Petroleum Ministry. "Bohai No. 2" was imported from abroad in 1973; but this drilling rig's "stability calculation statement" was written in a foreign language and the material was never translated for study; not until the occurrence of the incident did the Tianjin Municipal People's Procuratorate, for the sake of investigating the case, ask someone to have it translated.

According to the report, when "Bohai No. 2" capsized, tug No. 282, which was responsible for tugging the rig on its voyage, even "failed to issue international s.o.s. signals immediately according to navigation regulations and ascertain the position of the rig, but, instead, it was unable to report the accurate position of the sunk rig for quite some time, and the lifeboats and liferafts on the tug, too, were not launched to save the victims" (RENMIN RIBAO, 25 July).

Besides, a "small incident" exposed in the report of GONGREN RIBAO likewise fully revealed the ugly faces of certain leading cadres of the Oceanic Oil Exploration Bureau: "At one time, a worker of 'Bo 4' fell on the rig and was wounded; his wound was serious, and he was in a coma. The drilling rig requested the Bureau to despatch urgently a helicopter to save him. The helicopter came, and in it sat Sun Zhiye [1327 3112 2814], head of the drilling department, and the head of another oceanic engineering department. Because the helicopter could only accommodate three persons, the captain and the guide explained the situation and asked them to get down so that the worker could be sent ashore to be taken care of. The head of the oceanic engineering department alighted from the helicopter, but department head Sun stubbornly refused to budge; drilling team cadres pleaded with him with profuse apologies, but he was still not moved. Finally, a worker had to be asked to kneel in the cabin in order to take care of the wounded, while department head Sun sat in the cabin in grand style without lifting a hand."

After reading such related reports, any conscientious person would have his blook boiling in his veins, for this was no longer any question of bureaucracy but the correct name should be: "cold-blooded animal." Compared to such ugly scenes in reality, the problems of cadre privileges and bureaucracy described in the literary works of new realism are too insignificant, indeed.

The spearhead of the incident "Bohai No. 2" was thus pointed toward the Petroleum Ministry. Then, on 11 August, RENMIN RIBAO published a "letter from the correspondent" which even more directly and explicitly criticized the Dagang oil field, pointing out that its "departments in charge lacked overall planning. Production of various plants was uncoordinated, resulting in huge waste." The letter pointed out: In the case of the Dagang electricity plant, because no consideration was given at the time it was constructed as to the amount of fuel that could possibly be supplied by the Tianjin oil refinery, even though the amount of US $86 million was spent to import from abroad two power-generating assembling units of 320,000-kilowatt capacity each, at a total investment of nearly 500 million yuan, but because fuel supply turned out to be insufficient, one assembling unit could not operate for a long time, nor could the other assembling unit give full scope to its role. Thus, each year the electricity generated was 2.1 billion kilowatts less, an equivalent to half of the electricity for industrial use in Tianjin Municipality. Apart from this, in the case of the Tianjin petrochemical fibre plant being constructed, after it is launched into production, it will need 180,000 tons of naphtha as its principal raw material, and such naphtha also depends on the Tianjin oil refinery's supplies. But the department in charge has long ago put down a great amount of investment to let the Tianjin oil refinery produce jet fuel; this makes it impossible for the refinery to produce 180,000 tons of naphtha each year at the same time. The petrochemical fibre plant is going to put in the raw material and try out its machines the next half of this year; since the raw material problem is still not solved, this key works with an investment of 1.3 billion yuan is bound to become completely stopped, or semi-stopped, in its operations.

The criticism of the Dagang oil field and industrial district touched upon the big questions of importation of large-type equipment and the state's overall planning, and the criticism of the Wuhan Steel Plant and the Baoshan Steel Plant for their importation of foreign equipment also turned its spearhead toward the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, even though no names were specified.

Wuhan Steel Plant's "1.7 meter steel-cutting works" was imported from West Germany; the state invested several billion yuan. It took 5 or 6 years from construction planning to the gradual start at successive points of its production. "Only after it was launched into production was it discovered that there was not enough raw material, nor enough electric power, and certain energy media (water, electricity, gas, air, wind) were lacking; thus there was a shortage of this and of that...In the end, the equipment was first-rate, but the quantity of production was low, the cost was high, and the products were not competitive; not only were they unable to enter the international market, but their outlets for domestic sales were also very limited." Several billion yuan thus went down the drain!

Another example of wrong importation of foreign technology was the Baoshan Steel Plant. Two years ago, Chinese Communist leaders criticized Japanese merchants as being dishonest since they did not provide the Baoshan Steel Plant with the most advanced technical equipment; thereafter, the Japanese side made some adjustments according to China's demands and brought in first-rate technology accordingly. But on 3 July Bo Yibo indicated to Japanese visitors that "the Baoshan Steel Plant is neither the path nor the model to work on modernization; it has already become the Chinese people's cumbersome burden. What China needs from now on is not to import first-rate technology but to combine with China's actual situation and mainly pay attention to carrying out improvements on the basis of existing technology, and import foreign technology under this principle. But construction of those parts of the Baoshan Steel Plant for which contracts have already been signed will continue to be carried out hereafter."

Since the Baoshan Steel Plant imported the most advanced equipment, why did it become China's burden? It has become known that the Japanese equipment was designed according to Japan's situation. Japan lacks natural resources; since iron ores and coal have to be imported anyway, it is better to use such iron ores and coal of the highest quality so that better results can be achieved. For this reason, there was pertinent accommodation in the design of the machines to be used. China adopted Japan's first-rate equipment, but the quality of its iron ores and coal is not good enough and hence cannot be used to the greatest advantage according to the design of these machines; as a result, high prices had to be paid in order to import good enough iron ores and coal from Australia, Brazil, and places of the like. China itself does not lack iron ores and coal; yet it was forced to import iron ores and coal from foreign countries just because it wanted to import advanced equipment. This constitutes quite a grievance, indeed. In particular, the Shanghai harbor is rather shallow, and large vessels find it hard to dock there; thus the raw materials needed had to rely on Japan for entrepot facilities--that is, they must be first transported to Japan by large vessels, and then transferred by Japan with small vessels to Shanghai. Because of this, not a little transportation fees have been added.

In an article in which he examined the "1.7 meter steel-cutting works," the Baoshan Steel Plant's translator Meng Xiancheng [1322 2009 2052] quoted the words of a West German expert: "I don't understand why you must import such expensive equipment. In the case of some key items of equipment such as electronic computers, there are not very many who can understand them even in our own country. After you have purchased them at a high price, you cannot use them, do not know how to repair them, nor have any spare parts. We use them because we have a small population and labor power is very expensive. What you have is plenty of people; you may buy certain cheaper and not so advanced things in order to use more people. You can also manage well; so long as you produce continuously, you can still make money. Any equipment must be able to make money. It will not be too late after you have trained competent people and can then import the most advanced equipment."

RENMIN RIBAO affirmed the stance of Meng Xiancheng and the West German expert's opinion that he quoted. On 11 August, RENMIN RIBAO even published an editorial to point out that in the work of importing advanced technology and equipment from abroad, "there existed for a long time a 'Left' tendency in thinking of the largest scale and demanding the greatest speed" and, because of improper importation, "the comprehensive balance of the national economy has come to be affected, and the situation of disproportionate development has also come to be aggravated." These ill effects have been concretely reflected in the fact that the scale of the imports was too large; no consideration was given to the country's lack of matching manufacturing and operational capability, technical level, management level, and foreign exchange payment capability; there was a great deal of blind urge involved; the proportionate imports in agriculture, light industry and heavy industry were improper, with too many in heavy industry, too few in light and textile industries, while the amount of money spent on imports in communications and transportation enterprises in the past 30 years made up only 0.5 percent of the total, and the amount of money on imports directly used in agriculture was practically equal to zero; too many whole sets of equipment were imported, as they made up more than 90 percent of the total amount of money used on imports, but little money was really used on the importation of technology. "Furthermore, because certain imports were put to use in a hurry and hence failed to function properly after much construction work, their economic results turned out to be far from satisfactory; in the case of certain items, no one took the responsibility; hence up to millions and tens of millions of yuan's worth of equipment were left idle in the warehouses, exposed in the wilderness, subject to abuse by the elements until mildewed, rusty, and ruined. All this constituted a waste of the people's blood and sweat."

Besides, criticisms of the Civil Aviation Bureau and the "In Agriculture, Learn From Dazhai" movement also touched on those who have been in charge of the economic departments of the State Council since the Fourth National People's Congress (1975). Put more clearly, this means that the derelication of duty on the part of the vice premiers and ministers of the State Council in charge of the State Planning Commission, the Economic Commission, the Capital Construction Commission, the Ministry for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, the Petroleum Ministry, and also those in charge of the work of the agricultural departments since 1975 has now been publicly criticized in the newspapers. The nature of the errors committed by these people is very different from the case of the "whatever faction" like Wang Dongxin and others; in the latter case, they perhaps because of old age, were rather conservative, tended to make-do with whatever happened to be on hand, got used to the old ways of doing things or a bureaucratic working style or problems of the like, and hence became derelict in their duties. But the economic problem is the key to the stability of political power; this is no exception to any country in the world. If the economy is not handled well, the political power will not be stable; leaders lacking the competence to solve the economic problems are bound to be dismissed from their offices, no matter what reasons are cited when they are dismissed.

The Big Change of Personnel at the State Council

In connection with the bombardment of the economic departments by the Chinese Communist newspapers, we might as well make an estimate as to what personnel changes are likely to be made on the State Council at the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

The First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in February 1978. At that time a premier and 13 vice premiers were elected. Of these 14 persons, 11 continued or were promoted from their term established by the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975; 3 were new in their office. The namelist of these 14 is as follows: Hua Guofeng (promoted), Deng Xiaoping (continuation), Li Xiannian (continuation), Xu Xiangqian (new in office), Ji Dengkuei (continuation), Yu Qiuli (continuation), Chen Xilian (continuation), Geng Biao (new in office), Chen Yongguei (continuation), Fang Yi (promoted, serving as minister for economic relations with foreign countries during the Fourth National People's Congress), Wang Zhen (continuation), Gu Mu (continuation), Kang Shi'en (promoted, serving as petroleum minister during the Fourth National People's Congress), and Chen Muhua (new in office).

This State Council group basically maintained its original shape of 1975, especially in the economic departments. Absent were only Zhang Chunqiao, Wu Gueixian, and Sun Jian, the three who were involved with the "gang of four."

Among these 14 persons, Yu Qiuli served concurrently as chairman of the State Planning Commission; Kang Shi'en, concurrently as chairman of the State Economic Commission; Fang Yi, concurrently as chairman of the State Science and Technology Commission; and Chen Muhua, concurrently as minister of economic relations with foreign countries. The importation by the state of large-type foreign technical equipment and the undertaking of capital construction and economic planning were held basically in the hands of these people. The huge economic plan presented by Hua Guofeng at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, which deviated from realities, was formulated by this very group.

A conceptualization at the time was to exploit and export petroleum in large quantity in exchange for the world's most advanced technologies and equipment. But it appears that the Petroleum Ministry has rather great problems, and the most advanced equipment purchased with foreign exchange has also proved to be unsuitable to China's actual conditions. Therefore, the economic plan proposed at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was basically an adventurous plan. Hua Guofeng proposed to employ the mode of great joint battles to work on 120 large-type construction projects, and also thought of achieving 10 or so Daqings; conceptualizations of this sort partook especially the color of "coveting greatness and demanding speed" of the Great Leap Forward period. The Chinese Communist cadres and people who had learned all necessary lessons could no longer bear another Great Leap Forward.

In agriculture, Hua Guofeng presided over two conferences under the theme "In Agriculture, Learn From Dazhai" respectively at the end of 1975 and 1976. Those who were in charge of agricultural work after the 1978 Fifth National People's Congress reportedly included Ji Dengkuei, Wang Zhen, Chen Yonggui and others. Very obviously, promotion of agricultural growth by the method of spreading the Dazhai experience not only failed to attain anticipated results but also sabotaged the productive forces.

Agricultural and industrial targets proposed at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in 1978 still placed emphasis on the production of foodgrain and steel; that is to say, the principle of Mao Zedong's "taking foodgrain as the key link" and "taking steel as the key link" was still to be implemented.

A situation of serious disproportionate development began to appear less than 1 year after the plan with its "high targets" proposed by the Fifth National People's Congress in 1978 was put into operation. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee at the end of 1978 proposed the principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement. The Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress held in July 1979 appointed three new vice premiers, Chen Yun, Bo Yibo, and Yao Yilin; it also established the Financial and Economic Commission, with Chen Yun as its chairman, Li Xiannian as its vice chairman, and Yao Yilin as its general secretary; its members included Yu Qiuli, Wang Zhen, Gu Mu, Fang Yi, Wang Renzhorg, Chen Guodong, Kang Shi'en, Zhang Jinghu, and Jin Ming. The three seniors, Chen Yun, Bo Yibo, and Yao Yilin, were all fairly good at managing economic affairs. In 1979, the national economy of the China mainland was thus subject to readjustment under the leadership of the Financial and Economic Commission headed by Chen Yun, and it also obtained fairly conspicuous results.

The readjustment policy of Chen Yun and others was to suppress certain large-type construction projects at key points, slow down industrial development, and put emphasis on the agriculture and light industries which are related to people's livelihood so as to improve it. These measures were beneficial to the people, but they affected the growth rate of the industries. From figures, no growth rate of a high speed can be derived; nor are there any magnificent, large-type construction projects launched into operation to satisfy the vain glory of "modernization." One cannot imagine that the moderate economy of Chen, Bo and Yao was to be smoothly implemented. Among the members of the Financial and Economic Commission were included financial and economic leaders appointed by the Fourth National People's Congress (1975); it was precisely they who formulated the magnificent economic plan that deviated from realities. Hence, it was impossible for them to agree completely with the readjustment policy of Chen Yun and others. In the period of more than 1 year from the latter half of 1979 up to the present, one can believe that argument between different opinions on the part of the Chinese Communist leading strata in the economic realm must have been quite vehement.

From the nationwide point of view, what was implemented by Chen, Bo, and Yao was mainly the readjustment policy. From the point of view of individual provinces, there was also a restructuring of the economic system respectively carried out in Sichuan and Anhui with an expansion of enterprise autonomy as its characteristic. Under the condition of good results obtained, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee decided early this year to transfer the first secretary of the Sichuan party committee Zhao Ziyang and the first secretary of the Anhui party committee Wan Li to the Central Headquarters. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress meeting in April appointed the two as vice premiers, and Zhao Ziyang was named vice premier for standing affairs. It appears that their restructuring policy is going to be implemented across the country.

In 1978 there were altogether 14, with the premier counted with the vice premiers; last year the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress added three; later on, Ji Pengfei was also added. This year, two more were added, making the total 20. With Chen Xilian and Ji Dengkuei dismissed from their office as vice premiers in April this year, the premier and the vice premiers now number 18. It has already become known that Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Xu Xianqian and Wang Zhen will all resign at the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress because of old age. Thus, at least 8 of the 14 first appointed in 1978 are going to leave the office of the premier and vice premiers.

When Zhao Ziyang becomes premier, the list of cabinet officials is bound to be suggested by him. That will be a good time to have certain vice premiers derelict in their duties replaced. Because, if they are dismissed before then, it would suggest that, like Chen Xilian and Ji Dengkuei, they have committed serious errors; but if the new premier is allowed to provide a new cabinet list, then those excluded would not feel that there is anything unsavory involved, since they are then not dismissed but just not selected into the cabinet. Chen Yonggui, who originally served as vice premier, is for sure not going to be on the list. Whether or not another few vice premiers who had become obstacles on the road to progress in the course of the implementation of the principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement in the economy are also going to be excluded from the new cabinet list is not yet known at this time. On the other hand, Yang Dezhi, Hu Qiaomu and others who were elected into the Secretariat during the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee seem very likely to become members of the forthcoming cabinet.

Because the premier is replaced and a new cabinet list is proposed, the State Planning Commission, Economic Commission, Capital Construction Commission, and the Petroleum Ministry are also likely to change their responsible personnel. Thus, a great change is likely to take place in the group of premier and vice premiers appointed by the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in 1978. Among the premier and vice premiers appointed in 1978, at best five are going to be included in the new cabinet. Genuine power in the forthcoming State Council is believed likely to fall on Vice Premiers Zhao Ziyang, Yao Yilin, Bo Yibo, Wan Li, and Ji Pengfei, who were not appointed unitl after 1978.

Administrative Achievements in Sichuan Cause Zhao Ziyang's Promotion

No doubt, Zhao Ziyang is going to become one of those attracting the greatest Attention in the Chinese Communist political arena. (Another such person is believed to be Hu Yaobang.) Many people are interested in his background and experience. It is a pity that materials on him personally have been rarely reported.

Zhao Ziyang is a native of Henan; born in 1919, he is now 61 years old. In 1948 he served as secretary of the party committee of the Henan-Hubei-Anhui region; in 1950, he served as secretary of the district party committee of Nanyang, Henan Province. In 1951, he was transferred to Guangdong to work. In 1955, he served as deputy secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and was promoted to third secretary of the provincial committee in the same year; in 1962, he became second secretary of the provincial committee, and in 1965 he became first secretary of the provincial committee and secretary of the party's Central-South Bureau. At that time, 46-year-old Zhao Ziyang was the youngest among the provinces of the whole country. After 1 year as first secretary, the Cultural Revolution broke out. In January 1967, Tao Zhu fell; Zhao Ziyang was also designated as "the biggest capitalist roader under Tao Zhu" and subject to open criticism and struggle; he was also purged.

In 1971, Zhao Ziyang was "liberated" and transferred to Inner Mongolia, where he worked as secretary of the party committee and deputy director of the revolutionary committee of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. In April 1972, he was transferred to the post of secretary of the provincial party committee and deputy director of the revolutionary committee of Guangdong. In 1974, he became first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee. In December 1975, he was transferred to the post of first secretary of the Provincial Party Committee of Sichuan, where he served until early this year. Zhao Ziyang was then transferred upward to the Central Headquarters, and elected to membership on the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

Since the founding of the state by the Chinese Communist Party, Zhao Ziyang has worked most of the time in Guangdong. His administrative achievements in Guangdong were not particularly outstanding; but there are reasons for this. First of all, before 1965 he was not No. 1 in command in Guangdong, and Tao Zhu, as No. 1 in command, was a rather sharp fellow. Under such circumstances, according to the Chinese Communist system, it was very hard for Zhao Ziyang to demonstrate any outstanding performances. Secondly, in Guangdong Tao Zhu erroneously belabored "localism" and ejected indigenous cadres; although Zhao was not a native of Guangdong, it was not appropriate for him to adopt greater independence toward the Central Headquarters. But it so happened that from 1957 on, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee promoted a Left erroneous line; under the premise of an emphasis on the unified leadership of the Central Headquarters, it was also hard for local cadres to aim at creative achievements. Thirdly, after Zhao Ziyang was "liberated" in 1971, his stay in Inner Mongolia lasted only 1 short year; in Guangdong he stayed from 1972 to 1975. At that time, the Cultural Revolution did not yet come to a close, and his work was hamstrung in many ways; in addition, the influence of Huang Yongsheng and Ding Sheng still remained in Guangdong, it was hard even for someone determined to do good work to demonstrate anything.

At the end of 1975, Zhao Ziynag was transferred to Sichuan. The eventful 1976 immediately followed. At that time, it was hard for a cadre like Zhao Ziyang even to preserve himself, let alone to go against the intent of the central authorities upon "grasping revolution" and do any good job on production.

Therefore, the period in which Zhao Ziyang really fully devoted himself to the work on provincial affairs and did so relatively independently without too many handicaps began only after the smashing of the "gang of four" at the end of 1976.

What Zhao Ziyang had to begin to put together was a messy stall. At this time in 1976, this "Heavenly Kingdom of Abundance" traditionally known for its rich products actually became a province suffering serious foodgrain shortage. Beggars could be seen wandering in the street everywhere in cities such as Chongqing and Chengdu. In the countryside, peasants were selling their children in order to avoid starving to death. The shelves of department stores in the cities and in the countryside alike were regularly empty. Production at factories and in the fields fell to a state of semi-inactivity. At the time, provinces of the whole country were overshadowed by an atmosphere of confusion, slowdown, minimum efficiency, and distrust between people, but the situation was even more serious in Sichuan because Sichuan had a population of 960 million, which made up 10 percent of the nation's total, and factional warfare during the Cultural Revolution had also been staged in a most drastic manner: Rival groups had confronted each other on either shore of the Jialing River and attacked each other with such heavy weapons as tanks.

After the fall of the "gang of four," an ambitious Zhao Ziyang immediately proposed: Sichuan, in an area of heavy disaster during the Cultural Revolution, now was prepared to issue its challenge to Shandong, the most advanced province of the whole country, as a response to the call for "Preliminary Results in 1 Year, Great Results in 3 Years." Insofar as this call was concerned, in terms of the economy of the whole country, most areas failed to achieve the expected results. But Sichuan basically achieved them, and Shandong, because of the serious "internal wound" it suffered during the Cultural Revolution, was soundly defeated.

In order to understand the people's conditions and win the support of the masses, Zhao Ziyang conducted an inspection of more than 60 counties like a hurricane. He went to factories, the fields, and listened to the complaints of the workers and peasants and immediately, honestly and practically discussed the problems with the people and the methods to solve them.

For example, in the countryside, Zhao Ziyang witnessed the peasants complaining that three seasons of farming work each year made them too busy and that their life was also harsh, and he came to realize that the reason harvests of these places left so much to be desired had to do with intervals of draught and lack of sufficient irrigation. Zhao Ziyang therefore suggested that, if irrigation fell short when there were three seasons of work each year, then why did they not try only two seasons a year but at the same time improve their irrigation, select good seeds, and increase their fertilizers? If the three seasons were thus changed into two seasons, and if harvests of the two seasons turned out to be plentiful whereas harvests of three seasons would remain meager, then the result would be like that of 2 multiplied by 5, which is larger than that of 3 multiplied by 3. Even if the absolute figure should not show any increase, so long as the reduction turns out to be minimum, labor power can at least be spared to attend to sideline enterprises and other kinds of production. After the peasants adopted his suggestion and went through practice, it was proved that this actually augmented the absolute figure of foodgrain production.

Besides, when Zhao Ziyang saw that some places had poor harvests because of draught, he also encouraged the peasants to plant dry season crops such as wheat, corn, potato, etc.

In the course of his inspection of the countryside, he saw that the question of agricultural mechanization all along emphasized by the central authorities actually was by no means anything urgently needed because "the greatest benefit of mechanization itself is to save labor power, but it does not necessarily increase production very much, and especially in areas of plenty of land and very few people, its effect on production increase is very limited." "If a great deal of labor power is saved from mechanization, and such surplus labor power cannot be arranged well, then there will be even additional social problems." "Therefore, on the question of agricultural modernization, we should first of all emphasize and study the application of modern science and technology in agriculture." In the past, in order to work on mechanization we often only cared about the production of tractors, thinking that this was namely to provide support to agriculture. But, "why were many tractors driven on highways and seldom into the fields? This shows that transportation is more important than ploughing the fields. In so many years of the past, no study was done on the reason why tractors were driven on highways." "This illustrates that tractors are needed, but mechanization of transportation is even more needed" (article quoted is published in HONGQI, No. 1, 1980).

Zhao Ziyang saw that the reason the peasants exhibited no great enthusiasm in production was mainly because they had no power to make their own decisions; production plans, distribution questions, and management questions were all decided and sent down from above and not brought about on the basis of democracy. He proposed to put emphasis on a production team's autonomy, to readjust and increase the peasants' reserved lots to an appropriate extent, to let a production brigade operate enterprises and readjust the deployment of crop planting according to local conditions (that is, decide the planting of certain kinds of crops on the basis of natural conditions such as soil, source of water, etc., and not entirely on "Taking Foodgrain as the Key Link"). He also proposed to fix output quotas based on the production group, and to have pigs raised by specialty groups and specialty households. For example, Zhao Ziyang many times asked certain responsible cadres in Chengdu who were working on agriculture as to why, with so many ponds in the Chengdu area, people did not raise fish? They repeatedly answered that there were still many problems, such as lack of feed, need to provide food for those who raise such fish, etc. Zhao Ziyang then said: Why don't you just fix some quotas based on the household, so that whoever knows how to raise fish would get to do so; let the output quotas be fixed, but not so high. These cadres replied that, so long as you say so, fish can certainly be raised. They never mentioned the question of feed again.

Under such countryside policies, the agriculture in Sichuan developed rapidly. Grain production increased from the 50 billion jin in 1976 to 55 billion jin in 1977, and 60 billion jin in 1978. In 1979, Sichuan suffered serious draught; but grain production still increased by 2 billion jin. More importantly, the peasants' livelihood showed conspicuous improvement.

Thus, from the state of half-starvation in 1976, Sichuan has developed to the present point of having surplus grain to supply to the state. It is no wonder that there came to be a current saying in the Sichuan countryside: "If you want food to eat, look for zhao, [in Sichuanese, pronounced the same as Zhao] Ziyang."

As Zhao Ziyang looked up workers at factories to chat with, he came to understand that what they had been most concerned with over the years was the "three zis": erzi [son], fangzi [house], and piaozi [money]. The question of erzi was that a son or the sons of the family happened to have been sent into the mountains and the countryside and could not find work upon his or their return. The question of fangzi was that they had been for long years living in shacks built with loose lumber pieces and bricks without recourse. The question of piaozi was that the appraisal of reward money was not fair. Zhao Ziyang then proposed that since many old factories had some abandoned or dilapidated workshops and useless old machines, they could very well run some collective enterprises to absorb the workers' children. Thus, children who were sent into the mountains and the countryside could all return. For the sake of their own children, old workers thereby took it upon themselves to repair the workshops and the machines; the supply and sales offices also started as a matter of convenience in their work to find raw materials and sell products for such a collective enterprise. As the workers' children were now put to work, they themselves also concentrated on learning some techniques in order to strive in the interest of the collective. On the fangzi question, apart from suggesting that enterprises should have some funds under their own control so that they could build dormitories by themselves, Zhao Ziyang also stopped large-type capital construction projects that had dragged on for a long time without completion and built houses for the common people first. In the year 1979 alone, 21,000 housing units were built in Sichuan; this was a construction tide of the greatest magnitude since 1957. As for the piaozi question, Zhao Ziyang was of the opinion that there should not be any "appraisal of reward money" but "calculation of reward money," so that quantity of production, quality of products, frequency of work, etc., could all be calculated, with each item being very concrete, and each worker could also calculate them by himself without waiting until the end of the month. And even how much the state could increase its profits, how much an enterprise could retain funds for itself, and how much an individual might receive his reward money could all also be calculated. This would be called "calculation of reward money." "Calculation of reward money" was thus fairer than "appraisal of reward money," and it also would not arouse so many comments.

In order to have interests of the direct producers--enterprises and their cadres, workers--and interests of the state combined together, beginning in 1978 and with the support of Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang carried out an experiment in Sichuan on the expansion of enterprise autonomy. When the experiment was first started, only six experimental units were selected. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was held at the end of 1978, these experimental units were expanded from 6 to 100; by 1980, they have been expanded to 300.

In the so-called expansion of enterprise autonomy, principal reform has been reflected in the following aspects:

1. In the past, what an enterprise was to produce, how much to produce, and how to produce constituted a task to be entirely assigned by the state from above, and the enterprise involved had no room for flexible operation whatsoever. Now, an experimental unit may arrange the production of part of its products on the basis of its own surplus productive capability or capability that can be tapped beyond the state plan. So long as such products can meet the needs of society, they can help increase the unit's revenue too.

2. The equipment, raw materials and fuels and power required by an enterprise in the past were uniformly supplied by the state; products of the enterprise were also uniformly purchased and sold by the state. What the state was to supply, how much to supply and at what price, and the quantity and price according to which the state was to purchase the products of the enterprise were all rigidly fixed, and no room was left for flexible operation. Now, an experimental unit may itself buy raw materials from various places and also sell part of its products on its own. Thus, profits of the experimental enterprise have greatly increased. For example, profits of the Zhongnan Rubber Plant in Changqing doubled those of the state plan last year.

3. Originally, revenues of an enterprise were all turned over to the state; not only expenses for reproduction were allocated by the state uniformly, but wages and reward money were also subject to uniform state control. Among an enterprise's revenues today, except those parts used on expenditures such as wages and welfare, pure profits may be proportionately distributed between the state and the enterprise, and this is called "proportionate sharing of profits." Thus, an enterprise is enabled to have some funds under its own control, which may be used on the development of production, improving welfare facilities for the staff and workers, and enhancing the reward money. Chongqing's knitted goods plant No. 2 bought 20 stocking-knitting machines in February last year with the 60,000 yuan it retained as enterprise funds; after these machines were put into production, the enterprise earned 130,000 yuan of profits in the first half of the year. Later on, 60 more stocking-knitting machines were purchased, and by the end of the year total profits earned amounted to 630,000 yuan. At the same time, 15,000 yuan were also taken from the enterprise funds to build 1,500 square meters of housing.

Production equipment which the plant had for 5 years continued to report and apply for in the past was solved in a single year by reliance on its own capability. Dormitories longed for in the past decades by the staff and workers could now also be counted on.

In order to earn as much profits as possible, the enterprise is bound to do its best to lower its cost and reduce its waste. In order to have its products sold in the market, such products must also be produced with a good quality and sold at a reasonable price. In October last year, an electronic products ordering conference was held in the Wenjiang district in Sichuan, which was described as a miniature "Guangzhou Trade Fair." At this marketing conference, various enterprises competed with their products to let users buy them selectively. Such a very common phenomenon of competition in a capitalist society was still rare in socialist China. Not a few enterprise units discovered that their products were of an inferior quality but priced too high, so that nobody cared to buy them; they were thus forced to hurry back to their plants to study how to raise the quality of their products and to lower their cost. Not until then did responsible persons of these plants realize that uniform purchase of products by the state in the past really constituted an obstacle to the improvement of their productive capabilities.

The outlook of the units selected for experiment has also greatly changed. From the director of a plant to leaders at all levels now all calculate their accounts: They calculate the quantity of production, the quality of their products, their cost, and profits for the state and for the enterprise, and they also calculate their individual reward money. In the past, all these enterprises "ate from a common pot"; accounts of the whole country were calculated only by the Ministry of Finance.

After about a year's experiment on such restructuring of the economic system, Zhao Ziyang brought forward his view about the socialist system at a conference in Sichuan in November last year. According to him, "we had many muddle-headed concepts in the past as to what is socialism, we had too many conventions to follow, and we added many things not intrinsic in socialism in the first place, and yet we regarded them all as principles sacred and inviolable, lying prostrate before them and unable to emancipate our thinking." He pointed out: of socialism, both Marx and Engels proposed only two principles, "public ownership of the means of production" and "to each according to his work." They did not, nor could, formulate concrete schemes of implementation in advance. He maintained that socialism must insist on the abovementioned two principles. But public ownership is only the mainstay of the national economy, and not its entirety. "Under the premise of adhering to these two principles, whatever structure, system, policy or measure that can best promote the development of our productive power, that can give full scope to the superiority of the socialist system, should be adopted; we must not bind ourselves as silkworms do within cocoons. On this questions, we truly need a great emancipation of our thinking" (RENMIN RIBAO, 10 November 1979). In January and March this year, Zhao Ziyang also published two articles to discuss the new situations and new problems which had emerged in the course of the economic readjustment and restructuring. Such situations and problems have been generally reflected in two aspects. First, the most important is the contradiction between enterprises and places wherein preliminary reforms have already been in progress and the overall economic system and prevailing codes and conventions which are not yet subject to reform. Second, besides this, there are also certain secondary consequences, such as the improper approaches pursued after the expansion of enterprise autonomy and achievement of economic revitalization, which appeared in the form of working on devious projects, speculation and double-dealing, striving for sudden profits, undermining undertakings of the state, passing on liabilities to others, etc. In response to the above new problems, Zhao Ziyang brought forward his preliminary program of solutions. He was also of the opinion that reforms must be pursued step by step; if the overall economic system was basically untouched, the realm of reform initiated by the expansion of enterprise autonomy could not be very extensive either.

In July this year, the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference affirmed the path of expansion of enterprise autonomy followed by Sichuan.

When Zhao Ziyang received the World Bank delegation on 16 July, he indicated that the approach of expanding enterprise autonomy had already proved that it was able to promote production; therefore,the Chinese Communist Party was now determined to carry out the reform. He also suggested that the emphasis of such reform was to be placed on enabling the enterprises of direct producers to achieve relative independence, so that each enterprise unit would have its own interest, power and responsibility. Another aspect was to make full use of economic leverages to give scope to the market's role of adjustment and therefore influence the economy in a desirable way.

Concluding Words

The principal characteristic of the economic reforms conducted by Zhao Ziyang in Sichuan was to put the interests of direct producers--factories, enterprises, production teams, and down to the common peasants and workers--in a central position, and, under the condition of the economy still subscribing in the main (but not entirely) to public ownership and collective ownership, take advantage of the market's role of adjustment so as to stimulate competition by the direct producers. Some regard free competition as a characteristic of the capitalist economy. Zhao Ziyang emphasized that competition must be injected into the socialist economic system.

Zhao Ziyang's experiment in Sichuan achieved good results. In the past year, all travelers to China from abroad were presented with the recommendation to visit Dazhai in the past. This situation reflected the fact that the economic reforms being carried out in Sichuan had the support of certain principal leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, and the results they had achieved were also genuine and not like those of Dazhai, which turned out to be but a soap bubble.

Zhao Ziyang's administrative achievements in Sichuan made it possible for him to jump three grades in 2 or 3 short years from a candidate member of the Political Bureau to premier of the State Council, thus virtually wielding the greatest power.

Looking at the arrangements made by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the propaganda in Chinese Communist newspapers in the past half year, it appears that from now on the Chinese Communists are likely to adopt some appropriate way of separating the party from the government in general. On the side of the party, the party chairman and vice chairmen will basically discuss certain cardinal principles and orientations; the Central Secretariat will hold real power in politics and carry out "ideological leadership." On the side of the government, the chairman and vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, it is believed, will remain nominal, rubber-stamping administrative leaders, and the State Council will hold real power in administration, the economy, and diplomacy. Party chairman and vice chairmen correspond to government chairman and vice chairmen, and party general secretary and Secretariat correspond to government premier and vice premiers. Real power basically falls on the Secretariat and the State Council. And the State Council will continue to play a controlling role in the various economic departments. What differs from the past is that in its economic work the State Council, it is believed, will suffer less interference from the party.

Along with Zhao Ziyang's promotion, the reform he carried out in Sichuan on the expansion of autonomy is likely to gradually spread to the whole country. Hua Guofeng indicated on 13 August: "The reforms already being carried out at present are only preliminary; we must continue to study, continue to sum up our experience, and carry forward such reforms. We have 400,000 public enterprises; if the reforms are well executed, their potential is going to be very great" (NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY despatch, 13 August).

If reforms of this kind are really carried forward, not a few confusions are bound to rise. From situations that can be observed from overseas, it appears that in many localities and many departments the so-called "free competition" has often turned into "internecene duel." Not a few such examples have already presented themselves. But reforms of this kind will surely also bring about profound changes in the society on the China mainland. Calling this "capitalist restoration" may be unfair, but it has at least adopted a great many capitalist methods.

A designation appropriate and acceptable to the Chinese Communist leaders should perhaps be "socialism of the free-competition style."

If adhered to and if its "internecene duel" factors can be gradually eliminated, the practice of "socialism of the free-competition style" may possibly turn a new leaf in the history of the international communist movement. But in the long and difficult course of its implementation, we can believe that a great many theoretical questions will still be waiting for experts in social science to study and solve them.

Let us wait and see.

9255
CSO: 4005

BEIJING CALLS FOR LEARNING FROM YOUNG COOK CHEN AIWU

HK241034 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Oct 80

[Text] According to BEIJING RIBAO, the Beijing Municipal CYL Committee yesterday passed a decision which called on CYL members and youths throughout the municipality to learn from Comrade Chen Aiwu and to play active roles in upholding party discipline and promoting party style.

The decision said: ZHONG-GUO-QING-NIAN-BAO [CHINA YOUTH NEWS] has published a newsletter about Chen Aiwu, who dared to challenge privileges and who was bold in exposing commerce minister Wang Lei's mistake in seeking personal privileges. His action has evoked strong repercussions among CYL members and youths throughout the municipality. To commend Chen Aiwu's revolutionary spirit in being brave in struggling against unhealthy tendencies, the municipal CYL committee calls on CYL members and youths throughout the municipality to learn from Chen Aiwu: 1) to learn from his upholding of the proletarian party style, from the high degree of his sense of political responsibility toward the party and people and from his spirit of being a master of the society; 2) to learn from his upholding of principle, from his style of giving no thought to personal gain or loss in the face of cardinal questions of right and wrong, from his courage and resourcefulness in showing no fear of retaliatory blows and from his style of being bold in struggling against unhealthy tendencies and challenging privileges; 3) to learn from his fine qualities, namely, setting high and strict demands on himself, continuously making progress without slackening and constantly making new contributions to the four modernizations.

The municipal CYL committee called on CYL organizations at all levels to conscientiously organize the masses of CYL members and youths to learn from Chen Aiwu's advanced deeds, to take a clear-cut stand on enertegically supporting those CYL members and youths who are brave in struggling against unhealthy tendencies and bureaucratism, to give publicity to the advanced deeds of such CYL members and youths, to safeguard their democratic rights and to give full play to their active roles in upholding party discipline and promoting party style.

CSO: 4005

BEIJING RESTAURANTS INSTRUCTED TO BILL OFFICIALS

OW241228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 24 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 24 (XINHUA)--Beijing restaurant authorities have instructed city restaurants to make sure that all customers--including high officials--pay their way. The decision comes in the wake of a revelation that China's minister of commerce was paying only token sums for extravagant meals in one of Beijing's fanciest restaurants.

The Beijing No 1 Service Bureau, which manages the city's large hotels and restaurants, has declared that "all those who come to a restaurant, irrespective of their positions, are ordinary customers. Prices should be the same for everyone," the bureau says, "Whoever permits cheating at the state's expense for private dinners should cover the balance out of their own purse."

A bureau spokesman said that the practise of allowing high officials to eat costly meals but pay little originated during the 1960's. When government leaders dined in high-grade restaurants, their bills were kept artificially low--in some cases expensive dishes priced the same as snack-bar food. The 16 hotels and restaurants under the bureau have now worked out regulations eliminating this practise.

The case of Commerce Minister Wang Lei became public a week ago, when the newspaper CHINA YOUTH carried an article praising a model worker who exposed the problem. The worker, a cook at the Fengzeyuan restaurant, had written to the Discipline Inspection Commission under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, reporting that Wang Lei had paid only a fraction of the cost of meals he had had at the Fengzeyuan. The Discipline Inspection Commission subsequently issued a circular criticizing officials who take advantage of their position in this way.

The Service Bureau spokesman said Minister Wang Lei had admitted his mistakes and paid the balance he owed to the restaurant from dining there over the last two years. The minister also wrote to the worker who complained about him, Chen Aiwu, expressing gratitude for the exposure of his wrong-doing.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

BUREAUCRACY BLAMED FOR DELAYING KEROSENE SHIPMENT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 1

[News Report: "Wang Ce [3769 4595] and Li Damin [2621 6671 3046] Receive Commendation for Struggling Against Bureaucracy"]

[Text] On 15 July, Comrade Wang Ce and Li Damin of the credit department of the Fushun branch of the People's Bank of China wrote a letter to the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, accusing some cadres of practicing bureaucracy and evading responsibility, thus delaying the shipment of aviation kerosene for military use from the oil refineries in Fushun and causing a loss of nearly 1 million yuan to the state. Since receiving this letter, the commission has issued a circular on this matter. Leading members and comrades Wang Ce and Li Damin of the Fushun branch of the People's Bank of China have been commended by the commission for showing concern for the interests of the state, and for displaying a daring spirit against bureaucracy. The commission has also ordered the units mentioned by the letter to investigate the case and to punish those who are found guilty of serious mistakes. In Fushun, there are three oil refineries, which produce aviation kerosene for military use. Each day when such aviation kerosene is ready for shipment out of the refineries, a paper indicating the number of railway carriers must be filled out and signed by railway representatives stationed there. On 1 July 1980, the Shenyang Railway Bureau unilaterally turned this job over to the military representatives stationed in the refineries after withdrawing its own representatives from there in accordance with an agreement it reached with the Fushun Mining Bureau (without the knowledge of the military authorities). But after the agreement was put into effect, the military representatives refused to be bound by it, thus touching off a debate over who should sign the aforementioned paper. This debate eventually caused a delay in the shipment of nearly 20,000 tons of aviation kerosene and a great financial loss to the state.

The shipment of aviation kerosene was suspended for 10 days. During this period, the three refineries in Fushun suffered a loss of 9.4 million yuan in sales while the state lost 4 million yuan in excise taxes; two of the three refineries were forced to reduce the output of kerosene, sustaining an economic loss of 560,000 yuan; the Daguandun railway station lost 410,000 yuan in terms of income caused by the traffic jam and the reduction in the shipment of coal.

Furthermore, the stoppage in petroleum production disrupted the schedule for supplying aviation kerosene to the PLA units; banks were forced to grant an additional 3 million yuan in loans to factories affected by the inadequate supply of kerosene. On 8

July, the problem remained unsolved when the railway bureau rejected the Fushen Municipal Party Committee's resolution calling on the former's representatives to sign the aforementioned paper so that kerosene production could be resumed without further delay.

On 9 July, the Liaoning Provincial Economic Committee advised the Fushun Municipal Economic Committee to persuade the oil refineries to sign the paper. The problem remained unsettled because the Fushun Municipal Economic Committee refused to act according to the provincial economic committee's instruction. In their letter to the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, Comrades Wang Ce and Li Damin said: "In the face of this situation, we had no alternative but to call this case to the attention of all units concerned. We first reported this to the Shenyang Railway Bureau and the leading organ of the logistics department of the Shenyang PLA units, advising them of the serious nature of this problem in hopes of getting their help in solving it. But they all decided to pass the buck to the higher authorities, indicating that it was beyond their power to handle. Finally, we had no choice but to pack for an urgent trip to Beijing, where we first reported this case to the head office of the People's Bank of China. With its support, we briefed the State Economic Commission and the Ministry of Railways on the problem. Unfortunately, wherever we went, we were told that this matter was too trifling to be worthy of their attention. Our suggestions were also ignored and rejected."

Finally, Wang Ce and Li Damin reported this case to the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, which took action immediately after listening to this report. At present, the problem has been initially solved and the transportation has been resumed.

In addition, the discipline inspection organs and other departments concerned have conducted an investigation into the case, preparing to take necessary disciplinary actions against those directly responsible for this incident.

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

XING COUNTY, XHANXI, PROMOTES YOUNG, MIDDLE-AGED CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 80 p 1

[Article based on a report in SHANXI RIBAO: "Xing County Boldy Breaks With Convention and Promotes Young and Middle-Aged Cadres to Leadership Positions"]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the Xing County Party Committee in Shanxi Province has broken convention by boldly promoting 216 young and middle-aged cadres whose education and specialized knowledge were above the high school level to positions of leadership in communes, county-controlled departments, committees, bureaus, and units in industrial enterprises. Included in this number were 35 graduates of technical institutes and 34 graduates of vocational middle schools. This young group of cadres who have taken up leadership posts has caused leading groups at all levels to be imbued with vitality, has strengthened party leadership, and has promoted industrial and agricultural production. For the past 3 consecutive years, agricultural production has increased progressively 35 percent per year; in industry, the amount of profits turned over to the state every year has come to 1 million yuan a year.

In choosing young and middle-aged cadres, the Xing County Party Committee encountered and solved the following problems:

1. Are outstanding young and middle-aged cadres available? In the beginning, county party committee members always had their eyes on the small group from the party's political departments. They made selections, but they always felt that there really were no outstanding young and middle-aged cadres to choose from. Afterward, the party committee received inspiration from the changes brought about in Luoyukou Commune. In the 1960's, after Niu Wenhua [3662 2429 5478], a graduate of an agricultural school, took up the position of secretary of the party committee in the commune, he used the professional knowledge he had learned to direct production according to local conditions. This enabled the commune to come from being "The Foot-Dragging Commune" to being "The Up-and-Coming Commune," and in 1979 it became an advanced agricultural unit of the province. The success of Luoyukou Commune helped to widen the field of vision of the county party committee's "squad."

2. Are university students able to assume command? Last year, when the county party committee was discussing the selection of a person to become director of the industry and communications political department, they decided to appoint a

college student, Lui Zhengbin [0491 2973 2430], as secretary of the general party branch at the chemical fertilizer factory. Some people felt that Liu lacked all-around leadership experience, and that he was qualified to be appointed a deputy secretary but not to assume command. In 1977, the county party committee appointed Liu secretary of the general party branch and appointed a middle vocational school graduate, Li Zaochen [2621 2483 2525], deputy secretary of the general party branch and concurrently factory director. Of the eight general party branch committee members, six were skilled cadres. Because they knew their jobs and were able managers, the situation of the enterprises was quickly changed, going from a yearly deficit of 200,000 yuan to an average profit of 200,000 yuan.

3. How should an individual's class origin and political history be treated? The Xing County Party Committee has clearly proposed that in treating these cadres, the following be accomplished: Do not allow family background to influence the utilization of people, but more importantly look at the individual's political behavior; with regard to a person's political history, just be clear about it and don't get entangled. Most important, look at the individual's real ability and the size of his contribution.

4. What should be done if young and middle-aged cadres have shortcomings or make errors? A young cadre, Jia Din [6328 2430], used to work in the county party committee's propaganda department as an instructor in theory. In 1976 he became party committee secretary for the Watang Commune. In 3 short years he had united and led the entire masses of cadres in quickly casting off the label of "supply house." Because of some problems that arose in his work, someone took the opportunity to lodge a complaint against him and demanded that he be dismissed. The county party committee, however, felt that his thought was good, that he was educated, and that he had achieved remarkable results. The committee has asked leading party groups at all levels and older cadres to strongly support the work of young and middle-aged cadres and to sincerely lend a helping hand to them.

9686
CSO: 4005

VIOLATIONS OF PARTY DISCIPLINE DEALT WITH IN TIANJIN

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 80 p 5

[Text] Article by reporters Shi Bo [0670 0590] and Du Duanchang [2629 4949 2490]: "Tianjin Municipal Party Committee Deals Severely With Violators of Party Discipline"]

[Text] Recently, the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee dealt severely with the leading party group of the Tianjin Bureau of Agricultural Machinery for not following party regulations on admitting new party members. Guo Zhishi [6753 1807 1395], a member of the leading party group, bore major responsibility for this incident and so was removed from his post and disciplined. At the same time, it was announced that acceptance of new members to the party by the party group, based on the conditions of the 10th Party Congress, was null and void.

In August 1976, Zuo Pude [1563 2528 1795], a labor and capital cadre in the Bureau of Agricultural Machinery, had his application to join the party approved by the general membership meeting of the party group. This was then submitted to the party group for examination and approval. Owing to the fact that the party group members could not reach a consensus, membership was not approved for the time being. In March 1979, the party group of the Bureau of Agricultural Machinery allowed Zuo Pude to become an official party member with standing retroactive to August 1976, the date the membership committee made its initial approval.

This violation of party discipline and regulations caused responsible cadres from the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee of the CCP and concerned departments to pay serious attention to the matter. The Municipal Party Committee decided to send a factfinding group to conduct an investigation. After the investigation, a discussion was held on whether or not to permit Zuo Pude to enter the party, but two of the six members of the party group were absent. At the meeting the deputy leader of the bureau, party group member Guo Zhisi, said: "The admittance of Zuo Pude to the party is a problem of history and carries with it the nature of policy implementation and, in the political line, the bringing of order out of chaos. We can start from actual conditions and be flexible in dealing with the problem." After Guo's speech, the four members attending the meeting unanimously agreed to accept Zuo as an official party member, with party standing starting from the date of the original approval by the membership committee. After the meeting, the two members who had failed to attend the meeting raised the following points: "The 11th Party Congress convened over a year ago, and membership should be determined in accordance with the constitution of the 11th Party Congress. There should be a probationary period." The main responsible personnel from the party group and responsible personnel from the Political Work Department did not heed their opinions, however, but demanded that they obey the "decision" of the party group. Zhang Pule [1728 2528 2867], head of the municipal agricultural committee organization, also supported the opinion of the party group of the Bureau of Agricultural Machinery and Guo Zhishi. In addition, on 21 July 1979, he wrote on Zuo's letter of appeal: "It is permissible for him to become an official party member." People were once again sent to the municipal party committee organization department to make inquiries. The municipal party committee organization department and the municipal agricultural committee party committee both clearly expressed disagreement with those mistaken ways and emphasized that the constitution of the 11th Party Congress must be adhered to. Zhang Pule was unwilling, however, and on 8 August 1979 he asked for instructions from the organization department of the CCP Central Committee. They made an official written reply on 10 August: "The question of this comrade's admittance to the party should be determined in accordance with the constitution of the 11th Party Congress. He should start procedures for joining the party all over again, resubmit an application for party membership, and reseek approval by the general membership meeting of the party group, and then resubmit a request examination and approval from the higher level party committee. The date of membership will be calculated from the day of approval by the higher level party committee, and there will be a probationary period." After receiving this written reply, Zhang Pule failed to pass it on to the party group of the Bureau of Agricultural Machinery, and he also failed to make a report to the agricultural committee. Instead, without authorization, he withheld the reply of the organization department of the Central Committee for 8 months.

According to the masses, the reason for the party group's flagrant violation of party regulations and laws was not accidental. The subjection of some of the members of the party group to the poison of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was rather serious. Guo Zhishi and Zhang Pule used Zuo Pude's authority as the responsible person for capital and labor in order to arrange job transfers for relatives and to open convenient doors.

The Tianjin Municipal Party Committee made the following decision in early August of this year: Dismissal of Guo Zhishi from his post as a member of the party group; in addition, it was suggested that he be dismissed from his post as deputy bureau director. Zhang Pule, head of the agricultural committee organization, is to await handling of his case. In accordance with the constitution of the 10th Party Congress [as published], ratification of Zuo Pude as a party member was wrong and so has been declared null and void.

9686
CSO: 4005

YE JIANYING CRITICIZED FOR NOT RESIGNING

OW260611 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] An old proverb goes: "[words indistinct], and leadership is rendered ineffectual by recalcitrant subordinates." It implies that influential officials holding high posts and great powers in the government will support only those policies of the state that are of advantage to them and oppose or resist those policies that are not.

It is exactly such an obstacle that hinders the efforts to reduce the average age of cadres. Many leaders who are over 70 and who are holding their jobs without doing a stroke of work refuse to hand over their powers. A question is now frequently raised: why has not Marshal Ye resigned?

It is true that our revered Comrade Ye is one of the founders of our country with great contributions and that he played an important role in the smashing of the "gang of four." However, he is now not only old in age but poor in health. He should take the interests of the party and state into consideration and ask for an honorable retirement. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has tried every possible means to persuade and admonish him in this concern, but to no avail. Sometimes in his talks with others, our revered Comrade Ye himself mentions that it is about time he should retire. However, he [words indistinct] continued to drag on. When he met the speaker of the Malaysian parliament not long ago, Marshal Ye said that he had submitted his (?resignation) to the CCP Central Committee but it was not (?approved).

In fact, Marshal Ye had not formally submitted his resignation to the CCP Central Committee. The CCP Central Committee had received resignations from five founding members of the party and state, including Liu Bocheng. Marshal Ye's resignation was not among the 11 resignations submitted after the convocation of the third session of the Fifth NPC. This is because Comrade Ye Jianying is not at all ready to resign or retire. It is said that he has the intention of carrying on a tit-for-tat struggle against Vice Chairman Deng to the last.

Leaders at the current central authorities are divided into two groups over the issue of Marshal Ye's resignation. Zhao Ziyang, Hu Yaobang and Peng Chong who support Vice Chairman Deng say that our revered Comrade Ye is holding the position without doing his job and that stepped in remnant feudalist ideology, he refuses to yield his post to the wise. On the other hand, many leading comrades of the party, state and army of the older generation, including many leaders of military regions and provincial military districts, have (?persistently) supported Marshal Ye in remaining in his original position for various reasons. To put it bluntly, many of these leaders are afraid that once Marshal Ye leaves his post, someone at the central authorities will [words indistinct] go in for conspiracy and launch mass criticism for (?cadres at lower levels).

As is known to all, the fifth plenary session of the CCP Central Committee adopted a resolution concerning the retirement of the old cadres and many comrades including Li Xiannian and Nie Rongzhen have officially retired and yielded their posts to the wise. Comrade Ye Jiangying alone has refused to abide by this resolution.

No matter what the personal relationship between Marshal Ye and Vice Chairman Deng is, everyone--no matter who he is--should absolutely submit himself to the party's resolution. Unless a proper solution to this issue is worked out within a short time, it is quite possible that this issue will cause a new split at the 6th plenary session of the CCP Central Committee or at the 12th National CCP Congress.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

INNER-PARTY PEACE CALLED INDISPENSABLE

Xian XIBEI DAXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF NORTHWEST UNIVERSITY] in Chinese No 2,1980 pp 3-9

[Article by Li Zhenmin [621 2182 3046]: "'Inner-Party Peace' Is Indispensable--Re-Reading of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's 'On Inner-Party Struggle'"]

[Text] At a time when, after passing through 10 years of turmoil on an unprecedented scale, the party and the nation have once again embarked upon a course of a great [new] order of stability and unity, rereading Comrade Liu Shaoqu's "On Inner-Party Struggle" cannot but cause one to be affected by many emotions, and deeply inspired by the brilliant thought and broad spirit of righteousness of that work.

"On Inner-Party Struggle" was a speech given by Comrade Liu Shaoqi on 2 July 1941 at the CCP Central China Bureau Party School. At the time, the entire party's large-scale rectification movement was about to begin and Comrade Liu Shaoqi, as a great Marxist and proletariat revolutionary, was sorely grieved by the long-continuing "left" and right-leaning opportunistic lines (in particular the serious danger created for the enterprise of the party by Wang Ming's "left-" leaning opportunistic line, and the erroneous policy of "cruel conflict and heartless attacks" that they put into effect in the course of their inner-party struggles, which resulted in the bitter lesson of a large number of excellent party members' tragically being "framed", strongly critized this excessive inner-party struggle, and incisively elucidated a correct guiding principle for inner-party struggle. This doubtless had important guiding significance for the successful launching of the rectification movement. This speech of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's was telegraphed at the time to Yanan, where it was considered extremely significant by the leaders of the Party Central Committee; in 1943, when the rectification movement was well underway, Comrade Liu Shaoqi made a word-by-word correction and revision of the speech, and issued it again. The note appended by the leading bodies of the rectification [movement] in issuing this speech pointed out: Comrade Liu Shaoqi's speech "both theoretically and realistically solved this serious problem of inner-party struggle, and should be read by every party member." (1) Afterwards, this speech was included in "Documents on Rectification," becoming what for a long time has been an important document relating to the construction of our party. What is strange is that a Marxist-Leninist work that has had such a great effect on the construction of the party suddenly became, after the beginning of the Cultural, Revolution, a "bad example of the revisionist line for party building," and the "doctrine of inner-party peace" was publicized as being one of the "poisonous weeds." Is this [a case of] history playing games with people? No it isn't! It is precisely the cruel manifestation of excessive inner-party struggle carried to an extreme. Because this work incisively and vividly flogged those "struggle-mongers" who were fond of constant struggle, and with awe-inspiring righteousness elucidated a correct guiding policy for inner-party struggle, the article was strongly worded throughout with the force of justice, and really struck home. For those ambitious persons who had the vain hope of usurping power within the party by means of causing trouble with inner-party struggle, this naturally was a serious obstacle. For this reason, its being attacked and suppressed on a large scale was inevitable under the circumstances. Today, even though Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have long since fallen from power, and Comrade Liu Shaoqi has been exonerated of the wrongs done him, nevertheless, thoroughly eliminating the confusion they created regarding the question of inner-party struggle, and [carrying out] a radical, thoroughgoing reform still have extremely important actual meaning for correctly launching inner-party struggle and strengthening the building of the party. The content of this work of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's is extremely incisive and broad; this [present] work will merely discuss a bit of superficial understanding of questions relating to the "inner-party peace" aspect.

1. We cannot categorically oppose [the concept of] inner-party peace.

In this work, Comrade Liu Shaoqi completely expounded a guiding principle for inner-party struggle, clearly pointing out: in order to develop the enterprise of the party, not only is strict inner-party struggle needed; at the same time, "inner-party peace" based on unanimity of principles is also needed. He criticized the "left-" leaning opportunistic viewpoints of [those who] "deny democracy within the party, deny inner-party peace [based on] unanimity of principles," (2) and consider that "any peace, even inner-party peace [based on] complete unanimity of principles, is intolerable," (3) sternly pointing out that this is "an erroneous tendency within inner-party struggle," and [result from] an incorrect, mechanical understanding of Lenin's principles regarding inner-party struggle.

In the building of the party is it not so that when inner-party struggle is mentioned, only then is it Marxism, while as soon as "inner-party peace" is brought up, then it is revisionism? If this way of looking at things is not the absolute end in absurdity, then it is a perversion of ill will.

Marxism considers that all things contain contradictions within themselves and, like them, the party is also a unity of contradictions. The enterprise of the party has all along been carried out in a movement unifying the contradiction of both struggling and uniting at the same time; there is certain to be a lot of struggle within the party, so that "inner-party peace" is all the more indispensable. What is meant by "inner-party peace," first of all is inner-party unity based on unanimity of [basic] principles. Inner-party unity is the life of the party; if a proletarian political party does not have this inner-party unity [based on] unanimity of principles, exists for a long time in a state of ceaseless, unprincipled quarrel and conflict, with "campaigning" here and engaging in "movements" there so that one is in a constant state of anxiety, then the enterprise of such a party cannot possibly develop, and there is no way for the life of such a party to continue. Therefore, inner-party struggle engaged in to arrive at unanimity on principles, fundamentally is for the sake of the inner-party peace that is based on this unanimity on principles; this is foremost and of the greatest consequence. Secondly, "inner-party peace" also means that on questions that are not questions of principle, the comrades in the party must have the necessary compromise. For the sake of the long-term and fundamental advantage of the proletarian class, Marxism has never been categorically opposed to compromise, recognizing that compromise, not only in inner-party struggle, but even in struggle against the enemy, so long as it is not compromise that is a betrayal of principles, is not only advisable, but necessary. It is exactly as Lenin pointed out: "'In principle' to oppose compromise, and to be categorically opposed to compromise no matter what the compromise is, this is simply childishness that is hard to take seriously."(4) This remark of Lenin's referred to struggle against the enemy, and struggle against the enemy and inner-party struggle are two completely different things; since in the life-and-death struggle against the enemy it can still be like this [that some compromise is advisable] then in inner-party conflict it is all the more inadvisable to talk only of struggle and not of compromise. Inner-party conflict on questions of principle is necessary, and also unavoidable, but "that is definitely not to say that the party should become a debating club." (5) In order to realize the common objectives, the party members' mutual yielding to each other on questions that are not questions of principle, in the same manner is also necessary. The phrase "Harmony is precious" is definitely applicable here, and one should not simply reject such ideas as being rotten Confucianism. Comrade Mao Zedong also instructed us over and again: towards the enemy one must be fierce, (but) "with one's own people, with the people, with the comrades, officials, with subordinates one must be harmonious, one must unite." (6) Harmony expresses the vast open-mindedness of Communist Party members, and only with harmony can things be done well. Otherwise, one might suppose that the more fierce inner-party struggle is, the better; the more serious problems are presented as being, the better; the more of other people's mistakes collected together, the better; the more terminology used, the better; the bigger the dunce caps people are made to wear, the better; the more cutting the words of criticism, the better; the more severe and brutal the style and manner of criticism and struggle, the better--the louder the tone of voice, the fiercer the facial expression, the further the teeth protrude, the better and absolutely the most revolutionary, and this kind of thing can only result in everything being ruined. One particularly recalls Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who, in order to realize their own political ambition, completely denied "inner-party peace," fanned the flames of "inner-party struggle," and wantonly drummed up the so-called "philosophy of struggle," of "not to struggle is to deviate; not to struggle is to fall from power; not to struggle is to commit revisionism," with the result that the more struggle there was, the more confused everything became, the more struggle there was the more messed up everything was, and our party was nearly destroyed [by it]; the lesson we learned from all this was really painful.

From this one can see that Comrade Liu Shaoqi in protesting against "left-" leaning opportunism had a definite object in mind in bringing up "inner-party peace," which was entirely blameless and, moreover, extremely correct and timely. Not to mention the fact that Comrade Liu Shaoqi, in bringing up the question of "inner-party peace,: firstly, definitely did not deny inner-party struggle and moreover fully proved the necessity of inner-party struggle; secondly, he accurately pointed out that "inner-party peace is an inner-party peace [based on] unanimity on principles, and not an unprincipled accommodation of others; thirdly, his basic aim was to preserve the unity of the party. Since this kind of "inner-party peace" was opposed both to the right-leaning opportunism that adopts a compromising attitude towards contradictions within the party, and to the "left-" leaning opportunism that adopts an attitude of absolutism, not only is this no crime, it is no revisionism and, moreover, completely correct Marxism. Is there anything wrong with this kind of "inner-party peace?" This kind of "inner-party peace" is really too precious, too necessary for us! All party members should conscientiously and resolutely seize and guard this "inner-party peace" and hold it to be something as precious as their own eyes, [for] only by "on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, uniting the entire party like one harmonious family, like a single, firm piece of iron or steel" (7) will we overcome the attacks of any enemy, and our enterprise be invincible.

2. Excessive inner-party conflict is the greatest obstacle to inner-party peace.

Accomplishing this kind of "inner-party peace" is no easy task, and our party has paid a great price and made great sacrifices in this regard already. The experience of history tells us: the greatest obstacle to realizing "inner-party peace" is excessive inner-party conflict.

Of the frequent serious obstruction and damage caused our party in the 28 years since the democratic revolution by "left-" and right-leaning opportunism, though the losses caused our party by right-leaning opportunism were certainly great, nevertheless "left-" leaning opportunism has been the most dangerous and of the longest duration. As for the basic characteristics of its organizational line, "left-" leaning opportunism, under the resounding slogan of revolution, engaged in excessive inner-party conflict. This circumstance was particularly prominent during the period of the government of Wang Ming's line; Wang Ming considered himself a supersovereign; placing himself above the party and the people. In order to carry through their own personal program, Wang Ming and his followers "within the party punished all comrades who, because of the infeasibility of Wang Ming's line, started doubting, disagreeing, being dissatisfied, and refusing to support and carry out that line. This was done in disregard to the actual circumstances. As a result, all these comrades were erroneously labeled as belonging to 'right-leaning opportunism,' 'rich peasant line,' 'Lo Ming's line,' and 'double dealing faction," subjecting them to "cruel struggle" and "heartless attack," to the extent that this "inner-party struggle" was carried out in the same manner as struggling against criminals or enemies." (8) In the central Soviet area, they heartlessly attacked Comrade Mao Zedong, expelled him from his posts as Secretary of CCP Central Bureau governing the Soviet areas, member of the Red Army's General Political Committee, and Secretary of the General Front Committee, forced him to leave the army, and stripped him of his right to speak at the Party Central Committee [meetings]. Cruel oppression was also enacted against other comrades in the central Soviet area who persevered in maintaining a correct line; a so-called struggle was erroneously launched against Deng (Xiaoping), Mao (Zetan), Xie (Weijun), and Gu (Bo) and, under the erroneous policy of eliminating counterrevolutionaries, they caused many excellent party members to suffer unrighted wrongs, and even lose their lives. They also, in the name of "remaking the party" and "remaking the Red Army," with "imperial envoys" flying hither and thither, went to every base area to force into effect their erroneous line; after the failure of the fifth attempt at resisting the 'encirclement and harassment' the only base area left in the country--the Soviet area in northern Shanxi, was also placed in grave danger by them so that of Liu Zhidan and the large number of other party leaders (who had created this base area), nearly all either wound up in prison or were executed. Is not this extremely painful loss precisely to be traced to this unprincipled, excessive inner-party struggle? Only after incisively observing this abnormal phenomenon in the inner life of the party did Comrade Liu Shaoqi place importance on bringing up for the entire party the question of opposing "left-" leaning opportunism.

Placing importance on the question of opposing "left-" leaning opportunism was completely in accord with the historical realities of our party.

"Left-" leaning opportunism's having such a great influence and such a great market in our party, it's being difficult to control, and hard to overcome, are not only because they generally all hang out the outer garb and impressive gold-character signboard of Marxism-Leninism, so that people can be more easily deceived, and unconsciously given the confused notion that "left" is better than right, right-leaning is dangerous, and "left-" leaning is safe; at the same time, it is also inseparable from the particular conditions of the formation of our party. Comrade Liu Shaoqi compares in detail the historical conditions of the formation of our party and of the Russian party, pointing out that at the time the Russian party was formed, owing to the unchecked spread of opportunism at the Second International, Lenin mainly established the party in the course of struggle against right-leaning opportunism in the party organization; the situation before the October Revolution really was like that; at that time a "left-" leaning opportunism in the party organization had not yet developed, or had not yet developed into an organized opportunism; therefore, Lenin's theory for party building is completely filled with struggle against right-leaning opportunism. Many comrades ignore this circumstance and mechanically and erroneously apply Lenin's principles, absolutize them, and unavoidably go to extremes. But the historical conditions of the formation of our party were completely different. Comrade Liu Shaoqi's analysis of the points of difference is:

"Firstly, the formation of China's party was after the October Revolution, after the Russian bolsheviks were already victorious, after there was already a living example; therefore, as soon as it began it was under the direction of the Communist International, and construction was carried out in accordance with Lenin's principles.

"Secondly, China's party from the beginning until now has not been influenced either in its thinking or in its organization by the European Social Democratic Party's Second International.

"Thirdly, China did not have Europe's period of development during capitalist "peace," that permitted the laboring class peaceful verbal conflict, and also did not have Europe's aristocracy of workers.

"Fourth, within China's party there is a comparatively greater proportion of small-propertied class and peasants, and there is also a certain vagabond element; this is the social basis of "left-" and right opportunism within the Chinese party."

Owing precisely to these special conditions and circumstances, two different influences were then produced: "One was good, enabling us to found from the very beginning a Leninist, Chinese Communist Party that subjectively and strictly follows Lenin's principles; as soon as this party began it was accompanied by strict self-criticism and inner-party struggle; this enabled our party to progress very rapidly, and was a kind of motive power promoting the progress of our party. From another aspect, however, it also frequently caused our comrades to go to another extreme, and commit a different error, frequently causing our inner-party struggle to be taken to excess, so that struggle is too fierce, and goes on without any limit, leading to yet another erroneous tendency, the erroneous tendency of the "left."

This circumstance clearly indicates that "left-" leaning develops and grows particularly well within our party, and as the result of its development of necessity there will be produced a number of "hatchet men" who have no [particular] standpoint in inner-party struggle, unprincipled "strugglers," and "fighters" fond of a struggle.

These people struggle as a profession, "struggle for the sake of struggling," and, moreover, have a tendency "at times when there is no division of principle at all in the party, they will insist on going to 'hunt for' and object for struggle, considering certain comrades to be 'opportunists,' and using them as 'straw men' to shoot at during inner-party struggle," (9) striking out with their unfounded accusations. It is exactly this kind of extremely perverse and violent, wanton struggle, which does not consider the facts, that has harmed our party and made it insecure for a long time; within, ruining inner-party unity; without, spoiling the relationship between the party and the masses. Just think, how can a party which itself is not secure lead the party members and the masses, marching in unison and concentrating their forces to engage in struggle with the enemy outside the party, and build socialism? People who advocate acting this way [engaging in struggle] generally consider that only this way is "most, most revolutionary," is "100 percent bolshevik;" actually, it is exactly as Comrade [Liu] Shaoqi pointed out: "people who advocate acting this way, are certainly not 'bolshevik,' but are almost hopelessly incurable, or else they are opportunists making use of the name 'bolshevik'." (10)

What affords food for thought is that not only in the period [since] the democratic revolution, [but] the situation in the socialist period is also startlingly similar. Looking back over the past 30 years of inner-party struggle, wasn't the most dangerous, the longest lasting still the "left-" leaning line? Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that bunch, though clearly they were already as left as left could be, they still risked their lives to drum up the slogan that "right-leaning is the main danger" and, moreover, used every means possible to mobilize public opinion in the vain hope of proving that anti-rightism is a universal rule for the socialist period. This method of taking one's own political ambition as a theoretical basis was really remarkably absurd.

What is worthy of study is, having already had the painful lesson of the "left-" leaning line during the period of the democratic revolution, how is it that this "left-" leaning line of the socialist period has reappeared, and even worse than before? This naturally is a very great question for study that we must conscientiously explore, and we must look for causes from many angles. However, if we look at it from the point of view of the origins of society, a comparatively clear point is that it is due to the deep influence of feudalism. Our country existed as a feudal autocracy for thousands of years, and did not pass through a "peaceful" capitalist development, but evolved all at once from a semi-colonized, semi-feudal society into socialism; the influences of feudal society's family elder system and personal dependency, the circumstances of a small-production economy, as well as the fanaticism and force of habit produced by these, can very easily become a hotbed of autocracy and excessive struggle. On this point, Comrade Hua Guofeng has pointed out: "Our country has a very long history of feudalism, the economy and culture are comparatively backward, and also in the past our correct propaganda and correct practice of democracy were not sufficient and in system were not very perfect either, and under these circumstances autocracy, bureaucratism, thinking that favors special privileges, family-elder ways and anarchism spring up and develop very quickly. It was because of this very circumstance that our country was taken in by plotters like Lin Biao and the 'gang of four'." (11) A review of this important exposition is very enlightening towards an understanding of this question.

In sum, one can see that either for the period since the democratic revolution, and also for the period of the socialist revolution, excessive inner-party conflict has always been the greatest obstacle ruining "inner-party peace," particularly due to the "left-" leaning line that produces this kind of excessive inner-party conflict, which has very deep social roots, and this cannot but arouse our serious attention. Practice proves that, whenever we come to take the trouble to correct this circumstance, then "inner-party peace" will be assured, and the development of the party's enterprise will flourish; otherwise, it will definitely come to harm. For as long as the party has ben in existence, hasn't this twisted path of development we have gone through incisively told us, how tragic the loss brought upon the enterprise of the party by excessive inner-party conflict, and how important "inner-party peace" also is for the development of the party's enterprise?

3. Only by correctly launching inner-party struggle can we guarantee "inner-party peace."

If we want to guarantee "inner-party peace," then it is necessary to launch inner-party struggle correctly. The correct carrying out of inner-party struggle is an important question for solving the internal contradiction of the proletarian class, and is a fundamental guarantee of the prospering and flourishing of the enterprise of our party. How can we correctly launch inner-party struggle, after all? Comrade Liu Shaoqi, on the basis of his long and rich experience in party leadership work and high Marxist-Leninist theoretical level, made an exhaustive exposition and elucidation of this.

Rereading Comrade Liu Shaoqi's exposition, I was very impressed with the importance of the following several points, which must be emphasized over and again:

First, one must definitely correctly recognize the nature of inner-party struggle.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: "Inner-party struggle basically is a kind of division and conflict on ideology and principles." At the same time, it is also "the reflection within the party of class contradictions in society, and the opposition between old and new things." It included struggle carried out against all kinds of enemies within the party and against non-proletarian influences," as well as struggle against "left-" and right-leaning opportunism, etc.. However, he emphasized that "inner-party struggle is mainly ideological; its content is division and opposition in ideology and principles. Within the party, owing to divisions and antagonisms among the comrades on principles, although they can develop into political divisions, in a certain situation, even an unavoidable development into a division in party organization, nevertheless its real nature, its content, basically is still a kind of ideological conflict." This exposition is a totally accurate Marxist-Leninist explanation of inner-party struggle, since it has pointed out the class nature of inner-party struggle, and has also emphasized that it is mainly a kind of ideological conflict; only by correctly understanding inner-party struggle in this way can the correct carrying out of inner-party struggle be assured.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took passages in this exposition of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's out of context, and distorted them as they saw fit. Clearly, Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out that inner-party struggle is "mainly" a kind of ideological conflict, but in their judgements they had a tendency to accuse him of saying that it was "merely" ideological conflict, and moreover because Comrade Liu Shaoqi did not categorize inner-party struggle simply as being class conflict or conflict between [political] lines, he was attacked for obliterating the class nature of inner-party struggle, which was the same as engaging in "revisionism" in party-

party-building, etc.. This kind of trumping up of charges and pinning them on someone, and afterwards endlessly raising them to a higher level of seriousness and, added to this, base methods of attack, aside from revealing their impatient ambition to usurp control of the party, were absolutely without foundation.

It is completely clear that Comrade Liu Shaoqi definitely did not deny the class nature of inner-party conflict; on the contrary, he emphasized that inner-party struggle "is mainly ideological conflict," precisely pointing out the basic characteristic of inner-party struggle. Since inner-party struggle consists of divisions and oppositions among the comrades on ideology and principles, in that case one can only use the method of presenting the facts and reasoning things out to solve them, and one absolutely cannot adopt murderous, suppressive methods. For those ambitious persons who had the vain hope of creating turmoil with inner-party struggle, this could not but be a serious threat.

It is correct that inner-party struggle, class struggle and the conflict between political lines are connected, but one absolutely cannot simply write an equal sign to indicate that relationship. First of all, looking at it from the point of view of the relationship between inner-party struggle and class struggle, the main connection between the two lies in the origin of classes; inner-party struggle is only the reflection of class struggle, which is not the same as being class struggle. From the point of view of the origin of knowledge, inner-party struggle is the reflection within the party of subjective and objective contradictions, which is even further from simply being class struggle. Secondly, from the point of view of the relationship between inner-party struggle and the conflict between political lines, the two are both connected and distinct from each other, and in the same manner one cannot simply equate them. Struggle between two political lines is the highest form of inner-party struggle and its [most] important content, but it is definitely not its only form or its entire content. Inner-party conflict is usually for the most part manifested in divisions and oppositions among the party comrades on various aspects of ideology, ways of doing things, work methods, etc., including certain divisions and oppositions on principle, but these do not constitute struggle between political lines. Only when divisions on principle develop to the point where there can be no compromise, when erroneous ideology, erroneous tendencies develop into erroneous political and organizational lines, only then is there struggle between political lines, which is not to say that conflict between political lines exists at all times within the party. Those false theories, endlessly rising to new levels of error, are not only theoretically a great distortion of the nature of inner-party struggle, at the same time they are also the greatest disaster ruining "inner-party peace."

Secondly, we must definitely distinguish strictly, and correctly deal with, questions of principle and questions that are not questions of principle.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi points out: "Inner-party struggle is a conflict of principles." This requires that we definitely must strictly and clearly distinguish the dividing line between questions of principle and non-questions of principle, and hence accurately determine the different attitudes for dealing with them. What are principles? Comrade Liu Shaoqi tells us: "What are called principles are general laws for the development of things." Speaking concretely, questions that have to do with "the aim of our struggle and the methods of struggle to attain this aim," as well as questions of strategy and tactics; all everyday government affairs or purely practical questions that do not have to do with these principles are questions that are not questions of principle.

Communists, "on questions of principle, cannot be vague." We must resolutely oppose all tendencies that are in violation of principles. And questions that are not questions of principle "are not [cases where] one must die rather than compromise" and, moreover, one must be "good at compromise, good at yielding, good at accepting and agreeing with other people's ideas, 'good at going along with others,' and only after this can matters be transacted freely, can problems be solved readily. But one must not simply always want to hold fast to one's own ideas and always want others to give up theirs; always want other people to tolerate one and want others to handle things according to one's own ideas; this way will have the contrary effect of delaying the solution of problems, interfering with the progress of work, increasing inner-party disputes and the tendency towards idle talk, and harm unity among the comrades." Here, since we cannot degrade questions of principle into questions unrelated to principle, we also cannot elevate questions unrelated to principle into questions of principle, and we particularly cannot "carry out an unprincipled conflict under the cover of the great banner of a principled conflict."

In order to safeguard the highest advantage of the proletarian class and the unity of the party, even on questions of principle one must be good at comparing, good at making distinctions, use the rule of "small principles are subordinate to large principles; the part is subordinate to the whole" to decide whether a question is one that one must be resolute on or one where one should "yield temporarily," combining the steadfastness of the principle and the flexibility of the tactics--only in this way will matters not end up with both sides refusing to budge, and be advantageous for the enterprise of the proletariat class. In matters of principle we cannot be careless; this is to say that we definitely must struggle sternly; we cannot be apathetic; we cannot be evasive; but stern struggle is decidedly not cruel struggle, but can only be struggle by reasoning things out; that attitude of using power to suppress others without using reason is absolutely intolerable. It should be like this whether we are talking about questions of principle or questions that are not questions of principle, all must be solved through a process of presenting the facts and reasoning things out, criticism and self-criticism. The formula of "unite--criticize--unite" that Comrade Mao Zedong instructed us is a basic principle for resolving inner-party conflict. We must definitely obey this principle, and use a high level of proletarian party spirit and the motive and aim of "being good at getting along with others" to resolve inner-party contradictions and divisions. It is exactly as Comrade Zhang Wentian incisively points out: "ideological conflict that has this kind of motive and aim must of necessity be honest and upright, because here, aside from the benefit of the party, there is no other personal advantage to be gained." Conversely, that so-called ideological conflict that issues from individualism, factionalism, or some other ulterior motive, and makes use of all kinds of improper methods to accomplish its aim of framing, attacking or overthrowing revolutionary comrades, deviates from the basic principles of the party, and of necessity must contain within itself some degree of plotting. These so-called judgments can only give rise to disputes within the party, create factional division, and create oppositions and rifts." (12)

Thirdly, we definitely must cherish a highly responsible attitude towards the party and towards the revolution.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi points out: "Inner-party struggle is a most serious, most responsible thing; in engaging in it we must have a most serious, most responsible attitude, and absolutely cannot engage in matters carelessly." If we want to reach this point, it is required that we must be completely on the party's side, in everything start from the basis of the benefit of the party, selflessly, without plotting for private advantage. It is true that "only when one first has a correct standpoint can one correct others' incorrect standpoints; only when one is completely upright, can one correct other people's not being upright; it is a case of 'One must first correct oneself; only then can one correct others'." This requires that we definitely must persevere in the principle of seeking truth from facts; at all times and under all circumstances we must respect objective facts, speak the truth and not falsehood; one is one; two is two; don't exaggerate; don't minimize; don't use one's own subjective wishes and likes and dislikes to decide on right and wrong. Those base methods of disregarding facts, doing whatever one pleases, bragging and sowing lies, and resorting to fraud and trickery, created during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage, must be thoroughly eliminated. This, then, requires that we definitely must be daring in persevering in the truth, correct our mistakes, be daring in engaging in struggle against all evil forces, live for the truth, die for the truth; but we cannot "steer our boat according to the wind," or traffic in principles. We must be brave in accepting and correcting our mistakes, and absolutely cannot conceal our faults and wrongs, attribute merit to oneself and push blame onto others. In short, it requires that we definitely must have a high level of party principle, "not to be subdued by force," "not to be corrupted by wealth and honors," increase our cultivation in the theoretical, ideological, moral, work-style and organizational discipline areas, take the overall situation into account, have the cardinal principles in mind, and cause oneself to really become a Communist Party member made of "special materials;" only in this way will the party's style be correct, will people's hearts be in agreement; only then can all kinds of improper tendencies in the party be overcome, and only then can the "inner-party peace" we are talking about--that is, the unity of the party--be guaranteed.

In sum, this work, "On Inner-Party Struggle" incisively summarizes many valuable experiences in inner-party struggle, and is the crystallization of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's heart's blood through many years of party work; it is an extremely precious legacy he has left us, [and though it is] separated from us by a space of 39 years, rereading it today still makes a deep impression on one. We should treasure this legacy very highly and, like that year in Yanan during the rectification period, study it conscientiously.

"Daring to bear morality and justice with an iron shoulder; always to leave a brilliant reflection among men." Comrade Liu Shaoqi struggled vehemently to the end of his life for the enterprise of the party, and not only made an important contribution theoretically, but also in practice established a shining example for us. All his life he was honest, open and upright, hated evil like an enemy, and carried out an untiring struggle to uphold the unity of the party and to be steadfast in the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedone ideology. After 1959, the "left-" leaning tendency in the party raised its head, and he immediately called attention to it and resolutely opposed it. In 1962, at an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee he, directly aiming at the erroneous tendency existing in party work, severely criticized the erroneous view that "left" is better than right, correctly pointing out: "Right is not better than 'left;' 'left' is also not better than right;" either of these deviations should be opposed, "during the last few years some party organizations on three occasions repeated the error of excessive conflict of the kind that occurred during the periof of the 'left-' leaning opportunistic line," emphasizing that "all party organizations that committed the error must quickly correct it, not allow this kind of excessive conflict to be repeated, and manage affairs in accordance with the methods for normal inner-party struggle that were formulated in our party long ago." (13) Regrettably, Comrade Liu Shaoqi's word was definitely not carried out; on the contrary, it afterwards became the basis for Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to fix a charge against him, causing the enterprise of the party again to meet with even more serious harm. Does not this historical tragedy precisely prove, through being a counterexample, the truth of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's theory?

Our party has already passed through a period of nearly 60 years of conflict, and rich experience of inner-party conflict, both positive and negative, enables our party to be more mature than at any other time previously. A series of historically significant important resolutions including "Concerning Certain Standards in the Political Life of the Party," passed the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are certain to produce a great effect on the building of our party. Let us unite more closely around the party's Central Committee, quickly revive the excellent traditions of the party ruined by Lin Biao and the "gang of our," "be in favor of righteousness, and opposed to wickedness," bestir our revolutionary spirit, in order, in the [new] phase of stability and unity, to realize the four modernizations and race on towards a communist tomorrow and the brave struggle ahead!

FOOTNOTES

1. "Documents on Rectification," revised edition of May, 1949.

2. Liu Shaoqi, "On Inner-Party Struggle;" the following quotations, unless otherwise noted, can also be seen in that work.

3. Liu Shaoqi, "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members."

4. Lenin, "The Disease of Infantilism in the 'Left' Wing of the Communist Party Movement," in Selected Works of Lenin, v 4 p 194.

5. Stalin, "A Re-discussion of the Tendency Towards Social Democracy Within Our Party," in "Complete Works of Stalin," v 9, p 12.

6. Mao Zedong, "Speech on the Occasion of Receiving the Study Representatives of the Rear Army Group"; see the Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO for 18 Sep 1944.

7. Sixth enlarged meeting of the Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, "Resolutions Regarding Certain Historical Questions."

8. Sixth enlarged meeting of the Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, "Resolutions Regarding Certain Historical Questions."

9. Liu Shaoqi, "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members."

10. Liu Shaoqi, "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members."

11. Hua Guofeng, "Report Given on Two Occasions at the Enlarged Fifth People's Congress."

12. Zhang Wentian, "Inner-Party Struggle Must Be Correctly Carried Out"; see RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Aug 1979.

13. Liu Shaoqi, "Speech Given at the Enlarged Working Meeting of the Central Committee," 27 Jan 1962.

9634
CSO: 4005

EGALITARIANISM, PEASANT WARS IN HISTORY DISCUSSED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 1, Jan 80 pp 11-20

[Article by Dong Chuping [5516 2806 1627]: "On the Merits and Demerits of Egalitarianism and the Successes and Failures of Peasant Wars"]

[Text] The concept of equality and egalitarianism has been the ideological yeast of the peasants when they were engaged in fermenting a revolution. Without an elementary ideology of equality, there would have been no peasant wars. The egalitarian ideology of the peasants has often been reflected through religious heresies, such as the Taiping Taoist Sect and Five-dou-of-Rice Sect of the last years of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the Manichaeism in the Fangla area and Zhong Xiang's [6945 4161] Heretical Taoist Sect of the Song Dynasty, the White Lotus Sect of the Yuan and Qing Dynasty, the God-worshiping Sect of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace, etc.

The concepts of equality, egalitarianism, and religious heresies with such concept of equality and egalitarianism as their content have played a tremendous mobilizing and organizational role during the preparatory and outbreak stages of peasant wars. But it [sic] was not the ideological weapon for the power seizure and the eventual establishment of revolutionary regimes after the overthrow of the existing ruling houses that took place. Along with the deepening development of the revolutions, it became more and more of a burden, so that the sooner it was abandoned, the better the situations for those concerned would have been. It is not by accident that in Chinese history there has never been a peasant uprising which was able to win victory with egalitarianism or a religious heresy with egalitarianism as its content as its ideological weapon. Today, everybody praises without limit Wang Xianzhi's [3769 0103 5347] call for "equalization," Huang Cao's [7806 1560] call for "leveling," and especially Li Zicheng's [2621 5261 2052] slogans on "land equalization" and "grain tax exemption"; the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" of the Heavenly Kingdon of Peace is especially exalted to the skies. But few care to mention how this kind of egalitarian ideology led these three large-scale revolutionary movements to their eventual failure.

As everybody knows, the failure of Huang Cao and Li Zicheng was inseparable from the fact that they were for long periods of time bogged down in the practice of roving banditry. The root source of the ideology of such roving banditry was no other than egalitarianism. Bankrupt peasants furnished the mass foundation of roving banditry, and it was very easy for such bankrupt peasants to breed an egalitarian ideology. Only by "swashbuckling across the country," "robbing the rich to aid the poor" and "opening up public granaries to relieve the hungry" everywhere could such egalitarianism be temporarily brought into reality. It was always easy to equalize existing wealth; but existing wealth was limited. After "equalizing" the wealth here today, it was necessary to "equalize" the wealth elsewhere tomorrow. Li Zicheng's subordinate commander Lo Rucai [5012 3067 2088] said: "Swashbuckling across the country alone affords us great pleasure; why do we need to occupy some territory and establish a kingdom?" (Li Wenzhi [2621 2429 3112], "Plebian Uprisings of the Late Ming Dynasty," Zhonghua Book Company, 1948 edition, p 115). Of course, "opening up public granaries to relieve the hungry" and "robbing the rich to aid the poor" carried out in the process of peasant uprisings constituted revolutionary actions, and they were beneficial to, and necessary for, the development of the revolutionary situations. But these actions, after all, did not constitute any long-range plans; if they really wanted to overthrow the existing ruling authorities and establish their own regimes, they would have to set up relatively stable bases, organize productive activities, and establish normal systems of public finance. It was in these regards that egalitarianism proved helpless; on the contrary, it tended to have a sabotaging effect.

Egalitarianism left the uprisings of Huang Cao and Li Zicheng bogged down in the practice of roving banditry for long periods of time; they had no bases, nor regular financial revenues. When the troops of Huang Cao entered Chang'an, they did not even have anything to eat. After Li Zicheng's troops entered Beijing, they still did not have a system of public finance and relied only on torturing officials and rich merchants under the Ming House and exacting their spoils in order to sustain the expenditures of the state; they also especially established an "Office for Provisions Collection and Pacification" to launch a campaign of unprecedented scale to "exact spoils and replenish provisions." "Cabinet officials were required to submit 100,000 [taels of silver?]; officials of ministerial agencies in the capital and the palace guard commander, 70,000; secondary officials of bureaus and regional offices of the civil service ministry, 50,000 and 30,000 respectively; Hanlin scholars, 10,000; military officers, one to several thousand; royal relatives, flexible figures" ("Northern Expeditions [0554 3970] of the Ming Period," Vol 20). The foremost task of local officials dispatched from Beijing to Hebei, Shandong, Henan and other regions was still not to organize production but to "exact spoils and replenish provisions"; hence the area of attack was expanded, and this was unpropitious for establishing any united front against the Qing House.

On the eve of the occupation of Beijing by the uprising forces, in early April 1644, Grand Secretary Fan Wencheng [5400 2429 4453] of the Qing House pointed out to Prince-Regent Duoergun the evolution of the principal contradiction at the time. He said: "As the roving bandits are now running rampant in China Proper, they are like the deer lost to the erstwhile Qin Dynasty pursued by the kingdoms of Zhu and Han: although our state is contesting the throne with the Ming regime, we are in reality fighting only roving bandits" ("East China Records," The Reign of Shunzhi, Section 1). After the uprising troops occupied Beijing, the Qing forces immediately launched a propaganda offensive in the direction of the landlord class of the Han nationality, declaring: "The uprising soldiers are here to avenge the grievances of your ruler and your fathers" ("Biographies in the History of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 5). Between the two sides of this principal contradiction, the uprising forces and the Qing forces, there stood a huge intermediary force, which was namely the landlord class of the Han nationality; whoever won this intermediary force would probably be victorious. The uprising forces were not necessarily unaware of this truism; they therefore "let the good officials in office still work at their former posts" ("Northern Expeditions of the Ming Period," Vol 23). But, compelled by financial reasons, they could not but launch a vociferous movement to "exact spoils and replenish provisions" and thereby push this intermediary force toward the enemy. The soldiers and civilians of the Manchu nationality numbered not much more than 200,000; yet, after they entered China Proper, they became irristible. Why? Apart from the corruption of the peasant soldiers after their entry into the capital, the fact that landlords of the Han nationality leaned to the Qing forces in great numbers was an important reason. Li Zicheng's "grain tax exemption" and "levy exemption" helped him a great deal in the beginning, but in the end also undermined his strength; this was reason No. 1. Next, egalitarianism led them to indulge in the practice of roving banditry for a long time, and they thus established no solid base. Once they retreated from Beijing, their whole line collapsed, lacking even a foothold to stand on. This was the ill consequence of taking "swashbuckling across the country" as their "pleasure." To sum up, egalitarianism made Li Zecheng fail to acquire a solid base in the first place, and to establish a regular system of public finance in the second place; these two points were directly related to his subsequent rapid defeat.

In more than 2,000 years of the history of peasant wars, the egalitarianism of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace, among others, developed to the highest level. No other egalitarianism than that of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace played a greater, more positive role in respect to the revolution at the preparatory and initial stages of that peasant war. From the first uprising at Jintian, and especially from the breakthrough against encirclement at Yong'an onward, to the establishment of the Heavenly Capital, the speed and vigor of the development of the revolutionary situation were not only beyond the expectation of the Qing Government but also unanticipated by Hong Xiuchuan [3163 4423 0356] and others in the first place. If we ascertain the reason in this regard, we cannot but attribute the meritorious outcome to the propagation of the ideals of the "Heavenly Kingdom" and the strict application of military communism within the ranks of the Army of Peace. But the effect of the ideological system of egalitarianism could not last forever; it could only excite people temporarily, but not sustain them to the very end. Once the revolution entered into the period of its hightide, the sooner it was abandoned, the better. But the egalitarianism of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace proved to be too great; it became a heavy burden. Later on, there was not only no willingness to abandon it, but it even became regarded as precious treasure. This situation was given further development after the Heavenly Capital was established.

After the Heavenly Capital was established in 1853, two urgent tasks were on hand: one was to dispatch the main forces in a northern expedition without stop so as not to give the Qing Government any breathing spell. Leaders of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace did not pay enough attention to this; as a result, partial forces were sent in deep pursuit, but the northern expedition was a failure, and the most advantageous opportunity for a decisive war was lost. The other was to build up the base, establish normal social order, and organize social production. To this, leaders of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace paid full attention, and they took it very seriously. unlike Huang Cao, Li Zicheng and most other leaders of peasant uprisings; but their approach to solving this task was somehow completely wrong.

After the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace settled down in the Heavenly Capital, it promulgated a "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" as the blueprint for building the "Heavenly Kingdom" amongst men. This "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" was not only a law for land reform, but also a general program of social system and social life. Policies and measures in the city of the Heavenly Capital were based on, and in accord with, this "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty." We cannot say that simply because land was not equally distributed the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" was therefore not at all carried out. That would be taking up one single point to cover up the whole area. On the basis of the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" concerning the spirit of "No one is given any private property, everything belongs to the Lord Above," the city of the Heavenly Capital thoroughly eliminated private ownership and also eliminated private industrial and commercial activities; all handicrafts workers were concentrated and organized into various camps of workmen and offices of artisans, commercial activities were entirely stopped, and the people's daily means of livelihood were distributed uniformly by the Government. The families were divided up, and men and women lived respectively together in the various camps and hostels. In a word, the internal practices of the imperial treasury system, the supply system, and the system of separate barracks for men and women of the Army of Peace were extended to the whole society. Hong Xiuchuan and others overlooked economic laws and believed blindly in administrative power. What was the result? They were punished by economic laws. The economically prosperous city of Nanjin suddenly became a quiet and cold military barrack; large numbers of handicrafts workers fled; production decreased sharply; and several thousand "machine workers" (predecessors of the proletariat) connived with the Qing army to plot a rebellion. The "Heavenly Kingdom" idealized for the people was opposed by the people themselves. This was the tragedy of egalitarianism (the foregoing being based on "Summary of Events in Nanjin, 1858-1854," "Nanjin Miscellaneous Recordings," "A Compilation on Rebel Conditions," "The Little History of Fenglu," etc.).

Because of the frequency of fighting, areas under occupation changed from time to time; hence the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" was not entirely carried out in the countryside. Today, we have many good-hearted comrades who still regret this very much; but in reality, this was the greatest fortune out of misfortune, for, were it not for this, peasant uprisings would have certainly broken out in the countryside of the "Heavenly Kingdom." To say this is definitely not making a sensational statement to attract attention. After April 1853, the Army of Peace recovered the upper stream region [of the Changjiang River]; the people in the vast area of Anhui "resisted the imperial edict" as they were opposed to the public ownership of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace. Hong Xiuchuan sent Shi Dakai [4258 6671 7030] to Anqing to "pacify the people." Shi Dakai's thinking and working style were relatively more realistic and "did not pay much attention to folk religions and heretical theories" (Zuo Zongtang [1563 1350 2768]: "Letter to Wang [illegible]shan [3769 3877 1472]"); after he arrived in Anqing, he "often made changes in His Majesty's official institutions, etiqette, and documents" ("Memorial to the Heavenly King Submitted by Jie Chuangyuan [0679 1643 0337] and Zhu Yidian [2612 5902 78[illegible]5]," "followed all the old systems regarding the silver currency and grain transport" ("Mr Tao Lou's [7118 2869] Diary," and "Thinking-of-the-North Recordings"), and "let the people submit grain tax and pay levies as usual" ("A Compilation on Rebel Conditions"). As a result, "provisions for military use were abundant, the people enjoyed peace, and praise was sung everywhere" ("Unauthorized History of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace"). Shi Dakai's measures in the upper stream region [of the Changjiang River] have been called "feudal restoration"; but we can say affirmatively that without these measures there would have been no triumph for the western expedition of the Army of Peace. Zeng Guofan [2582 0948 5672] was not afraid of your working on egalitarianism, but he was afraid of your working on feudalism. The military communism in the Heavenly Capital became also partly repealed after 1855 because of the punishment of economic laws and opposition by the masses of the people. If "restoration" was in question, Hong Xiuchuan also carried it out in the Heavenly Capital. Without such cases of "restoration," the Heavenly Capital would have fallen into the hands of the Qing army much earlier; how could it have lasted for more than 10 years as it did?

When the revolution first got started, egalitarianism played the role of "destruction" as it was used to cope with the old order of feudal rule, and it also enjoyed the people's support. When the revolution entered the period of its hightide, it became more harmful than feudalism as it was applied among the people to solve the problem of social production. The practice of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace proved that the masses of the people would rather suffer fairly normal, relatively reduced feudal exploitation and capitalist exploitation than to accommodate egalitarianism, because egalitarianism violated the demand for development of the productive forces, violated economic laws, and could only bring greater sufferings to the people. This is why in the history of mankind there have been the "sinister" slave society, feudal society, capitalist society, but not the "ideal" egalitarian society.

To judge whether or not a policy is correct does not depend just on how much "idealistic brilliance" its descriptive articles might seem to represent and how entertaining they might sound when they are read today, but must be combined with concrete conditions at the time and the results of practice. If the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" had been promulgated at the time of the initial uprising at Jintian, it would have been a rather revolutionary document. Since it was promulgated after the founding of the Heavenly Capital, after the revolution had entered the period of its hightide, however, it was used not for "destruction" but for "construction"; this is point No. 1. Next, the middle stream and lower stream regions of the Changjiang River centered around Nanjing were the most developed regions at the time when commodity economy and capitalism were just beginning to rise in China; the contradiction between these advanced economic factors and egalitarianism was even greater and especially could not possibly tolerate the destruction by egalitarianism. At such a time and in such an environment, the promulgation of the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" should well be called reactionary rather than revolutionary. From the results of practice, it can be seen that the role it played in behalf of the revolutionary cause of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace was negative. Today, we exalt the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" to the skies, although we are still somewhat critical toward the God-worshiping Sect. Of course, stubbornly adhering to the God-worshiping Sect was one of the reasons for the debacle of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace. But, the God-worshiping Sect was founded before the start of the revolution; without the

God-worshiping Sect, whence would come the revolution of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace? It therefore did play a meritorious role in behalf of the revolution. The "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty," on the other hand, was promulgated after the founding of the Heavenly Capital; how did it play the role that the God-worshiping Sect played in behalf of the revolution? Yet, because our view of the question has deviated from concrete conditions of time and space, we have therefore played this one up and the other down, attaching praise and blame irrelevantly.

The time in which Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuchuan lived was slightly different from that of previous peasant revolutionary leaders; but what they led was, or basically was, old-fashioned peasant wars which did not undertake to overthrow the feudal system.

Although in Li Zicheng's time the capitalist economy had already started to rise, this new born economic force was still rather weak and small; the time was still far, far away for it to overthrow the feudal system. If, like Zhu Yuanzhang [2612 0337 4545], Li Zicheng had been able to establish a relatively liberal feudal dynasty with emphasis on agriculture, handicrafts, and commerce to promote economic development and provide more fertile soil for the further growth of the budding capitalism then, he would have made an outstanding contribution to history. This was something possible for a simple peasant war to achieve, and, insofar as the strength of the then uprising peasant soldiers was concerned, this also should have been achieved. But, because of the error he committed on egalitarianism and also in other aspects, Li Zicheng failed to achieve this task; this cannot but be a highly regrettable thing.

In a word, the highest task of old-fashioned peasant wars was no other than overthrowing a rotten dynasty, establishing an enlightened new dynasty, and sweeping away some obstacles for the development of the productive forces and for social progress. Both Liu Bang [0491 6721] and Zhu Yuanzhang achieved this task, whereas Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuchuan failed to accomplish a task which they could have accomplished. After the 17th century, when the world entered the capitalist era and at the crucial moment of drastic competition between various nations, they failed to make the contribution they should have to the Chinese nation; this cannot but make generations of posterity feel regretful. Yet, today--when the people of the whole country are tasting the profound, bitter feeling of being backward and beaten because of the slowness of their nation's historical development, we somehow choose to exalt Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuchuan to very great heights while they have been responsible to a definite extent for the very fact that the Chinese nation developed too slowly and came to be subject to beating; correspondingly, we somehow choose to vehemently belabor Zhu Yuanzhang, who made an outstanding contribution to the acceleration of the development of China's feudal economy and the provision of relevant soil for capitalism to sprout; this cannot but make one feel astonished, indeed!

Comrade Wu Han's [0702 2498] "Biography of Zhu Yuanzhang" is a masterpiece with wide influence. When revised in 1964, it absorbed the viewpoint then in vogue; this caused this masterpiece to be covered with a coat of extreme-Left dust.

At the concluding part of this outstanding biography, the author provided a summary on the life of Zhu Yuanzhang. He first of all listed Zhu Yuanzhang's

10 great "merits." For example, he "unified China, put to an end the situation of war and chaos in the last 20 years of the Yuan Dynasty, and enabled the people to lead a peaceful and stable life"; he "energetically encouraged agricultural production," "let the peasants do their best to open up virgin land and make it their own property"; he "liberated the slaves"; he "energetically measured the acreage of the land under cultivation"; he "strictly punished corrupt officials"; . . . and, the author also pointed out, "these measures" "are all beneficial to the advancement of society" and "should be affirmed." Immediately after this, the author also listed five "defects" on Zhu Yuanzhang's part, and the "foremost" among these was that he "underwent a gradual qualitative change" and "ultimately reneged on the peasant revolution," "becoming the head of the landlord class." "This serious crime is one for which no one can exonerate him whatsoever." But we cannot help asking: if Zhu Yuanzhang had not committed "this serious crime" or did not have this "defect," how could he have achieved those 10 great "merits"? Had not "crime" and "defect" become the causes of his "merits"? Had he been able to follow our political standards today and not committed this "crime," would it not have become impossible for him to achieve those 10 "merits"? And if so, would his measures have become not "beneficial to the advancement of society"?

After Zhu Yuanzhang unified China, he had already completely changed from a leader of peasant revolution into a representative of the landlord class; this was a change of his class status in essence. Insofar as leaders of peasant revolutions in a feudal society were concerned, this transformation was a normal phenomenon in accord with prevailing laws, and could not be viewed the same as a renegade emerging ultimately from the revolutionary ranks; the former can hardly be blamed, whereas the latter should be criticized. Yet we often measure the ancients with today's political standards, attach today's political labels to the heads of the ancients, and criticize Zhu Yuanzhang as if he were a renegade of today as to his "betrayal," "surrender," "metamorphosis," "revolt," etc. Perhaps this can be said to be a case of historical misunderstanding!

If we criticize a certain mistake, we must at the same time point out the correct direction. If we criticize Zhu Yuanzhang for having turned into an emperor through "metamorphosis," we must point out: if not emperor, what would he have turned into? Even standing on the height of today, we still cannot clearly direct him to another outlet, let alone in a situation in which he found himself at that time. In the case of a leader of a peasant uprising then, he would either fail, or succeed and become an emperor; there was no third road for him. Of course, things like Zhu Yuanzhang's mistakes and defects in other aspects, whether he was a good or a bad emperor, may all be subject to analysis and criticism. But the fact of becoming an emperor is not itself to be blamed. On the contrary, the fact that Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuchuan should but did not become emperors really deserves criticism.

Why was it that Zhu Yuanzhang could succeed and become emperor? In a nutshell, he operated according to objective laws, as he worked on feudalism, and not on egalitarianism, after he occupied Nanjing. At that time, this was the only correct road, and all other roads were erroneous.

"After Emperor Taizu [of the Ming Dynasty, i.e., Zhu Yuanzhang] conquered Jiankang [Nanjing], he told the military officers: 'Let the peasants open up virgin land

and make it their own property.' He gave the civilian officials their fiefs, so that they could engage tenant farmers to cultivate them and pay a tax in kind as their salaries" ("Events in the Early Days After the Founding of the State").

In his proclamation as he initiated operations against Zhang Shicheng [1728 1102 6134] in 1366, it was said: "As long as all of you common people can really stay calmly at your trades without moving away, you will remain my good subjects. Of your old land properties and houses, you will remain the owners and pay grain tax according to the established rate; I will not exact harsh levies from you, so that you can forever keep your communities and your families intact."

He fostered new landlords on the one hand, and protected old ones on the other hand. But he also declared: "In the case of old measures which cause inconvenience to you, I shall remove them for you" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Taizu of the Ming Dynasty," Vol 4). In those tense years of warfare, he actually exerted himself energetically to build irrigation works, appointing General Kang Moucai [1660 5399 2088] as his Irrigation and Land Management Commissioner in charge of farming and water conservancy projects and asking him to cultivate the land under the jurisdiction of his military units so as to achieve self-sufficiency in military provisions without having to collect extra grain taxes from the peasants. He also "imposed taxes through an examination of capacities of production in order to achieve equality" ("Events About Various Warriors in the Early Days After the Founding of the State," Vol 1, quoting Ye Ziqi's [5509 1311 1142] "Collected Writings of Quiet Study"), and thereby made the feudal exploitation inherited by the peasants relatively reasonable. His troops followed strict discipline, which enabled the people to produce in calm. In a word, under the premise of preserving the feudal production relations, he proceeded to do away with certain social ills, energetically organize production, protect the small farm economy, so as to give scope to the potential of such feudal production relations in respect to the development of productive forces.

Among all the leaders of peasant revolution, Zhu Yuanzhang was the one most inclined to make important use of intellectuals. After he conquered Jiqing, he declared: "I shall courteously employ those talented people and educated gentlemen who are willing to follow me and establish their own careers" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Taizu of the Ming Dynasty," Vol 4). After the conquest of every place, in fact, he always proceeded to visit and seek out scholars, applying both soft and hard methods to make sure that they would come; hence he always had crowds of strategists on his staff. With the original background of a herdsman, Zhu Yuanzhang was a novice in operationalizing his feudal rule; but there were plenty of experts among his subordinates. Only with these people behind him did he give up the superstitious, backward White Lotus Sect and adopt the realistic and useful Confusian learning. There are therefore many today who criticize him for "gathering capitulators and accommodating renegades," for his "metamorphosis" and his "betrayal"; this is also measuring the ancients with today's political standards and attaching today's political labels to the heads of the ancients. But at that time, Zhu Yuanzhang could only, and also should only, establish a feudal system; and at that time, only the Confucian scholars had the historical experience and theoretical knowledge on feudal rule: if he had not used them, who else could he have used? If he had not used Confucian learning, what else could he have used? Perhaps even standing on the height of today, all we can do is to make some high-sounding remarks, to "criticize" and "criticize," and still find ourselves incapable of pointing out another approach to him! Making important use of Confucian scholars and the adoption of Confucian learning were important reasons why Zhu Yuanzhang was able to unify China.

Zhu Yuanzhang's proclamation on his northern expedition is a target many critical articles of today like to select. Just as these many critical articles point out, this proclamation "mentioned no class struggle" but merely grasped national contradictions and indulged in making a distinction between the Chinese and the barbarians; it put forward the fighting program of "driving out the barbarians, restoring China, establishing rules and discipline, and delivering this people," which was fraught with Great Han Nationalism and feudalism. Great Han Nationalism is of course erroneous today; but under the specific conditions then, it was not only understandable but, more importantly, it even constituted a powerful ideological weapon. It would have been strange, indeed, if he had failed to make use of such a self-evident spiritual atom-bomb. This proclamation made the rule of the Yuan House in China Proper almost collapse without a fight, and the role it played was no less important than Xu Da's [1776 6671] 200,000 select soldiers. Later on, Sun Zhongshan's United League learned the experience of success from Zhu Yuanzhang and also put forward the revolutionary program of "driving out the barbarians, restoring China. . . ." The fact that the Revolution of 1911 had a heavy anti-Manchu coloration was its shortcoming but also its asset; the fact that the Qing Government quickly collapsed was not necessarily unrelated to the propagation of this strategy.

Comrade Fan Wenlan [5400 2429 3482], historian of the older generation who was eminently representative of the scholarly style of seeking truth from facts, once wrote:

"When the Army of Peace entered the territory of Hunan, if . . . the anti-Manchu revolutionary theory had been stressed and Heavenly Father, Heavenly Brother and other Christian superstitions of the like had been mentioned less often, the power of its call would have been enhanced innumerable times . . . According to relatively believable hearsay, when the Army of Peace laid siege to Changsha, Zuo Zongtang [1563 1350 2768] went to see Hong Xiuchuan to discuss the strategy and tactics of attack and defense and national construction, and thereby advised him to abandon the Heavenly Father Jesus and honor only Confucianism; Xiuchuan did not listen to him; and Zongtang escaped in the night. Whether or not this ~~was~~ really a fact about Zuo Zongtang, the suggestion of opposition to the Manchus but not to Confucius genuinely represented the thinking of a part of the scholars; these people were unlike the bureaucrats who were both corrupt and inept on the one hand, and capable of deceiving the backward masses of the people on the other hand: they were a force not to be underestimated" ("The Modern History of China," p 121).

Comrade Fan Wenlan was of the opinion that the Army of Peace should later have expressed "opposition to the Manchus but not to Confucius"; this was possibly because he was aware of the precedent of Zhu Yuanzhang who opposed the Yuan House but respected Confucianism. Practice has proven that this was an approach beneficial to the revolution and to the people. Of course, according to the political standards of certain comrades, this represented "metamorphosis" and "revolt." But under the historical conditions at the time, did this not have a more positive meaning to the people, to society, and to the Chinese nation than clutching the legs of a "revolutionary God"?

History is really too impersonal; measured by today's political standards, those peasant wars whose level of struggle seemed relatively higher and whose banner of anti-feudalism seemed brighter all failed, and those whose revolutionary character seemed not high enough all succeeded. History really did not depend on man's will hundreds of years afterward for its development, but was determined by the conditions of the time and by its own laws.

Zhu Yuanzhang's contribution in history was far greater than that of Liu Futong [0491 4395 6639] and Li Zicheng.

Liu Futong's Red-Turban Army shook the rule of Yuan, but still fell short of thoroughly overthrowing it; if the revolution had been carried forward only up to this point, history would have staged again the tragedies of the last years of the Eastern Han Dynasty and the last years of the Tang Dynasty, when the country was ensnared in a situation of confusing battles between the warlords, and the people suffered profoundly as a result. Luckily, Zhu Yuanzhang adopted a series of correct measures, so that he not only thoroughly overthrew the tyrannical Yuan Dynasty but also established a strong and prosperous Ming Dynasty. The great development of production in the early period of the Ming Dynasty reached an unprecedented peak and provided fertile soil for the rise of capitalism in the middle and late periods. But we are used to praising Liu and depreciating Zhu, taking Liu Futong as the overall representative of peasant revolutions at the end of the Yuan period while viewing Zhu Yuanzhang merely as a clown who stole the fruits of victory. This is extremely unfair. The historical task of peasant revolutions at the end of the Yuan period awaited Zhu Yuanzhang for its ultimate accomplishment. When Comrade Mao Zedong listed leaders of the peasant revolutions in Chinese history, among so many warriors at the end of the Yuan period he only singled out Zhu Yuanzhang; this shows singular insight, and is worthy of our deep reflection. Many of our comrades are used to praising Liu and depreciating Zhu, the alleged reason being that Liu Futong adhered stubbornly to the White Lotus Sect until his very death, whereas Zhu Yuanzhang later changed to Confucianism. This is a salient example of people using ideology and not practice as the criterion for testing truth.

Among all the leaders of peasant revolutions, we often take Li Zichang as the most outstanding representative, but take Zhu Yuanzhang as the typical model of degenerates from the revolutionary ranks.

There are two reasons why Li Zichang gains so many votes today: The first has to do with his "land equalization" and "grain tax exemption" slogans, since the egalitarianism reflected by them made him fail in his lifetime but triumph after his death. The second is his defeat. If Li Zichang had succeeded and, like Zhu Yuanzhang, "unified China," and had been "beneficial to the advancement of society," would he not have been subject to our criticism today like Zhu Yuanzhang?

If Zhu Yuanzhang had insisted on the White Lotus Sect and insisted on egalitarianism or, as some comrades have demanded, had he "put up a bloody fight against the feudal system through to the end," then, he naturally would have been defeated and China would have been split and fallen victim to a period of confused fighting. Then, our appraisal of him could be very high, at least as high as that of Li Zichang! In order for him to reach the height of Li Zichang, he should not have established a base but, like Li Zicheng, carried on his fighting like a roving bandit; he should not have paid so much attention to production, so energetically organized production, established his normal system of public finance but, like Li Zicheng, should have entered the capital with pride and complacency, and become numbed by peace; he should not have established a broad united front in opposition to the Yuan House but, like Li Zicheng, should have failed to issue the call for the establishment of a united front to resist the Qing forces in time in the face of the danger of the Manchu-based Qing regime entering China Proper or to adopt relevant positive measures . . . Had he done that, he would have failed just like Li Zicheng, and would have become likewise as outstanding and great as Li Zicheng!

I have no intention of downgrading the position Li Zicheng deserves in history. Among the leaders of peasant revolutions, Li Zicheng was no doubt relatively more outstanding, and the mistakes he made happened to be universal among the leaders of peasant revolutions. I merely wish to use this commonly recognized hero as my yardstick to measure the height of Zhu Yuanzhang and take up the cudgels in his behalf against an injustice. Even more importantly, I wish to take this opportunity to explain: when we appraise the leaders of peasant revolutions, we cannot use the slogan of egalitarianism as our highest standard, thinking that whosoever sang the highest tune of egalitarianism was also automatically the most outstanding; instead, we should base ourselves on their actual contributions to social development, so that whosoever made the greatest contribution would also receive the highest appraisal. When the masses of the people ventured to follow a dangerous path, give up their lives and shed their blood, their goal was to solve the problems in society that needed urgently to be solved at the time, but not to establish some embellished theory or entertaining slogan for posterity to appreciate. Revolution requires the most our seeking truth from facts; in the case of an empty theory, the higher its tune, the greater would be its harm to revolution.

As my article proceeds up to this point, providing answers to three thorny questions can no longer be avoided.

1. After a peasant revolution entered its hightide period, and egalitarianism was abandoned and feudalism was adopted, did not the peasants' political power, then, become converted toward a feudal political power? Was this not restoration and retrogression?

Answer: it was convertion, but not restoration and retrogression.

"Restoration and retrogression" means turning history backward in violation of the laws of social development. For example, when Hong Xiuchuan eliminated workshop handicrafts and strangled the budding of the newborn capitalist economy in the Heavenly Capital, his measures in this regard should at least be said to represent retrogression, even if not restoration. When feudal production relations were still the necessary form for the development of productive forces, when conditions for the overthrow of the feudal system were still not ripe, then, after a peasant revolution shook up and disturbed the old, corrupt feudal order it started to establish a normal feudal order, protect the feudal, small-farm economy, and correctly give scope to the potential of feudal production relations: This was in accord with the demand for the development of productive forces, following the laws of social development, and carrying history forward; how could it be called "restoration"? As the peasants' revolutionary political power adopted these timely, correct measures, along with the development of the revolutionary situation it naturally also became itself converted toward its opposite--a feudal political power. As we look at it today, this historical dialectics, revolutionary dialectics, may seem too impersonal. But once we take a bird's-eye view of this process from the height of history, we feel that it is very natural, very normal. From egalitarianism to feudalism, from the peasants' political power to feudal political power, these are the two stages through which all successful peasant revolutions are bound to go. /The transition from the former stage to the latter stage was neither retrogression, nor detour, but forward movement;/ [in italics] such a transition /was not a bad thing, but a good thing;/ [in italics] in the case of such a transition, the speedier, the better. However, there were two premises involved here; that is, the peasants' political power during this transition should protect the small farm economy and correctly give scope to the potential of feudal production relations so as to promote the development of productive forces. /Zhu Yuanzhang's secret of success was no other than effecting this transition early, effecting it well. The key was effecting it well:/ [in italics] that is, within the realm of the feudal system, adjusting well the interrelationship between productive forces and production relations, and between the economic base and the upper structure. When Zhu Yuanzhang made the transition has been a question of contention in the academic circles. Certain good-hearted comrades have tried their best to let him serve a few more years as the leader of the peasants and therefore have pushed the time limit of the transition toward as late a date as possible. But this is unnecessary. Because there was no way to resist the effect of objective laws, Li Zicheng's Dashun political power and Hong Xiuchuan's Heavenly Kingdom of Peace were later both converted toward a feudal political power. But because the burden of egalitarianism was too heavy for them, they were therefore converted only very slowly, and converted not very well. Otherwise, they could have triumphed.

2. When the peasants' political power went through a transition toward a feudal political power, abandoned egalitarianism, and adopted feudalism, did this not violate the peasants' interests and face their opposition?

The answer is negative.

The people's interests and demands do not transcend over time and space; they are subject to the limitation of historical conditions. At the level of productive power of that time, the people would desire equality but would not unconditionally resist all exploitation. "The officialdom forced the people to revolt," "people were forced to escape to Liangshan"; in traditional sayings of this sort the word "forced" indicates that the peasants would only become adventuristic when feudal exploitation exceeded the capacity of the small-farm economy to shoulder its burden, and then eventually take up revolution. For 2,000 years, feudal exploitation existed all the time, but there were peasant uprisings sometimes and there would be none at other times. Support or opposition can only be relative. The practice of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace already proved: the people would accept the exploitation of feudalism rather than the "idealistic brilliance" of egalitarianism. Egalitarianism merely reflected the desire of the toiling people to pursue equality, but it could not really represent their interest. Although feudalism was a system of exploitation and did not represent the peasants' interest, it was nonetheless better than the fancy of small producers. Even a most coarse piece of steamed dough is more useful than the most beautiful painted cake. When Zhu Yuanzhang established a normal feudal order in his base area and abandoned egalitarianism, this was, relatively speaking, in accord with the peasants' interest at the time. He not only was upheld by landlords but also received the support of peasants; otherwise, he could not have won victory. It is hard to imagine that, in that hightide period of the great revolution, in those days of unsettling upheavals when "princes resigned to sustained humiliation, slaves all strove to rise" ("Collected Works of Bei Qingjiang [6296 3237 3068]," 8th poem: "Thoughts at Huangwan Expressed in 22 Rhymes Sent to Qian Sifu [6929 1835 1788]"), if Zhu Yuanzhang's policies were upheld only by those of the landlord class who "resigned to sustained humiliation" but encountered the opposition of the just then proud and elated peasantry, he could still maintain his solid base and ultimately pacify all the other contenders to unify China. If we view this matter that way, we would be underestimating the peasants' strength too much and also overestimating the landlords' role too much.

3. Since egalitarianism seems so harmful and played such a destructive role in respect to peasant wars, and our revolutionary preceptor also regularly criticized the reactionary character of egalitarianism, then why it is still able to enjoy such great luck in the circles of historiography in our country and to be exalted as the highest standard for appraising peasant wars?

This is a question worthy of our profound reflection. I think there are probably four causes.

One is that a Left trend of thought may possibly be playing a trick. For a period, especially during the time when the four pests held sway, we tended to have a radical attitude toward both realities and history at variance with the actual situation. In thinking, we seemed to try to become as far to the Left as possible and in our expressions we seemed to try to make them as lofty as possible irrespective of objective conditions. Egalitarianism is an extreme-Left fever, so it suited our taste.

The second is that we have become used to use a priori ideas as the yardstick for distinguishing right from wrong, but not practice as the criterion for testing truth. When appraising peasant wars, therefore, we paid attention to slogans, theories, but overlooked the results of their practice.

The third is the lack of political democracy and academic freedom. Marx said in "Louie Bonaparte's 18th of the Cloudy Month" that the proletariat must "constantly criticize itself," "relentlessly laugh at the lack of thoroughness, the weaknesses and inappropriateness of its preliminary attempts." Even the proletariat still had weaknesses and needed to "constantly" and "relentlessly" criticize itself, let alone the peasantry in history. For a long period, however, we have indulged in glossing over the deficiencies and playing up the strong points of peasant wars, trying to be cautious and prudent on even the minutest details for fear that the political labels of "slandering the toiling people" and "slandering revolution" might be attached to us. Our unprincipled exaltation of egalitarianism had really to do also with such political worries.

The fourth is that the force of habit of small production may possibly be playing a trick. This one is principal, fundamental.

Stalin said: "The root source of egalitarianism is the individual peasant's thinking mode, the desire to have an equal share of all wealth, and the psychology of primitive peasant 'communism'" ("Complete Works of Stalin," book 13, p 105). Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Absolute egalitarianism, like ultra-democracy in political matters, is the product of a handicraft and small peasant economy" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 89). Our country has more than 2,000 years of history of a feudal society based on small production which was even up to modern times still not subject to the overall impact of capitalist large-scale production; on the eve of Liberation, China was still a boundless ocean of small production. Till the very present, many departments still have not fundamentally changed the state of their production, which is mainly based on manual labor. Such historical tradition and realistic state have provided a deep soil and a wide market in our country for the egalitarian ideology.

For the past 20 to 30 years, our socialist construction has constantly suffered the sabotage of egalitarianism. The superiority of our socialist system was given a great discount by egalitarianism; otherwise, we would have most surely enjoyed a far greater rate of growth. The "Communist wind" of 1958 was a salient example. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the petty bourgeois trend of egalitarian thought to instigate an extreme-Left fever and blow a vicious wind of so-called "limiting the legal rights of the bourgeoisie"; they took high wages as the economic criterion to classify people as "capitalist-roaders"; among the workers, they energetically criticized material incentives, and eliminated the reward system; in the countryside, they unrestrainedly aroused the so-called "picking the tip" activities by which peasants who became wealthy through their labor were subject to liquidation and struggle. Egalitarianism flooded and became a havoc in various economic realms, pushing the national economy toward the brink of collapse. The social trend of egalitarian thought was bound to be reflected in the realm of historiography. Our partial enchantment with historical egalitarianism started from no other than 1958, and it reached its peak during the period when the four pests held sway.

Egalitarianism is capable of casting a spell over people; it has an extreme Left vocal cord, a fancy suit of "revolutionary" costume, and diamond-like brilliance--"idealistic brilliance." Precisely because of this, it is extremely harmful. In history, it led three large-scale peasant wars, those of Huang Cao, Li Zicheng, and the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace, to defeat; after Liberation, it resulted in great destruction twice in our economy, in 1958 and in the period of the Cultural Revolution. If we may say that in the process of peasant wars the function of egalitarianism was at the beginning that of a stimulant and, later, that of a corrosive, then, to today's socialist construction, it has only the function of a corrosive. People of our generation have all witnessed how egalitarianism began to spread like a flood, how it became a havoc, and how it turned "men sometimes into fish and turtles." We have a right to appraise its long-range merits and demerits.

The wind of egalitarianism has made many people fall victim to influenza. This author has also once caught the high fever. This article reflects my own recent self-reflection, my return to order from disorder. Because of a lack of sufficient deliberation, it is likely to exhibit instances of commission and/or omission. It is hoped that experts and readers will not be stingy in favoring me with their corrections.

20 August 1979

(Dong Chuping, author of this article, was born in 1934; he is a member of the Zhejiang provincial society of historiography, and a teacher at the Yongqiang Middle School in Wenzhou. His major discourses include "The Most Fundamental Distinction Between Slaves and Serfs as Seen From the Foundation of Production Relations," "Productive Forces Are the Fundamental Motive Power for Social Development," etc.)

9255
CSO: 4005

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK SHOULD BE TREATED AS SCIENCE

Shanghai GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Yan Qiushi [0917 3061 1395]: "Ideological and Political Work Is a Science"]

> [Text] Editor's note: This article first appeared in a periodical of the First Machine Building Industry Ministry's Policy Research Office. We asked the comrade who wrote it to let us publish it here for reference in order to promote discussion about making ideological and political work a science. We have made only a few editorial changes.

When the emphasis of the party's work shifted to the construction of modernization, some comrades thought that political and ideological work was not very important. Some also thought that science and technology and economic management were sciences, but that ideological and political work was something anyone could do. Is this correct? Of course not. Ideological and political work is a science, and what is more, it is an indispensable science for uniting the people of the nation to march toward the four modernizations. When we speak of modernized management, if we think only of the application of mathematics and computers but ignore the use of vigorous ideological and political work to mobilize the initiative of the masses, then we are not being comprehensive.

Our party has always thought highly of ideological and political work, and through decades of practice it has formed fine traditions and accumulated a wealth of experience. However, over the past dozen years these were destroyed and trampled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," so that confidence in the party's ideological and political work has been greatly lowered. The urgent mission facing us today is, on the one hand, to continue to eliminate the evil influence of the ultra-leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and rapidly restore the fine traditions of the party's ideological and political work; and on the other hand to vigorously strengthen theoretical research work and, with a high degree of science, comprehensively and systematically summarize both positive and negative experiences in political and ideological work, study how to develop ideological and political work under new historical conditions so that in the four modernizations, ideological and political work will be more scientific, be more effective and truly develop its enormous role. Thus, it is extremely important to make ideological and political work a science for research and investigation in order to guide people to understand correctly and control this science and to eliminate the evil influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Proletarian ideological and political work is a science. Its research object is the people's ideological and political state and its patterns of change, to study how to apply these laws in social practice and bring people's initiative into full play, adjust the relations between people, and develop people's abilities to create a new man for the realization of communism.

Proletarian ideological and political work is a science and has an independent research area. It is concerned with the science of people and has a different division of labor from other sciences concerned with people. What it studies are the methods and laws of the ideological and political education of people in actual society.

Proletarian ideological and political work is a science. Its theoretical foundation is Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism and Marxist political economy, psychology, sociology, and education.

Proletarian ideological and political work is a science. It has its own laws. Some of these laws are already known to us and some still are not. If these laws are applied, ideological and political work will be successful; if they are violated, ideological and political work will fail. What are these laws? Some wait for everyone, especially ideological and political workers and theoretical research workers, to carry out systematic summarization and scientific generalization. Below, we propose views which may or may not be laws of ideological and political work and discuss them.

Originating in matter and returning to matter constitute the starting point and the end point of ideological and political work. Existence determines consciousness. All thought originates in the objective material world and is influenced and restricted by it. Although ideology can produce an important reaction toward reforming society and reforming the world, ultimately it has to be determined by economics and serve the material interests of the class itself. Ideological and political work cannot depart from the people's material interests when analyzing ideological questions, nor can it depart from the people's material interests when resolving ideological questions. Otherwise, it will lose its basis and its aim. Powerful ideological and political work does not seduce people with religious and supernatural forces which are divorced from reality, but is closely allied with real life and with the material interests of the people. It uses the Marxist world view to guide people to know their own material interests correctly and to unite to struggle for their own interests. It reflects the hopes and will of the masses of the people, represents the fundamental interests of that class, and therefore can give rise to enormous material strength. In the years of revolutionary struggle, could the peasants have been mobilized to strike down the landlords and local tyrants, separated from the division of land? Could the masses of the people have been mobilized to strike down the Guomindang reactionaries and liberate China, divorced from the laboring people emancipating themselves and achieving liberation? Similarly, if today we are divorced from raising the material and cultural standard of living of all the people, there is no way we can mobilize the masses of people to engage in the four modernizations. Ideological and political work can play a progressive, revolutionary role, but it can also play a retrogressive and reactionary role; and the determining factors here depend on the material interests of the class that is being supported. The "omnipotent ideology" and "spiritual atomic bomb" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was divorced from socioeconomic conditions and did not deal with the material interests of the broad masses of the people in a fundamental way. Such political work can only feed on illusions, and the result is a drastic loss of prestige. Our ideological and political work definitely cannot overlook the actual economic and material interests of the masses of people. It must intimately combine the advancing of ideological and political work with the resolving of the material interests of the people, and it must combine political and material incentives.

Seeking truth from facts and using reason to win over people is a fundamental principle of ideological and political work. Ideological and political work should resolve problems of people's ideological awareness. Resolving problems of ideological awareness must adopt the methods of democratic discussion, education by persuasion, rallying together and criticism and self-criticism to conduct inculcation, inspiration, guiding and waiting. Study and observation, heart-to-heart talks and discussion, criticism and condemnation, encouragement and persuasion, investigation and appraisal, comparison and analysis--these are all concrete forms of these methods. Any attempt to use overly impatient practices such as repression, simple administrative orders, and "ideological questions don't last overnight" all violate the laws of development of ideological awareness, and thus will not get us anywhere. The political work done when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running rampant was discussing struggle every day, analyzing everything, and making the question of ideological awareness among the people a matter of principle and a two-line struggle without end, with the result that it seriously repressed and ruined the initiative of the broad cadres and masses, so how could they talk of resolving any question of awareness? The persuasiveness of ideological and political work lies in seeking truth from facts. No matter what the question, it can be resolved by uniting the major principles of revolution with the question of the ideological situation of the employees and discussing revolutionary principles in the light of specific conditions. It is impossible to be effective by looking to higher levels for instruction and going by the book, rather than conscientiously studying theory and engaging in hard actual investigation.

Teaching by words and actions and showing by example are important methods of ideological and political work. Ideological and political work--i.e., making people understand principles and, even more, getting them to conduct themselves in accordance with these principles; the unity of theory and practice--is the inherent seriousness of proletarian ideological and political work. Divorced from this point, ideological and political work loses all of its significance and thus also loses its vitality.

The strength of examples is inexhaustible, because through certain models people can feel definitely and formally that the goal advocated by the educator is real, believable and beneficial, and they will then actively struggle for it. Thus the exemplary role of the party leadership cadres at all levels and of the ideological and political work cadres, who are educators in practicing what they preach, is very important. The masses judge the level of ideological and political work not only by what you say but also by what you do. Being as good as your word and practicing what you preach constitute the most powerful ideological and political work; the hypocritical workstyle of deeds not matching words (talking a good line but not living up to it in work) can lead to a loss of prestige for ideological and political work. Now the greatest obstacle keeping ideological and political work from developing is an incorrect party style. Therefore, rectifying the party's workstyle is the key to strengthening ideological and political work and raising the level of this work.

Calculate motives, guide behavior, and make ideological and political work have foresight and initiative. People's behavior is controlled by ideological motives, and ideological motives come from need. People's needs are multifaceted, such as the need to survive, the need for security, the need for love, the need for respect, the need to achieve, the need for faith, etc. These are products of actual socioeconomic conditions and have their own laws of change. Thus, motives can be predicted. Study the interrelations of change between people's needs, motives and behavior and their laws of change, and then it is possible to control ideological conditions more thoroughly, promptly discover ideological trends, and take the initiative to start work. The more this work is done promptly and with initiative, the better it is for resolving questions of ideological awareness and the more effectively evil tendencies can be prevented; even after some questions are revealed, it will be possible to guide in a purposeful way and to reduce negative influences to the smallest degree.

This key will open the lock and make ideological and political work have direction. Because each person is at a different point in socioeconomic activity and political activity, because family economic conditions are different, and because social experience, degree of culture, and individual characteristics and interests are different, the content and characteristics of ideological activity are very varied and complex. If ideological and political work cannot be different because people are different, and cannot adopt different ways and methods according to different characteristics, but must use inflexible, ossified methods of "generality" and "formulism," then it will necessarily meet with a rebuff and fail. The most numerous and most usual type of ideological education is the individual work of one person, and one event, and this is the basic achievement of ideological and political work. The most enormous and difficult task is transforming the backward, and this is a key point of ideological and political work. To do a good job of this work, one must not depart from the basic principle, "Use different methods to solve different contradictions." Only by carrying out a careful analysis of the nature, degree of development, and generating factors of different questions, and only by finding the pulse, adopting methods which are suited to it, and treating the disease, can we let go the arrow, open the lock of people's hearts, and uncover the hidden potential there.

Its permeating of everything causes ideological and political work to have a relationship to other work. Man's ideological activity processes penetrate the processes of all productive and life activities, and thus ideological education cannot be separated from productive work, nor can work be separated from ideological education. Ideological and political work is interdependent with all other work, influences it, and is influenced by it. Ideological and political work must be done together with all productive work and penetrate all people's activity, including productive labor, scientific research, management, social work, cultural and artistic activity, and even domestic and individual life, and only thus can it develop its appropriate role. For example, if one wants to have people maintain exuberant health and spirit in their work and raise their interests in and efficiency at work, then one should study how better to guarantee the material conditions for consumer needs and improve the material environment of their activity (termperature, color, sound, light and smell) to suit the people's psychological characteristics in work. To make people gradually form good ideological character in their practical activity, one should start from a great quantity of detailed and common work and activity to develop fully the people's strongpoints, respect their creative spirit, encourage them to engage in rational competition under a unified goal, and implement rewards according to merit. To nurture a sense of belonging and honor with regard to the collectives, organizations and nation to which they be-ong, one should make people recognize, from an observation of the actual benefits derived, the intimate relationship that develops between the whole and the individual. In short, an important link in ideological education work which permeates everything is to make the individual and the collective capable of constantly guaranteeing an internal motive force and to do their utmost to make this individual motive force and the collective motive force fuse in the struggle for a unified goal.

Self-education and mutual influences give ideological and political work a mass character. The important object of ideological and political work is the people, and it is the people who are the masters of society. In a socialist society, each citizen is both the educator and the student. The fact that the masses of people are in the position of masters determines that ideological and political work must uphold the direction of self-education of the masses. The masses have a vast reservoir of enthusiasm for socialism, the ability to tell right from wrong, and the psychology of not being willing to lag behind and delighting in forging ahead, and these are the basic conditions for the masses to be able to accept and carry out education. Only if the entire party, both above and below, is mobilized, and not only a few cadres do ideological work but administrative and technical cadres also work, and not only leadership cadres at all levels work but the working masses also work, then ideological and political work can create a vital and lively new situation. In the self-education of the masses, broadly encouraging heart-to-heart talks is a good form and method of mass creation. If the leaders and the led are to have heart-to-heart talks, they can exchange opinions, eliminate barriers, increase trust, and strengthen unity; with heart-to-heart talks, comrades can get across ideas, exchange feelings, unify knowledge, and advance hand in hand. In short, through the mutual influences of help and promotion among the masses, there can be extensive and profound educational effectiveness.

Ideological and political work is a science, and we only raise this topic to set forth a superficial way of looking at it. We have not thought this through very well, and we hope we can discuss it and study it with everyone. We expect that proletarian ideological and political work will become a science, and that a treatise will be published quickly and systematically. We also hope that, on the basis of the demands of the scientific nature of ideological and political work, concerned sections will be able quickly as possible to formulate rules and methods for examining and training ideological and political work cadres, encourage ideological and political work personnel to study hard, gain professional proficiency, conscientiously practice, and courageously probe to contribute their own talents and abilities to the realization of the four modernizations.

8226
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

FEAST PRICES INVESTIGATED--According to BEIJING RIBAO, in order to check the unhealthy tendencies of some leading cadres and some so-called "related" cadres who have gone to restaurants for extravagant eating and drinking, the preparatory group for the discipline inspection committee under the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee has ordered the No 1 Municipal Service Bureau to carry out a general check in accordance with the "guiding principles for inner-party political life of Chinese communists." The check will focus on problems caused by restaurants under its jurisdiction which serve specially prepared meals. According to the group's orders, the service bureau should handle every problem as it sees fit and adopt relevant measures to eliminate loopholes and to check such evil tendencies. The preparatory group for the discipline inspection committee under the municipal CCP committee gave this order after examining the erroneous behavior of Wang Lei and other leading cadres who feasted at the Feng-ze-yuan Restaurant at nominal prices. The erroneous behavior was exposed by Chen Aiwu, a young cook at the Feng-ze-yuan Restaurant. [Text] [HK241032 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Oct 80]

CSO: 4005

GOOD BEHAVIOR PRAISED, BAD PRACTICES CRITICIZED

OW261425 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1547 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Excerpts] Beijing, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--WEN HUI BAO on 24 October published three letters from readers which commended three cadres and policemen of Jiading County's Public Security Bureau in Shanghai who performed their duty properly and refused to accept gifts, and criticized some personnel of a coal gas company, the Shanghai beer factory and other factories for their bad practices of demanding from fraternal units treat in exchange for services done. WEN HUI BAO carried an editor's note while publishing the letters.

One of the letters said: In last mid-June, a resident of Nanxiang town in Jiading County arrived at the home of Hou Quanfu, deputy head of the Nanxiang town's police station, taking with him two cartons of Phoenix brand cigarettes, some canned food and more than 10 jin of peanuts. He requested Hou Quanfu to change the registered permanent residence of his two sons from the countryside to the town. Hou Quanfu rejected his request outright and criticized this resident.

WEN HUI BAO editor's note says: Nowadays, a bad practice of getting service by providing treat and presenting gifts, a practice known as "skinning the wild goose when it flies by," exists in some departments, some units and some working personnel. This type of bad practice shows that the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" has not been thoroughly eliminated and that it seriously harms our party, state and revolutionary ranks. We must be resolved to improve our party's work style and lead social practice to a correct path. On the one hand, we must commend good people and good deeds that dare to oppose evil practices and noxious tendencies; on the other hand, we must expose evil practices and noxious tendencies, arouse strong public opinion against them and give this warning to those comrades who till today follow those bad practices: "Comrades, it is dangerous to engage in bad practices. The faster you correct your ways, the better."

CSO: 4005

NAVAL SCHOOL COMMANDANT WORKS TO MASTER MODERN TECHNOLOGY

HK270441 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 26 Oct 80

[Text] (Zeng Qiansheng), commandant of the navy's No 2 Surface Warships School, has scored good achievements in his efforts to master modern technology. The cadres and fighters have praised his efforts. (Zeng Qiansheng) is an old comrade who joined the revolution in 1938. When new China was established, he switched from the army to the people's navy, which was just in the process of growth. Ever since that time, he has assiduously studied to acquire specialized naval knowledge. His study has been deep and extensive. He has seriously studied everything that a large navy needs to know, such as naval tactics, warship construction, warship operation, astronomy, geography, navigation and so on. In the past 20 and more years he has filled over 10 thick notebooks. Since being appointed commandant of the No 2 Surface Warships School in 1978, he has studied in a relatively systematic way radar, radio, electronic countermeasures, and some material on foreign navies.

(Zeng Qiansheng) is a devoted student. A few years ago he read in some foreign material that during World War II the Germans hid two strategic ships in the Port of Brest, France. The British and U.S. air forces searched for and bombed them for nearly 1 year, but in the end the two ships safely escaped. For several years, (Zeng Qiansheng) diligently sought the reason why the German ships could be hidden. In 1978 he accompanied a naval delegation on a visit to France, during which he went to Brest. The port presented a peaceful scene. (Zeng Qiansheng) took the chance to ask those accompanying his party where the German ships had been concealed at that time. They pointed and said, "Over there." (Zeng Qiansheng) hurried to look through a telescope. He could only see two big pillars erected under a cliff. He suddenly saw the light. He had found the way to conceal big warships.

During this visit (Zeng Qiansheng) studied assiduously everywhere he went, and wrote a 20,000-word account of the visit after he returned. This was published in installments in the magazine RENMIN HAIJUN [PEOPLE'S NAVY].

(Zeng Qiansheng) is an assiduous student. In order to master modern naval knowledge, he has persistently studied English over the past 30 years.

Back in 1949, when he was appointed captain of the defector warship "Changzhi," he had little interest in the various odds and ends he saw when taking inventory; instead he set his eyes on a two-volume English book about navigation. (Zeng Qiansheng) only knew a little English. Could he understand such thick volumes? He summoned up the spirit of charging at the front in battle, got hold of a dictionary, and worked hard to master the thick English books in the manner of an ant gnawing a bone. He wrote 200 pages of notes when reading a 400-page book. Through this study he acquired a firm foundation for mastering navigational techniques.

Although (Zeng Qiansheng's) hairs are now gray, he is still continuing to study foreign languages for the purpose of introducing the latest knowledge about world navies to his students. He never misses an opportunity to learn. Once when he went away to attend a conference, he saw two unfamiliar English phrases written on a door of the airport waiting room. He immediately copied them down and asked the service personnel what they meant. As a result of devoted study, his standard of English is ceaselessly improving. This year he translated material on U.S. naval computers, which was serialized in RENMIN HAIJUN.

CSO: 4005

FINE ARTS MAGAZINE INTRODUCES TAIWAN PAINTER'S WORKS

OW280608 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1154 GMT 27 Oct 80

[Text] The recently published October issue of the 1980 magazine FINE ARTS carried on its front page a painting completed in 1971 by China's famous painter Zhang Daqian who now lives in Taiwan. The painting was entitled: "Danshan Mountains in Early Spring." The magazine also used five pages to print a portion of the painting entitled "The 10,000 Li Yangtze River" which he did in 1968. The magazine also carried an article by China's famous painter Ye Qianyu commenting on and introducing Zhang Daqian's achievements in fine arts. This issue of FINE ARTS magazine also carried an article written by Zhang Daqian's daughter Zhang Xinrui and his son-in-law Xiao Jianchu, giving Zhang's resume of his professional work.

Zhang Daqian was born in Neijiang County, Sichuan Province, in 1899. He was the first professional painter who went to the Dunhuang Grottoes to copy the wall paintings there. With the Yangtze River, the Huangshan, Huashan and Emei mountains and the three gorges and other famous mountains and rivers as themes, he portrayed, in all kinds of forms, the magnificent mountains and rivers of the motherland. His works were often exhibited in Tokyo, Argentina, Paris, Cologne, New York and other localities and were well praised throughout the world.

At the beginning of the article by Xiao Jianchu and Zhang Xinrui, there was also a recent picture of Zhang Daqian taken in 1980.

CSO: 4005

'WENYI BAO' CRITIC DISCUSSES SUCCESS OF YUE FEI RADIO PROGRAM

OW260749 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 26 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 26 (XINHUA)--Life virtually comes to a standstill for half an hour at lunch and supper time every day as people tune in to the radio special, "The Story of Yue Fei," narrated by a 36-year-old woman from Anshan, northeast China.

Listening to the saga of the hero of the Song Dynasty eight centires ago, who was a symbol of Chinese patriotism, has become homework for many schoolchildren.

Since the story began being broadcast by the Anshan Radio Station in September last year, some 60 radio stations, central and local, have followed suit. With each installment lasting half an hour a day, the whole program runs for three months.

Liu Lanfang, a storyteller with more than 20 years of experience, adapted the story from various versions of Yue Fei's military career, which ended in his death as a result of a frame-up by treacherous court officials.

A critic in the national literary gazette WENYI BAO describes Liu Lanfang's work as "suitable for people of all ages and all tastes."

Apart from people's traditional interest in heroes like Yue Fei, her success also comes from her technique, which borrows from the dialogue of traditional operas as well as everyday language. The critic says she has made a breakthrough in the art of storytelling, originally rooted among urban working people, and reached intellectuals, many of whom are following the "Yue Fei" program regularly.

The popularity of the program among young people has helped allay concerns that modern cinema and popular music are attracting the young away from the traditional art forms, such as Beijing opera, storytelling and ballad singing. In discussions in the Chinese press and in cultural circles, people have observed that different art forms may exist side by side and supplement each other, and that modern influences on culture have not squeezed out conventional art forms.

It appears that as long as new content is brought in and innovations carried out in the form, storytelling and ballad singing will continue to hold their ground In fact, in its thousand years of existence, Chinese storytelling has undergone constant changes, from a medium for conveying Buddhist tales into one of folklore.

The new interest in storytelling, which has derived much from Beijing opera, should help win back youthful audiences, according to an administrator of the China Traditional Opera Institute, where the best young Beijing opera actors and actresses are trained. Storytelling will also acquaint the younger generation with the historical background of traditional operas, and literature and art as well, according to the spokesman.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO REMOVED MOUNTAINS' REALLY WAS FOOLISH

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 13 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Liu Maoyin [0491 5399 6892]: "A New Explanation of 'The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains'"]

[Text] Since Comrade Mao Zedong invested the parable "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" with new meaning, those whom people have for years considered models for being victorious through hard work and surmounting every obstacle have played an enormous role in both revolution and construction. However, there have also been some people who have suffered metaphysically because of a distorted understanding. Because of this, on rereading this parable, we are compelled to get down to its original meaning.

Previously, we used to think that the foolish old man wasn't foolish, and we respected him because of his spirit of hard work in keeping on digging up the mountains, and [we used to think] that the wise old man was not wise because he did not understand that the foolish old man was employing the principle of inexhaustible labor by having his sons and grandsons dig up the mountains. Now it is felt that it is not a rational explanation to praise the foolish old man and conceal his foolishness and to deprecate the wise old man by removing his wisdom. Can you imagine the foolish old man's descendants and the 7-year-old orphan of the neighbor Mr Jingcheng, using shovels and baskets to move the dirt from the 700 cubic li and lofty Taihang and Wangwu mountains and throwing it into the tail of Bohai, a roundtrip which takes a year? How could the mountains be moved this way? Furthermore, the foolish old man and his helpers still had to eat and dress, and if they put all their energy into moving the mountains, would they eat dirt and drink the northwest wind? The wise old man saw the foolishness of the foolish old man, and with good intentions pointed it out to him; moving mountains this way is fruitless labor. But before the wise old man had finished speaking, the foolish old man cursed him for being so stubborn and for having less experience than a child. Obviously, the foolish old man was very stubborn himself. If the foolish old man had humbly listened to the wise old man's proposal, I think the wise old man would probably have had some very good advice. The reason the foolish old man was moving the mountains was because the Taihang and Wangwu mountains blocked the road to his home. The wise old man might have advised him to move his home from the back of the mountains to the front of the mountains; or he might have lived happily where he was if, in the spirit with which he was moving the mountains, he had changed the environment where he lived and planted trees on Taihang and Wuwang mountains and gone in for forestry; or if he had raised cows and sheep and developed an animal husbandry business; or, if he liked the fish in the ponds and streams at the foot of the mountains and in the ravines, if he had spent some effort in raising fish he could have had more fish than he could eat. All this without having to move the mountains or travel a thousand li to Bohai to catch fish. The foolish old man suffered from not having listened to the wise old man's suggestion. If it hadn't been for divine help, the Taihang and Wuwang mountains might remain as before. Yet spirits don't exist, and everything still has to be done by oneself. When the author wrote this parable, he called the man who moved the mountains a "foolish old man" and finally brought gods in to help by carrying the mountains away on their backs to show that it was unrealistic for the foolish old man to move mountains. His aim in writing the story was to explain the spirit of persistence and hard work.

If in studying the foolish old man who removed the mountains we study certain methods only in terms of their form and are divorced from objective reality in using sea-of-people tactics and act rashly on the basis of physical strength alone, then we will not be able to get results. You could say that a few years ago there was a great deal of this kind of suffering. Suppose there was a brigade of over 100 households that decided in 1975 to imitate the foolish old man who removed the mountains and started to move a mountain to create 14 mu of land. If they worked for 4 full years, day and night, spending over 16,000 man-days and about 2 or 3 tons of dynamite, they still would not have cleared 1 mu. To move the mountain would take another 4 years' work. If commune members worked and worked for only a few cents a day, not to mention the hard life, it would really be hard on the people and on their finances. This is probably what comes from not listening to the opinions of the "wise old man."

Exposing the foolish old man's foolishness is not being disrespectful to him. His kind of spirit of persistence and hard work should always be developed. It is impossible to succeed at any great enterprise without this spirit of hard work, but this alone is not enough; to succeed at a great undertaking, working ingeniously must be added to working hard. Therefore, at the same time that I respect the foolish old man, I am filled with veneration for the wise old man. He used his intelligence to come up with a plan for the foolish old man, his spirit is invaluable, and his role is inestimable. If the foolish old man had respected the wise old man as his teacher and had guided his actions by the wisdom of the wise old man, then the foolish old man's strength would have been multiplied several times, dozens of times, even hundreds and thousands of times, and he could have accomplished something earthshaking.

In the new long march to build the four modernizations, we must by all means dare to work hard and be good at being new "foolish old men" who have learned from the wise old man. Since they have both the hardworking strength of the foolish old man and the level of knowledge of the wise old man, they could do anything and were very versatile. If everyone were to strive in this direction, why shouldn't the four modernizations be completed?

8226
CSO: 4005

BEER LABEL EXCHANGE DELAY SEEN AS EXAMPLE OF BUREAUCRATIC TIMIDITY

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 80 p 3

[Excerpts from XI'AN RIBAO article: "Brand Label Wanted Abroad, But Relayed Requests for Instructions Take Nearly a Year; An Obvious Example of the Rate of Ideological Ossification"]

[Text] One day in August of last year, the Xi'an Brewery received a letter from a foreign beer lover asking for a brand-name label from that brewery. Along with the letter he sent several labels from foreign beers, wanting to exchange them. After the brewery received the letter, the party's general branch secretary and plant managers could not figure out what to do, so they decided to ask the upper echelons for instructions. They sent the letter to the technical section of the Municipal First Bureau of Light Industry, but the engineers in that section could not figure out what to do, either, so they asked the deputy bureau chief for instructions. The deputy bureau chief also could not give them an answer, so they asked the relevant upper level department for instructions. They phoned the Provincial Foreign Affairs Office and received the reply: "We have never run into this sort of thing before, so we can't give you an answer." Then a copy of the letter was sent to the Provincial Bureau of Light Industry and Textiles, and before long it came back, but without any opinion.

Since they hadn't answered the first letter from abroad, they kept getting letter after letter. One day a cadre in the brewery said to the manager: "Sending a label isn't all that important; surely we can agree to that!" The brewery manager replied: "Young fellow, you didn't suffer enough in the Great Cultural Revolution! You say now that it's not important, but after a few years it will catch up with you and I won't be able to plead for mercy." So the matter was put off until the end of May, when the seventh letter arrived from abroad, accompanied by 34 foreign beer labels, and yet the man hadn't been sent even one label. Finally, on 2 June, with the prodding of the comrades, the brewery leadership had the secretary send a formal written request to the Municipal First Bureau of Light Industry asking for instructions. The report finally came into the hands of the bureau chief, who wrote on the report: "We don't know about this sort of thing. Have the office go to the relevant sections for explanation and instructions and tell the brewery to take care of it." From the looks of things, the "football" was about to be kicked back downstairs. Unexpectedly, the Bureau Supply and Marketing Office received the letter, and after calling the comrade responsible for brand labels in the Municipal Bureau of Commerce and Industry, the matter was quickly relayed down and the answer was direct: "Go ahead and send them! It's so silly. And please send us the foreign beer labels so we can have a look at them." The above instructions were telephoned to the brewery on 17 June, but the brewery leadership still had misgivings: our report was a formal written one; why did the bureau inform us by telephone and not by formal letter? There was "nothing in writing," so they were still uncertain. So the matter of the letter from abroad asking for a beer label dragged on for 11 months before being wrapped up.

Xi'an beer is rated as a good domestic beer, and by rights we should make an effort to move into the international market. But if we don't even dare send brand-name labels to people, then how can we talk about sending products to compete for their attention?

8226
CSO: 4005

BUREAUCRATIC STALLING BLAMED FOR DEPARTURE OF SPECIALISTS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Why Did Refrigeration Specialist Chan Yanxiang Leave?"]

[Text] On 27 July, Chen Yanxiang [7115 1693 7534], a Chinese refrigeration specialist and member of the International Association of Refrigeration Specialists, took his wife and two children and left Shanghai to return to the United States because the relevant department had delayed and refused to make a decision on the matter of his work assignment. This matter provoked a great deal of discussion in the relevant unit, because severe bureaucratism and the "pass the buck" workstyle in the work of that unit let an experienced technician committed to the four modernizations leave!

Chen Yanxiang, who was 63 this year, graduated from the National Sino-French Industrial College in 1939. He worked in the Shanghai branch of the U.S. Beiji [0554 2817--Norge?] Company and as an engineer for the China Tonghui Machine Company. He was elected a member of the International Refrigeration Association and the French Refrigeration Alliance, and he was a member of the editorial board of the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Mechanical Engineering Association. In 1950 he returned to China and became an engineer and acting manager of the Shanghai Ice Works. In 1955 he was arrested because of his political background. After investigation, no serious political difficulties were found in his background. After his release in 1956, he was assigned to work in the Shanghai refrigeration engineering team of the Central Municipal Service unit's Design and Installation Company. In 1957 he left his job and was unemployed for a long time. After 1960, through an introduction from the Municipal Committee's United Front Department, he got a position as a translator for the Foreign Languages Press and the Shanghai Scientific and Technical Information Research Unit.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," on two occasions, November 1978 and September 1979, out of enthusiasm for the four modernizations, Chen wrote to the leadership comrades of the Central Committee asking for work. In his letter, Chen said, "I have studied refrigeration technology for over 30 years and have both theoretical knowledge and practical experience in the design and manufacture of refrigeration equipment and management and control of refrigeration technology. In the last 20-odd years in particular, I have never abandoned the theoretical investigation of my refrigeration specialty and have continued to edit and translate materials sent from foreign associations. Now the situation is both exciting and urgent, and although I am nearing 60, still the heart of the old horse put out to pasture doesn't want to lag behind." This showed that he wanted to make a contribution to refrigeration technology. On 24 September 1979, the relevant leadership comrades of the Central Committee responded to his letter. The relevant leadership comrades of Shanghai also regarded the situation very carefully and on two occasions asked the Second Bureau of Commerce to find technical work for this socially idle Chen in order to take advantage of his specialty. The Municipal Committee's United Front Department also pointed out that Chen had a certain level of expertise in refrigeration work and proposed that he be given work to mobilize his initiative.

On the basis of investigation and study, the Scientific and Technical Cadre Office of the Municipal People's Government repeatedly discussed the matter with the Organization Office of the Second Bureau of Commerce, and they expressed a willingness to accept him. On 17 December 1979, the Second Bureau of Commerce formally issued a "Notice Concerning a Work Assignment for Comrade Chen Yanxiang." But not long after the notice was issued, the Organization Office of the Second Bureau of Commerce suddenly added, "Too old," and "Bureau agency strength is frozen," as pretexts to evade the issue and announced, "If agreement of the Municipal Workstrength Committee can be secured, Chen can be given work in an agency under our bureau and draw a salary from an agency of our bureau." This pushed the work arrangements for Chen onto the Municipal Workstrength Committee.

After receiving a letter from the comrades of the Municipal Scientific and Technical Cadre Office, Chen repeatedly went to the Organization Office of the Second Bureau of Commerce to work, and again and again he put forth reasons why he hoped that they would be able to consider the question from the perspective of implementing the party's policy on intellectuals and the talent necessary for working for the four modernizations and developing expertise, and that they would find him a job. The Organization Office of the Second Bureau of Commerce has said that "companies of this bureau do not want to accept him." As understood by the Municipal Workstrength Committee, the workstrength freeze applied to agencies above bureau level, but the assignment of scientific and technical personnel below company level was basically not within the scope of the restrictions. Although the comrades of the Municipal Scientific and Technical Cadre Office made numerous attempts, they had no effect and the football was kicked back again.

It was not until 16 June, after 7 months of chasing around by comrades of the Municipal Scientific and Technical Cadre Office over work for Chen Yanxiang, that the Second Bureau of Commerce got a relatively satisfactory answer: "We agree to accept him, and we can place him." But just when things were getting under way for Chen Yanxiang's job, Chen had already made arrangements to emigrate and was prepared to leave the country.

Chen's departure demonstrates that many sections and units have not paid sufficient attention to implementing the party's policy with regard to intellectuals and fully developing the role of intellectuals in the four modernizations. Because of delays and failure to find him a job, this refrigeration specialist, who had a level of specialization and influence, was forced to leave. This shows how serious bureaucratism is in these sections.

8226
CSO: 4005

KEY UNIVERSITIES MUST TRAIN GRADUATE STUDENTS IN SCIENCE

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 13 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Tang Zhixiao [0781 0037 2427], Shen Huanming [3088 3562 2494], Wang Zhibin [3769 3112 1755] and Duan Lin [3008 2651]: "Key Universities Should Train Science and Technology 'Mountaineers'--Some Views on Graduate Training"]

[Text] Relatively speaking, key universities have strong faculties, good library facilities, and a wealth of educational experience. How can their superiority be brought into play to do a better job of training qualified personnel for the nation? We think they should put more effort into training qualified personnel who can climb the peaks of science and technology and can resolve independently the latest questions of science and technology in China's modernization construction and can undertake the task of creating "mountaineers." Key universities should also employ a variety of educational techniques, but when concerned sections make arrangements for educational missions, they should discriminate between the special features of different schools, divide the labor and the emphasis, and not share the tasks equally. In addition to teaching basic science classes, key universities should emphasize the recruiting and training of graduate students so as to train a large group of qualified personnel up to the international level of master's degrees and Ph.D's. Those with the proper qualifications should also run graduate schools.

I. Various means should be used to select graduate students, and the starting point for training should be raised.

To train high-quality graduate students, well-prepared candidates should be selected. In selecting candidates, a variety of methods should be used, and all avenues should be opened for people with talent. In addition to recruiting the best from among this year's graduating class and currently employed cadres, graduate students can be chosen from among students at first-rate universities and from among young people who have reached the level of college graduate through self-study. Regulations now prohibit recruiting graduate students from among students currently in school, but this seems overly restrictive. Can this be changed to permit a few topnotch students to be recommended by their teachers and the school leadership to approve their taking the entrance examinations? Actually, there are some talented young people in schools or in society who through self-study have achieved or surpassed the level of graduate school entrance. They have a very bright future, and they should not be restricted. To train "mountaineers," risks should be permitted and encouraged.

II. It is necessary to grasp scientific research and raise the level of science in the schools

Scientific "mountaineers" develop only by scaling the peaks of science. Teachers should raise their level of science and technology through scientific research, and graduate students should participate in scientific research and develop their own abilities for scientific research. Key universities should be teaching centers and research centers. This is demanded by the nature of the development of modern productive forces. The role of science and technology in the development of production is becoming increasingly larger, and the length of time it takes science to turn into a productive force is growing ever shorter. This situation demands that the training of qualified personnel be changed from purely the transmission of knowledge to a training which emphasizes intelligence and creative ability. The transmission of knowledge should make every effort to catch up with the even faster pace of new knowledge. This demands that key universities be at the cutting edge of scientific developments. The quality of a school's graduate training is to a considerable degree determined by the improvement in the school's scientific level.

We should not oppose the demand that the main function of schools is to teach, and that the goal of key universities is to be centers of teaching and scientific research, for the two are intended to train high-quality scientific and technical personnel. Teachers at key universities certainly should improve both their teaching and their scientific research. Of course, as far as balance is concerned, there should for a time be priorities. At present, some teachers want to emphasize scientific research and deemphasize teaching. We should look for the reasons for this in the guiding ideology and policy measures in education and find a solution in guidance from positive aspects through rational arrangements.

III. Fully develop the superiority of faculties

The superiority of key universities is that they have strong teaching faculties. This superiority should be well developed to train more and higher quality graduate students for the needs of the nation. The potential of the faculty of key universities still has not been fully developed, and the potential of many capable faculty members is definitely still being "concealed." The reasons for this are varied. We feel that this power should be better mobilized to train graduate students. The view that only a few old professors should train graduate students should be changed. The training of graduate students should be made a task for the entire faculty of key universities. In fact, faculty members who graduated before the early 1960's already have the general ability to pursue independent teaching and scientific research, and they could be completely brought into play in training graduate students. The training of graduate students could adopt a variety of forms. Some could be taught by professors and assistant professors alone, while some who have the ability to work independently could be trained by being grouped together in directed classes under the guidance of professors and assistant professors who have specialized knowledge. This would be advantageous for increasing the scale of graduate student enrollment as well as for raising the quality of graduate training. When educational leadership sections determine how many graduate students a school or a specialty can absorb, they should look not only at the number of professors but also at the strength of the middle-aged faculty. Some specialties, especially some newer specialties, have few old teachers but great strength in middle-aged teachers, whose work is outstanding and who could take on more students.

To better develop faculty members' potential, we should give them more autonomy in teaching and research. For example, they should be permitted and encouraged to set up unique graduate courses based on their own specialties so that there will be competition among faculties. They should also support the development of a creative spirit in their scientific research and freely combine and choose topics in accordance with national needs and the direction of scientific developments. Purely administrative arrangement methods should not be used to resolve questions of planning and managing scientific research, but methods of investigation by specialists, demonstrations of proposals, and selection of the best proposals for support to carry out organized guidance in choosing topics should be used more.

IV. Employ more disciplines to walk new paths

One characteristic of modern science and technology is that the synthesis of many disciplines is constantly producing new disciplines and frontier disciplines. Graduate training should adapt to this trend of development. In this regard, because key institutions of higher learning are comprehensive and have many disciplines, conditions are more favorable than in scientific research sections.

As far as the individual teacher is concerned, there are, after all, limitations to specialized knowledge. For example, teachers in biology want to develop a new biological science, especially if it is a frontier science, but they also sense that their own mathematical foundation is deficient. The graduate students we train should have good foundations in both biological sciences and in mathematics. This problem can be resolved in the following ways: 1. By recruiting students from outside the specialty and from outside the school, and not limiting the recruiting effort to graduates of that school or specialty. 2. By recruiting students from different departments within the school or from combinations of different disciplines, and even by recruiting students in conjunction with other schools and research sections, such as the graduate students in the history of physics recruited by the theoretical physics laboratory at Fudan University in conjunction with the Research Institute of History of Natural Sciences at the Chinese Academy of Sciences. 3. By giving students leeway for free development, by offering more graduate courses, by implementing a system of academic credit, and by permitting graduate students to attend classes in other disciplines on the basis of their own interests and their specialties, as well as by permitting them to participate in scientific research outside their specialties.

To conform better to the development of science and the need to train qualified personnel, we should study how to reform the system of organization of teaching and research at key universities. At present the system of organization of research agencies and the organization of teaching and research, which has been set up vertically along specialty lines, is not favorable to horizontal alliances between disciplines. The separate establishment of teaching and research groupings mainly responsible for teaching basic courses and teaching and research groupings for specialties is not favorable for the combination of teaching and research. The question of how to set up teaching and research organizations which will be suited to the needs of interdisciplinary ties should be studied better and resolved. We propose that the Ministry of Education undertake tests, summarize experiences, and make proposals on the basis of the actual situation in China.

V. Provide more support for funds and equipment

If we are to turn key universities into teaching and research centers of international advanced level to train first-class qualified personnel, we should be given more support funds and equipment. Teaching and research at institutions of higher education still do not have special national allocations, but have only supplementary funds which must be requested from appropriate agencies. Furthermore, funds for graduate students cannot meet the needs of these graduate students who are engaged in independent scientific research. Because of poor management of instruments and equipment at higher schools, many have never really been fully utilized; this demands our highest concern for a solution. It should also be noted, however, that in terms of the demand that key universities train first-class qualified personnel and produce first-class scientific research results, present instruments and equipment are a long way from modernized levels. The general level is still much lower than that of domestic industrial sections and research sections. We hope that the nation's concerned sections can provide key universities with greater support in terms of funds and equipment, so that key universities can make greater contributions to training scientific and technical "mountaineers."

8226
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT--Shijiazhuang, October 27 (XINHUA)--More than 30,000 young people have enrolled this year in 415 technical schools newly set up in Hebei Province, the Provincial Education Bureau said today. A spokesman for the bureau said: "This is just the beginning. The demand for early vocational training is pressing." Hebei plans to turn half its 3,471 highschools into vocational schools by 1985, as part of the nationwide reform in secondary education to enable more middle-school graduates to join the workforce with some special training. Nearly half a million people graduated from highschool in Hebei this year but only eight percent of them went on to colleges and other higher-learning establishments. Of the newly-converted schools, 25 are in cities and 390 have been set up in rural areas. The 34 subjects taught in the city technical schools include electronics, machinery, radio, coal mining, sewing, pottery and the tourism business. Agrotechnical schools, run by counties, communes and villages, give classes suited to local needs. The Wenquantun Commune, which is going to set up a 1,000-hectare grape production center and will need 700 technicians, is running a class on viticulture. Qianxi County, a major chestnut producer, now runs a course to train students in the skills of farming chestnuts. The classes cover culture, management, storage, soil preparation and pest control. The provincial institute of education helps compile the technical textbooks. [Text] [OW270312 Beijing XINHUA in English 0258 GMT 27 Oct 80]

CSO: 4020

END

JPRS 76821

14 November 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 137

Selections from JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, Nos 9, 10, 1980

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76821

14 November 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 137

SELECTIONS FROM JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, Nos 9, 10, 1980

CONTENTS

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Voyage of Glory for the Nation
(No 9) 1

Guangxi Border Defense Line
(No 9) 15

Battalion Employs Self-Propelled Rocket Launchers
(No 9) 18

Unidentified Unit Carries Out Training in Minimum Altitude Flying
(No 9) 21

Xizang Develops Geothermal Energy
(No 10) 25

Artillery Manufacturing Industry Described
(No 10) 28

Visit to a Guided Missile Technical School
(Zhang Jucheng, Luo Chunrong; No 10) 32

Organize Training From the Needs of Actual Combat
(Wang Limin, et al.; No 10) 38

First Trip to Pacific
(No 10) 42

VOYAGE OF GLORY FOR THE NATION

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 9, 1980 pp 2-7

[Text] During China's South Pacific carrier rocket launch test, two brand-new "Yuanwang" survey ships were especially spectacular. This ship has a high multideck silhouette, and the electric power it uses could supply the needs of a city of several hundred thousand people, while its store of fuel and water would enable it to sail to the far corners of the earth. Giant antennas tower on the decks, looking like silver platters, golden hairpins, plum blossoms and xylophones. Their emissions can probe the secrets of the universe. The motherland put the newest scientific and technological results of the 1980's into the ship and made it an electronic world. People praise this ship as a floating maritime science city.

Although what the "residents" here eat is ordinary, what they see are the stars, sun and moon and what they talk about are the universe, the earth, the ionosphere and man-made satellites. The old-timers and the newcomers aboard the ship form a combat collective, and they are doing something which none of our predecessors have done before. In the central control unit, the various instruments accurately indicate, record and process the various signs, indications and data; the meteorological departments pick up cloud sightings from satellites and probe for information beyond the highest heavens; the communications antennas send out powerful signals to create a liaison net between the fleet and the motherland; and the radar revolves and the optical instruments open their eyes. All this is like an orchestra conducted in unison playing a symphony of modern science.

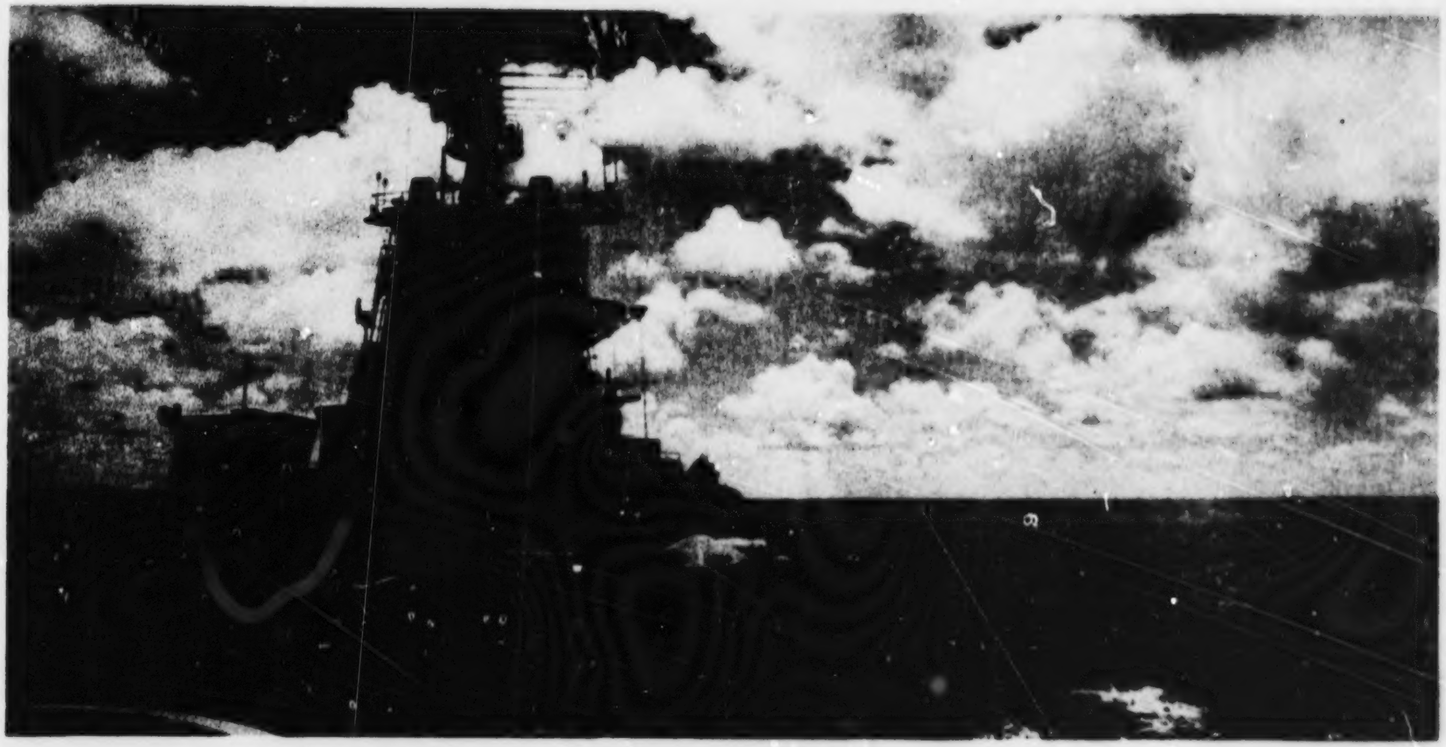
On the vast Pacific, the "Yuanwang" moves ahead at a speed of 15 or more knots an hour. The typhoon roars outside the portholes, and huge avalanche-like waves buffer the ship. The scientific and technical workers fighting here are using their skilled arms and hands and sharp minds to probe the secrets of nature to bring glory to the motherland through a spirit of selflessness, and the people will cherish the memory of their merits and achievements forever.

The appearance of this maritime science city is the pride of the Chinese nation, and it is also a symbol of our country courageously forging ahead towards modernization.

为国争光的航程

“远望”号测量船在南太平洋

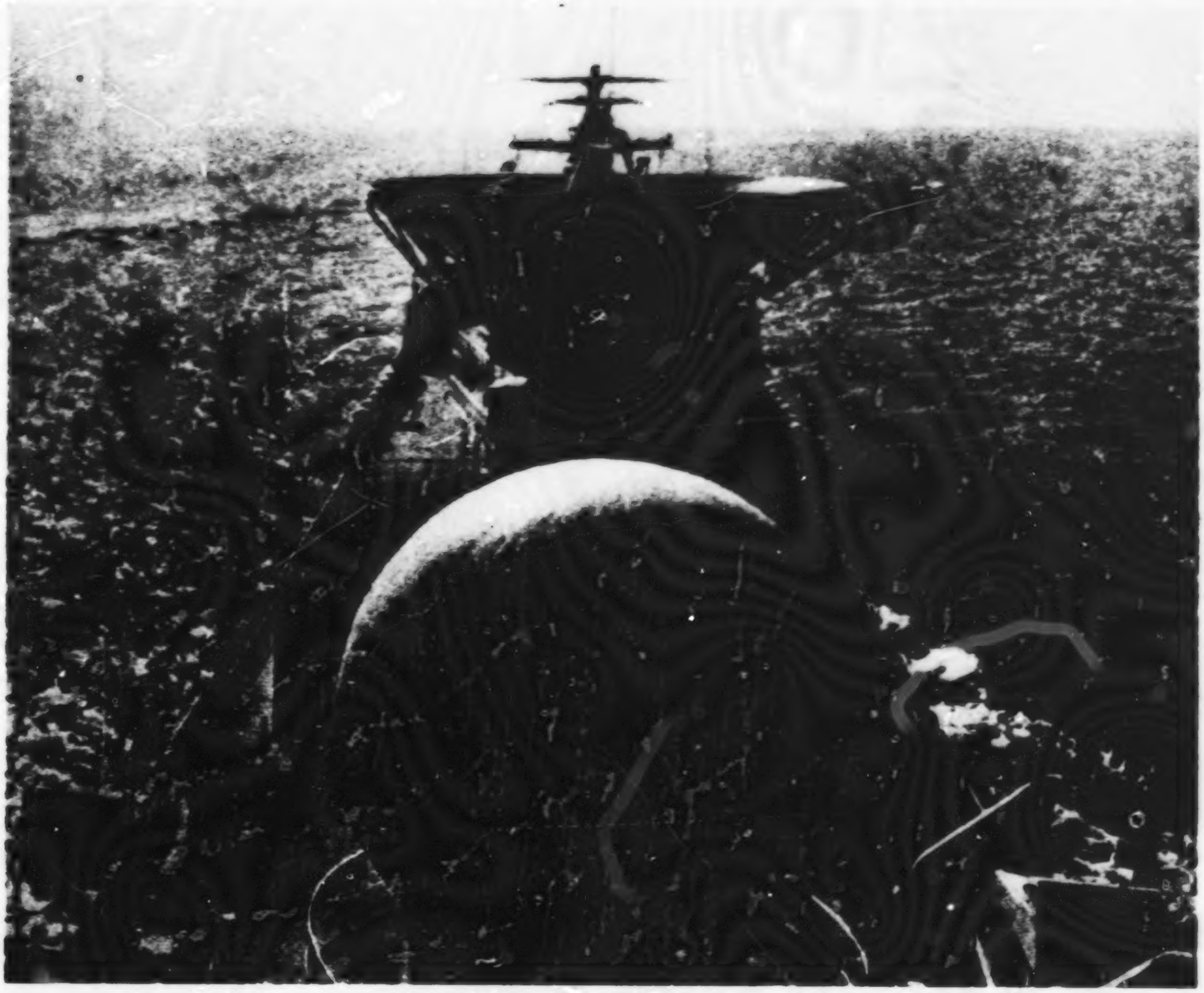
The "Yuanwang" survey [range instrumentation] ship, designed and built by China, braves wind and waves as it moves towards the operations area

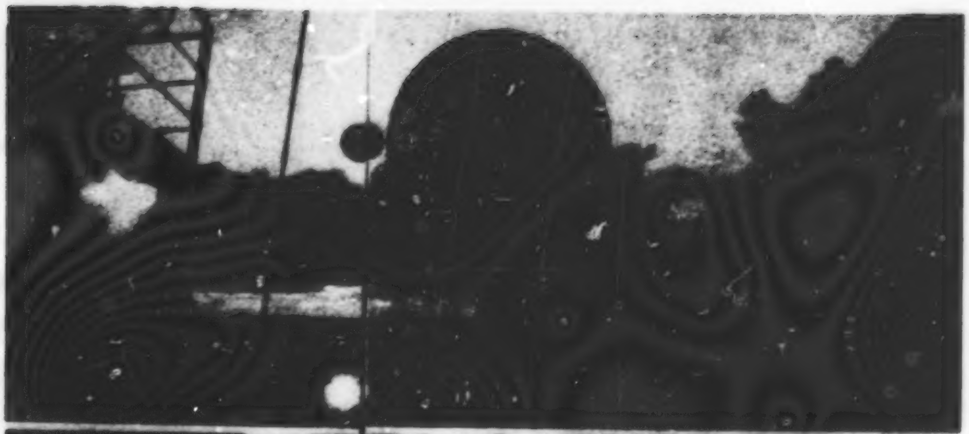


Radio transmissions in the Pacific link Beijing and the operations area

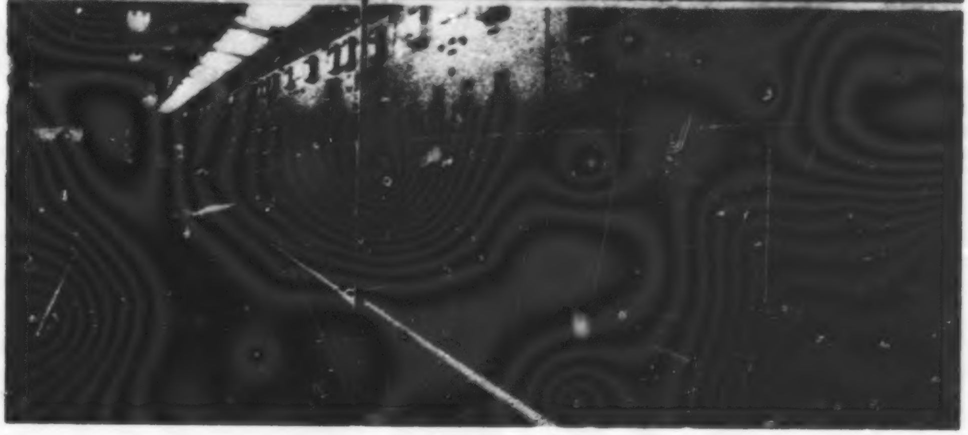
Painting a Pacific scene while collecting meteorological data on changing conditions

There will be signs of success during the long ocean voyate





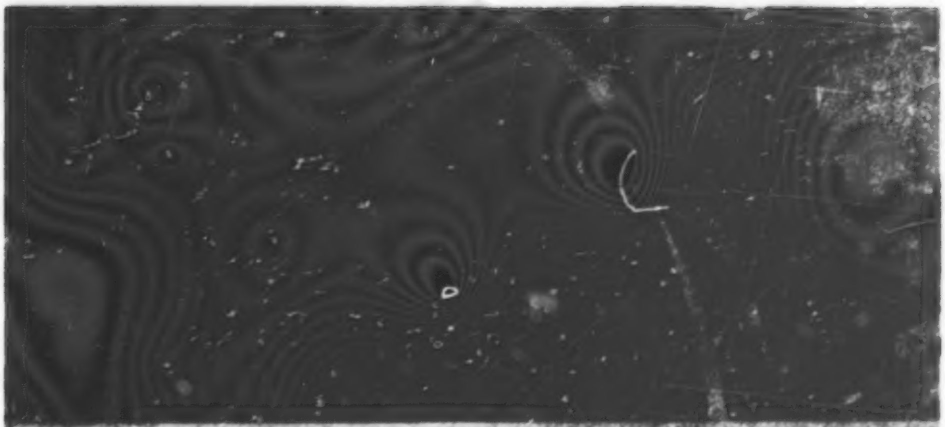
(2)



(3)

Caption 2. Radar antennas constantly revolve day and night.

Caption 3. The strong power supply originates here, and it is never interrupted for an instant



(4)

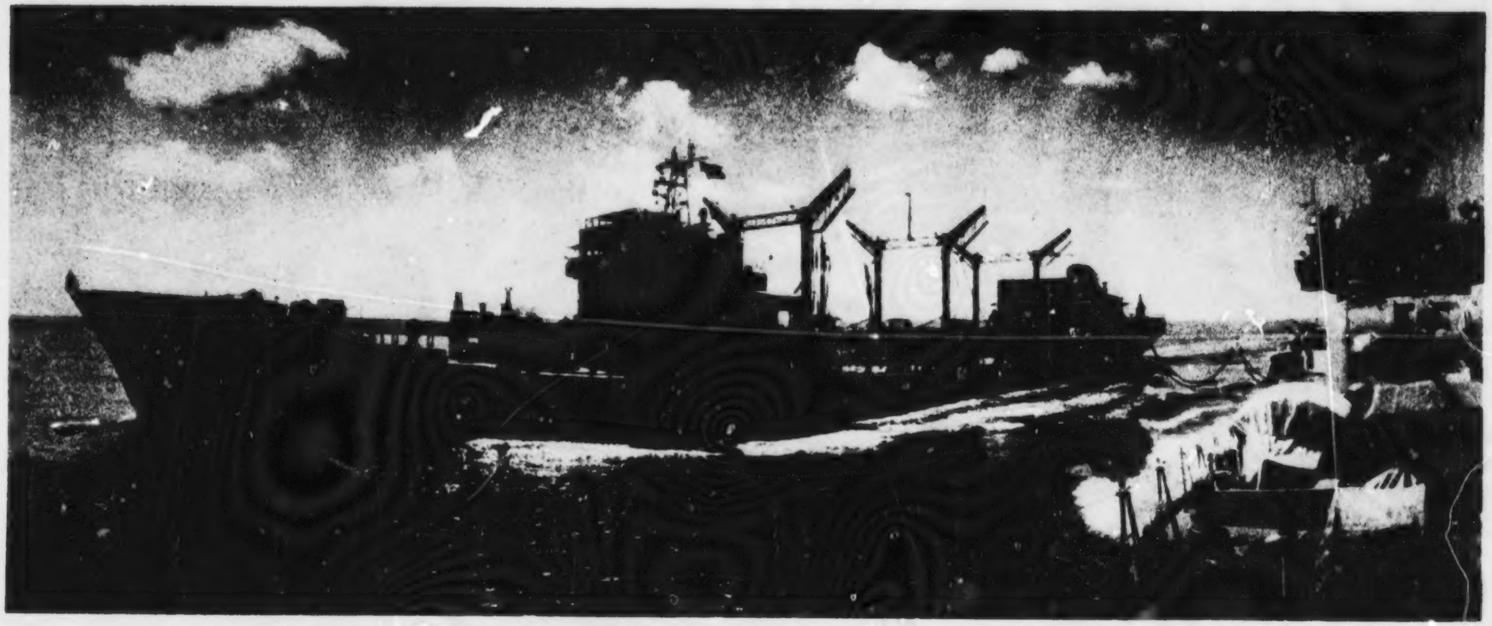
(5)

Caption 4. The trajectory of the missile's movements in the highest heavens can be photographed from this instrument chamber resembling a large bowl

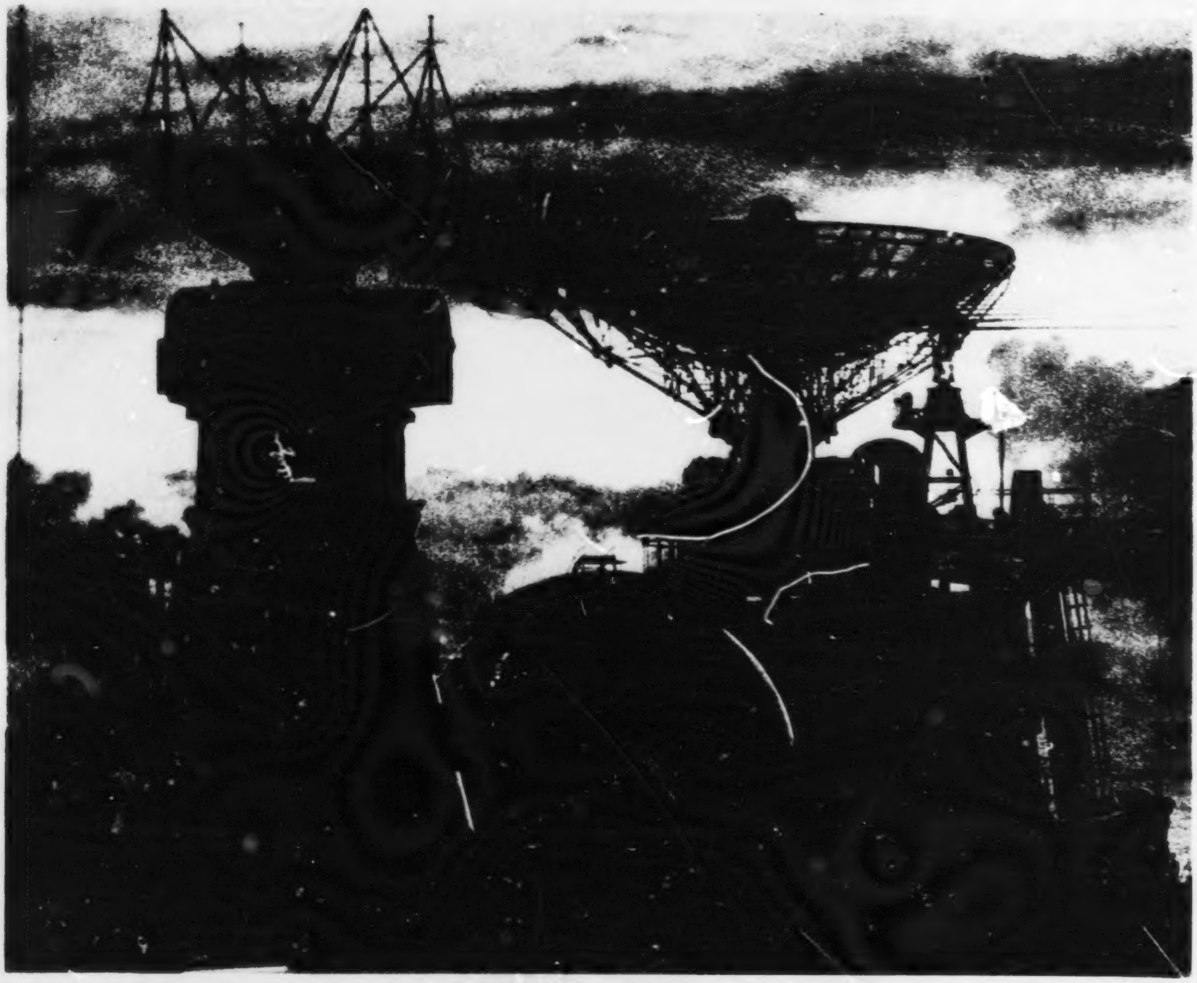
Caption 5. The forest of antennas on the deck is like a maritime science city pavilion

Checking the antennas and ensuring the proper functioning of the equipment

Scientists and technicians are always up on weather conditions to provide scientific data on the carrier rocket test



Like sentries at sea, various ships stand by to ensure that the test will proceed safely and without a hitch



Various scientific instruments aboard the ship probe the secrets of the universe

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGXI BORDER DEFENSE LINE

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 9, 1980 pp 10-11

[Photo captions]

The "Heroic Radar Station" towers over the Guangxi border defense line to defend the motherland's territorial air space around-the-clock

Tents in the mountain woods. This is the combat and living area of the border defense fighters

BATTALION EMPLOYS SELF-PROPELLED ROCKET LAUNCHERS

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 9, 1980 pp 18-19

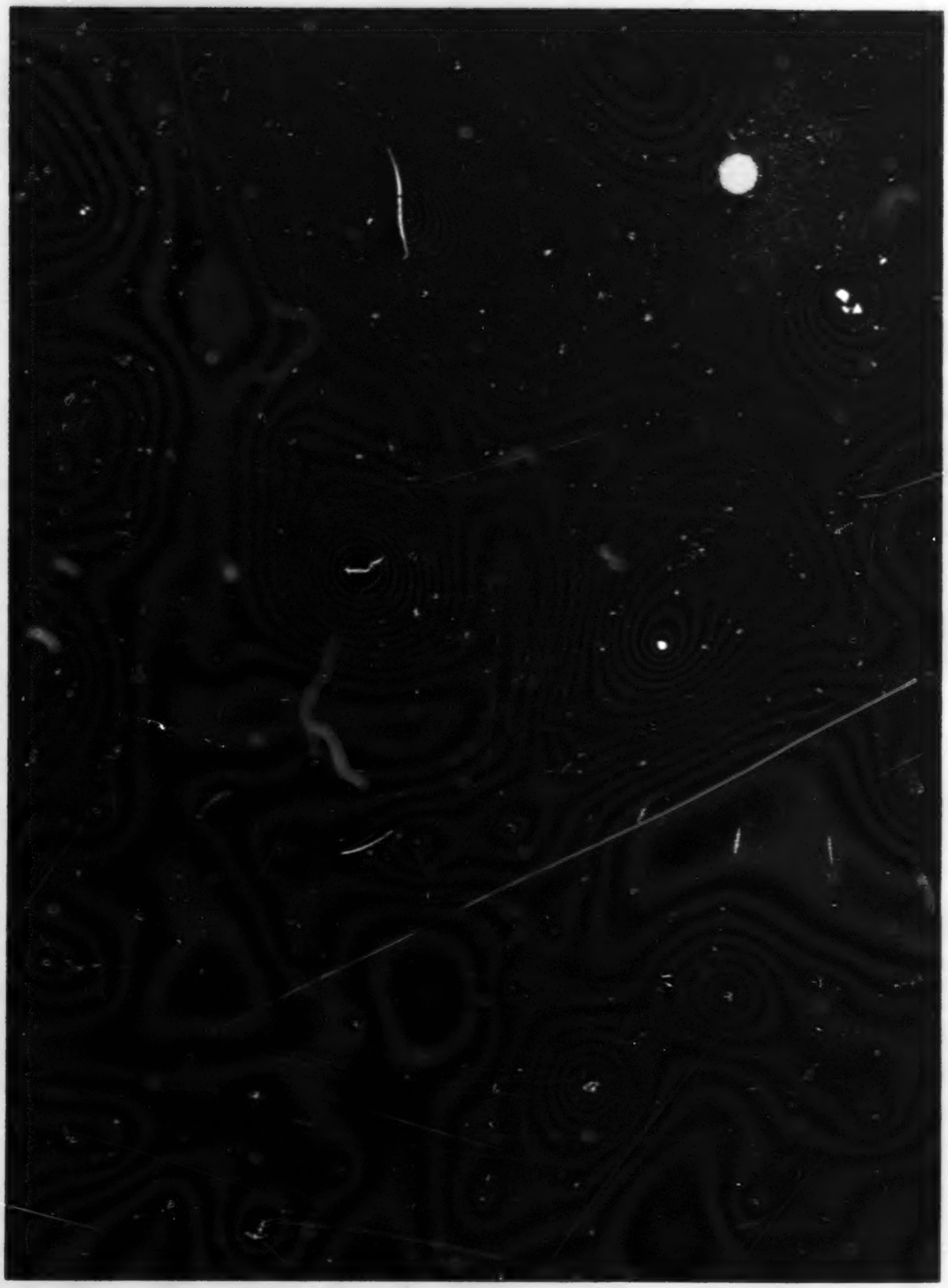
[Article: "Swift and Awesome Rocket Launchers"]

[Text] The self-propelled rocket launcher is a type of weapon that is highly mobile, awesome in forepower and has a tremendous capacity to destroy a target area. To use this type of weapon, it is necessary to have skills in driving a vehicle, using artillery and making radio contacts. After the 3d battalion of a certain unit had been armed with the weapon, the commanders and fighters raced against every minute and second to rigorously train, and they quickly mastered the methods of using the self-propelled rocket launcher. During a particular mission, this battalion was in charge of mounting a swift breakthrough. While passing through an area of varied terrain, they came across mud water that came up above the vehicle tracks. But by virtue of quality training during peacetime, the drivers calmly and boldly opened up the throttle, kept the running speed under control and passed the dangerous area to timely reache the firing position. With concentrated firing attacks, the various companies zeroed in with precision, loaded the rocket launchers quickly and fired without a single round missing the target. By following reports from the forward observation post, the firings turned the target area into a sea of fire. Up and down the entire battalion, the units successfully advanced, made precision firings, effectively carried out joint operations and worked well together to outstandingly complete the mission, thereby winning a collective meritorious award, second class.

(1)

(2)

Caption on following page



Caption 1. Taking swift and precise aim to zero in on the target

Caption 2. Moving smoothly through mountain terrain and rivers

Caption 3. Carrying out a firing attack with awesome firepower

CSO: 4005

UNIDENTIFIED UNIT CARRIES OUT TRAINING IN MINIMUM ALTITUDE FLYING

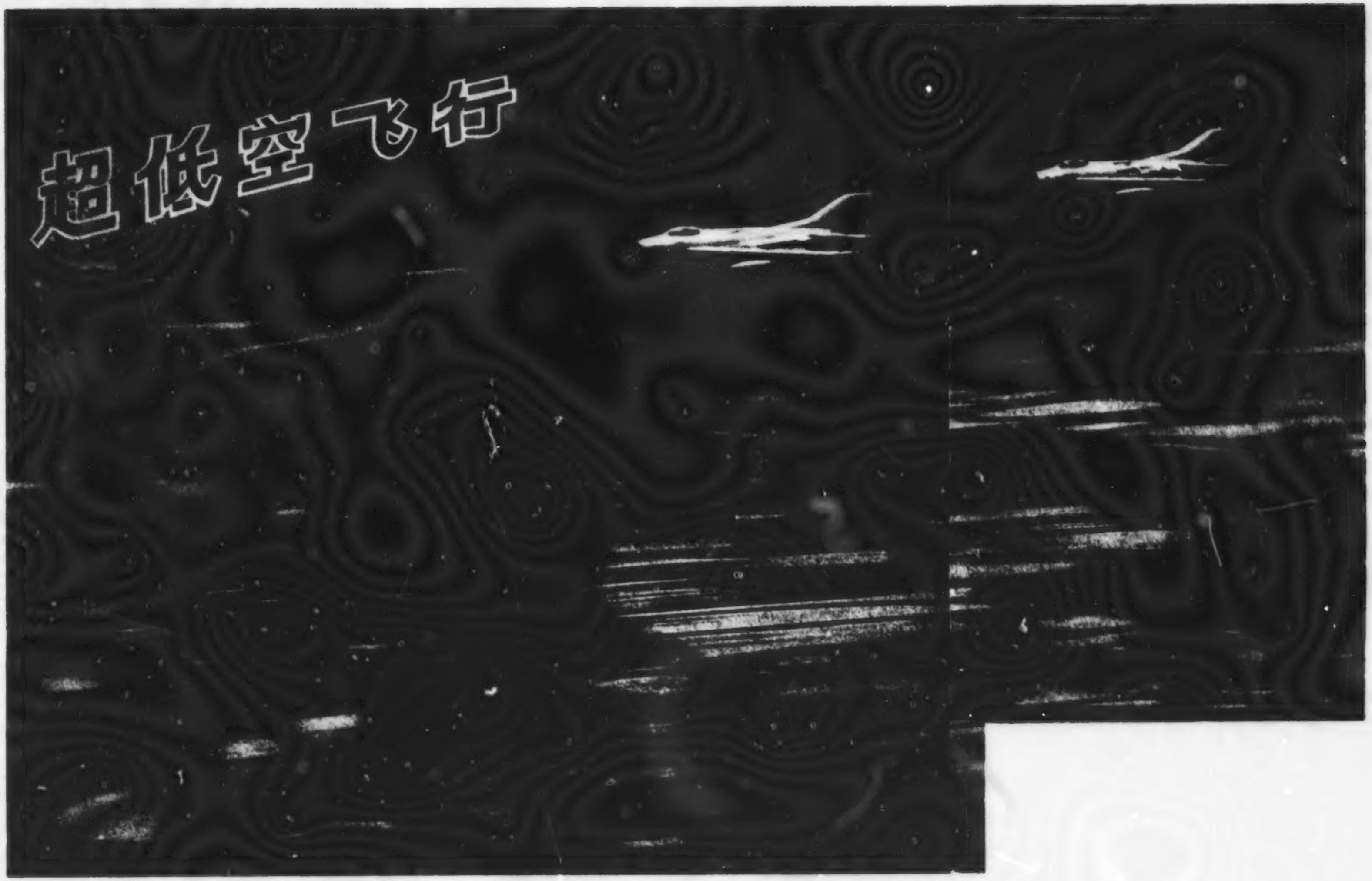
Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 9, 1980 pp 20-21

[Article: "Minimum Altitude Flying"]

[Text] An unidentified air unit has conscientiously studied the characteristics of a future war to meet the needs of modern warfare and has actively carried out tactical training for minimum-altitude flying to fully bring into play our aircraft's minimum-altitude flying capabilities to attain the aim of conquering and defeating the enemy by concealment and surprise.

This unit is stationed in a mountain region where complicated terrain features and changeable weather conditions exist, and carrying out minimum-altitude flying can often run into difficulties. But since they have proceeded from the needs of actual combat, carried out work based on a scientific attitude, stressed the importance of "strictness" in setting about doing things--that is, theories strictly examined, aircraft strictly checked, weather conditions strictly ascertained, sound physical condition strictly maintained and commands strictly issued--as well as having devoted attention to summing up experiences and gathering materials, they were able to successfully carry out minimum-altitude flying.

Not long ago, the upper level conducted an evaluation of this unit. Under the situation of complicated terrain features and changeable weather conditions, the unit launched a surprise attack by flying at minimum altitude. They flew an air route which passed through mountain valleys and then they broke out of the cloud cover over the target. Based on requirements, they had successfully completed the mission. By the time the other side discovered them, it was too late to take countermeasures for the unit was already on its way back to the base like a flash of lightning.



Smart, composed and highly skilled pilots flying their planes through mountain valleys and triumphantly returning to base

Doing everything possible to overcome difficulties, a signal unit makes full use of existing equipment to ensure smooth flight control contacts

Learning from experience where veterans lead new recruits, and veteran comrades tell new pilots their own experiences by using sand tables

Devoting full effort to repeated drills, a pilot grasps the essentials of minimum-altitude flying under low altitude atmospheric conditions

CSO: 4005

XIZANG DEVELOPS GEOTHERMAL ENERGY

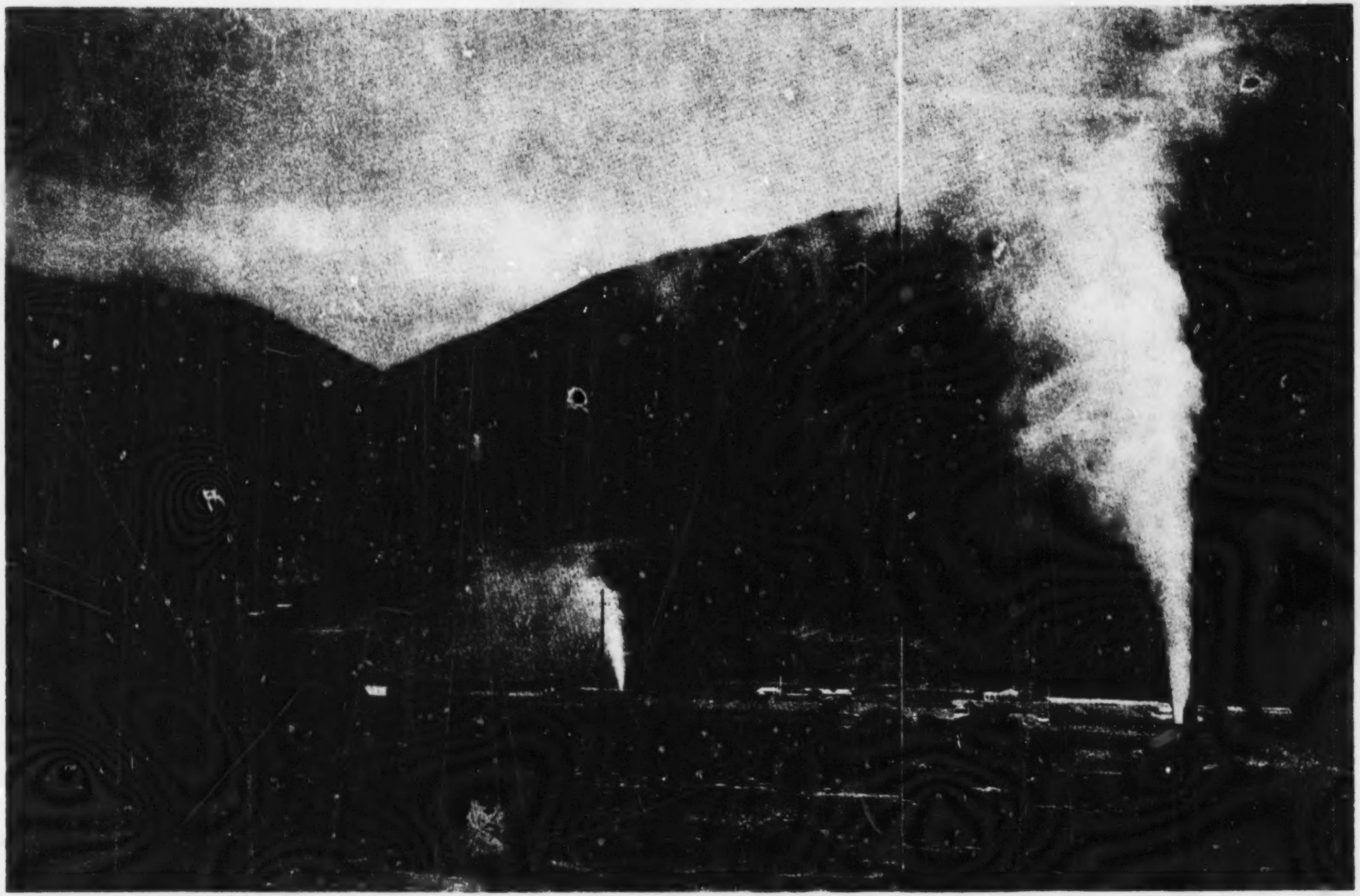
Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 10, Oct 80 pp 2, 4, 5

[Excerpts] At the edge of the foothills of Mt Nyainqentanglha, which is snow covered year-round, and approximately 90 kilometers northwest of the city of Lhasa, is the broad and flat expanse of the Yangbajain Basin. In the middle of the basin is the famous Yangbajain thermal field.

Legend had it that long, long ago the mist would spread out like a vast expanse of gossamer every morning over the broad hot-water lake in the eastern part of the thermal field. At this time, the beautiful wife and daughters of the god of Mt Nyainqentanglha would come to the lake to bathe. It was also said that the god of the mountain had a golden lantern, and if he was happy he would hang it high over the lake, so the light from the lantern would illuminate the lake, the thermal field, and the snowy mountain, whereupon Yangbajain would be transformed into an earthly paradise, with fresh flowers blooming everywhere and myriad birds singing in chorus. However, in the eternal dark age that was ancient Xizang, the god of the mountain was never happy, and the herdsmen of the Yangbajain Basin were forever bemoaning their bitter lot.

In 1951 Xizang's history turned over a new page. The party Central Committee sent a geological survey team along with the advancing PLA. Led and motivated by China's eminent geologist Li Siguang, the geological workers carried out a number of extensive scientific surveys of the Yangbajain thermal field. In March of 1975, the first thermal well on the Chinese mainland was completed here. Surveys have shown that the natural flow of Yangbajain is 107,300 kilocalories/second, and the heat emitted every year is equivalent to burning 470,000 tons of standard coal. In addition to power generation, this geothermal energy can be widely used in industry, agricultural sidelines and in the people's lives. In September of 1975, Comrade Hua Guofeng led a Central Committee delegation to Xizang and gave instructions to "complete the Yangbajain geothermal power station as quickly as possible." Group after group of Chinese and Tibetan technical personnel and workers came here from Beijing, Qingdao, Sichuan and various places in Xizang, and dozens of retired PLA soldiers volunteered to come to Yangbajain. They cooperated closely and strove selflessly for the early completion of the geothermal power station.

The thousand-year-old myth has finally become a reality. In October 1977 a trial geothermal power station with an installed capacity of 1 megawatt was completed and went into operation. The "golden lantern" that people had dreamed of was finally hanging over the thermal field.



Bursting from the earth, steam columns shoot several meters skyward to form rainbows in the sunlight--a splendid sight

Trial operation of the geothermal power plant as night falls

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ARTILLERY MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY DESCRIBED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 10, 1980 pp 6-7

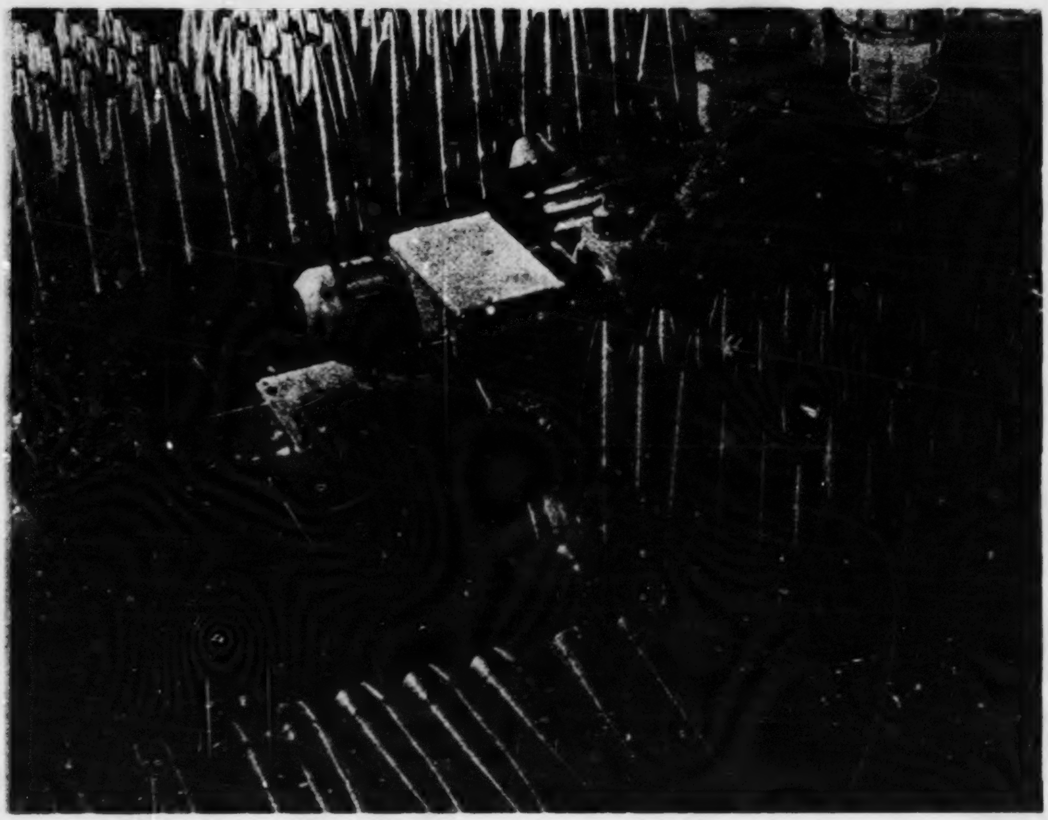
[Article: "Let the Artillery Roar"]

[Text] Artillery has played an important role in previous wars and thus has been referred to as the "God of War."

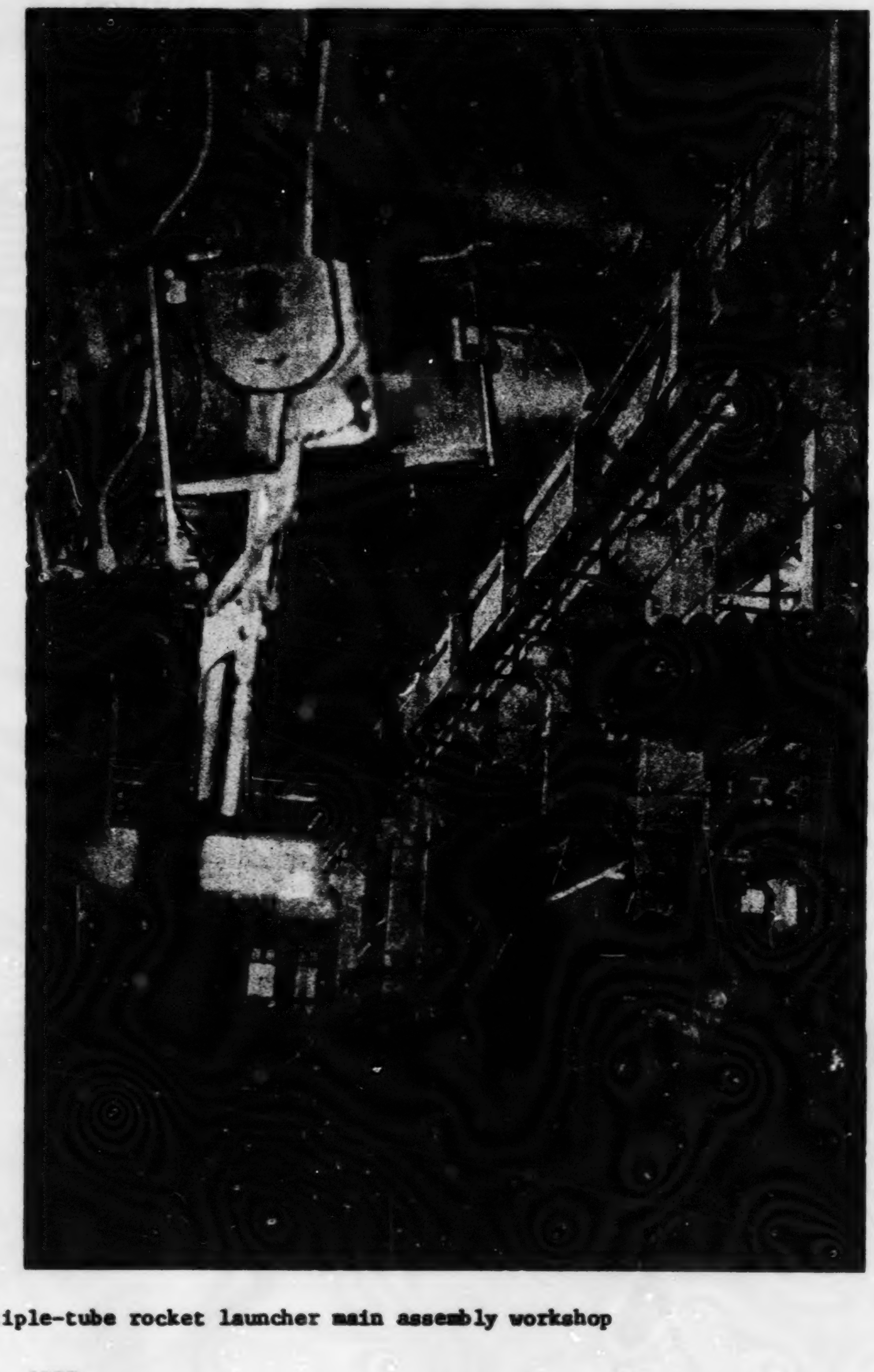
China's artillery manufacturing industry was established on the basis of the needs of the revolutionary war and was expanded in step with the war's development. Early on during the period of the anti-Japanese war, our ordnance factories based behind enemy lines produced such things as mortars, mortar shells and land mines and had a certain production capacity. During the liberation war period, the artillery industry was further expanded. After the founding of the country, an effort was begun to establish our own fairly comprehensive artillery manufacturing industry and corresponding departments for artillery research and design. During the early 1960's, our country's production capability and technology for many types of artillery attained a certain capacity and standard. However, the artillery industry suffered extremely serious damage during the 10 years of catastrophe in which the pace of development was hindered. As a result, the gap between us and the advanced world level widened. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the broad masses of staff members and workers of the artillery industry struggled head-on to catch up with advanced world levels and to speed up even more advancing the modernization of national defense. They exerted unremitting efforts and achieved marked successes. We believe that the artillery manufacturing industry will soon be able to equip the units with the best artillery so that the heroic PLA will be a like a tiger that has grown wings and be victorious in every battle, and so that our artillery will continue to give play to its power as the "God of War" in a future war against aggression.

China-built long range cannons

Carrying out magnetic flaw detection on big-bore anti-personnel and blasting kowitzer shells



A section of the large-shell cartridge mechanical processing workshop



Multiple-tube rocket launcher main assembly workshop

CSO: 4005

VISIT TO A GUIDED MISSILE TECHNICAL SCHOOL

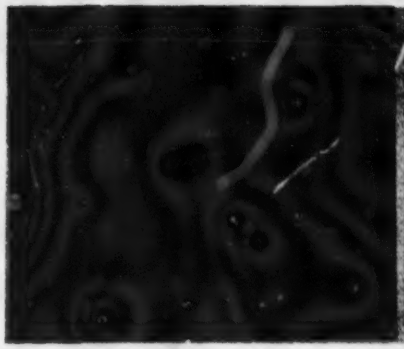
Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 10, 1980 pp 10-11

[Article by Zhang Jucheng [1728 1565 2052], Li Shuliang [2621 2579 5328] and Luo Chunrong [5012 2504 2837]: "A Visit to a Guided Missile Technical School"]

[Text] An unidentified guided missile technical school has been established and developed along with the growth of guided missile units. The school has set up many types of special courses and has trained personnel who are up to engineering-college levels, are familiar with weapons and equipment of guided missile units and are able to use, maintain and manage such weapons and equipment. In order to produce more results and turn out a greater number of personnel, they have used every possible means to improve the quality of teaching. Leadership cadres have often gone into teaching and research sections and classes to help resolve teaching problems. The instructors have made nothing of hardships to conscientiously teach and patiently give guidance in study. Administrative personnel and units in charge of training bore in mind the interest in teaching to make certain that teaching tasks were fulfilled. After its founding, the school trained a large number of specialized technical personnel and basic-level command cadres and provided them to the missile units.

Using closed-circuit television to hold foreign language classes

(2)



(3)

(4)

(5)

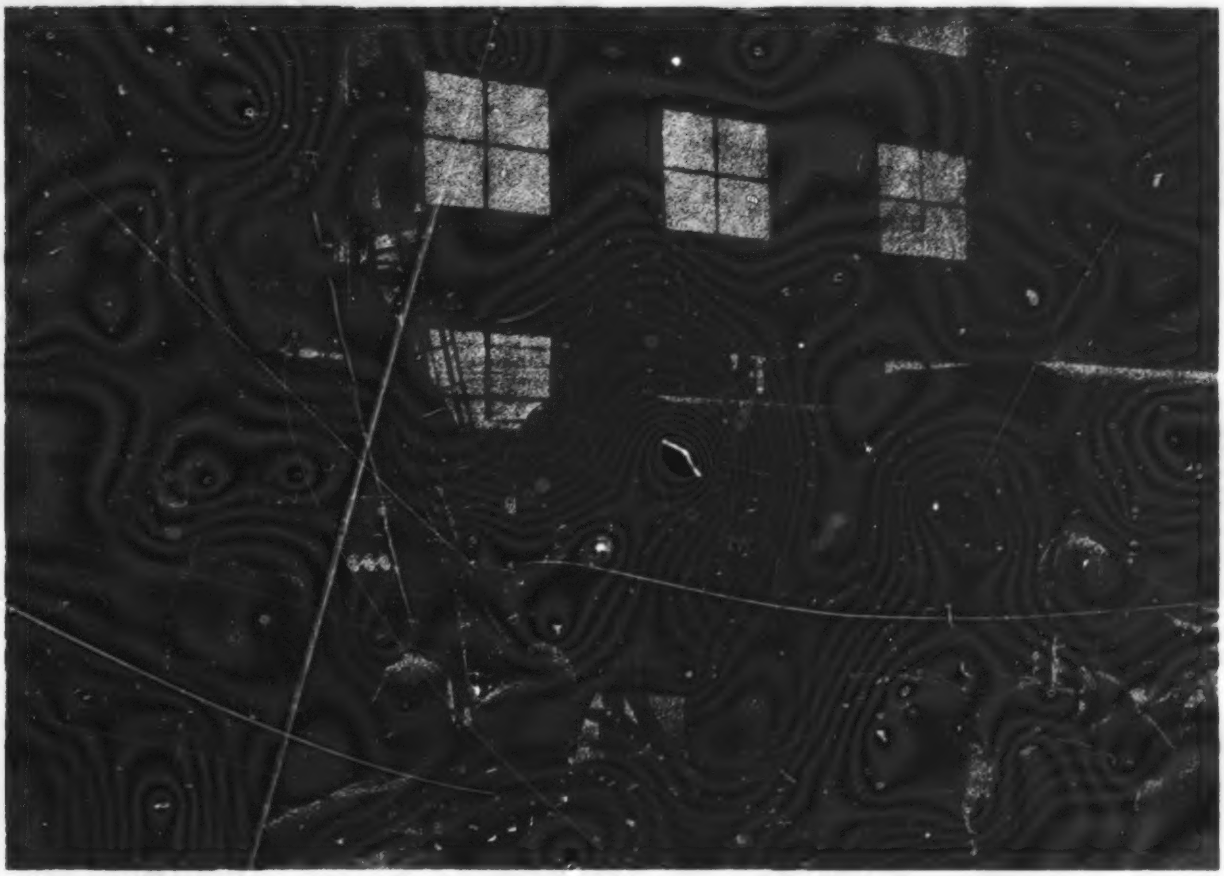
Caption 2. Instructors enthusiastically provide guidance to students to help them resolve difficulties

Caption 3. Instructors assembling an electronic computer to provide even more equipment for teaching purposes

Caption 4. A student making a chemical analysis of the composition of guided missile propellant under an instructor's (right) guidance

Caption 5. Instructor using sand table to explain the problems of guided missile deployment

In the school hall, an instructor explains the structure and performance of a guided missile



Explanations and demonstrations are being provided simultaneously to give the students a better understanding

CSO: 4005

ORGANIZE TRAINING FROM THE NEEDS OF ACTUAL COMBAT

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 10, 1980 p 12

[Article by Wang Limin [3769 0448 3046] et. al.]

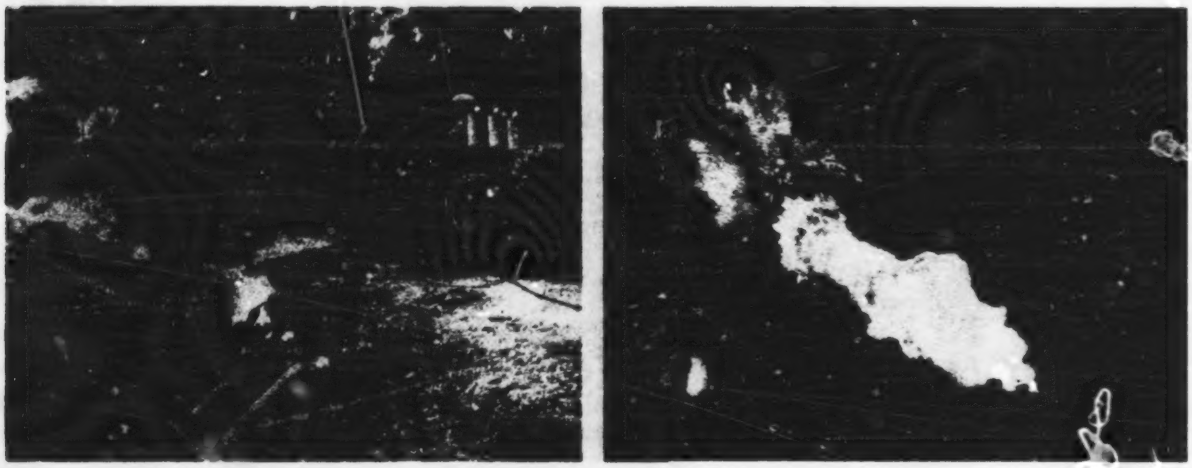
[Text] On extended rising and falling mountain terrain, Luo Xingyuan [5012 5281 0337], deputy commander of an antichemical warfare company in an unidentified unit, was leading the unit in training with flamethrowers. As one "fire dragon" after another laced into the mountain targets, the red glow lit up the darkened faces of the fighters.

The fighters are all familiar with Deputy Company Commander Luo Xingyuan's heroic character. In a fierce battle during the counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam, our fighters faced an enemy fire point in a concealed emplacement on a cliff. Luo Xingyuan had the assistant gunner support the flamethrower on his shoulder as Luo calmly fired, put the enemy out of action and ensured the victorious assault of the infantry. During that campaign, Luo Xingyuan at one time or another took out of action nine enemy fire points with his flamethrower. After training began, he told the fighters, "Don't fear fatigue or difficulties during peacetime and train in several more skills. Only in this way will you be resourceful and skilled in fighting when you arrive on the battlefield."

Disregarding his injured leg, he has clambered up one mountain after another with the fighters and through tough training developed skills in using flamethrowers against such targets as fire points halfway up mountains and on cliffs, trenches and bunkers. Under his leadership and influence, the antichemical warfare company's training has achieved good results. Once in a joint exercise with infantry, theirs were the first weapons to score hits in firing at 12 targets, including some in thick stands of grass, halfway up mountains and in trenches. The infantry comrades humorously said, The "Lord Fire God" is really something!

Explaining to fighters the essentials of using someone's shoulder as a rest for the flamethrower when firing at a target

Luo Xingyuan actively leading the fighters during training



Eliminating the "enemy" in a trench to cover the advance of comrades-in-arms

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

FIRST TRIP TO PACIFIC

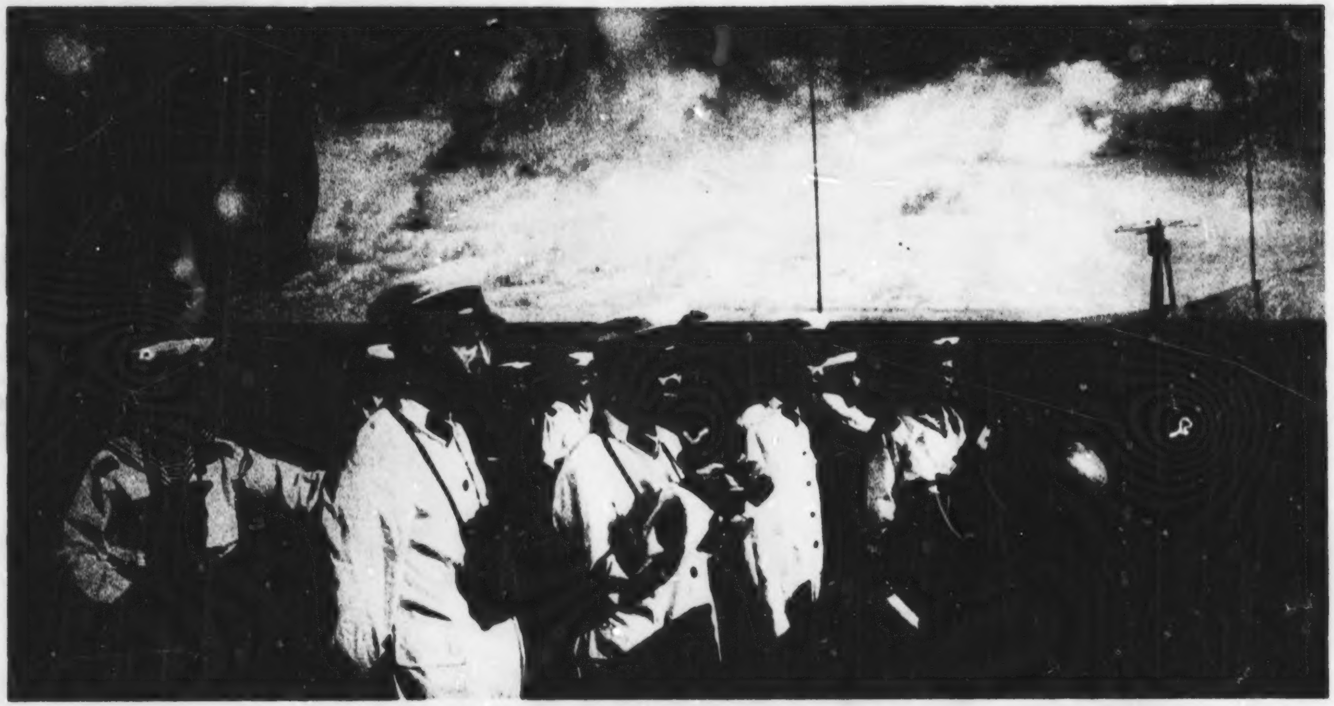
Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 10, Oct 80 pp 20-22

[Excerpt] It was the first spring of the 1980's when new China's naval force first rode the waves into the South Pacific as the hot equatorial sea breezes fluttered the bright-colored ensigns.

The huge waves of the Pacific billowed and the ships shook violently, sometimes listing more than 30 degrees.

The blazing sun was directly overhead, the decks were scorching hot and the temperature in the engine room reached more than 40°C. Faced with various tasks, the commanders were cool and calm in analyzing sea conditions and setting course correctly. Dedicated body and soul, the navigation cadres made careful observations and did their job conscientiously. The engine room crew braved high temperatures to stick to their posts in the heart of the vessels. Supply ships designed and built by China promptly provided the warships with fuel and water. The heroic people's navy feared no hardship or danger and went ahead proudly. It passed through straits, crossed the equator and left the first traces of the new China's fleet on the boundless Pacific.

The view out on the Pacific is so beautiful and so enchanting! There is the magnificent glow of sunset blazing with color. There are rare cloud formations in countless forms. Dolphins frolic, green turtles swim by playfully and startled flying fish skim over the surface of the water leaving ripples behind.



Training exercises being conducted for commanders at various levels while the ship is traveling on its course

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

Captions on following page

(6)

Caption 1. Training exercises being conducted for commanders at various levels while the ship is traveling on its course

Caption 2. Head of the navigation department and the chief of navigation conscientiously working on navigation charts to determine the ship's position.

Caption 3. Helmsman operates the automatic rudder by following the commander's instructions

Caption 4. Radio operators exerting efforts to get rid of interference to ensure unimpeded contact

Caption 5. Engineers conscientiously operating machinery to make sure it functions normally

Caption 6. Carrying out combined training in the south Pacific Ocean

CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76825

17 November 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 138

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76825

17 November 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 138

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC Economic Journal on U.S. Military-Industrial Complex
(Cui Wei; SEIJIE JINGJI, 10 Aug 80) 1

'XINHUA' Reports on Indictment of Former CIA Employee
(XINHUA; 26 Oct 80) 10

Briefs
U.S. Engineers in Shanghai 11
U.S. Audio-Video Delegation 11
U.S. Museum's Asian Hall 11
Tianjin Recruits 11
Jilin Delegation to DPRK 12
Japan Municipal Assembly Delegation 12

PARTY AND STATE

Observations on 5th NPC Third Plenary Session
(DONG XI FANG, 10 Sep 80) 13

CPPCC Members' Speeches at Group Discussion Sessions Excerpted
(RENMIN RIBAO, 6 Sep 80) 17

History, Character of Zhao Ziyang Reviewed
(Jin Zhiming; DONG XI FANG, 10 Sep 80) 30

Importance of Proper Training For Young Workers Stressed
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 28 Aug 80) 40

Legal Provisions For Chinese Citizenship Explained
(Gong Qiuxiang; RENMIN RIBAO, 26 Sep 80) 45

Newspaper Correspondents Have Proper Right To File News Reports
(DAZHONG RIBAO; 27 Sep 80) 48

Kang Sheng Debunked As Self-Serving Mountebank
(Wang Tzukai; BEIJING RIBAO, 8 Aug 80) 50

Human Resources Should Be Used Where Most Needed
(Chen Ziande; BEIJING RIBAO, 8 Aug 80) 54

'Ba Yi Radio' Raps Deng Xiaoping For Repressing Criticism of Baoshan
(Ba Yi Radio; 29 Oct 80) 57

Briefs
Trial To Begin 2 Nov 59
Liaoning Democratic Parties' Meeting 59
Liaoning Visiting Delegation 59
Xinjiang Theatrical Delegation 59
Xinjiang Workers Congresses 59

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'Ba Yi Radio' Says U.S. Gives PRC Military Secrets to Taiwan
(Ba Yi Radio; 4 Nov 80) 60

'Radio Ba Yi' Criticizes 'Unjust' Purges of PLA Cadres
(Ba Yi Radio', 27 Oct 80) 62

'Radio Ba Yi' Criticizes Persecution of PLA Leaders
(Ba Yi Radio; 1 Nov 80) 64

Types of Mines, Detonators Diagramed
(Wang Weice; BINGQI ZHISHI; No 2, 1980) 66

Structure, Operation of Tank Cannon Stabilizer Outlined
(Qu Guoshan; BINGQI ZHISHI; No 2, 1980) 73

Briefs
Qinghai Enlistment 82
Xinjiang PLA Units Mark Corban 82

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

University Professor Urges Adoption of Academic Credit System
(Li Zhiyuan; JIEFANG RIBAO, 19 Aug 80) 83

Masses Urged To Respect, Strive for Knowledge
(Lu Gan; XINHUA RIBAO, 12 Aug 80) 86

Jiaotong University Exchange Program Praised
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 21 Aug 80) 89

Briefs

Xinjiang Japanese Language Society 91
Nei Monggol School Enrollment 91
Jilin Joint University 91
Kazak Language Publishing House 91
Xinjiang Publishing House 91
Shandong Islamic Congress 92
Shanghai Family Planning 92

PRC ECONOMIC JOURNAL ON U.S. MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

HK310520 Beijing SHIJIE JINGJI No 8 in Chinese 10 Aug 80 pp 23-29

[Article by Cui Wei (1508 4850): "The U.S. Military-Industrial Complex and State Monopoly Capitalism"]

[Text] The term military-industrial complex was first used by former U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower. In his outgoing speech on 7 January 1961, [date as published] he said: "The United States of America has never before experienced such a combination of huge military organs and military industry. All the influences of this combination can be felt economically, politically and spiritually in every city, at meetings in every state and in every office of the Federal Government." (Collected Presidential Papers No. 1035, 1960-1961). Apparently, the military-industrial complex was sufficiently developed at that time to attract people's attention. Yet it has to be pointed out here that Mr. Eisenhower, who was then representing the interests of the long-standing consortia in the eastern part of the country, in no way opposed the existence of such a complex; yet he worried that the consortia in the west and the south that arose from arms dealings might get the upper hand. Consequently he warned the next government, saying, "we must prevent the military-industrial complex from influencing government organs intentionally or unintentionally. There exists and there will continue to exist the possibility that unjust authority will come into power, which could incur disastrous results." (Ibid). His warning had widespread repercussions in U.S. political, military, business and academic circles. Americans in various circles discussed from different angles this phenomenon that had "never been experienced before." Some said that the military-industrial complex brought disaster to the country while some others said that it brought security. In short, they regarded the military-industrial complex as a phenomenon that could be eliminated or retained. They could not and dared not touch upon the essence of this phenomenon.

The military-industrial complex is a product of modern monopoly capitalism. Therefore, in studying modern imperialism, it is important for us to study the formation, structure, essence and influence of the military-industrial complex. A profound study in this respect is of great significance in understanding the extent of U.S. national economic militarization and the features of U.S. monopoly capitalism.

I

Lenin said: "Modern militarism is the product of capitalism while its two forms are the 'living manifestation' of capitalism. One form is the military power that is used by capitalist countries in external conflicts and the other is various arms that are used by the ruling classes to suppress various movements of the proletariat." (Collected Works of Lenin, vol 15 p 166) Because of definite historical conditions, the U.S. military bureaucratic organs in the 1870's were still not as advanced as those of the old capitalist countries in Europe. However, this situation changed in the era of imperialism. As the United States actively took part in dividing the world, its military organs developed rapidly. Lenin said in his "The State and Revolution": "It is 1917, the period of the first imperialist war. The limitation referred to by Marx is no longer viable. The Britain and the United States that are the biggest and the last representatives of the Anglo-Saxon 'system of freedom,' (speaking from the point of view that these countries have no warlord system nor bureaucratic system), have slid into the dirty and bloody mire of the European-style bureaucratic military organs that control and suppress everything." (Selected Works of Lenin, vol 3 p 203) Nevertheless, the extent of militarization of the U.S. national economy before World War II was still lagging far behind that of other European capitalist countries. Statistics show that during World War 1, U.S. direct military expenditures made up only 15 percent of the national revenue, but they increased to 43.4 percent during World War II. The figures for Britain were, respectively, 36.9 percent and 55.1 percent, and for Germany, 31.6 percent and 67.8 percent. (B. Wa-xin) [3907 6580]: "Militarism of Imperialist Countries", Moscow, 1974, vol 169). However, following World War II, the military power of Germany and Japan began to collapse while that of Britain and France began to weaken; only the United States strengthened its military power. In order to defend and extend its interests, the U.S. monopoly capitalist group, which acquired exorbitant ill-gotten wealth, began to expand abroad. In the 1960's in particular, the U.S. monopoly capitalist group began to contend with the Soviet Union for world hegemony, and it indulged heavily in an arms race. It suppressed the people internally and stimulated production to insure its big monopoly profits, to slow down an economic crisis and to maintain enormous military expenditures. As a result, the United States has become the capitalist country with the highest degree of national economic militarization (see Table I).

Table I

Military Expenditures of Major Capitalist Countries After the War
as a Percentage of GNP

	1955		1960		1970		1976	
Country	(Million US$	Percent)	(Million US$	Percent)	(Million US$	Percent)	(Million US$	Percent)
U.S.	589	10.0	596	8.9	779	7.9	1,027	5.9
U.K.	64	8.2	59	6.5	59	4.9	107	4.9
France	40	6.4	52	6.4	59	4.2	129	3.9
Germany	30	4.1	40	4.0	62	3.3	125	3.7
Italy	14	3.7	17	3.3	25	2.7	38	2.6

Note: The figures for 1976 are based on prices in that year; the rest are based on 1970 prices.

Sources: The International Strategic Studies Institute (Britain) and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sweden): "World Arms and Disarmament Yearbook."

Including its indirect military expenditures, the U.S. military expenditures in 1975 totaled over $96.479 billion (based on 1959 fixed prices), 15 times the figures for 1973--US$6,228.70 million. (The U.S. Historical Statistics, 188901945, pp 718-719, published in 1949 and calculated according to the statistics from the annual report on the Defense Department Fiscal Year 1977, pp B-1 and A-7). The number of people employed in the U.S. armed forces increased from 300,000 in 1937 to 2,250,000 in 1975, a sixfold increase. The national defense expenditures for the whole 1930's made up only 10 to 15 percent of the federal budget, but in the second half of the 1960's they increased to between 55 and 60 percent (J. K. Galbraith "New Industrialized Countries," London, 1967, p 22). After the war, about 50 percent of the national defense expenditures were for military orders. During the 1960's the defense department signed contracts with an average of 22,000 general contractors per year. (The NEW YORK TIMES, 22 June 1969) However, most contracts fell into the hands of the 100 major arms companies. Of these the 50 biggest military industrial companies got most of the contracts (see Table II)

Table II

The Percentage of Total Military Orders Received by the 100 Major Arms Dealers and the 50 Biggest Dealers

Period or Years	Percentage of the 100 Major Contractors	Percentage of the 50 Biggest Contractors
June 1940 to September 1944	62.7	57.6
July 1950 to June 1953 (the U.S. launched war in Korea	64.0	53.6
1966 fiscal year	63.8	55.1
1967 fiscal year	65.5	56.1
1968 fiscal year	67.4	57.1
1969 fiscal year	68.2	56.9

Source: (Baldwin) "The Structure of the Defense Market," 1955-1964, p 9, and "Letters on Missiles and Arms," 15 Nov 1969, p 1)

These big companies made tremendous profits through their contracts with the Defense Department. According to the calculations made by U.S. Military Economist Professor (Moray L. Wedermo) between 1961 and 1965, the rate of actual net profits of the six big arms manufacturing companies was 17.5 percent, while the rate for six other arms companies of the same size which received no arms contracts was only 10.6 percent. U.S. Economic Review, no 5, 1968, pp 434-435) U.S. arms contracts have basically been signed through consultations. This encourages arms contractors to bargain over prices, and it encourages government officials and private companies to gang up with each other in committing bribery and fraud. The introduction of "package" purchase since 1960 has especially made it more convenient for arms dealers to seek exorbitant profits. This form of military procurement includes practices such as the one whereby the Defense Department or its subsidiaries sign contracts with a big company for the research and design. production and experimentation involving various types of arms. This big contractor then hands over some production tasks or experimentation to other companies. The prices quoted by the big contractor include production costs and the profits defined by the government. If unexpected situations come up during the ordering procedure, the contractor is permitted by the departments concerned of the Defense Department to increase prices. Therefore, in order to get military orders, the general contractor usually intentionally lowers his bids. But once he wins a contract, he resorts to various pretexts to downgrade specifications and to alter designs so as to seek additional costs and still higher profits. Thus there is very intense rivalry among big monopoly companies over the military orders. The size of the shares of the orders wrested by these companies depends on the extent of their collaboration with the military departments. Such collaborations are effected through the exchange of staff by both sides. It is during this process that big industrial monopoly companies form close alliances with the military departments. Such alliances constitute the principal part of the military-industrial complex. Starting from this point, we can give a narrow definition of this "complex," that is, the military-industrial complex is an alliance which is formed on the basis of huge orders which flow between military departments and monopoly organizations. It can be said that the U.S. military-industrial complex is formed along the lines of the development of militarization in the U.S. national economy; that is to say, it is formed in a situation in which the contracts on tremendous orders for munitions are signed in a fixed form while military production is highly concentrated and monopolized.

It must also be pointed out that scientific and technological development has tremendously influenced the development of the U.S. military-industrial complex. Since World War II, the technological revolution has penetrated every sector of production in the United States, with the result that social productivity has greatly increased this situation has enabled the United States to use tremendous manpower, capital and materials for military purposes. The influence of the revolution in U.S. military power has been manifested in both the quantity and quality of the U.S. weapons. The use of technological achievements for military purposes has resulted in a profound revolution in U.S. military technology; that is to say, the old and traditional weapons have been gradually replaced by modern ones. While the traditional military industrial departments have been declining, some sophisticated military industrial departments producing modern weapons have begun to emerge. Such new departments producing modern weapons have begun to emerge. Such new departments include the aerospace industry which is manufacturing supersonic military aircraft and missiles, the nuclear energy industry which is producing nuclear weapons, the electronics industry which is producing modern weapons systems, and the shipbuilding industry which is making modern aircraft carriers. (The products of these departments make up 85 percent of the total military purchases by the Pentagon). These sophisticated military industrial departments have become major production departments of the U.S. military-industrial complex today. Thus, with sophisticated science and technology the U.S. has embarked on the path of militarization. Since the war, most of the U.S. Government's research funds have been spent for military purposes. An article written by Professor (Seymour Meyerman) of Columbia University in 1972 stated that "over the past 25 years, the military departments of the Federal Government have always controlled research work in the United States. Since World War II, the funds allocated by the Federal Government for research and development have come to $200 billion, of which 80 percent has been used by the defense, space and nuclear energy sectors." "One-half to one-third of the scientists, engineers and researchers throughout the country have been concentrated in the military industry and the related technological departments." (U.S. "The Nation," 20 Nov 1972)

Since the war, U.S. science and technology has, to a certain extent, directly served the making of modern weapons. Since the results of the scientific and technological revolution have been used in military production, the structure of modern weapons has become complicated and their manufacturing costs continue to climb. (For example, during the post-war period, the tonnage of newly-built naval vessels was on the average 4,500 tons, with building costs ranging from $95 million to $115 million; but the aircraft carrier "Enterprise," which was built in 1961 with a tonnage of 75,700 tons, cost as high as $444 million). In addition, more and more of the existing weapons have been discarded as useless (in the space of 10 to 15 years, U.S. missiles and other military equipment have been replaced by second and third generation equipment) a phenomenon which has tremendously increased military expenditures. These huge expenditures are the material base for the existence of the military-industrial complex. Apparently, without the scientific and technological revolution after the war, the U.S. military-industrial complex would not have been able to develop as tremendously as it has up to now.

II

The U.S. military-industrial complex is not just a simple combination of military and industrial circles. It is a very complicated system with a structure divided into five main parts.

First, there are the leading military and management departments. Such departments include the Defense Department, the defense committee, the defense management committee and the national military scientific research committee. The Defense Department is the leading department. It manages staff, distributes military purchases, oversees the production and development of weapons, takes part in formulating external military strategy and in coordinating diplomatic activities. It also commands the armed forces and determines strategic orientation and the principles of the combined operations of the three forces.

Second, there are the big arms monopoly on the one hand, which contract with the departments of the three forces under the Defense Department on military goods, and on the other hand the banking consortia which are closely linked with these companies. Of the 100 biggest arms companies mentioned above, 15 are purely monopoly companies. These companies are: Lockheed Aircraft, General Dynamics, United Aircraft, McDonnell Douglas, Boeing, North American Rockwell, Martin Marietta, Grumman, Raytheon, Lim-Temco-Vought, Newport News Shipbuilding, (Tai-ao-ke-er) [1132 1159 2688 1422], (A-fu-ke) [7093 5346 2688], Collins Radio and Northrop Aircraft. From 1961 to 1967, the military production of these companies made up 55 to 96 percent of their total production, of which Lockheed Aircraft, Newport News Shipbuilding and (Tai-ao-ke-er) respectively accounted for 88, 90 and 96 percent. (R.E. Lai-pu) [5490 2528]: "The Civilization of Weapons," New York, 1968, pp 186-187]

There are also nine semimilitary industrial companies. From 1961 to 1967, the military production of these companies made up 25 to 50 percent of their total production. These companies include: Sperry Rand, Bendix Aircraft, Textron, Kaiser Industries, GTE, Litton Industries, Pan American Airlines and Hercules Munitions Company. For some other companies production of military products accounts for a small percentage of their total production, but the value of their military products is very high. For example, during the 1961-1967 period, the military products of the General Electric Company made up only 19 percent of its total production; but this company ranks fifth among all the contractors of the national defense industry. Such companies include International Telephone and Telegraph, Ford Motor Company, General Motors and New Jersey Mobil Oil. The banks that maintain close relations with these military-industrial monopoly companies include Bank of America, Security Pacific Corp., Chase Manhattan, First City Bank, Chemical Bank, First National Bank, Zhou-jie [1558 5894] Bank, Bankers Trust, Morgan Guaranty Trust Bank and Mellon National Bank.

Third, there are the specialized research organs that are responsible for formulating military strategy and designing strategic weapons. Among such organs, 16 research institutions get subsidies from the Defense Department. They include the so-called "brain trust" of the Rand Corporation, Hudson Research Institute and Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Research, as well as the National Defense Analytical Research Institute which is composed of 12 universities. They also include the Trilateral Commission, the Hoover War, Revolution and Peace Research Institute and the Brookings Institution. The military technological research laboratories belonging to universities include the Jet Propulsion Laboratory of the California Institute of Technology, the Wireless Laboratory of Harvard University, the Ballistics Laboratory of Princeton University and Aerofire Power Control Systems Laboratory of Franklin University.

Fourth, there are the mass organizations that support the militarization of the national economy. They include the U.S. Artillery [as published] Association that serves as liaison between military and industrial departments, the Society for the Promotion of National Security Industries, the Association of Military Space Industries, veterans organizations. the trade management bureaus which are connected with the sales of munitions, and some branches of the AFL-CIO.

Fifth, there are various publications that are related to military theories, strategic ideologies and military technology. Such publications provide spiritual support for the military-industrial complex.

Structurally, the U.S. military-industrial complex does not have a fixed form of organization comparable to that of the worker-peasant alliance. However, it is a complex system composed of government military organizations, big monopoly military companies, research institutes that are responsible for developing military technology, and mass organizations that are related to military activities. (The first two parts are the core of the complex.) Through this complex the U.S. Government is able to acquire material equipment for its armed forces, to regulate the size, structure and geographic locations of the military industry, to stimulate the development of military technology and to take serious measures during emergency periods of war and economic mobilization. The activities of the U.S. military-industrial complex directly and indirectly influence the lives of many Americans at home. The book "War Economy Turned Into Peace Economy," which is written by U.S.

economist (Seymour Meyerman) and published in 1970, speculates that "20 percent of the U.S. workers depend economically on the Defense Department." Within the complex these workers have been plundered and controlled while the activities of the complex are decided by a few military and industrial magnates.

III

Lenin said: As capitalism has developed into monopoly, "there exists, in addition to the individual alliance between banks and industry, the individual alliance between these two types of companies and government." (Collected Works of Lenin, vol 25, p 371) The military-industrial complex is based on this latter "individual alliance" which is concretely shown in broad "exchanges" of staff between the state military organizations and big military industrial monopoly companies. The monopoly companies producing munitions usually employ a number of retired officers as senior executives while the state military departments also employ a number of senior staff members from such companies. According to the statistics of the U.S. Defense Department, in the 4 and 1/2 years from July 1967 to December 1971, such companies employed 1,101 senior officers from the Defense Department. The figure also includes retired general grade officers and field officers and officers of the same grade in the reserve army. At the same time, the Defense Department also employed 232 senior staff members from such companies as senior officers. The defense secretaries of the postwar administrations all came from big companies. For example, the defense secretary in the Truman administration, Mr G. Marshall, was a former director of Pan American Airlines. Mr C. Wilson, defense secretary in the Eisenhower administration, was former general manager of General Motors; Mr R. McNamara, defense secretary in the Johnson administration, was former general manager of Ford Motors; David Packard, defense secretary in the Nixon administration [as published], is general manager of Hewlett-Packard; the defense secretary of the current administration H. Brown was an IBM director. Exchanges of senior staff was described by Lenin when he said in his book "Bankers and Investors": "Today they are ministers but tomorrow they will become bankers; today they are bankers and tomorrow, ministers." (Collected Works of Lenin, vol 24, p 97)

Needless to say, such personnel exchanges make it convenient for munitions monopoly companies to get arms contracts and thus to make big profits. Take Lockheed Aircraft Company, the leader of the munitions monopoly companies, as an example. Before this company developed the U-2 reconnaissance plane (1954-1955), it was informed that the U.S. intelligence departments were interested in reconnaissance planes and it hurriedly hired Mr (Alyward Kessada), a lieutenant general of an intelligence department, as deputy general manager. Soon after Mr (Kessada) took up his new post, Lockheed Aircraft was awarded an urgent order for a U-2 reconnaissance plane. Over the past years, most retired officers employed by Lockheed have come from the navy because it was apparent that during that period the company was developing a marine specialization. The Orion and Corsair (S-3A) anti-submarine aircraft and Polaris and Neptune [as published] missiles developed by Lockheed were supplied to the U.S. Naval departments through the contracts won by its ex-servicemen staff. The company's "military liaison" committee has more than 200 retired servicemen above the rank of colonel. Thus, by relying on such "servicemen-salesmen," Lockheed Company no longer needs to worry about its sales. Furthermore, the company has been able to improve contract conditions and to increase arms prices. Since the 1970's, Lockheed has produced $1.5 to $2 billion worth of arms every year, with profits increased by at least $300 million even if we base this figure on the average rate of increases in U.S. arms prices. (G. M. Kusimin): "Military Concern," Moscow, 1974, p 135) The situation of other munitions companies is the same. It is precisely this "individual alliance" which makes it very easy for big monopoly organizations to use the state apparatus to make big monopoly profits. At the same time, the state, which is the "general capitalist," also helps monopoly capital through this "individual alliance" to make tremendous profits. Secretary of Defense under Eisenhower Mr C. Wilson said: "What is good for General Motors is good for America." (U.S. Labor Research Association: "The Billion-Dollar U.S. Corporations," New York, 1954, p 20) Such situations are just what Lenin said: "The alliance between the state and the most powerful capitalists is becoming closer and closer." (Collected Works of Lenin, vol 25, p 371) Such is the nature of the military-industrial complex.

The nature of the U.S military-industrial complex can be seen more clearly through some measures taken by the state in adjusting the economy. U.S. Government investments in enterprises have continued to increase since the war. Statistics show that up to the early 1970's, U.S. Government assets (including development properties) had already reached as high as $400 billion. As most government investments are concentrated in military enterprises, most of the government's assets belong to the Defense Department. "The military-industrial complex," which was published by (Luns) in 1970 estimated that the actual assets of the Defense Department reached as high as over $300 billion, surpassing any U.S. monopoly group. The government also invests in sophisticated munitions industrial departments financed by private monopoly funds. For example, nuclear power enterprises are mainly operated by private capitalists. But the raw materials, equipment, factory buildings and laboratories are financed by the government. Government investments in other advanced munitions departments are also quite enormous.

The nature of the military-industrial complex is even clearer in a nation where consumption is mainly concentrated in purchasing military goods. In order to stimulate production, the U.S. Government has since the war constantly increased the purchases of commodities and manpower. From 1946 to 1970, the U.S. Federal Government spent $1,365 billion (calculated on the prices at that time [as published]) on purchasing commodities and manpower, of which $1,108 billion was spent on military goods--about 80 percent of the total purchases of commodities and manpower. ("Presidential Economic Reports," 1971, p 19)

It can be seen from the above-mentioned two measures that in order to defend the political and economic interests of financial magnates, the U.S. Government since the war has worked hard to stimulate economic growth and to ease the antagonistic contradictions in capitalist reproduction through militarizing the national economy. This practice is an important feature of modern day state monopoly capitalism.

The existence and development of the military-industrial complex has deeply influenced the U.S. political, economic and other sectors. Economically, military expenditures mean that the results of the work of scores of millions of laborers are used for destructive purposes.

Even U.S. military circles cannot but acknowledge such purposes. Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Morse estimated that "if the result of the production of each U.S. dollar used in the U.S. space program (military) was the same as that used in civil industrial research and development, then economically, the United States would have additional income of $100 billion per year." ("U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT," 7 June 1971, p 24) Of course, during a certain period, the activities of the military-industrial complex can temporarily stimulate economic growth. Through orders for military goods, the total demand by the government can be intentionally expanded to temporarily ease the contradictions of reproduction and to delay the outbreak of economic crisis. For example, during the period when the U.S. launched a war of aggression in Korea, the state's total orders for military goods jumped from $20.7 billion in 1950 to $65 billion in 1953 (an increase of 210 percent). The Gorss National Product also increased by 20 percent. ("Presidential Economic Reports," January, 1964) The U.S. industrial output in 1960 was 9 percent higher than in 1965. ("Basic Economic Handbook," 16 Sep 1968, p 79) But such increases were mainly due to increases in orders for military goods during the war of aggression against Indochina. In 1967, total orders for military goods began to decline and it was followed by the U.S. economic recession. In 1969, a new economic crisis broke out.

We must also understand that the activities of the military-industrial complex to a certain extent influence U.S. foreign policies. For example, the big arms companies that sign contracts on strategic weapons usually coordinate their programs for developing weapons with those of the related government military departments. Thus, these companies in fact take part in formulating official programs for developing weapons, and to some extent they influence the formulation of foreign policy.

The formation and development of the military-industrial complex also influence the comparative economic strength of the old and the new consortia. Most of the important production departments of the U.S. military-industrial complex that are producing sophisticated weapons are concentrated in the sunbelt of the southern part of the country. That is why over the past 20 years more and more orders for military goods have been won by contractors in the south. The percentage of military contracts won by monopoly munitions companies in the 14 states of the northeast dropped from 60 percent in 1952 to 37.5 percent in 1972. But the figures for the 21 states in the central-south, the Pacific coast and the Atlantic coast (of these 21 states, 12 are in the sunbelt) rise from 32 percent in 1952 to 50.1 percent in 1972. (Calculated according to the figures appearing in diagrams 2 and 3 of "the regional locations of principal military contractors" in the book "Economic Results of Cutting Down Military Expenditures" by (Bernard Youds) The "Defense Space Daily" stated in 18 April 1977 that the principal military contracts signed by the Defense Department in 1976 were for $12.849 billion, of which $3.363 billion were won by the sunbelt states of California [as published] and Texas, about 22 percent of the total. In 1977, these two states won principal military contracts to the tune of $3.999 billion, about 30 percent of the total. Thus the new emerging consortia of the western part of the country that are led by the Bank of America consortium and the Texas consortium have rapidly strengthened their economic power to oppose that of the old consortia of the northeast. The "worry" expressed by Eisenhower over the growth of the military-industrial complex actually reflects the clash of interests between the old and new consortia in the United States.

The formation and development of the military-industrial complex shows that demilitarization of the national economy is related to the development of state monopoly capitalism. The formation of state monopoly capitalism provides conditions for the national economic militarization which in turn promotes the development of state monopoly capitalism. The feature of monopoly capitalism is that the state apparatus belongs to monopoly capital, and this feature is shown in the activities of the military-industrial complex. It is in such activities that a few financial tycoons make use of the state apparatus (military budget) to exploit the people and to make big profits. Therefore, the U.S. military-industrial complex also reflects that since the war, the United States has found itself facing various contradictions politically, economically and socially.

CSO: 4005

'XINHUA' REPORTS ON INDICTMENT OF FORMER CIA EMPLOYEE

OW281031 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0306 GMT 26 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--According to reports from Washington, the U.S. Justice Department on 24 October announced that former U.S. CIA employee David Barnett had been charged with being a Soviet spy.

A federal grand jury in Baltimore indicted the 47-year-old Barnett with giving Soviet secret agents (KGB) classified information involving a secret CIA operation known as "Ha-brink." The purpose of the operation was to collect relevant Soviet manuals and information on Soviet military equipment.

The indictment said: Barnett turned the classified information over to Soviet agents in Vienna and Djakarta between October 1976 and February 1977.

Barnett worked for the CIA for 12 years. At the direction of Soviet agents, Barnett tried to obtain employment with the Senate Intelligence Committee but he did not succeed.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

U.S. ENGINEERS IN SHANGHAI--The San Francisco engineering and technical group headed by (Li Wen Hui), director of the Public Works Bureau and Waste Water Planning Bureau of San Francisco, United States, has been visiting places in Shanghai and carrying out technological exchanges with related departments in the past few days. [OW270841 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 23 Oct 80 OW]

U.S. AUDIO-VIDEO DELEGATION--The technological exchange meeting, sponsored by the Ampex Company of the United States, on professional video and audio equipment ended in Nanjing, Jiangsu, on 22 October. Several hundred professional workers from radio, television and motion picture circles all over the country viewed Ampex products on display and exchanged technological information and discussed trade with the Americans. The Ampex Company sold advanced equipment at most preferential prices to the Jiangsu television station. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 Oct 80 OW]

U.S. MUSEUM'S ASIAN HALL--Beijing, 24 Oct (XINHUA)--A newly built Asian Hall at the U.S. Museum of Natural History in New York was recently opened to the public. An opening ceremony was held on 16 October. Many UN delegates from Asian countries, including Chinese delegate Ling Qing, attended the ceremony. UN Secretary General Waldheim spoke at the ceremony, expressing his hope that the Asian Hall will become a tool in promoting peace through mutual understanding. On display in this exhibition hall are some 3,000 works of art and handicraft from various Asian countries, including China, Japan, Korea and India. A concert will be held to introduce Chinese music, and films introducing Beijing, Suzhou and Xian will be shown at the hall in November. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0352 GMT 24 Oct 80 OW]

TIANJIN RECRUITS--The Tianjin Municipal People's Government and the Tianjin garrison district jointly issued a circular saying that the city would begin this year's winter enlistment work on 20 October. The order issued by the Central Military Commission and the State Council requests our city to draft a number of recruits to reinforce the PLA ranks. Rural youths with a middle school background whose families have enough manpower and educated youths who have been sent to the countryside will be drafted. In urban areas, this year's high school graduates, aged 18 and 19, will be drafted. [SK271229 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 22 Oct 80 SK]

JILIN DELEGATION TO DPRK--The people's governments of Jian, Changbai and Hunjiang counties and Tumen Municipality dispatched friendship delegations to Chunggang, Manpo and Ponsong counties and Hyesan City of the DPRK, which are adjacent to our territory, on 24 October. The delegations will attend the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the Chinese people's volunteers' entry into the Korean War. They are mainly composed of principal responsible comrades of the respective county and municipal people's governments. On leaving our country, the delegations were seen off by responsible persons from departments concerned of the respective counties and municipalities. [SK250725 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 24 Oct 80 SK]

JAPAN MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY DELEGATION--Di Jingxiang, vice chairman of the standing committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress, met with the visiting Japanese delegation of Municipal Assembly Speakers on 22 October. [OW270841 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 23 Oct 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

OBSERVATIONS ON 5TH NPC THIRD PLENARY SESSION

Hong Kong DONG XI FANG [EAST AND WEST] in Chinese No 21, 10 Sep 80 pp 12-13

[Article by Commentator: "Preliminary Observations on the Third Plenary Session of the 5th NPC"]

[Text] At the time of writing, the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and the session of the People's Political Consultative Conference are still in progress, and Hua Guofeng's important speech has not yet been published. Nevertheless, Hua has already intimated to Japanese reporters that Zhao Ziyang will soon take over his post as premier, but the People's Congress has not yet officially announced this. Under these circumstances it is very difficult to write an analysis of the 5th NPC, but if the report is further delayed, the present issue of this magazine may fail to come out in time, thus herewith merely some observations on what has been learned so far:

The People's Congress Created a Good Democratic Atmosphere

In our opinion the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was basically a successful meeting. Its greatest success was not the peaceful changes in the high levels of the central government's leadership, but rather that it created very successfully an atmosphere and spirit of "democracy." In the past, People's Congresses and Political Consultative Conferences appeared merely as machinery with hand-raising robots. Whatever proposals the communist leadership submitted, the assembled delegates would raise their hands as a kind of ceremonial function and approve the proposals without giving them a thought. But the present NPC gives everyone a new impression. The majority of its delegates are men capable of independent critical thinking. They are no more hand-raising robots. This is very good, it is the beginning of a "people's democratic government." Only under the conditions of giving free rein to independent critical thinking of the people's delegates and only by giving free rein to the NPC to fulfill its functions can the political control of bureaucrats and of the party be restricted and democratic politics be developed.

At the present NPC, delegates asked for an explanation of the "Bohai No 2" incident; Tang Ke, minister of metallurgical industry, was questioned about problems of investment and industrial pollution at the Baoshan Iron and Steel Works; Zhou Huamin, vice minister of foreign trade, was questioned on the waste of foreign exchange in building the Beijing Foreign Trade Center. The delegates also demanded an investigation into the criminal responsibilities of Song Zhenming, former minister of petroleum industry, and Chen Yonggui, former Da Zhai leader and vice-premier. The delegates furthermore did not merely clap hands and pass the administrative reports, plans and programs presented by the state leadership but dared present varying viewpoints.

The delegate from Guangdong Province publicly criticized Yao Yilin, chairman of the state planning commission and vice-premier, claiming that Yao's economic report placed too much emphasis on industry and too little on agriculture, that it still placed main emphasis in the country's economic construction on the development of heavy industry and neglected light industry and agriculture, and that his report contained no concrete measures for the development of light industry and agriculture.

On the question of foreign exchange certificates, the Hongkong-Macao delegate raised objections, claiming that the existence of foreign exchange certificates creates the situation of having two currencies in one country, with much unnecessary confusion resulting. He also pointed out that the issue of these foreign exchange certificates has never had the approval of the country's highest authority, namely of the NPC. The delegates of the NPC furthermore aired their views on bureaucratism, on the system of economic management, on the "four freedoms," and on problems in education and in the publishing industry. They truly reached a stage of free and uninhibited expression.

Laws Guaranteeing Personal Freedom Urgently Needed

Even though we may not be quite satisfied with the way the delegations to the NPC and the Consultative Conference had come about, and although we may consider the "democracy" displayed at the NPC not to be very abundant, we must concede that the Chinese mainland, ruled for such a long time by "feudal fascism," cannot be expected to jump with one leap right up into the lofty region of democracy. We, who are a small particle of the Chinese nation, must wait patiently and must enthusiastically offer our assistance. At present the Chinese communists have just made a start in the reform of their political and economic system, and this is very important since a good beginning is half success. It is our hope that the Chinese communist reform party continues to exert its efforts, and we hope that the delegates to the NPC and the Consultative Conference continue to promote and apply supervision over this kind of welcome reforms.

It has been repeatedly emphasized in the past that throughout history people have developed from slaves to masters, a development along the road from bondage to thorough liberation, even though for short periods reactionary movements may make their appearances, such as the Lin Biao and "gang of four" style "revolutions" in China or the Khomeni type "revolution" in Iran. However, the people's general trend and general direction toward liberation is never changing and cannot be diverted at will by any man. A clear proof of it is the way that China has moved from the dictatorship of Lin Biao and "gang of four" type of feudal fascism to the present "socialist democracy" of limited scale.

The people's democracy are eternal and boundless and will compel rulers again and again to make concessions to the people. We predict that the "democracy" on the Chinese mainland will be continuously expanding because without such expansion the people will not respond. However, the result of democratic expansion will of necessity clash directly with the bureaucratic structure and might quite possibly provoke repressive countermeasures by the bureaucracy. The Chinese communist reform party must foresee this possibility and for that reason found it urgently necessary to draw up a "law on safeguarding personal freedom." Only under the guaranty of fullest "personal freedom" can the people exercise effective supervision over the bureaucracy of the government. It is only regrettable that the present NPC and Consultative Conference neglected this question. Someone merely proposed to abolish the "four great freedoms," but no one dealt with the protection of personal freedom and protection of basic human rights. It seems that the pioneers of the democratic movement will still have to pay a price to achieve that.

Temporary Compromise Between Deng Faction and Non-Deng Factions

Up to the time that this draft has to be sent in, the personal shifts in the state council and the NPC have not yet been officially announced, but news that has so far filtered out indicates:

1. Zhao Ziyang will become premier; Hua Guofeng will resign as premier and continue solely as chairman of the CCP Central Committee.

2. Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Xu Xiangqian, Wang Zhen and Wang Renzhong will resign as vice premiers and continue solely as members of the Central Committee or Central Military Affairs Commission.

3. Nie Rongzhen, Liu Bocheng, Zhang Dingcheng and Cai Chang will resign as vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the NPC.

The three kinds of personnel changes do not come as a surprise because several months ago the communists have let this news filter out through various channels. The only items that do not agree with what had been revealed previously is the resignation of Ye Jianying and the appointment of Peng Zhen as chairman of the NPC Standing Committee.

Ye Jianying was born 1897 and is now 83 years old. The only one older among this group of retiring veterans is Liu Bocheng, who has not been seen in public for a long time. The fact that Ye Jianying, despite his high age, still does not want to resign and retire indicates that opinions are not at all uniform at the leadership level on the question of "abdicating to make room for worthy ones" and on the question of criticizing Mao Zedong.

For Ye Jianying to continue in his position of chairman of the standing committee of the NPC is significant on four points:

1. To keep the highest leadership position in the NPC in his hands will prevent the Deng faction from snapping it up.

2. Ye Jianying's position, chairman of the standing committee of the NPC, is still in name the position of head of state. By holding on to it, he may prevent the Deng faction from changing the constitution and reestablishing the office of state president.

3. Ye Jianying's holding on to his position may be a guarantee against any change in Hua Guofeng's position. It may also be a protection for the opposition faction of Xu Shihyou, Yang Changwu and others.

4. It can prevent an intensification of the movement for a criticism of Mao Zedong and prevent the radical anti-Mao elements from undertaking a "whipping of the corpse."

Just because Ye's retention of his position has such great significance, politically, we must not dismiss Ye's proposal of a "revolution to the end" merely as a mischievous feudal ideology. It is quite possible that Ye himself would like to retire and relinquish his position to be occupied by a "worthy one," but the people around Ye, such as Hua Guofeng, Xu Shiyou, Yang Chengwu and others do not want Ye to resign. The retention of Ye Jianying of his position has to some extent the effect of balancing out the various factions, it keeps the factional struggle in the high level of the leadership from sharpening and intensifying. The delay in the public trial of the "gang of four" and the low key in "criticism of Mao" are, we believe, the result of Ye's vigorous contention of these moves.

Any ruling class is highly averse to disclosing in front of the public its internal differences. Mao Zedong, Lin Biao and their four Central Committees were like this; Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping and their Central Committees were also like this. The special report by the Beijing propaganda machine about such high-ranking military leaders as Xu Shiyou, Yang Chengwu and others attending the NPC is just to cover up such a contradiction and difference among them.

In as big a country as China and as large a party as the CCP, it is no wonder that there are internal factions and contradictions in the leadership level, the question is only how such contradictions and struggles are being dealt with. Judging from the Third Plenary Session of the 5th NPC, there has already been some arrangement between the Deng faction and the non-Deng factions. Both sides have made some concessions. Any problems that could not be solved have been left over for the 12th National Party Congress to decide.

8453
CSO: 4005

CPPCC MEMBERS' SPEECHES AT GROUP DISCUSSION SESSIONS EXCERPTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 80 p 2

> [Text] Editor's note: For days in a row the CPPCC members attending the Third Session of the Fifth Congress of the CPPCC have been discussing in small group sessions the opening statement of Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the work report of Comrade Xu Deheng [6079 1795 3801], the representative of the CPPCC's Standing Committee. They also discussed Comrade Ye Jianying's [0673 0494 9351] opening statement at the People's Congress and the two reports delivered, respectively, by Comrades Yao Yilin [1202 0181 2651] and Wang Binggan [3769 0014 0040] on behalf of the State Council. These members were in unanimous agreement with and offered their full support to the reports. In their talks during the group sessions, these members also presented many suggestions and opinions. Following are excerpts of some of the talks given by them.

CPPCC members Yue Xixin [1471 1585 2450] and Jiang Zemin [3068 3419 3046] advocated, "The Work Toward Economic Construction Must Enhance Democracy, and Truth Must Be Sought from Facts."

CPPCC member Yue Xixin said "The work toward economic construction must enhance democracy. All investigations and research must be practical and realistic. The principle of having 10 or more Da Qing [model plant] is good. But there is no investigation or research to support this principle. Thus, it is only a slogan. What is its basis? There are no 10 model plants. As a matter of fact, all the 9 newly introduced fiber plants have been experiencing a shortage of natural gas, the basic raw material. Plans have been drawn up to double the size of the capital construction for coal production in Shansi Province, and to increase within 10 years, coal production by 100 million tons. Aside from this, a 2,000 kilowatt generating station has been planned, to be built at the mouth of the pit. However, these plans are difficult to execute because Shansi is short in water supply. Plans of such magnitude must be decided democratically--the opinions of the various departments concerned must be heard and decisions should not be made unilaterally.

CPPCC member Jiang Zemin [3068 3419 3046] said, "In the past, the method of 'three-front construction' was emphatically acclaimed; but now the pendulum has swung to the other extreme and the method has been totally abandoned. A thorough study must be made to see how the first front can be made to help the second and third fronts. To realize the four modernizations, progress must be made gradually. Don't be afraid that the progress is slow. It is the standing-still or the change of course that should be feared. We must work realistically and practically. Fantasies must be avoided; and, instead of giving a sweepingly general treatment to all the problems, each problem must be addressed individually, realistically, and practically."

CPPCC member Zhu Dixin [2612 3321 2450] said, "The Industrial System Must be Changed."

CPPCC member Zhu Dixin said, "The general guiding principle, policy, and task, as stated currently by the central authorities are clear and correct. The most prominent problem faced by the industrial sector in carrying out the tasks laid out by the central authorities is the industrial system itself. The government is immense--there are over 100 departments, committees and central bureaus. When there are many temples, naturally there are many Buddhas as well. There is much red-tape, dispute over trivia, passing the buck, and low efficiency. All the industrial sector and their affiliated units, regardless of size, take the attitude of being all-powerful. There are layers upon layers of governmental organizations, duplication of tasks, fragmented division of labor and scattered man-power as well as material and financial resources. These have hindered cooperation and increased cost while lowering efficiency and earnings. To correct this situation and to meet the needs of modernized construction, the industrial system must be reformed.

CPPCC member Wu Zhichao [0702 1807 6389] hoped, "To Conquer the Chaotic Condition of Blindly Introducing New Technology and Foreign Trade."

CPPCC member Wu Zhichao said, "There is a certain amount of blindness in our introducing new technology to the country. Last year, I accompanied four German engineers to Tongling County of Anhui Province. There, they saw two new steel mills standing idle. Reportedly, one mill was not in operation because of pollution; and the other failed to pass a technical inspection. The German engineers said that problems like these should have been solved before hand because a prolonged delay in operation would lead to heavy losses. Later, the German engineers looked over two mine installations which were standing idle. They remarked, 'Your machinery is modern enough, but the mines are not in operation.' In a subsequent symposium, the German engineers first posed a few questions for us to answer. But by the end of August, when the German engineers had completed their reports, the answers still did not come from the affected departments. This year, when I inquired about this matter at the affected departments, I was told that that particular individual in charge had resigned his position. I think we should have been informed of his resignation long ago.

"Concerning foreign trade, a system of centralized management was practiced last year. This year, each province conducts its own sales. As a result, merchants from Hong Kong and Macao swarm into the country and there is free competition everywhere. The problem is, there is confusion in pricing--merchandise of the same brand is priced differently. As a result, some old customers do not come for return business. Now the foreign merchants are here to discuss business, and the success of a business deal relies much on personal relationship. People have demanded from foreign merchants all kinds of gifts, from cigarette lighters to trucks; some even demand that the foreign business men invite them for visits abroad. This is not a good way to conduct foreign trade.

CPPCC member Zhu Mei expressed much concern and anxiety over the supply of beer. He said, "Our country has plenty of material for making beer, which sells well both domestically and abroad. Although the construction of a brewery involves a large one-time investment, it can be recovered within 1 to 2 years. The municipal government of Beijing has not given it much attention. The current brewery has an annual capacity of only 50,000 tons. To meet the market demand, the brewery must be expanded so that an additional 50,000 tons can be produced annually. To accomplish this, an investment of $9,500,000 yuan is needed, of which $6,500,000 yuan must be invested this year. Besides, the Chamber of Commerce of a certain Central American country has expressed its willingness to help our country build breweries. But the Beijing authorities have so far not responded. If the investment is not made this year, it is certain that there won't be enough beer to drink next year. It is hoped that the City of Beijing gives some attention to this matter."

CPPCC member Ly Dingyi [7120 1353 0001] said, "Emphasis Must Be Given to the Training and Promotion of Young Cadres."

Ly Dingyi said, "Chairman Deng Xiaoping's talk is very important. He urges us to discover, train, and promote as many of our talented young as possible to meet the needs of modern construction. In other words, to open all avenues for people of talent and to allow everyone to develop his talent to the fullest. Now that all the Marxists and patriots of the older generation have been promoted, it is time to promote the young people. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' promoted a group of 'rebels.' One half of the members of the Communist Party joined the party during that period. Now that the 'gang of four' has been crushed, we must promote those who hold inveterate hatred toward the 'gang of four,' who have genuine talent, and are truly educated and are capable of independent thinking. There are such young people among the new members added during this congress. Kuo Weibing [6753 4850 1755] of Harbin is one of them. I hope that the Communist Party and the organizing departments of the other governmental agencies pay attention to this question and promote more young people like him.

"The 'gang of four' was crushed 4 years ago. Since then, various government departments have been busy handling cases of injustice, false accusations, and other residual problems. We hope that the government will now turn its emphasis to promoting those young cadres who have had 10 years of training in Marxism-Leninism. They were in their 20's and 30's when the 'gang of four' appeared on the stage, and are between 30 and 40 today. They never had a chance to be promoted because during the time of the 'gang of four' there was, in fact, no genuine communism. There was only the 'communism' that was controlled by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.' They violently opposed the promotion of cadres, and attacked anybody who joined the party. They only promoted those they liked, while persecuting those who opposed them but upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Many were shot, cruelly put to death by other methods, or persecuted to such a degree that they lost their working ability. Wang Hongwen [3769 3163 2429] said, 'we will see, 10 years from now.' We should never forget this. Now that we have the party of Marxism-Leninism once again, we must seriously promote good people, let them join the party and become cadres (however, not let them rise like helicopters). There are good people among the opportunists and it is all right to let them join in the task. However, primary leadership should be put into the hands of those who have been tested in the Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Only in this way--and no other way--can we be at ease."

CPPCC member Yan Zhongpin [0917 0022 1627] stated: "There Is Chaos in the Way the Sending of People Abroad Is Managed. Thoughts of Worshipping Things Foreign Have Again Appeared."

CPPCC member Yan Zhongping said, "Today the worship of things foreign is on the rise again. In the eyes of some people, everything that is foreign is good. However, they learn about foreign things only superficially, without knowing the fundamentals. This could develop into a school of the 'Westernist.'" He also said, "Nowadays many people are trying to find an opportunity to go abroad, go sightseeing, and waste foreign exchange. And there is no coordinated plan for sending people abroad. Once at the airport, I saw two separate delegations of color television experts going abroad simultaneously on tours of inspection. Many experts who should go abroad to inspect and to study cannot go; while those who should not are going."

Some CPPCC members pointed out that some students have been sent abroad for further studies before they learned the language of the particular country they went to; and there are other who, once abroad, accept all kinds of gifts. They want everything and anything and are a disgrace for the Chinese people.

CPPCC member Hu Tsuying [5170 1311 1305], Xia Xingshih [1115 5887 2514] and Liu Jinzhe [0491 2516 0772] believed, "The Effectiveness of Intellectuals Must Be Developed to the Fullest so That All Qualified Personnel May Contribute to the Best of Their Ability."

CPPCC member Hu Tsuying said, "In his opening statement, Chairman Deng Xiaoping emphasized the importance of opening all avenues for people of talent and letting qualified individuals contribute their very best. In the progress toward the four modernizations, the questions of developing the broad mass of intellectuals and of the active participation of scientific and technical personnel bear great importance. According to a report of the Economic Research Institute of the National Academy of Social Sciences, the scientific and technical workers in our nation's industrial and communications systems in 1965 amounted to 5.7 percent of the total work force in these systems, but it decreased to 3.9 percent by 1979--an indication that the number of plants has increased without a proportionate increase of scientific and technical personnel. The statistics of numerous major nations show that the ratios of college graduates for each 10,000 persons are as follows: Japan, 205; France, 190; West Germany, 135; the Soviet Union, 106; India, 40; and China, 10.5. These figures show that the ratio of our country's college graduates is very low. However, the party attaches great importance to the intellectuals and considers them a part of the working class, the best part, in fact. Therefore, the question right now is the implementation of the party's policies toward the intellectuals. Among the members of the China Democratic Construction Association and the All-China Federation of Commerce and Industry, there are quite a few scientific and technical workers and other individuals who have experience in business management. Their effectiveness has yet to be actively developed. For example, some members of the Federation of Commerce and Industry have long been discriminated against by the business world. This attitude has yet to be corrected. And in the society at large, situations where intellectuals suffer discrimination still exist. Our country does not have many scientific and technical workers; we should not squander these talents anymore. We must let them develop, and utilize their talents, to the fullest."

CPPCC member Xia Xingshih said, "40 to 60 percent of the graduates of Shanghai's University of Science and Technology want to change their professions. This is a problem of not utilizing what one has learned and also a problem of not utilizing what has been taught. Some 80 percent of the graduates of the Foreign Language Institute in Arabic languages have not yet been assigned. Similarly, for 3 years in a row, many graduates of the Institute of Oceanography have not found jobs. So the problem lies in not utilizing the many talented people who have had many years of training. Therefore, the task of education must be seriously assessed. The Japanese pay very much attention to education, which results in high efficiency in production. In the past, the work of education has never been put on our regular agenda."

CPPCC member Liu Jinzhue said, "It is important to open all avenues to qualified people and let the talents develop to the fullest. We have the talents but some organizations still hold them back instead of letting them develop. It was only 5 days ago that I heard the story of a college graduate who had majored in astronomy who has been assigned to selling meal tickets. How can we utilize talents this way? What we have now, is a situation where we have many talents who are never called, where we have 'winged-steeds' whom no one appreciates."

CPPCC member Qian Waichang [6929 0251 7022] said, "The Importance Lies in the Discovery and Protection of Talents."

CPPCC member Qian Waichang said, "Chairman Deng, in his opening statement, has pointed out the tasks for the three areas of economy, politics and government in the new 'long march.' This is very important. In the last year we have accomplished much toward fully developing and utilizing the talents. In our country there are plenty of talents. When papers written by some of the middle-aged people, those between ages 40 and 50, are read in international conference they are found outstanding. We must discover our own talents, instead of letting people in other countries discover them. But the discovery of talents involves a difficult process; and, once they are discovered, they should not be made to attend meetings all over the world. They should be given real scholarly work to do. There was a middle-aged expert in modular mathematics in Shanghai who had some real accomplishments to his credit. But once he had gained recognition, he began to attend meetings everywhere. What good could this do? A scientist is no longer a scientist when he does not work in science. Therefore, when talents are discovered, they must also be conserved."

CPPCC members Qian Fuxing [6929 4395 2505] and Zheng Zhengren [6774 2973 0088] appealed, "To Scholars and People With Special Qualifications Not To Take On Too Much Administrative Responsibility."

CPPCC member Qian Fuxing said, "It is important to utilize people according to their talents. People in the position of ministers and vice-ministers should be able to comprehend information in science and technology, but they don't have to be experts themselves. It is most important that they have organizational ability, and can organize various individuals and coordinate their opinions and ideas."

CPPCC member Zheng Zhengren said, "The CPPCC must concern itself with determining the policies for the thorough utilization of the intellectuals. So far this work has been carried out well with the upper echelons, but with the middle and lower echelons, it is another matter. There still exists factionalism in some organizations and, in others, the leadership still does not trust the intellectuals. These organizations still give the highest rank to the laborers, next to the farmers, and only then to the intellectuals. Although the intellectuals are no longer placed on the bottom of the ladder, they are not yet given their proper positions."

CPPCC members Su Yuanfu [5865 0337 1778] and Chen Mingshan [7115 0900 3790] said, "It Is Very Important To Open All Avenues to Talented People and Let Everyone Develop His Talent to the Fullest."

CPPCC member Su Yuanfu said, "We must open all avenues to talented individuals and let everyone develop his talent to the fullest, if we want to build our nation into a socialist power that is modern, highly democratic, and highly civilized. Some time ago, people were encouraged to go out to identify individuals and those individuals with such special qualifications and skills were encouraged to volunteer their servies. However, not many people with special skills, volunteered their services and likewise, not many people went out to serve as 'talent scouts.' The following must be done if people with special qualifications are truly to be discovered: (1) Everybody should be a talent scout. Only in this way can individuals with special qualifications feel that their talents are appreciated; (2) A talent scout must be realistic and knowledgeable so that he can identify special skills and qualifications; (3) The merits, short-comings, and problems of people with special qualifications must be properly handled; (4) A talent scout must look for qualified individuals not only among those he knows, likes, and has contact with but also among those he does not know or like, because the skills and talents of all people can truly be utilized."

CPPCC member Chen Mingshan said, "During the past year, various policies adopted by the City of Shanghai have been implemented very quickly--the technical personnel who worked previously in the industries of the raw and semi-finished materials and businesses have been placed in technical positions. Without counting the 'three small's' (small merchants, small craftsmen, small business owners) there are 4,724 workers employed in the industries and businesses of raw and semi-finished materials, 6 of these are rated as municipal worker-models, and 433 others as first class advanced productive workers. There are 539 who have joined the labor union. Of the 13,848 retirees, 10 to 20 percent have come out to help develop street collectives, give training to the young people, and actively contribute to the realization of the four modernizations. The problem is that there are not many real talent scouts. Much has to be done toward the identification and promotion of individuals with special qualifications and toward opening all avenues to the full development of talented individuals.

CPPCC member Han Ying [7281 5391] suggested that "the Investment in the Training of Individuals With Special Qualifications Be Increased."

CPPCC member Han Ying said, "To realize the four modernizations, much capital has to be invested in economic construction. Although it is important to introduce the much needed modern technical facilities, the investment in personnel training should not be ignored. The latter is of greater importance, in some sense, because the advanced technical facilities have to be manned by people who have modern technical skills. At present, conditions in our country are lagging far behind those of other countries. In education, the number of college admissions in any particular year is not quite 4 percent of that year's middle school graduates, leaving an absolute majority of middle school graduates without the opportunity for higher learning. This situation is the result of inadequate funds for education on the one hand, and, on the other, the incomplete development (due to many objective reasons) of manpower and facilities for education. Teaching methods in the colleges should be changed--it is inappropriate to teach college students as if they were students in primary schools. At the same time, while the regular day schools are being strengthened, spare time educational facilities must be built, so that the scientific and cultural levels of those youths who are employed, or are awaiting employment, can be promoted. It is also helpful to open vocational schools, providing the young people with technical training before actual employment. This type of work should be vigorously supported. Of course, this requires a certain amount of capital. During recent years, there has been much progress in this area. If we can carry out this task well, our efforts in discovering and training qualified individuals can be actively enhanced."

CPPCC members Zheng Zhong [6774 6850], Shang Dejun [1424 1795 0193], Shang Guorong [0948 4141 2837] and Xiong Jiguang [3574 1323 0342] said "The Most Pressing Task for Now Is the Training of All Kinds of Professionals."

CPPCC member Zheng Zhong said, "I work in the field of education. The current question is how to train qualified individuals. There are more than 3,000 students at the Xiamen University, and 5,000 more will be admitted. Although there is quite a number of teachers, very few are capable of real teaching. The quality of the teaching staff is another question. How can a subject be taught well by a number of teachers collectively? And there is the question of equipment--for example, there is not even a modern electronic microscope or an electronic calculator in our department of oceanography. The instruments and facilities are very old. Whenever foreign visitors come, it is always a dilemma whether they should be shown these outdated facilities. And there are not enough books in the library, a result mainly of not having enough foreign exchange. Furthermore, whenever there is a small amount of foreign exchange it is always distributed evenly among the departments, without giving special consideration to the major departments. These problems should be solved as soon as possible. Besides, today the graduate school students have only 2 or 4 years to complete their studies toward a master's or doctor's degree, respectively. However, most students do not have a good foundation, and a 2-year period is only enough to provide them with training in the basic subjects. Therefore, I suggest that 3 years should be allowed for master's degree, devoting 2 years to basic subjects and 1 additional year to research. Today, some students get into graduate school based on sheer luck. Their academic record is not that good. I suggest that before admitting a student into graduate school, the entire record of his 4 years in college should be reviewed."

CPPCC member Shang Dejun said, "In the area of traditional Chinese medicine, there is an even more acute temporary shortage of qualified personnel. Some of the current systems are not conducive to the training of talented individuals. For instance, the health department does not have the power of personnel deployment. As a result, the much needed teaching staff is not supplied; while those not in need come, through the back door, by 'pulling strings.' Some have even gotten into the teaching and research group. How can the quality of teaching be promoted this way! Furthermore, there is the unresolved argument about the equipment at the college of traditional Chinese medicine. Some take the position that for teaching traditional Chinese medicine, all you need is three fingers and a small cushion, and that when modern equipment and facilities are used, it is no longer the traditional Chinese medicine. Some even believe that it is against the policy of traditional Chinese medicine to use modern equipment. As far as I am concerned, it will not work this way. In a college of traditional Chinese medicine, a combination of Chinese and western methods should be used. By using modern instruments, better diagnosis can be made, which will lead to better results for the traditional Chinese medical treatments."

CPPCC member Sheng Guorong said, "There were 78 traditional Chinese medical doctors before the Cultural Revolution. Now there are only eight left. Therefore, there is a pressing need to train new talents. Our academy has admitted over 400 new students. But there is no dormitory space for the students or the teachers. So, they all have to live in the inn. Besides, there are not enough teachers. Originally, it was hoped to attract a group of skilled traditional herb doctors to help out with the teaching; but because of organizational limitations, it could not be done." In view of the fact that many overseas Swator people, fellow-countrymen from Taiwan, and people from other nations frequently come to the mainland asking for assistance in traditional Chinese medicine, CPPCC member Sheng Guorong suggested that a traditional Chinese medical clinic be opened in Hong Kong. Such a clinic does not need to be elaborately equipped. It will be a place where much foreign exchange can be earned, contacts can be established with overseas Chinese and with our fellow-countrymen on Taiwan. It will also be helpful to these people in their work."

CPPCC member Xiong Jiguang said, "A very important question today is the training and selecting of qualified individuals who can meet the needs of building a modern country. The silkworm industry is very well developed in the Sichuan Province. This is because Comrade Zhao Tzuyang [6392 1311 2254] has attached great importance to it, and the province has adopted a series of policies and measures which resulted in the rapid development of that industry during the last 2 to 3 years. The production of last year reached 1,400,000 dan [a unit of 50 kilograms] a 40 percent increase from the year before; and this year's production is another 20 percent higher than that of last year, with a forecast of as high as 1,800,000 dan. It has been estimated that by 1985, the annual production will reach 3,000,000 dan, and 5,000,000 dan in 1990. Right now, the mulberry saplings are doing very well; therefore, the target will be reached, perhaps even surpassed. However, there is a shortage of technology. This year, the cocoon production of the Sichuan Province will surpass that of Japan, but its quality is inferior. The facilities in our plants are not complete. Last year, there were more than 1,000,000 dan of cocoon that could not be reeled into silk and had to be sold as cocoons. Our technology for printing and dyeing the silk lags far behind that of Japan. Therefore it is imperative that the scientific research work be strengthened; and that technical personnel be trained. At present, there is only one university in the entire Sichuan Province that has a sericulture department. In the past, the central authorities concentrated on assisting provinces such as Jiansu and Xijian. It is hoped that, in the future, the central authorities, in their national planning, will take into consideration the trend in Sichuan realistically, solve the problem of technical personnel, and overcome our equipment shortages. A concerted effort must be made to further improve the quantity and quality of production so that our products may surpass advanced international standards in every way." In the statement, CPPCC member Xiong Jiguang expressed his confidence in the development of the silkworm industry in Sichuan, and his willingness to support these efforts to the best of his ability.

CPPCC members Li Tiezheng [2621 6993 6927] and Ni Zhengyu [0242 1767 0889] "Suggested the Promotion of Grass-roots Diplomacy and the Early Return of Taiwan to the Embrace of the Fatherland."

CPPCC member Li Tiezheng said, "It is very important to strengthen the CPPCC's people to people diplomatic activities. We must actively initiate contacts of friendship with other nations. To carry out this task well, it is suggested that the CPPCC set up a committee for foreign relations. Currently, a presidential campaign is going on in the United States. Reagan has suggested maintaining official relations with Taiwan. We can send some people to the United States for visits among the American people, make our views known to them, make friends everywhere, strengthen the friendly relationship between the two peoples, and gain the good will of the broad masses in the United States.

"The connections that the CPPCC members have abroad through their friends or relatives must be exploited to strengthen the contact between the peoples of all nations. They must be utilized to promote and develop friendly relations between our people and the peoples of the other nations."

CPPCC member Ni Zhengyu said, "One of the CPPCC tasks is to work toward the realization of Taiwan's return to the fatherland. There is a great deal to be done and many channels must be explored. There are many scientific and technical workers from Taiwan who reside in foreign countries. Many diplomatic officials from Taiwan have remained abroad because of the severance of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and those countries. Those people have their own way of thinking. We should work on them, make them understand the fatherland and our policies, so that their thinking may be changed and the unification of the fatherland may be expedited."

CPPCC members Zhang Bilai [1728 3968 0717] and Liu Kaiqu [0491 7030 3255] said, "Scholarly Communications with Taiwan Must Be Actively Developed."

CPPCC member Zhang Bilai said, "The realization of Taiwan's return to the fatherland is a very important task. Mao Duan [5403 4160] said, not too long ago, 'We should open up academic exchanges and communications with the scholars in Taiwan. Exchanges on the studies of "The Dreams of the Red Chamber" are particularly useful! Encouragement must be given now to academic circles toward developing this project. It is very possible to have exchanges and communications with the scholars in Taiwan through the studies of "The Dreams of the Red Chamber." The reasons are: (1) Scholars on both sides take "The Dreams of the Red Chamber" as a great treasure of the Chinese cultural heritage, both from the point of view of nationalism and patriotism; and (2) In this novel, scholars on both sides can find a common language of antifeudalism. In fact, communications between the scholars have already begun."

CPPCC member Liu Kaiqu said, "The comrades in our art and sculpture department can contribute very much toward establishing contacts with the scholars in Taiwan. Last year, while visiting Italy and France, I had broad contacts with artists from Taiwan residing in Milan and Paris, respectively. As a matter of fact, it was through me that contacts were reestablished between a Taiwan artist in Paris and his relatives on the mainland. My contacts with them had good results. The Democratic Alliance has many scholars. Therefore this work can be broadly launched."

CPPCC member Li Xingchuan [2621 2502 1157] said "Emphasis Must Be Given to the Work Among the Overseas Chinese."

CPPCC member Li Xingchuan said, "Although much attention has been given to the propaganda work toward Taiwan, there is not enough emphasis given to the propaganda work among the overseas Chinese. There are more than 20,000,000 overseas Chinese in various countries; among them, there are many scientific and technical talents. From one rural community of Taishan alone, there are 28 scholars with doctoral degrees living in the United States. Last year, there were over 400 overseas Chinese who came to Taishan, visiting relatives or for sightseeing. However, they were mostly ordinary citizens and not many of them were of any influence. Quite a number of people do not dare to return because they believe that only those who are politically neutral can have a place in China. The Taiwan government has been trying to get people to penetrate the An Liang Association, Xie Shen Association and other overseas Chinese organizations in the United States. In the United States, most of the principals of the overseas Chinese schools are sent by the Taiwan government. If our propaganda work toward the overseas Chinese is done well, it would have much influence toward Taiwan's return to the fatherland."

CPPCC member Mai He Siu De [6314 0678 5685 1795], Tie I Bo Fu [6993 5902 3034 1133] said, "There Are Some Problems in the Pastoral Areas."

CPPCC member Mai He Su De. Tie I Bo Fu said, "Not too long ago, on an inspection tour to Northern Xinjiang, I witnessed a few problems in the pastoral areas: (1) The problem of chaotically turning pastoral areas into farmland continues. This seriously damages the cultivation of grassland and greatly affects the development of animal husbandry and the people's livelihood. There is much resentment from the people. This problem should be solved with much attention in the future; (2) Up until now, education in the pastoral areas has been limited--with many problems in the number and quality of schools, particularly those of inadequate funds, teachers, and teaching materials. The Xingiang people have much to say about these problems. It is suggested that the departments concerned study and solve these problems. The people in northern Xinjiang were very happy with our inspection tour this time and said that the CPPCC members should go there regularly, solicit the opinions of the masses and conduct investigations and research, so that the real problems may be solved."

CPPCC members Wu Kequing [0702 0344 3237] and Tien Iping [3944 0001 1627] said, "The Protection of Cultural Relics and Historical Sites Is an Urgent Task."

CPPCC member Wu Kequing said, "The fact that the CPPCC has taken up the question of the protection of the cultural relics and historical sites has caught the attention of many segments of the population. This is a meaningful task. Incidents where cultural relics and historical sites are damaged, still exist; some even sustain serious damages." He analyzed the situation and said, "In some cases it is due to the lack of recognition of the importance of protecting the cultural relics and historical sites on the part of the local leadership. For example, in Ron County of Guangsi Province, the digging of air-raid shelters directly under an ancient historical site resulted in crevices on the grounds of the site. Immediate actions had to be taken to remedy the situation. In another instance, some ancient tombs were leveled by bulldozers to create farmland. Many historical sites in Guilin have also been damaged. It would be helpful to the work on the local levels if the CPPCC members could organize some investigative work, and offer some suggestions."

CPPCC member Tien Iping pointed out, "Situations still exist in Sichuan Province where cultural relics and historical sites suffer serious damages. For instance, the Great Buddha Temple of the Happy Mountain, forests and the temples of Emai should be saved through organized efforts. The restoration of the historical sites at the Emai Mountain should be directly led by the people and government of Sichuan Province. Furthermore, all avenues should be opened to making these sites profitable--that is to say 'to maintain mountains by utilizing mountains,' making use of locally produced materials, increasing revenues, gaining time and bringing the restoration work to completion as soon as possible."

CPPCC member Dan Shihyuan [0830A 1102 0337] maintained, "In the Process of Developing Tourism, the Original Appearance of Historical Buildings and Ancient Gardens Must Be Protected."

CPPCC member Dan Shihyuan noted, "Earning foreign exchange through the development of tourism has been known as the 'smokeless industry.' But the ancient buildings and edifices as well as the ancient gardens and forests are an important form of 'capital' for attracting people from abroad to come to China. The way tourism is being developed today is like 'killing the hen to get the eggs.' Areas for sightseeing and of scenic beauty have been changed beyond recognition. The cablecar tracks that have been added to the Nan Tien Gate at the Tai Mountain have seriously damaged the scenery; restaurants have been built along the seven-mile cooridor of stone-carving of animals and people at the Thirteen Ming Tombs; and there are plans for a 13-storied tall building in Sian competing in height with the Pagoda of the Wild Goose--Suzhou, Hangzhou and Guilin all have similar problems. It is to be hoped that laws concerning the cultural artifacts will be promulgated at the earliest possible date. In relation to architecture, it is suggested that Beijing, Jiansu, Zhejian, Fujian, Shansi, Gansu and other areas preserve some of the residential buildings that have the local or national characteristics; for example, Beijing's residential compound with houses around a yard. Otherwise, the residential buildings and houses would look alike from Heilongjiang in the north all the way to Hai Nan Island in the south."

CPPCC member Ye Qianyu [0673 3239 0056] said, "Improvements Have To Be Made on the Publication, Distribution and Collection of Books and Paintings."

CPPCC member Ye Qianyu said, "Today, the fate of publishing and distributing books and paintings is in the hands of the Sin Hua Book Store. For many books, there are not enough copies for distribution, because the Sin Hua Book Store either did not send in the order or ordered only a limited number. As a result, readers cannot get the books. Is it possible that a system of direct contact between producers and consumers can be adopted, as it has been adopted by the industrial plants, and leave the decision of publication and distribution to the publishers?

"There is a more serious problem: The markets at Liu Li Chang for books, paintings and other cultural items are only open to foreigners; while the Chinese are not allowed to read them or even to browse around. The treasures of the Imperial Palaces are the collections of the Chinese people. It is very important that they be preserved for the people and opened to the people, so that the tradition of collecting books, paintings and other cultural items by the people may be continued. However, fraudulent purchases may appear as a result. How can this problem be solved? It is to be hoped that the concerned sectors make a serious study of this."

9523
CSO: 4005

HISTORY, CHARACTER OF ZHAO ZIYANG REVIEWED

Hongkong DONG XI FANG [EAST AND WEST] in Chinese No 21, 10 Sep 80 pp 4-8

[Article by Jin Zhiming [0093 0037 7686], "Zhao Ziyang, What Kind of a Person Is He?"]

[Text] Zhao Ziyang was born in 1919 in Huaxian County, Henan Province, into a landlord family. His original name was Zhao Xiusheng, he also had the name Zhao Ye. In 1932, at the age of 13, he joined the Communist Youth League. In 1938, at the age of 18, he became a member of the CCP. During the War of Resistance Against Japan he served as county party secretary and prefectural party secretary in the Hebei-Shandong-Henan Anti-Japanese Base Area. In the early period of the War of Liberation he served as party secretary of the Tongbo area. In 1951, he went south to Guangzhou, following that scholar-type Tao Zhu, and participated in land reform work there. At the conclusion of the land reform, Tao Zhu and Qu Mengjue promoted him to head the Department of Rural Affairs. He then advanced step by step to deputy secretary of the CCP Central Committee's South China Sub-Bureau, secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and first secretary of that committee. During the cultural revolution he was criticized and denounced. When the revolutionary rebels gained power, he kept out of their way but continued to wield actual power. When the Revolutionary Committee of Guangdong Province was formed, he was pushed out of his post. In 1971 he was "liberated" and sent to Inner Mongolia as a party secretary in charge of agriculture. Later he was again returned to Guangdong to become provincial party secretary and first secretary. From 1975 on, he has been first secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, First Political Commissar of the Chengdu PLA units, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Member of the 10th and 11th CCP Central Committee, Alternate Member of the Politburo, and in February 1980 he was elected Member of the Politburo and Vice-Premier of the State Council.

A Capable Administrator of Great Adaptability

A good administrator must show adaptability. In changing circumstances and in the changes occurring at his working place he must be able to understand and grasp as quickly as possible the new conditions and the new situation with all its special aspects to realize what is beneficial and what is harmful and also to determine plans of action and measures to be taken. He must also be skillful in selecting personnel, in checking and summarizing work, etc. These are all qualities required in a good administrator. Adaptability is even more distinctly required in an administrator who is engaged in political work. Especially in a country like

China amidst its power struggles and its fickle uncertainties, it is even more important to command the necessary adaptability when dealing with the struggle against opponent parties. In the course of growth and decline of the various mutually opposing parties, he should be able to disregard any scars of the past and adapt to any shifts in power while preserving his own position and pursuing his original policies. Premier Zhou Enlai was a past master in this respect; Zhao Ziyang is also not a bad operator. Let us see how he fared during the past few years: In a political organization that had the overthrow of the landlord class as its revolutionary objective, this young student, coming from a landlord class family, had managed only one or two years after joining the party to hold the top position in this organization's provincial and local committees, namely that of provincial and local party secretary. Although the status principle--in respect to his landlord class origin--was not followed to the extreme in the early days of the War of Resistance, as it was followed later during the cultural revolution, the ideology of the communist party after all regarded the landlord class as enemy. Furthermore, the bases of the communist party were not very extensive in those days, so that becoming local party secretary must have been not easy at all. By changing his class status right at the start, Zhao Ziyang has given an outstanding demonstration of his adaptability to a new political situation.

After moving to Guangdong and participating in the land reform, Zhao was pronounced an expert in land reform. After his handling of rural affairs, he was pronounced an expert in agricultural matters, and again, after sticking it out for 4 or 5 years in Sichuan, he was also given the honorable designation of expert economist. Whatever line he went into, he mastered it well; he has indeed the talent of becoming master in whatever line he goes into. This is due to his ability to recognize and grasp the situation (the true state of the objective conditions). Men who have this ability can fairly easily master new, more elevated and more complex work. This capability is to be highly valued in Zhao Ziyang, now that he has been elected to the position of vice chairman of the standing committee of the state council--in essence premier and head of government.

At all times and in all countries successful politicians have been mainly those who were skillful in recognizing the signs of the time and understanding the political fluctuations on which to base an appropriate strategy, and who, in the course of these fluctuations, were able to preserve or even enhance their own position and power. Rash and straight forward characters or unyielding scholarly types are swallowed up in the political whirlpool; they will certainly have all their bones broken and come to a bad end.

Zhao Ziyang is a past master in achieving success one way or the other, he has an outstanding talent in recognizing the trends of the time. Tao Zhu committed errors of a historical nature by launching with excessive fury into the land reform, the anti-rightist, anti-reactionary, and the anti-localist movements. With his scholarly temperament, Tao Zhu showed respect and solicitude toward the Guangdong intelligentsia. (This writer had the good fortune to have been one of the nine veteran "fragrants" [writers of literature favored by the party] when Guangdong was under Tao Zhu's leadership--in the early sixties Guangdong intellectuals were quite "fragrant," as compared with the rest of the country.) Zhao Ziyang too had done some work placating the intellectuals. These had merely been some of Zhao's rudimentary products of trying to gain advantages in whatever way that offered itself. When the cultural revolution came, Zhao gave a marvellous show; while all streets and lanes in Guangzhou were full of slogans and big-character posters "Down With Guangdong's Biggest Capitalist-Roader Zhao Ziyang," the provincial secretary was still none other than Zhao Ziyang. Zhao was still exercising his powers. The Provincial Revolutionary Rebels' Allied Committee, in which the Zhongshan University Red Flag, the Guangzhou Workers Alliance and similar groups played leading roles, staged the "January 22 seize-power." At that time Zhou Enlai telegraphed his approval of the direction taken in the "January 22 seize-power" by the Provincial Revolutionary Allied Committee. However, in contrast to other provinces, Zhao Ziyang was not divested of his powers. Zhao realized clearly that the Provincial Revolutionary Alliance within the Red Flag Group lacked experience and real power. He also realized the contradictions between the Provincial Revolutionary Alliance and the Triple Alliance Faction, in which Hua Gong and Red Flag Workers groups were leading, on the one hand, and the Allied General Group, in which the Local General group and the "Ism Soldiers" faction were leading, on the other hand. When the revolutionary small generals rushed in at midnight to "seize power," Zhao against all expectations obediently like a good boy handed over the "political power," i.e., the seal of the provincial secretary. Zhao then performed a unique stroke: the provincial party secretary started to perform his duties "collectively" under the guidance of the revolutionary small generals. He thus tricked the students in general, who were under the leadership of Wu Chuanbin. In the big struggle between the three factions, the real power was still in Zhao Ziyang's hands. This situation lasted until the army interfered at the military barracks. The Provincial Revolutionary Allied Committee's "seize-power," being nothing else but a "seize-seal" action, made this affair look like a joke.

Zhao Ziyang gave another superb performance during the cultural revolution. In general, veteran cadres did one of the following three things during the cultural revolution: one was to stay in bed and refuse further responsibilities, like provincial party committee member Lin Jiangyun and others, who declared themselves superannuated and on their own initiative quit their jobs. Even senior party member Zhu De went home to tend to his orchids. Another way was to become opportunistic and change course. This was what Wang Xiaoyu of Shandong, Pan Fusheng of Liaoning, Lin Liming and Zhao Zhuoyun of Guangdong and others did. All these opportunists have by today concluded their political careers. Probably most of them are still in prison writing self-criticisms. Another group were hard-headed unyielding types who would fight back against the red guards. There were Tao Zhu, He Long, Wu Han, all showed backbone and guts, but, alas, they jeopardized their lives. When faced with the three parties in Guangdong, Zhao Ziyang did just the right thing. He did not resist the three groups and also did not support any one of the three groups. All three were somehow disgruntled with him, but none of the three came to hate him. As a consequence, he did not get to suffer much although he was dragged out, criticized, denounced and paraded through the streets. While protecting himself, Zhao firmly stuck to his post. This after all showed that he placed his public responsibilities to the people above his private interests. This praiseworthy trait of character is of important significance for the future advancements in his career and the trust that people put in him.

Yet another thing: at the time when the "gang of four" came into power, Zhao Ziyang had gone to Inner Mongolia as party secretary. In the time of the "gang of four" he had returned to Guangdong like a [illegible] fish come to life again to become first secretary of the provincial party committee, and also during the time of the "gang of four" he had gone to Sichuan to administer that province. Nevertheless, during the years and months of the stormy period of Jiang Qing's "oppose rightist case-reversing wind" and "Criticize Deng" movement, Zhao Ziyang seems to have already been a target of Jiang Qing's attacks against the sinister xiu-cai [anti-Maoist intellectuals]. However, Zhao did not scamper away like the monkeys when their tree is felled, following the downfall of Deng Xiaoping. Thereafter we observe that, although Zhao was not liked by Jiang Qing, he never aroused her hatred to the extent that Deng did, a hatred that could only be assuaged by the destruction of its target. This shows that Zhao could handle the "gang of four" in a perfunctory way, and since Zhao did not fall as Deng did, it also shows that Zhao never tied his own fate to the policies of any other person.

In summary we observe that Zhao had always been able to smoothly cope with the various leftist and ultra-leftist political movements. He would commit the mistakes that were the mistakes of the times, but he would not commit mistakes that could be blamed on him personally. Thus, he could safeguard himself and improve himself. Before Zhao took charge of one department or became head of one faction, he has had the tendency to attach himself to a certain faction, but he never made his attachment to any party a matter of life and death. He therefore always preserved his freedom and free mobility. This is one of the characteristics that Zhao has shown throughout the political struggles of the past.

Steady and Correct Judgment

The above statements demonstrate clearly Zhao's firmness, devoid of rashness in his actions, and his perfect judgment that never let him commit a mistake, but these facts reflect Zhao's actions as one-sidedly conservative and passive. Due to the restrictions of time and place, none of his speeches or actions were of an earthshaking nature. However, he certainly is not a man who merely echoes what others say or a mouthpiece for others, or a machine without ideas and thoughts of his own. At the right opportunity and under conditions that assure success, Zhao can perform amazing actions, you will have to admit that when you meet up with such.

The first example: Although the "Whatever Faction" was "rectified" into a stage of utter dejection at the third plenum of the CCP Central Committee, that party revived in the spring of 1979. Firstly, the expected results have not been forthcoming in the punitive struggle by the Deng party against Guangdong. Then the many problems in the economic adjustment are far from ideal, and finally linking all levels together, there is an evil, anti-Central Committee wind blowing. (According to the report given by Hu Jiwei in September 1979 at the Central Party School, there were the following typical occurrences:

Two county party secretaries, under the guidance of their district party secretary, stated: "The third plenum of the CCP took so far only 90 days. If it proclaimed the cultural revolution to have been one big calamity, the past 90 days are also one big calamity, worse than the 10 years of cultural revolution. What we have now is an adverse wind of a thousand miles." There was also the head of a provincial propaganda department who said: "Where is China going? Where is Deng taking China? What is Hu Yaobang up to? Hu Yaobang is a revisionist of the old order.") In general big-character posters and written slogans have made their appearance proclaiming to be pro-Mao and anti-the two Hu (Hu Yaobang and Hu Qiaomu)--no frantic anti-Deng Xiaoping wind blowing yet. This spring, with its sudden warmth turned cold again, the "Whatever Faction" launched its attacks, with such uncanny calls as "the flag has been struck down" and "things have gone too far," to which the literary circles added their "Ge-de [Goethe], que-de [lack of virtue], xiang-qian-kan [eyes front!]. For one period of time the people on the mainland were nervous, worried and uncertain in their minds as to what was going to happen, whether the cultural revolution was starting up again.

In this situation Deng Xiaoping gave out the "Four Items To Uphold," which got Hu Yaobang, the target of all attacks, into great difficulties. It looked as if the heavens would fall in. At this moment Zhao Ziyang rushed into battle to intervene. On 23 May 1979 the RENMIN RIBAO published an article entitled "Comrade Zhao Ziyang at a Plenary Meeting of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee Emphatically Urged To Unify Ideology Inside and Outside the Party in the Spirit of the Third Plenary of the CCP Central Committee." Zhao Ziyang firmly pointed out: "There is a small group of people, badly poisoned by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who with open eyes fail to see the excellent situation that followed the Third Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, and who even go so far as to put the blame on the third plenary for problems that arose in preceding periods. This trend of thought is the upshoot of an ultra-leftist tendency, which easily tempts and misleads people. ...The profound historical significance of the third plenary of the CCP Central Committee and its correct stand cannot be explained merely by achievements of only a few months. We must lead the people to a higher platform from which to view farther ahead and have them gain a deeper understanding of the spirit of the third plenary of the CCP Central Committee." Although there is much hackneyed part cliche in this statement, the statement, targeted as it was and issued in the name of the party in full power over an area populated by 100 million people, cannot be dismissed as mere cliche. The bombardment which was thus directed by Zhao Ziyang, the local party in power, against the "Whatever Faction" could not possibly be withstood by Wang Dongxing and the others of that party system which had already begun to crumble. By further repeated attacks soon afterwards by such men as Wan Li and Ren Zhongyi, the situation quickly changed. Wang Dongxing's cold spring turned into the warm spring scene of Deng Xiaoping. Through this battle, Deng Xiaoping's prestige rose high like the sun at noon, and this laid the foundation for his move into the Zhongnanhai, the central government quarters.

The other incident was Zhao Ziyang's courageous statement on the theoretical plane: "The purpose of developing production is to improve the people's livelihood." The formulation over the past years had been: "Production is for the revolution." Zhao was the first to spell out what the people have had in their minds but would not dare say. This was extremely significant, a move to stir up popular enthusiasm for the four modernizations and to reduce mistakes or mishaps in the work of construction. Zhao's statement was followed by articles in the communist press on the theme of "cure poverty, gain prosperity." Now it has even been determined as the party's general line that "to build up high-level material civilization and democracy is the purpose of constructing socialism." In spite of these facts, Zhao never gave the impression of being a great talent in the field of political theory, but he certainly must be credited with no small a share in establishing the new theoretical structure.

The Good Administration of Sichuan Province

Zhao Ziyang's achievements during his administration of Sichuan can be vividly illustrated by the following: a catastrophic disaster area where a coupon for 30 jin of grain could be exchanged for a young girl was turned into a well-adjusted world where a 0.10 yuan bonus was paid with the purchase of every jin of pork. No other concrete measures were employed than to liberate the minds of the people, to show concern for the peasants, to gain an understanding of the conditions and appropriately loosen up political policies; in short: from strangulation to relaxation, from relaxation to revival. Some have expressed the opinion that since Zhao Ziyang could successfully administer Sichuan, he must be able to administer the whole country equally successfully. This, we are afraid, is a somewhat lopsided deduction. The successful administration of Sichuan was an act of revival, just like healing a wounded person and restoring his health. It merely required careful nursing and then was bound to result in the restoration of full health. Zhao was considerably more skillful in the healing process and restoration of health was therefore faster, but that was all. When it comes to "healing" the country, it is not only restoring health to a wounded body but also a case of turning the weak body into a strong body, of developing and of building up. That is quite a different thing from successfully administering the province of Sichuan.

Our confidence that Zhao Ziyang can successfully govern the country is built on the adaptability which he has shown in the past, concretely demonstrated in his capacity for administration, organization and good judgment, as well as in a certain level of theoretical capability and courage.

True Revolutionary Quality

The "revolution" referred to here does not mean at all the stereotype cultural revolution or the "grasp revolution to promote production." It is meant to refer to turning ossified and declining things and thoughts into such full of vitality and progressiveness. Zhao demonstrated revolutionary quality of this kind only after the overthrow of the "gang of four." The reason for this is partly--as already referred to in the above--his character of "treading the middle road," trying to gain successes by whatever means and of taking a steady, unconspicuous course. Another reason is that under the strict ultra-leftist ideological control of Mao Zedong a member of the communist party was just not able to think independently. This was so after the Zunyi Conference, it was very strictly so after the establishment of the communist regime and it reached its climax during the cultural revolution. There is sufficient evidence for this, starting with the period of "unanimity" down to the treatment accorded to Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. Much less would a man like Zhao Ziyang show independence, he definitely would not demonstrate it like Peng Dehuai. Following the overthrow of the "gang of four," Mao Zedong's saintliness had ceased to exist for all practical purposes, and the Zhao Ziyang ideology with its sharp observation and clarity of judgment experienced a fairly widespread liberation. The principle of "single decision, single action" was given free play, urging everyone to take the first step in [illegible]. This spirit and courage of "taking the first step" was very important in the CCP leadership. In the past, no one would have dared to step one step ahead of Mao Zedong. Now it has been done; this was an action amounting to rebellion. The very spirit and courage of it increased the people's approval for Zhao Ziyang to move into the Zhongnanhai grounds.

Zhao Ziyang presumably took note of the criticism of the Liu Shaoqi-Deng Xiaoping line by the "gang of four" as contained in their indictment of these men, and then acted in exactly the opposite way, that is by just "taking a first step." The commune members are to have their private plots and are to develop free marketing, even to fix farm output quotas for each household. In industry, autonomy was expanded, management is to be independent and enterprises are to be responsible for their own profits and losses. As a result, production experienced recovery and further development. We wish to point out in particular Zhao Ziyang's revolutionary actions in the state council. For instance he views the political power on the mainland under the separate sectors of party affairs, military affairs, politics and law, administrative affairs, etc. At present the most revolutionary atmosphere prevails in the administrative departments in the state council. There are two things worth noting there, since Zhao Ziyang took charge of the state council: One is that he finally cut down the Da Zhai "red flag," this ultra-leftist model on the agricultural front which Hua Guofeng strongly promoted and protected. Secondly, he got rid of the "petroleum faction" which capitalized on the Da Qing spirit and on all other petroindustrial establishments and which was about to introduce, actively and steadily, ultra-leftist tendencies into the industrial front.

In a previous article, this writer has pointed out that the power struggle among the ranks of the present communist party is still continuing, and that this struggle is not at all epitomized by the struggle between the "All Correct" faction and the empiricists. Today's struggle among the Chinese communists has entered the stage of a struggle between a one-sidedly reformist and a one-sidedly conservative party. The theoretical and practical significance of this struggle is hardly less important than the struggle between the "Whatever Faction" and the leftist extremists. Presently, commentary by the people on the maintland is: "In the past we had a cultural revolution with bloodshed, now we have a cultural revolution without bloodshed." This talk about a "cultural revolution without bloodshed" does not refer to the revolution against the ultra-leftists and against the "Whatever Faction", a revolution that has already been basically concluded, but rather refers to the various new formulations in the field of political theory (democracy is the objective not a means, the ultimate aim of construction is a socialist society with a high degree of democracy and a high degree of culture, the objective of production is to improve the livelihood of the people, emphasis on anti-feudalism, criticism of attributing an exaggerated function to the spiritual, affirmative attitude toward humanitarianism, etc., etc.). As to changes in personnel, there are indications that all conservative and rigid, old men like Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, down to Chen Yonggui will all gradually be pushed out from all levels of power. This again is viewed by the people as a "cultural revolution without bloodshed," which indicates the gravity of the matter. In this struggle Zhao Ziyang will be one of the key figures. The struggle has just started and conclusions as to its outcome cannot yet be drawn, but it certainly deserves the close attention by anyone concerned about the affairs of that country. Of course great importance must be attributed to the role of Zhao Ziyang, especially at this time when the main battleground is the state council of which Zhao is now in charge.

Inquiring Into Some Related Questions

Firstly, it is said that Zhao Ziyang is basically an uncouth soldier of the Chinese communist Eighth Route Army; how can a man like that be guide in the four Modernizations? He is unfit to become premier of the state council.

People who raise this question consider the fact that Zhao was only a middle school student, later he was campaigning up and down the country. Although he has had experience in political and administrative work, also in military and military-political work, he lacks knowledge of modern science. How can a man who is so completely ignorant of modern science and technology guide China in realizing the four modernizations?

There is some reason on the side of those questioning in this way. In general, leadership in the work of modernization is not possible without modern know-how. However, looking at this problem from another angle: in the present Chinese communist highest leadership there is indeed one peasant, but is there one with modern scientific and technological knowledge? Don't look, there is none. There is therefore no practical meaning in putting forth this requirement, because it would be unrealistic to ask now for the removal of the Chinese communist leadership or to have the intellectuals share in the highest state power. At present it is already pretty good that the Chinese communists, as a first step, listen to and accept the advice and proposals of experts.

Speaking again of Zhao Ziyang personally, his promotions did not come about as in the case of Wang Hongwen, who shot up like a rocket, also not like Hua Kuofeng's, relying on the good graces of Mao Zedong in ascending to the most venerable position and finally getting there through an arrangement that was a "blunder" of history. Zhao Ziyang had climbed up step by step relying only on his own ability. Toward the end of the fifties all units and agencies of Guangdong Province and Guangzhou Municipality spread the tale that "as Zhao Ziyang became provincial party secretary at 18, he has been the youngest provincial party secretary ever, throughout the whole country." This reveals a kind of acclaim and admiration and shows that Zhao Ziyang's ability was widely acknowledged. Today his talents are even more clearly revealed to us, especially, as we mentioned before, his adaptability. If Zhao Ziyang, now in command of the state council, is able under the new political conditions to heed the opinions of Chinese and foreign experts, if he is able to use correct judgment in assessing capitalist and socialist institutions, being eclectic in selecting their good points and rejecting their shortcomings, and march forward on a Chinese road to building up the country, this already would be a very good fortune for China indeed. However, this is nothing but our subjective wish. Whether Zhao Ziyang, objectively, will conform to our subjective wish, only the future will allow this conclusion.

Secondly, it is said that Zhao Ziyang is a member of the Mao Zedong party, a member of the communist party which is basically acting in the old, rigid ways, the party of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zodong Thought, which is all incompatible with modernizations. Zhao Ziyang in this sense is also a man of the rigid old ideology.

Let me refer you to recent speeches by Zhao Ziyang: "To uphold the four basic principles, to eliminate interferences from right and left, to progress in the emancipation of our minds, to preserve stability and unity, these are the most important preconditions for the effective realization of the four modernizations to be achieved by dedicating heart and soul to the cause, by going all out in our efforts and by concentrating all our energy on the task." "The great achievements in our socialist revolution and in our socialist construction over the last 30 years have been accomplished by upholding the four basic principles. Now that we can summarize past experiences and lessons in working for the four modernizations, we shall also rely on the strength of the four basic principles." "We must preserve the authority of the party, preserve the trust in the collective leadership of the party committees." "We must resolutely suppress sabotage by all kinds of anti-socialist elements. Social chaos would result if we do not meet out punishment to that small group of bad people who oppose the leadership of the party, who vainly attempt to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and try to destroy the socialist system."

Does this not sound like the typical ultra-leftist stereotype full of the spirit of the "gang of four?"

There is reason in asking this question. Zhao Ziyang is indeed a member of the Chinese communist party, furthermore a typical member of the Chinese communist party Mao Zedong-style. The other Chinese communist leaders are also all this type of party members. They look upon the guidance of the party, the authority of the party, the interests of the party (the exclusive benefits from the one-party system) as their very life, as a holy inviolate dogma. This dogma must not be doubted or disputed. The four basic principles cannot pass the test of practice but they are still to maintain the "correct standpoint." The only possible way therefore is to designate this dogma as a forbidden zone and to turn the dogma into something like a divine revelation and holy bible.

Zhao Ziyang will speak in this manner and the other leaders will also speak in this manner. It expresses the true nature of the party spirit of the communist party member. Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, the "gang of four," Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping... they are all imbued with this "true nature." Party spirit is the common nature of the communist party, but the party members are also human beings, each with his individuality. Due to their differences in historical experiences, backgrounds and ideological conditions, there sprang up a much more vivid and lively political situation, once the mythical fetters of Mao Zedong were thrown off and after the emancipation of minds. As a consequence, new theories (formulations) and new measures of reform were set forth. We have already emphasized Zhao's commendable quality of daring "to take the first step." If Zhao would also be able and willing in future to maintain the spirit and muster the courage of "taking a first step," this would already be an extraordinary achievement. More "first steps forward" will bring more reforms, more progress and probably more improvements in the livelihood of the people.

To Be Considered Conclusions

Our inquiry into Zhao Ziyang can only say: this is what he was, this is what he is now and this is what he will "possibly" be like in future, but there cannot be certainty in our predictions.

If 9 years ago, at the time of the "gang of four," someone would have expressed the hope that the CCP would come up with something like the present political theories (negating the cultural revolution, dedeification of Mao Zedong, democracy as objective, improvement of the livelihood of the people as objective of production development, etc.) or if someone would have predicted the present reforms, it would all have been considered the fantasies of a madman, impossible of realization. In the end, people now regard it as a possibility that originally had been extant and accept it as a natural development. If someone would now suggest that the CCP will institute supervisory controls by the people and a genuine democracy, this would similarly be regarded as the views of a cloistered bookworm who engages in wishful thinking. If tomorrow these ideas would become reality, then of course all those post-factum theoretists will dig out a thousand reasons in proof of the inevitability of these developments.

Be sure not to mistake and not to interpret this writer as believing that the Chinese communists will on their own initiative lay down their butcher knives and immediately turn into Buddhas, or that they will, on their own initiative, hand the government over to the people or relinquish their exclusive benefits from their one-party rule.

The opinion of this writer is that all things in the world are subject to change. Changes may go against the wishes of the people but may also go in conformity with the wishes of the people. The Chinese communists could possibly slide further down along the dictatorial road of Mao Zedong, hostile to the people, or they could possibly advance on the broad road of people's democracy.

In the opinion of this writer, if the Chinese communists would slide down further toward dictatorship this would be a conscious move in conformity with their natural instincts. Any move toward the people could only be a passive move under compulsion.

It cannot be denied that the general tendency of the Chinese communists after the overthrow of the "gang of four" was toward the people. What compelled the Chinese communists to move in the direction of the people? It was an effect of the communist party itself and the great calamity of Mao Zedong and the "gang of four." It was the conservative force that stood in the way of progress. It was the rapid decline witnessed in the various socialist countries of the world. It was the capitalist world that was still full of vitality although Marx had condemned it to death. It was the present high degree of technological achievements in the capitalist world, its high level of material civilization and high degree of democracy. It was pressure from the upsurge of democratic ideology in the world and pressure of foreign press opinion on the Chinese communists. All these factors caused the Chinese communists to sober up somewhat. The Chinese communists had already by themselves turned into a blind alley. To retreat from this alley would be the way toward a people's world. As it looks now it seems the Chinese communists are still wavering undecidedly at the entrance of the blind alley. To induce the Chinese communists to retreat from the blind alley would need strengthening all those factors that would be apt to bring them back to reason and motivate them to reform, particularly strengthening the internal democratic forces, in order to compel the Chinese communists to tend toward the people, to make common cause with the people, to capitualte to the people.

It is from this viewpoint that this writer has analyzed Zhao's characteristics and his trends of thought, adding speculations about his future actions.

In the past there has never been a savior, the people had to rely on their own strength to save themselves. The future of our fatherland and the well-being of its people can be only secured by having the people rely on their own strength. It would be unrealistic to entrust all hopes on a particular individual or a particular party. The country is the people's country, it does not belong to any particular individual or any particular political party!

19 August 1980

8453
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF PROPER TRAINING FOR YOUNG WORKERS STRESSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 80 p 2

[Article: "Looking at the Mainstream of the Young Generation"]

[Text] In a seminar on political thought work held jointly by the No 1 Bureau of the Machine-Building Industry and the National Machinery Association, a factory in Beijing told of its activities regarding the thinking of its young workers and its incentive program.

The number of young workers (under 28 years old) in the factory is 3,548, comprising 48.3 percent of the factory's total. In a few major production divisions, their proportion is even greater: 60 percent in the mechanical and metallic engineering divisions, and over 70 percent in the steel division. There are a total of 1,045 team members in the factory. They make up about 15 percent of the total number of workers, or 29.4 percent of all young workers in the factory. This means that educating young workers is a very important part of political thought work.

The number of young workers continues to increase. Under the guidance of the party and team organizations of various levels, and having, gone through the training and examination of the programs in the factory, 277 comrades have joined the Chinese Communist Party. This group comprises 8 percent of the factory's young workers. Some 388 comrades have been selected and trained as management cadres in divisions and laboratories; they make up 11 percent of all young factory workers. In addition, 24 comrades have been promoted to middle-level leadership cadres. Last year, 1,151 young workers were named advanced workers; they comprised 46.3 percent of all advance workers in the factory. In addition, 243 comrades (or 7 percent of the total) have successfully gained entrance into universities or the workers' college organized by the factory. There are a total of 646 group and team leaders in all the divisions of the factory, and 23 percent of them (193 persons) are young people who have joined the plant since 1970. Take the steel division, for example: most of the boiler leaders are high school graduates who have joined the factory since 1970.

As the above figures show, young workers occupy a very important role. They not only constitute a major labor force in production, but they have become a main force in the plant as a whole.

Of course, we can see from the survey below that during the 10 years of destruction brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," crimes committed by the young workers in the factory were shocking.

The factory conducted a survey and received 482 unsigned reports. Some of the questionnaires were fully answered, while others were only partially completed. Some respondents gave more than one answer to a question. Hence, it is impossible to calculate percentages. Nevertheless, after some grouping and organization, we can still gage the minds of the young workers in the factory.

Question 1 in the survey was: What are you most concerned about? Some 315 persons replied that they were most concerned about what would become of China. They wanted the four modernizations to be realized, and they wanted their factory to become an advanced organization. Another 141 persons said that they were most concerned about their promotion, salary, and fringe benefits, while 26 replied that they were not concerned about anything at all.

Question 2 in the survey was: What are you most interested in? Some 254 respondents said that they were most interested in science and technology, cultural knowledge, social unity and stability, pragmatism, moral integrity, and altruism. Another 58 said that they were most interested in a quiet life and a satisfactory job; 39 were interested in democracy, freedom, music, travel, free time, life in general, and good friends; 18 were interested in themselves and their sons and daughters; and 57 expressed no interests whatsoever.

Question 3 was: What do you detest most? Some 334 replied that they detested Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for destroying social stability and unity. Another 95 detested incorrect attitudes within the party, special privileges and favors, and the bureaucratic mentality. A total of 32 detested people who live on socialism but do nothing and remain idle. 5 persons said that they detested war, disease, and inflation; while 13 did not care.

Question 4 was: What are your most pressing needs? Question 5 was: What are your major problems? Some 244 replied that they were in need of knowledge and expertise, educational opportunities offered by the factory, strong willpower and perseverance, a nice learning environment, and plenty of time. Another 99 said that they wanted a house, money, and a mate, while 35 respondents expressed no desire for anything. With reference to major problems in life, 237 cited lack of knowledge and leisure time, the housing shortage, crowding on public transportation, the inability to secure adequate furniture, no money and no suitable mate. Another 242 said that their major problems were separation from their spouse owing to different work locations, chronic illness, dissatisfaction with their work, and spiritual emptiness; 78 did not report any problems.

Question 6 was: What do you do during your leisure time? We can see from the answers to this question that 245 make use of their leisure time learning science, technology, culture, foreign languages, and literature. Some 134 spend their leisure time doing housework, laundry, cooking, taking care of their children, and making their own furniture; 52 spend their time watching television and movies; 75 replied that they do not do anything.

Question 7 was: Do you think that the four modernizations can be realized? A total 337 said that they were hopeful and expressed confidence; 55 persons said that there were many difficulties and gaps and that they were not optimistic; while some respondents considered the question poorly devised and said they could not give a definite answer.

Question 8 was: What do you think are the major stumbling blocks for the four modernizations? Some 146 identified problems such as the low level of technology, bad management, and the lack of experts. Another 152 cited problems such as bureaucratic attitudes, work inefficiency, and the inertia of old and undesirable work habits. Still another 46 mentioned the bad influences left behind by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the lack of social stability and unity, while 68 said that they were unable to answer the question and did not give any specific answers.

Question 9 was: Are you willing to work at this factory? And why? Some 240 replied in the affirmative, 43 were satisfied with their work assignments, and 122 replied in the negative. Among the latter group, 76 were dissatisfied with long commuting hours and traffic inconvenience, 12 were dissatisfied with the leadership and the latter's inability to adjust to changing conditions, 7 considered their work environment too polluted, and 6 were unable to adjust to working in three shifts.

Question 10 was: Do you wish to join the Communist Party? A total of 314 replied that they strongly desired party membership and were actively seeking this status, while 79 expressed a lack of interest or loss of interest. Some did not give a definite answer to this question.

We can clearly see from the survey that the quality of our young workers as a whole is fine. Their mental outlook is basically stable, and their overall development tendencies are for the good. The overwhelming majority of young workers are deeply fond of the party, socialism, and the country. They demand progress and are concerned about politics, the collective life, and the productivity of the factory. Only a minority are lacking in ambitions or spritual good health or are pursuing the capitalistic way of life.

How do we monitor our activities based on the characteristics of the young workers?

The factory closely coordinates the changing work foci of the party. It holds fast to the goals of educating the majority of team members and young workers on the four basic principles and communist morality. The factory actively mobilizes team members and young people to acquire cultural knowledge and scientific technology, to make innovations, and to offer their youth for realizing the four modernizations. At the same time, the factory sponsors cultural activities for young workers in order to enrich their life during their leisure time.

In a meeting organized by the team committee of the factory to celebrate the "Deeds of the 1980's" and the pursuit of the five goods, an award was presented to team member Niu Linghua [3663 3781 5478], a young worker at the factory and a member of the Chinese Communist Youth League. She was praised for her altruistic behavior in twice donating blood and saving the life of a child at the risk of aggravating her own poor health. She received an honorary citation and was presented with a symbolic red flower.

Since the creation of the incentive program, the overwhelming majority of team members and young workers have been enthusiastically participating in the various activities organized by the teams. Up to this time, 957 team workers have received awards. A total of 1,467 awards have been granted. Based on statistics, by dint of hard work and devotion over the past 6 months, the team members and young workers of the factory have generated 12,000 yuan by recycling used iron and steel and metallic and other raw materials. Their efforts in repair and equipment renewal brought in a total income of 15,543 yuan. They introduced 54 technical programs and carried out into fruition 35 practical proposals.

After receiving the citation for rescuing the life of a child with the blood she donated, Comrade Niu Linghua successfully carried out two technological programs in the refining group and received two additional awards. Although she is only a high school graduate, she studied diligently, learned from the old workers, weathered many difficult problems, and finally resolved the problem of the corrosion of salt baths and flanges. In so doing, she has filled a gap in the production process and quaranteed the quality of products in her group.

While promoting their activities on "Deeds in the 1980's", the factory also pays attention to organizing activities which cater to the cultural life of the young workers. The team committee has sponsored contests in chess, go, and Chinese chess; two technology film shows; sports events and variety shows; and a spring tour to Xi Shan for more than 200 team cadres and workers who had received awards. In mid-July, the factory organized a summer camp at Fang Shan for team members and young workers who had received awards. The various grassroots branch committees have also organized activities such as gala shows, music festivals, film shows, operas, and various ball and chess games. Recently, with the strong support of the union, the factory sponsored the first calligraphy, art, and photography exhibition, which received a favorable response. The development of these activities has furthered enlivened the young workers, increased the attractiveness of the factory, and delighted the team members and young workers.

9471
CSO: 4005

LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR CHINESE CITIZENSHIP EXPLAINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 80 p 5

[Article by Gong Qiuxiang [7895 4428 4382], "The Principal Basis in Handling the Citizenship Question"]

[Text] Citizenship is the legal qualification of an individual to become a citizen of a state. It is a prerequisite to determining whether a citizen is entitled to enjoy rights and to be subject to the responsibilities of that state, and it is the legal basis for a state to afford diplomatic protection to its citizens residing abroad. The citizenship question is in principle a matter that falls within the realm of national sovereignty. Possession, acquisition, loss, and restoration of citizenship are regulated by domestic law. At present, most countries of the world have their own individual laws concerning nationality.

Today, the nationality laws prevailing in every country generally provide two principal rules for the acquisition of citizenship--i.e., citizenship acquired by birth or by naturalization. Citizenship by birth is also called original citizenship of a country. The principles adopted by each country to determine the citizenship of an individual by birth are not in conformity. Some of the countries adopt the rule of "law of blood" [jus sanguinis], whereby a child's citizenship is determined by his parents' nationality, regardless of his place of birth; some other countries adopt the rule of "law of the soil" [jus soli], which provides that any person born within a country's boundaries is a citizen of that country, regardless of the nationality of his parents; and still other countries adopt the principle of combining both "law of blood" and "law of the soil." The trend is for most countries to adopt both "law of blood" and "law of the soil" simultaneously.

In the past, our country has traditionally adopted the principle of "law of blood." Based on the experience of practice over the past years and the situation newly emerged, and in consideration of the trends developed in most countries regarding the handling of the citizenship question, the Nationality Law which our country has laid down at present adopts the principle of combining both "law of blood" and "law of the soil." Articles 4, 5, and 6 of the Nationality Law are concrete reflections of the principle mentioned above.

Article 7 of the "Nationality Law" of our country stipulates: "A foreign national or a stateless individual who is willing to obey the Constitution and laws of China, and who meets one of the conditions below, may apply for Chinese citizenship:

1. He is an immediate relative of a Chinese; 2. He is a resident of China; or 3. He has other justifiable reasons." In general, the nationality laws of every country take the marriage of one of its citizens to a citizen of a foreign nation as an important case for acquisition of citizenship, and a specific stipulation has been provided for it. According to the practice of our country, foreign citizens are not eligible automatically to become citizens of China simply because they are married to Chinese citizens. However, according to our Nationality Law, in such cases they will become "immediate relatives of Chinese nationals," and thereby they are qualified to apply for Chinese citizenship.

Another fundamental principle followed by our Nationality Law is nonrecognition of dual citizenship. This is a consistent position of our government and a very important experience in practice. As early as the 1950's, Premier Zhou Enlai and other leaders stated their position on this principle. This principle has also been reaffirmed many times in communiques on occasions of the establishment of diplomatic relations with countries and in other documents. This principle has provided a strong basis for properly resolving the problem of dual nationality, which is a legacy of history, with countries concerned, and for avoiding the recurrence of the problem of dual nationality. At present, the issue of resolving and preventing dual nationality is still relatively outstanding. For this, the nationality law of the People's Republic of China has, on the basis of past experience, further provided the following specific stipulations: 1. A Chinese citizen residing abroad who voluntarily becomes naturalized in another country will automatically lose his Chinese citizenship. 2. An individual whose parents, or one of whose parents, is a Chinese citizen, and who resides in a foreign country where he is born with citizenship of that country by birth [jus soli], does not have Chinese nationality. 3. One who has gotten approval to take or to restore Chinese citizenship is not allowed to retain his citizenship in a foreign country. Over the past years, we have discovered through practice that some Chinese citizens residing on Chinese territory have secured passports from foreign countries, and have asked for treatment equal to that accorded to foreign nationals, prior to their renouncing their Chinese citizenship. The situation has caused confusion in the handling of the citizenship question. As a result, the "Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China" explicitly stipulates: An individual has "Chinese citizenship if one of his parents is a Chinese citizen and he himself was born in China. Dual nationality of a Chinese citizen is not recognized. Should a Chinese citizen wish to become a foreign national, he has to file a petition to renounce his Chinese citizenship, and the petition must be approved. Such a stipulation helped us abolish dual nationality.

According to the fundamental spirit of the Nationality Law and the persistent policies of our government, we support and encourage overseas Chinese residing abroad to voluntarily acquire citizenship of their country of residence. We hope that they will enjoy the same rights and be subject to the same responsibilities which the country of residence has accorded to their own nationals, and that they may make a contribution to the prosperity and progress of the country of residence. Overseas Chinese who already are citizens of their country of residence automatically lose their Chinese citizenship. Meanwhile, in order to respect the desires of those overseas Chinese who do not become citizens of a foreign country, we do not prefer to force them to change their nationality. As for those overseas Chinese who voluntarily desire to retain their Chinese citizenship, we encourage them to obey the laws and regulations of the government of their country of residence, to respect local customs and practices, and to get along well with local people, in order to make great efforts to promote friendship between China and their country of residence. Of course, the government of the country of residence should also be requested to protect their legitimate rights and interests. The Government of China has the responsibility to afford diplomatic protection of the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese. Such provision is in conformity with the basic interests of the masses of overseas Chinese, is helpful in resolving the problem of dual nationality among overseas Chinese, which is a legacy of history, and is useful in improving and promoting friendly relations between our country and the countries concerned.

Provisions also are provided in the Nationality Law of our country to reduce and abolish statelessness. A stateless individual is a person who is not a citizen of any country. There are some people in our country who are stateless or are of unknown nationality, but they are only a handful. In order to reduce and abolish this phenomenon, so that they may enjoy the same rights and be subject to the same responsibilities as other Chinese citizens, Article 6 of the "Nationality Law" stipulates: "An individual whose parents are stateless or are of undetermined nationality but who reside in China, and he himself is born in China, has Chinese citizenship." It also provides that a stateless person may apply for Chinese citizenship if he meets certain stipulated conditions.

The promulgation of the "Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China" enables us hereafter to have a strong legal basis in carrying on negotiations with foreign countries for the purpose of handling the citizenship question. However, in view of the complexity of the citizenship question itself, which involves relations between one country and another, it is certain that, in the process of handling the citizenship question in a practical manner in the future, a variety of problems will be unavoidable. This situation requires us to do our job by continuously summing up experiences.

9560
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS HAVE PROPER RIGHT TO FILE NEWS REPORTS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Guarantee the Proper Right of Newspaper Correspondents to File News Reports"]

[Text] In XINWEN ZHANXIAN [NEWS FRONT] No 9, just published, there is an article entitled, "Such a Thing Happened." The article states that after Comrade Song Maopang [1345 5399 1690], a cadre of the Production Division of the Shanxi Provincial Agricultural Committee, had given reporters a briefing on the fact that agricultural cadres in the province had studied an editoral of RENMIN RIBAO about moving water from west to east in Xiyang, he was dogged by an invertigation without any reason by some leading personnel of the provincial agricultural committee, with the result that Comrade Song suffered cerebral angiospasm caused by high blood pressure.

The fact is that, after RENMIN RIBAO on 15 June of this year published an editorial, "Never Do Such a Stupid Thing as 'Move Water from West to East' Again," and then a report, "Work of 'Moving Water from West to East' in Xiyang Suspended," a majority of agricultural cadres and workers in Shanxi Province studied and discussed them in earnest. They all said that the editorial had grasped the vital point about paternalistic rule and had spoken out on what the masses of people had intended to say for many years but dared not. In order that everyone will learn a lesson from this "stupid thing," Comrade Song Maopang, who was responsible for collecting information on the discussion and writing briefings, gave the first briefing to reporters of XINHUA's branch office and SHANXI RIBAO. He was following the suggestion of Comrade Zhao Lizhi [6392 0500 0037], director of the Provincial Agricultural Committee. On the basis of the briefing, a news article written by SHANXI RIBAO, and screened and signed by relevant leading personnel of the Provincial Party Committee, was published as the first article on the front page of the newspaper on 2 July. It was beyond all expectation that such a good thing should have offended certain persons on the Provincial Agricultural Committee. On the morning of the same day, after learning the news from a broadcast, a deputy director of the Provincial Agricultural Committee wrote a note to a deputy chief of the Production Division to the effect that this article was a violation of the guiding ideology of the party organization of the agricultural committee, and that it had been [written] "for the purpose of venting one's spleen." The deputy chief called in Comrade Song Maopang twice for talks, once in the morning and once that same afternoon. He persistently asked: "Who leaked the briefing? With whose permission?" He said that this was "an attempt to get the news first," "furtile help for the provincial party committee," "stirring up trouble," "forcing the leading personnel of the Provincial Party Committee to sign," etc., thus applying pressure to Comrade Song Maopang. Comrade Song could not be convinced by the investigation and went to see the deputy chief to voice his opinion the next day. He also requested verification of the contents of the talk of the previous day. The deputy chief erupted into a furious rage and said that Song Maopang had intended to stir up an incident in the Provincial Agricultural Committee.

The article also told how certain leading personnel on the Provincial Agricultural Committee had purposely caused difficulties without any reason for reporters of SHANXI RIBAO because they were doing some related reporting on the matter and had also made a review of the deputy director and deputy chief of the Provincial Agricultural Committee. But it did not make clear the condition of the problem.

At the same time that XINWEN ZHANXIAN published this article, it also published a brief comment entitled, "The Proper Rights of Newspaper Correspondents Are Not To Be Infringed Upon." It pointed out: "Party newspaper correspondents were doggedly investigated because they had filed news reports through proper channels in order to uphold the party's and people's benefits. It is really surprising that this should have happened now, when the Party Central Committee has called over and over again for restoration of the party's fine tradition, and at a time when guiding principles for political life within the party are being carried out thoroughly, and especially that this should have happened in the leading organization at the provincial level and among the responsible cadres themselves! This indicates that certain comrades, even while they are talking about expanding democracy, are suppressing it by their action; while talking about upholding the prestige of the party and party organizations, they are weakening the party's leadership and lowering the prestige of the party by their actions. This is a matter worthy of the people's attention." The comment also pointed out: The fact that cadres and the masses file news reports to party newspapers is one of the important items of democracy within the party and of socialist democracy. It is one of the important rights protected by the party constitution and the laws of the nation, and it is absolutely not to be infringed upon. In this respect, it is the glorious responsibility of our party's news units to give the working personnel and the majority of news correspondents of party newspapers our constant, resolute, and forceful support.

9503
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

KANG SHENG DEBUNKED AS SELF-SERVING MOUNTEBANK

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Wang Tzukai [3739 1311 1956]: "On Kang Sheng's 'The Highest and Ultimate Criterion'"]

[Text] On the question of the standard of truth, the trumpeter of "Liang Ge Fan Shi" [Chairman Mao's collected writings] the touchstone for the standard of truth. After a 2 year debate on this erroneous way of thinking people are beginning to understand the absurdity and danger of that idea. However, there are still those who have yet to realize that the perpetrator of such an outrageous idea is none other than the eminent "master theoretician" Kang Sheng himself.

It was on 4 January 1960 that Kang Sheng first said, "Make the Chairman's thoughts the highest and ultimate criterion," adding: "This in itself is correct, but it is not good to bruit it about." To say that it is "correct" to "make the Chairman's thoughts the highest and ultimate criterion" is to say that Mao Zedong Thought should be made the touchstone for the standard of truth, that it is not only "the highest criterion" but also "the ultimate criterion," and that by inference it is the only criterion. When Kang Sheng said that "it is not good to bruit it about," he was merely resorting to duplicity. What he really meant was that his absurd statement should be treated as an "important order" and that it should be promptly spread around. As expected, his "order" was soon relayed down to the lowest echelons of party members and party cadres at the Central Communist Party School, who forthwith made it a topic for discussion. Thereupon, Kang Sheng, who had said that "it should not be bruited about," not only offered no objection, but made no attempt to head it off. Not only that, but he himself made assiduous efforts to sell the idea by spreading it far and wide. It was he himself who ordered students at the Central Communist Party School to examine their attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought from the "high point" that it "represents the highest and ultimate criterion," and to "study Mao's writings first before studying the writings of Marx and Lenin." He even made it known that in studying the writings of Marx and Lenin, they should "proceed from Mao Zedong Thought." Those who expressed the slightest doubt or opposition were branded seditious or traitorous persons. For instance, when some comrades raised the question--"How can we proceed from Mao Zedong Thought when "Das Kapital" appeared before Mao Zedong Thought?"--they were castigated as being "opposed to Mao Zedong Thought." Since then, such absurd ideas as "Mao Zedong Thought represents the acme of Marxism-Leninism," "the highest truth," "carry out what is understood and also carry out what is not understood," "every sentence represents the truth, and instructions must be carried out to the letter," and everything "must be done according to a set policy," etc., have come tumbling down in rapid succession. It is clear, therefore, that it was Kang Sheng's theory of "the highest and ultimate criterion" which gave rise to all these absurdities.

By espousing "the highest and ultimate criterion" theory, Kang Sheng has shown what kind of "master theoretician" he was. A rudimentary knowledge of Marxism tells us that it is practice and practice alone that is the criterion for arriving at the truth. Apart from that, as Comrade Mao himself pointed out, "There is no other way of arriving at the truth."

Why, then, did Kang Sheng, the so-called "authority on Marxism," have the temerity to cook up the absurd theory of "the highest and ultimate criterion," in contravention of the basic position of Marxism? Why did such absurdities cast a bewitching spell on such a large number of cadres, so much so that even after the "gang of four" had been smashed, there were still those who continued to espouse the "Liang Ge Fan Shi" theory? The main reason is that Kang Sheng, taking advantage of the infinite confidence and deep affection engendered in the Chinese people by Comrade Mao Zedong and his thought during the extended period of Mao Zedong Thought, and their value as guideposts, with the principle for setting up a criterion for determining the truth.

By making Mao Zedong Thought "the highest and ultimate criterion," Kang Sheng not only violated the basic position of Marxism, but he was also guilty of flagrantly distorting and trampling upon Mao Zedong Thought.

First of all, advocating an absurd theory of this kind was tantamount to twisting Mao Zedong Thought in such a way as to turn it into a rigid body of doctrines completely divorced from practice and from what is proven by practice. At first glance, by making Mao Zedong Thought the "criterion" for arriving at the truth, Kang Sheng appeared to be giving Mao Zedong Thought a "high" rating. Actually, however, he did great damage to the tremendous guiding force of Mao Zedong Thought by turning upside-down the relationship between Mao Zedong Thought and what practice tells us. He had, in short, turned Mao Zedong Thought--which originally was based on practice, which exhorted a resort to practice, and which advocated continued supplementation, rectification, enrichment, and development--into something which is unrelated to practice and which takes precedence over practice. Thus, Mao Zedong Thought would cease to be a living body of theories developed in step with developments evolving from practice. It would be twisted into a body of rigid doctrines which has no relationship to practice and which takes precedence over practice. Mao Zedong Thought would cease to relate to reality and practice, once it ceased to be developed through practice by supplementation, rectification, and enrichment. On the contrary, reality and practice would be pared and shaped to fit Mao Zedong Thought.

Secondly, this "highest and ultimate criterion" theory, much like the "acme" theory espoused by Lin Biao, twisted Mao Zedong Thought into the category of "ultimate truth." According to Marxism, since the objective world continues to evolve and practice never ceases to reveal something new, human understanding must of necessity continue to grow, instead of remaining forever where it is. There is no place for the so-called "ultimate nature" idea in the world. True enough, no contemporary thinker can measure up to the stature and profundity of such spiritual guides of the proletarian revolution as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong. However, due to the limitations imposed by historical factors, their understanding cannot be said to have the attributes of the "ultimate." Marxism-Leninism has not exhausted the truth; it has only pointed the way to seek the truth.

Despite the fact that the idea of the "ultimate" has no validity, all philosophers and thinkers who lived before the advent of Marxism, including the great master Hegel himself, who did so much to develop the idea of dialectics on the basis of idealism, considered their bodies of thought "the ultimate truth." As a group, and without exception, they all fell under the spell of metaphysicism and turned their theories into absurdities. Appraised as the legatees of human culture, Marx and Engels established dialectical materialism, thus bringing to fruition a noble revolution in the history of human knowledge and debunking the entire body of "ultimate truths" as worthless. Marx and Engels, in repeatedly and mercilessly flaying the perpetrators of "the ultimate truth," said that "all the creators of the eternal truth in the past were more or less stupid asses or mountebanks." Nevertheless, Kang Sheng, playing deaf and dumb, arbitrarily adjudged Mao Zedong Thought as "the highest and ultimate criterion." By so doing, he denigrated Mao Zedong Thought to the level of the "ultimate truths" denounced and excoriated by Marx and Engels. In short, he put Mao Zedong Thought in the same class as the outmoded theories and effectively divested them of any revolutionary meaning.

Furthermore, by spewing forth "the highest and ultimate criterion" theory, Kang Sheng dismembered Mao Zedong Thought into fragments of words and phrases, making it a protective shield behind which to peddle his own wares. Kang Sheng never tired of calling Mao Zedong Thought the "highest and ultimate criterion," and yet, what does Mao Zedong Thought mean? To Kang Sheng, there was a great deal of flexibility in interpretation, and he felt free to interpret it in a way that best suited his purpose. What he did was to hack at and dismember the body of Mao Zedong's integrated and scientific thought and to reduce it to unrelated words and phrases. By claiming that Mao Zedong Thought is "the highest and ultimate criterion," he made Mao Zedong's every sentence, every phrase, and every word "the highest and ultimate criterion." Thus he was able to make use of every error or unproven theory of Mao Zedong in pursuing his own nefarious ends. At the same time, taking advantage of his status as an "authority," he felt free to interpret Comrade Mao's every sentence, every phrase, and every word in a way best suited to his own political purposes, and thus to make every sentence, every phrase, and every word of his own "the highest and ultimate criterion." Consequently, his every utterance was taken as a yardstick. If Kang Sheng gave the nod to somebody, that person would go to heaven no matter what a low and dastardly character he might be; but if he turned thumbs down on somebody who was a time-tested proletarian revolutionary, that person would be consigned to purgatory. He made it a practice to represent his own utterances as being those of Comrade Mao Zedong, pulling the wool over the eyes of the people wherever he went, so much so that it became a matter of habit.

Finally, by making Mao Zedong Thought "the highest and ultimate criterion," Kang Sheng actually dealt Comrade Mao the supreme insult. By doing that, he was in effect calling Comrade Mao Zedong a "genius" who knew everything the day he was born, an incomparable "deity" set apart from the human race, a "peculiar person" vested with infallibility. It was Kang Sheng's theory of "the highest and ultimate criterion" that gave rise to the modern superstitions and theories created by the likes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

From a theoretical point of view, the theory of "the highest and ultimate criterion" promoted by Kang Sheng is patently absurd, politically reactionary, and motivated by extreme malice. At the time he was engaged in a struggle with the Trotskyites, Comrade Stalin made a most profound statement. "It has long been a practice," he said, "for the opposition party to sing the praises of Comrade Lenin as the genius of geniuses. The probability is that such laudatory encomiums do not come from the heart and that they merely serve as a cloak for a plot of strategic nature. By calling Comrade Lenin a genius, they are using this as a shield to dissociate themselves from their acts." By vesting Comrade Mao Zedong's theories with absolute authority and by propagating the idea of the so-called "highest and ultimate criterion," Kang Sheng was resorting to the same strategic device. If there was any difference between Kang Sheng and the Trotskyites, it was that, in resorting to such devious strategic devices, he was infinitely more adept, more crafty, and more deceitful than Trotsky. How did Kang Sheng go about playing such tricks? First, by shouting "the highest and ultimate criterion" to the sky, he was posing as a "booster" and a "staunch follower" of Mao Zedong in order to boost his own political capital. Second, by mouthing such theories, he was seeking to distort the substance of the thoughts of Comrade Mao Zedong, to divest them of their revolutionary spirit, and to peddle his own wares as "Mao Zedong Thought." Third, by bandying such theories about, he was using them as a weapon to eliminate and liquidate a large number of verteran cadres and comrades who opposed him, accusing them of being "opposed to Mao Zedong Thought."

By resorting to such a strategem, Kang Sheng was not without some success for a period of time. Didn't he, by "inventing" and "promoting" the so-called "the highest and ultimate criterion" theory, and later, in connivance with Lin Biao and the "gang of four," by promoting such absurd dictums as the "acme," Da Shu Te Shu" [raise high Chairman Mao's authority], "the absolute authority," "each and every word is the truth," and "instructions must be followed to the letter," earn himself a huge share of political capital and propel himself up the ladder of the party? Wasn't he, even after his death, the recipient of the triple laurel as an "authority on the theories of Marxism," a "proletarian revolutionary," and a "glorious warrior against revisionism?" In the hubbub created by such theories, didn't he succeed in liquidating a large contingent of leadership cadres by accusing them of being "opposed to Mao Zedong Thought?" Didn't he, in the midst of the tumult, create a deification campaign and cause a body of modern superstitions to spread like an epidemic across the face of the nation, the calamitous effects of which have yet to be completely eradicated? For this reason, in order to delve into the absurd theories espoused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and to eradicate their poisonous effects, it is absolutely necessary to get at the source of the evil and to rectify their "mentor" and "master theoretician," Kang Sheng, who concocted the theory of "the highest and ultimate criterion."

9621
CSO: 4005

HUMAN RESOURCES SHOULD BE USED WHERE MOST NEEDED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Chen Ziande [7115 6343 1795]: "Rescue the Ox From the Bottom of the Well"]

[Text] The conundrum "When a grown ox falls into a well, all his strength is to no avail" has been going the rounds for ages. As to whether it is possible for an enormous ox to fall into a well, the probability is that nobody has yet given it serious thought.

In the goings-on of society, however, it is a common occurrence for a "grown ox" to fall into a "well." We don't have to look too far back. According to a recent newspaper report, a certain factory had in its employ over 1,000 intellectuals. From a technical standpoint, it might be said to be adequately staffed. However, because there were not enough jobs of a technical nature to go around, at least 80 of the middle and trade school graduates in its employ since 1958 were still assigned to work in the carbarn, and at a time when there was an acute need for technical workers in other units in the vicinity. Although these factories were located in the same area or in the suburbs, it was almost impossible to make the necessary adjustments to remedy the situation, which may be summed up by the saying, "The large factories will not let go of their competent workers, while the smaller factories cry out in vain for capable personnel." Some technical workers vented their feelings by penning the following poem: "All that we have learned over the years has gone to waste. All our aspirirations have gone up in smoke. There's no lack of ambition, but what can we do? What else but to let our learning rot in our bowels?" As a matter of fact, this state of affairs prevails not only in the factories, but also in the scientific and technical, cultural and educational, as well as financial and commercial fields. According to a survey conducted by the concerned parties, there are still many among the 1.2 million scientific and technical workers who have not been assigned jobs commensurate with their talents and who are still "floundering" in the "well." At a time when the four modernizations are in such dire need of the services of a large herd of "vigorous oxen," isn't if a crying shame that there are still so many "oxen" who have no way of putting their assets to proper use? Hence, we must sound a clarion call for the "ox" to be rescued from the bottom of the "well."

Some leadership cadres tend to belittle the situation by saying, "Why make such a fuss? Why turn a frog into an ox?" It may be true, of course, that not all those who have been cast into the "well" are oxen, but it is patently wrong to regard a live "ox" as a "frog." An illustration is not difficult to find. There was a technical worker at a certain large lathe factory who had difficulty being placed in a suitable job and who, in the eyes of those in leadership positions, was rated no higher than a "frog." Two years ago he was, by chance, taken on by another unit on a loan basis. First he was assigned to a herbal factory to assist in introducing technical renovations. It did not take him long to succeed in establishing an automatic assembly line. When he was later assigned to a vegetable-canning factory, he again succeeded in setting up an automatic assembly line for the production of vinegar. This comrade has now been appointed an engineer. This is not an isolated incidence. If we look at it another way, even if this worker was in fact a "frog," he should not have been put at the bottom of the well. True enough, a frog may not be able to pull a plough or a wagon, but it can still be used to catch insects and mosquitoes instead of being left to stagnate at the bottom of the well. Why hasn't this very simple truth been given some serious thought? Those who justify their action in not releasing their able workers tend to ask, "How do we go about diverting one's interest?" By "interest" is meant presumably the consuming passion on the part of the specialist concerned. It is true that, in the past, a large number of comrades who had to give up their special jobs with which they were familiar in order to take on new jobs to meet the needs of the revolution have acquitted themselves creditably. However, our central mission today is the implementation of the four modernizations, which need large numbers of capable workers. Why, then, must we insist that they forsake their special field with which they are familiar and divert their interest to another area? We too, can see that there are many who do not have jobs best suited to their talents and who are not averse to diverting their interest to another field. However, due to the limitations of objective circumstances, many of them merely bide their time without accomplishing anything. There are also those whose hair has turned gray while learning their new jobs. This example of stupidity is like shortening the neck of the crane and stretching that of the owl. However, under the present existing conditions and the guise of "diverting one's interest," it has become commonplace to force Li Kui [2621 6652] to learn embroidery and sewing, to "mobilize" Lin Daiyu [2651 7818 3768] to shoulder a rifle or wield a club, to order Chen Jingrun [7115 2529 3387] to show his skills on the playing field and to "lead" Mu Tiezhu [4476 6993 2691] to scale the heights of mathematics. Such anomalies are so commonplace that it would be laughable if it were not so tragic. The end result is that many talented persons have neglected what they had learned as they get along in years. It is more correct to say that we misuse our talents rather than to say that we cherish our talents. Why don't some of our comrades try to put people in the jobs best suited to their aptitudes, instead of trying to divert their interest?

"This unit needs that person" has become a high-sounding stock answer to all queries. Armed with this signboard, they would sit on the lid of the well, resolutely refusing to let the "ox" out. Two points need to be clarified. First, is it a real need or not? Facts have borne out that the latter is usually the case with many units. Secondly, even if the need is real, the "greater need" of the nation should take precedence over the "smaller need" of a particular unit. The fact that certain units hold on to their people so tenaciously on the basis of "need" may be explained by certain encrusted feudalistic conceptions. As a matter of fact, both the "well" and the "ox" in the well are the property of the people or are collectively owned. However, in the minds of certain comrades on whom feudalistic ideas have taken a firm hold, the "well" seems to have become their private domain, and so much so that it is easier to soar to the heavens than to retrieve the "ox" from the "well." It can be seen, therefore, that in order to save the "ox" it is first necessary to remove the "well cover" of feudalistic conceptions.

The adequate unearthing and development of human resources constitute an urgent mission in the implementation of the four modernizations. At the present time, in order to remedy the enormous waste of talent, it is of crucial importance to bring about reforms in the system and the organization of managerial cadres, so that the leadership may assign proper jobs to the proper persons. As for the "ox" in the "well," it is still possible to take the initiative and to appeal to higher authorities in a positive manner. There is an old saying, "Inequities cry out for redress." If the fine steed under the yoke of the salt wagon had not reared its head and made itself heard, the probability is that it would not have been discovered by Bo Luo [0130 2867]. In my opinion, when all other methods have failed, this may well be the one that will lead to a solution of the problem.

9621
CSO: 4005

'BA YI RADIO' RAPS DENG XIAOPING FOR REPRESSING CRITICISM OF BAOSHAN

OW301213 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] We cannot help objecting to Vice Chairman Deng's severe censure of Comrade He Changgong simply for stating his personal views on the Baoshan steel question. First, we hold that Comrade He Changgong, deputy commandant of the PLA Military Academy, as the deputy of our army to the NPC session, has the right to freely express his views and opinions to state affairs. Second, we must point out that what Comrade He Changgong said voiced the aspirations of our party, our army and the broad masses of our people.

Although opinions presented by Comrade He Changgong and others proposing to put off construction of the Baoshan project because the project is a bottomless pit that cannot be filled no matter how much more money we invest are sharp, they are sincere and practical. [Words indistinct] why should Vice Chairman Deng censure such opinions? Why should discussion on the opinions of He Changgong and others be prohibited? How can we say that Comrade He's opinions are absurd? Why should he be reprimanded for paying more attention to economic work than to military training?

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's criticisms cannot help but remind us of someone who in past years flauted that he had absolute authority and acted imperiously according to his own free will. We are all aware of the castrophe he brought to our nation and to our people. [Words indistinct] To learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, we must conscientiously discuss all complicated and important political and economic issues put forward by the deputies as well as pay attention to listening to the opinions of all comrades, including the deputies of the army.

It is beneficial for us now to recall the struggles of the army deputies in resolutely opposing the erroneous economic line that brought untold misery to the nation and people. More than 20 years ago, in 1959, Marshal Peng Dehua boldly presented his views, pointed out the serious mistakes in economic construction [words indistinct] and proposed to rectify the mistakes and avoid making the same mistakes at the Lusan conference. [Words indistinct] At that time, army deputies like Huang Kecheng [words indistinct] and others also [?supported] Peng. If their opinions had been listened to, the mistake of the great leap forward, which caused heavy losses to the state and unnecessary disasters to the people, could have been averted. Regrettably, those comrades who dared to remonstrate suffered from ruthless attacks and cruel persecution in the years of patriarchal and fascist rule.

Now history has repeated itself, for although the people are allowed to express their views and newspapers carry the readers' letters, excerpts of the criticisms and proposals of the NPC and CPPCC deputies, there are still people who do not respect others' opinions because they are in high positions and possess great power. They even slanderously attack comrades like Deputy Commandant He Changgong who dare to express their views.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

TRIAL TO BEGIN 2 NOV--According to travelers back from Beijing, a rumor has been going in Beijing Municipality in recent days that the trial of the "gang of four" including Jiang Qing will start at zero hour on the morning of 2 November. [Text] [HK290642 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 28 Oct 80 p 4]

LIAONING DEMOCRATIC PARTIES' MEETING--The Liaoning Provincial Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the Provincial Democratic League, the Provincial Democratic National Construction Association, the Provincial Association for Promoting Democracy and the Shenyang Municipal Branch of the Jiusan Society recently held their standing committee meetings or plenary meetings to study ways to implement the guidelines of the third sessions of the Fifth NPC and the Fifth National CPPCC Committee. The participants were inspired by the independent political and organizational rights provided by the constitution. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Oct 80 SK]

LIAONING VISITING DELEGATION--After completing its activities in Xinjiang Autonomous region, the visiting delegation of Liaoning Province for studying the nationality work left Urumqi Municipality by plane on 26 October. The delegation went to Ili, Shihezi, Turpan, Urumqi and other places in the past 15 days, and discussed agricultural production, livestock breeding, and nationality work with people of various nationalities. On the eve of their departure, Vice Chairman A-mu-dong Ni-ya-zi of the Xinjiang Regional People's Government and personnel from other departments concerned paid a visit to all delegation members. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 26 Oct 80 OW]

XINJIANG THEATRICAL DELEGATION--The Xinjiang delegation which took part in the National Minority Theatrical Festival in Beijing returned to Urumqi on 26 October. During the festival members of the delegation were cordially received by Comrade Hua Guofeng and other central leading comrades. The organizers of the festival presented the delegation with 14 tape recorders as prizes. Members of the delegation also received citations and souvenirs. [Urumqi Zinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 27 Oct 80]

XINJIANG WORKERS CONGRESSES--According to the Xinjiang Autonomous Regional Trade Union Council, 113 industrial enterprises in Xinjiang have restored or established the workers' congress system. Long-standing problems concerning enterprise management and improvement of workers' livelihood have been solved at the congresses. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 28 Oct 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI RADIO' SAYS U.S. GIVES PRC MILITARY SECRETS TO TAIWAN

OW051205 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 4 Nov 80

[Text] Intelligence reports received from Taiwan lately have greatly disturbed our army, commanders and fighters alike. They came as a violent shock to our military security personnel. How can Taiwan have access to such a great number of our army's highly classified documents as indicated by the reports? An investigation by agencies concerned revealed that our army's secrets known to the Kuomintang Party in Taiwan are identical to the military information collected in our country by the military delegations from the United States.

It is known to all that Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping issued an instruction early this year after concluding a series of talks with U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown. In order to develop Sino-American military cooperation, his instruction says in effect, we do not have to keep our secrets inaccessible from our American ally even if we do have to pay the total cost. Since Comrade Deng Xiaoping said this, the gate to our army's important secrets has opened to the United States.

A U.S. military technology delegation led by Dr William J. Perry, undersecretary of defense, visited our country in September. Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping also took part in the talks with the visiting delegation and authorized them to tour our military-industrial centers. Thus, these Americans had every single detail of our [words indistinct] medium-range guided-missile proving grounds. They also visited our Shenyang Aircraft Manufacturing Plant, Xian Air Force plane engine factory, and the Shanghai Aeronautic and Space Flight Equipment Manufacturing Plant. Each visit lasted several hours. Moreover, the delegation even heard briefings at these military-industrial installations on our new technology, equipment production plans and trial production of a number of new weapons.

The U.S. military technology delegation was given a complete set of reference materials and blueprints of a new type of supersonic intercepter at the Shenyang Aircraft Manufacturing Plant. They were briefed on the instruments and equipment made in Shanghai for our manmade satellites, guided missiles, fighter planes, naval vessels and submarines and personally inspected these items displayed for them during their visit. Occasions like this disclosure of our military secrets were numerous.

People cannot help but ask why Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping authorized the Americans access to our army's secrets? Was it, perhaps, a necessary move toward the establishment of mutual trust between China and the United States so that the American leaders would authorize sales of their most sophisticated arms, military equipment and technology to our country as they would to their reliable, close friends?

But many developments lately indicate that Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping's wishful thinking has turned out to be a pipedream. The United States still has refused to sell its new weapons and military technology or equipment to China. Our obsolete military hardware items still remain out of date. At the same time, however, the United States has shipped to Taiwan large quantities of its most up-to-date armaments, equipment and new military technology. Still worse, the Americans have transferred to the Kuomintang the important secret military information they collected in our country. This is an open secret known to all.

Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping has obstinately pushed the policy of carrying out Sino-American military cooperation at all costs in order to usher in so called "broad vistas" for our army. He has been doing his utmost in peddling friendship with the United States, bringing only bad consequences to our country, consciously or unconsciously, Deng Xiaoping is pursuing a line that betrays the interests of our country, our army and the people of all the nationalities throughout China.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'RADIO BA YI' CRITICIZES 'UNJUST' PURGES OF PLA CADRES

OW280515 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 27 Oct 80

[Text] Most members of leading bodies of the whole army, including the defense ministry, headquarters, arms of services and military regions and districts are currently old cadres. Very few are middle-aged or young cadres who, because of the limitations of objective conditions in the past, have a rather low cultural level and poor scientific and technical knowledge. This has naturally affected the needs of army building and war preparedness. Therefore, to speed up the pace of promoting middle-aged and young cadres, so that army leading posts will be filled by younger cadres, is indeed the central issue in army building at present.

However, one should not attack or purge in disguised form the older generation of army cadres under the pretext of bringing a younger generation of cadres into the army. Since the downfall of the gang of four, there have been three major purges against army cadres. It has been proved through investigation that 68 percent of those (?purged) are innocent and only (?40) percent of those purged are partially responsible for certain cases. Before the problems involving these comrades are settled, new unjust purges are under way.

Vice Chairman Deng recently stressed that those cadres who were promoted during the cultural revolution should come under careful examination, those who gained their prominence by relying on the rebels or during the "three-support, two-military" campaign cannot return to leading posts, and those who have already been given promotions should be dismissed without delay. Comrade Zhao Ziyang also said that those who do not harbor bitter hatred toward Lin Biao and the gang of four cannot assume important leading posts, not even leading posts in general. At an organizational work conference of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang said that those who gained their prominence by attacking people, or who ruthlessly attacked people during the cultural revolution must be relieved from their posts without delay. All these remarks have created grave confusion in the army's work on cadres. Cadres departments in many military organizations and PLA units, out of fear that they may once again be charged with providing shelter for [word indistinct] criminals, have (?urged) those army cadres who took part in the "three-support, two-military" campaign to retire, transferred them to civilian jobs, dismissed or even purged them.

What's worse is that some organizations directly under the PLA air force and navy, the Shenyang PLA units and the Beijing PLA units, have, without the approval of the

Party Central Committee's military commission, prepared a public trial of the so-called remnants of the Lin Biao-gang of four clique even before the start of the public trial of the clique. Small wonder, many cadres are worried by the public trial of the Lin Biao-gang of four clique and are overtly and covertly boycotting the trial. All this cannot but undermine stability and unity within the army and adversely affect army building.

It should be pointed out that certain principal leaders of the Party Central Committee regard the army's participation in the past "three-support, two-military" campaign as a grave crime. They have taken to heart the fact that, while they were persecuted by Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng during the cultural revolution, the armymen were basically free from persecution because of Lin Biao's protection. May we ask: Is it the army's fault that the attacks on army cadres were relatively less serious during the cultural revolution? Why is it necessary to purge army cadres time and again? Can these leaders of the Party Central Committee vent their anger by purging army cadres? The total number of army cadres purged in the past 3 years since the downfall of the gang of four is more than 10 times that purged in the 10 chaotic years. Is this a normal phenomenon?

It is a fact that many leading comrades in the Party Central Committee were persecuted by Mao Zedong, Kang Sheng and the gang of four during the cultural revolution. This is the reason why the scheduled public trial of the gang of four has been supported by the whole party and the people of the whole country. However, after one takes power, is he then justified to follow Kang Sheng and the gang of four in persecuting army cadres?

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'RADIO BA YI' CRITICIZES PERSECUTION OF PLA LEADERS

OW020343 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 1 Nov 80

[Text] It is very natural for the masses of commanders and fighters throughout the army to be concerned with the trial of the former leaders of our army. Over the past 50 years since the founding of our army in 1927, this is the first time that high-ranking leaders, chiefs of staff, and commanders of military districts and various services and arms of the Chinese People's Liberation Army have been brought to trial. Fighting south and north at the risk of their own lives, those senior officers of our army indeed devoted themselves completely to the revolutionary cause throughout several decades of fighting. It is very difficult to convince people that these PLA leaders were involved in so-called counterrevolutionary activities some 20 years after victory in revolution. Only a handful of persons in the whole army believe that these leaders of our army represent a counterrevolutionary clique. According to a document submitted to the military commission of the Party Central Committee in December 1979 by the PLA general political department, nearly 98 percent of cadres at and above the army level were not convinced by the charges imposed upon the PLA leaders by the gang of four in 1973 and 1974, as well as other accusations lodged against them at the pretrial that was held after the downfall of the gang of four; some 90 percent of cadres at the divisional level were not convinced; nearly 82 percent of cadres at regimental and battalion levels were not convinced; 68 percent of cadres at company and platoon levels were not convinced; and no more than 60 percent of the fighters in general were convinced.

In view of this situation, all these questions--whether or not the trial of former PLA leaders conforms to the principles of democracy and the legal system, whether or not individual responsibility can be determined in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, whether or not the accused are to be allowed to defend themselves, whether or not the groundless charges imposed upon the PLA leaders by the gang of four can be reversed in accordance with the resolution adopted by the party's third plenary session, and whether or not innocent victims can be rehabilitated--have indeed a direct bearing on the stability and unity within the army, the prestige of the Party Central Committee and the military commission of the Party Central Committee, as well as on the faith of the army's commanders and fighters in the principal leading personnel of the central authorities and the military commission of the Party Central Committee.

However, we must pay attention to the fact that the 16th session of the NPC Standing Committee has appointed Comrade Shi Jinqian, deputy director of the PLA General

Political Department, as deputy director of a special procuratorate, appointed Comrade Wu Xiuquan, deputy chief of general staff of the PLA, as vice president of a special court and concurrently chief judge of the second tribunal, and appointed Comrade Huang Yukun deputy chief judge of the second tribunal. They are responsible for prosecuting and trying the former PLA leaders who are involved in the case of Lin Biao. But this work has encountered a series of deliberate acts or interference. First of all, that principal responsible member of the CCP Central Committee and its military commission has insisted on handling the PLA's leading personnel (?on the same footing) as the gang of four and their company during the trial. Since the NPC Standing Committee has already appointed the personnel for both prosecution and trial, decisions should be made independently by those comrades. But, the fact is that Comrade Wu Xiuquan must report to Vice Chairman Deng on progress in handling the case almost daily and request his supreme instructions. Therefore, the entire case is actually being handled on the basis of individual decisions rather than the legal system.

A correct attitude should be maintained toward Huang Yongsheng, who has denied his original confession. Facts show that many charges against him were fabricated by Kang Sheng and the gang of four, and that his case is the outcome of [words indistinct] by the special investigation group of the central organs. Since we must act in accordance with law, Huang Yongsheng should be allowed to defend himself. Furthermore, it is ridiculous to accuse a man like Huang Yongsheng for plotting an armed rebellion against Chairman Mao, because he has closely followed Chairman Mao for several decades since the (?rebellion in south Anhui).

What truly puzzles people is the fact that Vice Chairman Deng has completely overthrown the views, deeds and conclusions drawn by Chairman Mao after 1957. However, with regard to the various charges against the leaders of our army fabricated by the gang of four, Vice Chairman Deng has tried all possible means to add more charges instead of giving permission to correct and overthrow them.

CSO: 4005

TYPES OF MINES, DETONATORS DIAGRAMED

Beijing BINGQI ZHISHI (ORDNANCE KNOWLEDGE) in Chinese No 2, 1980 pp 19-21

[Article by Wang Weice (3769 0251 4595): "Mines and Detonators"]

[Text] The Function of Mines

Mines, as a weapon, played an important role in the battlefield very early in history. As far back as the Sung Dynasty, mines were used to kill and wound the enemy. In recent years, our nation's people have utilized mines in many curious ways during several revolutionary wars causing much hardship for the invaders and reactionary elements. The movie "Mine War" vividly describes the history of the heroic civil defense soldiers who coordinated with the main forces and used mines to strike at the Japanese invaders. The mine war was well known throughout East Asia and the Japanese invaders were scared. As military technology developed, the function of mines has become increasingly important. It is a powerful weapon to kill and wound soldiers, it can also destroy and incapacitate the moving fortresses on land--tanks. In the battlefield of the Korean War, the heroic Chinese People's Volunteer Army used anti-tank mines to destroy many American armored vehicles. The squads of military engineers of the People's Liberation Army also scored victoriously by using mines in the battle against social imperialist invasion of Zhen Bao Island.

At present, the world's nations are paying more attention to the development and deployment of mines. This also shows that in modern warfare, mines are a very important weapon. According to statistics, during World War II, almost 1/4 of the tanks lost by the British Army was destroyed by mines. In the Korean War, the number of casualties of the U.S. Armed Forces who died from mines or tricky explosives constituted 4 percent of the total number of casualties. The number of tanks directly destroyed by anti-tank mines constituted over 20 percent of the total loss of tanks. In the Middle East War of 1973, even though anti-tank missiles were used, 20 percent of the tanks of both sides were still destroyed by mines or airplanes. It can be seen that mines are one of the effective weapons that kill and wound personnel and destroy tanks and other vehicles.

Types of Mines

At first, the mine was a defensive weapon, mainly used to kill and wound living forces. As science and technology developed the function of mines also changed.

The mine is already an effective attack weapon. As mentioned above, mines are now a powerful weapon against tanks and armored vehicles. Not only can manual efforts to place mines be used to defend against attacking tanks but mines can also be placed by machines, missiles, cannons and airplanes to prevent the advances of tanks. There are several ways to classify mines. According to use, there are three types:

1. Anti-tank Mines

Their main function is to destroy tanks, armored vehicles and such technological ordnance to deprive them of mobility and combat capabilities. According to the part of the tank to be damaged, this type of mines can be subdivided into anti-tank mines (Figure 1), anti-chassis mines (Figure 2), and anti-side armor mines (Figure 3).

2. Anti-Personnel Mines

These utilize shock waves and broken pieces of the mines produced by explosion of the explosives contained to kill and wound living forces. They can be subdivided into explosive anti-personnel mines (Figure 4) and scatter anti-personnel mines. Jump mines (Figure 5) and directional mines (Figure 6) are scatter mines.

3. Special Purpose Mines

Mines for special purposes belong to this category, such as nuclear mines, chemical mines, flare mines, signal mines.

Based on the ignition principle, mines can be divided into contact mines and non-contact mines and time delay mines.

1. Contact Mines

The target comes into direct contact with the mine and sets off the explosion. These are contact mines. Based on different operating principles, this type of mines can be subdivided into pressure mines, pull (trip) mines, loose ignition mines and compound action mines.

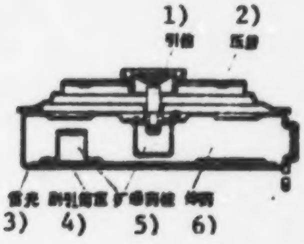


Figure 1. Anti-tank Mine that Damages the Tracks

1. Detonator
2. Pressure Cap
3. Mine Shell
4. Auxiliary detonator chamber
5. Explosion booster tube
6. Explosive charge

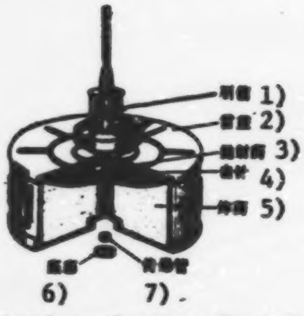


Figure 2. Anti-tank Mine That Damages Chassis

1. Detonator
2. Mine Cap
3. Ejective Explosives
4. Firing pin
5. Explosive charge
6. Bottom Plug
7. Transducer tube

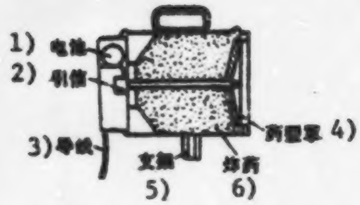


Figure 3. Anti-tank Mine That Damages Side Armor

1. Battery
2. Detonator
3. Wire
4. Support
5. Explosive charge
6. Charge cover

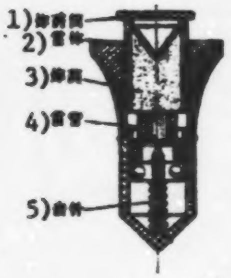


Figure 4. Explosive Anti-personnel Mine

1. Explosive Charge Canister
2. Mine Body
3. Explosive charge
4. Detonator
5. Firing Pin

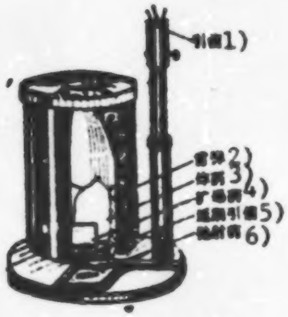


Figure 5. Anti-personnel Jump Mine

1. Detonator
2. Mine Bomb
3. Explosive charge
4. Booster explosives
5. Delay fuse
6. Ejective explosives

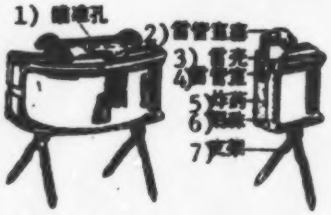


Figure 6. Directional Anti-personnel Mine

1. Aiming viewer
2. Detonator Chamber plug
3. Mine shell
4. Detonator chamber
5. Explosives
6. Steel bearing
7. Support

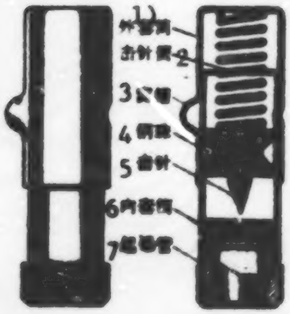


Figure 7. Pressure Detonator of Anti-tank Mine

1. Outer tube
2. Spring of firing pin
3. Groove
4. Steel bearing
5. Firing pin
6. Inner tube
7. Explosion tube

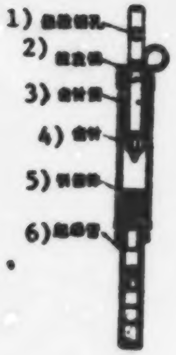


Figure 8. Pull Detonator

1. Hole of Safety pin
2. Pull cap
3. Spring of firing pin
4. Firing pin
5. Detonator body
6. Explosion tube

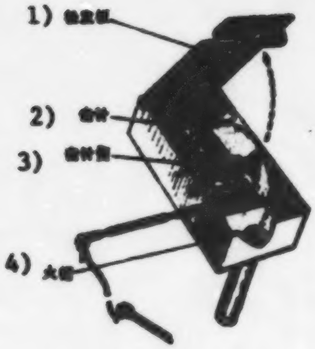


Figure 9. Loose Detonator

1. Loose plate
2. Firing pin
3. Spring of firing pin
4. Firing cap

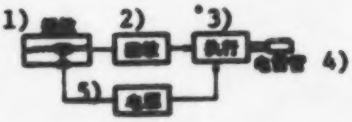


Figure 10. Principle of the Magnetic-Vibration Compound Detonator

1. Vibration sensor
2. Magnetic sensor
3. Execution
4. Electrical detonator
5. Power source

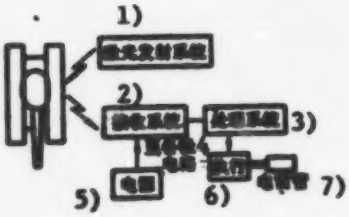


Figure 11. Principle of Laser Detonator

1. Laser firing system
2. Receiver system
3. Processor system
4. Circuit to each pole
5. Power source
6. Execution   7. Electrical detonator

2. Non-Contract Mines

Although the mines do not come into contact with the targets, they are touched off by action of the physical fields (magnetic, sound waves, vibration, light) of the targets. These mines are called non-contact mines. These mines can be exploded at the most beneficial time, therefore they can be more effective.

3. Time Delay Mines

These mines will automatically explode at a certain time after a preset delay. Its timing devices include clock mechanisms and also fluidics and electronics devices.

Structure of Mines

The mine consists mainly of a shell, a detonator, and explosive charge. Some special purpose and special function land mines also have transducers, parachutes and landing mechanisms. We will only introduce the several major components of mines in the following:

1. Explosive Charge

The power of the mine is mainly determined by the type, the amount and the shape of the explosive charge. The uses of mines are different and the structure of the explosive charge is also different. The explosives frequently used by mines are TNT, black powder or their mixtures. Explosive anti-personnel mines generally use TNT. Content of the explosive charge is from several dozen to 100 or 200 grams. Scatter anti-personnel mines use TNT and the content is from several dozen to several hundred grams. Anti-tank mines that are designed to damage the tracks and that contain a flat charge require 5 to 10 kilograms of TNT or TNT and black powder mixture. If the explosives are contained in strips, generally 2 kilograms of explosives are sufficient. Regardless of what type of charge is used they can all break the tracks of a tank. The first type of mines can also severely deform the load bearing wheel at the same time. Mines that damage the chassis of tanks mostly use a packed power charge. A large conical shell (generally over 100°) is a metal container of explosives turned into a "high speed shell" to penetrate the bottom armor of tanks. These mines generally require only 1 to 3 kilograms of mixed explosives of TNT and black powder. Mines that are designed to damage the side armor of tanks also use packed power charge, generally containing about 10 kilograms of mixed TNT and black powder. These mines can penetrate the side armor of tanks at a distance several dozen meters away from the point of explosion.

2. Shell of the Mine

The shell of the mine is used to contain the charge and the detonator. It can be pressed from thin steel plates or made from engineering plastics. The shell of the scatter anti-personnel mine is the basic component that produces scattered pieces. The broken pieces of the mine must possess a definite power: Broken pieces of jump mines generally have a killing or wounding radius of over a dozen meters while the broken pieces of directional mines can kill or wound up to a distance of 50 to 60 meters.

Detonator

The detonator is the important component that assures the mine will explode reliably and on time. The key to whether the mine can effectively function is the detonator, therefore people have compared the detonator to the "brain" of the mine.

Detonators of Mines

1. Contact Detonators

Anti-personnel mines and anti-tank mines mostly use pressure detonation, pull (trip) detonation and loose detonation. The structure of the pressure detonator is shown

Figure 7. When the mine is in a ready-to-detonate state, the cartridge of steel bearings in the detonator prevents the firing pin from dropping by blocking the hole in the inner tube. When the mine is pressed, the cover changes shape and the detonator receives from 10 to 30 kilograms of pressure. At this time, the reverse tube presses against the spring of the firing pin and moves down along the inner tube. When the groove on the outer tube comes into contact with the steel bearings, the bearings are pushed into the groove by the spring of the firing pin and the firing pin is released. The spring of the firing pin activates the firing pin to strike the explosion tube and the mine explodes. The structure of the pull (trip) detonator is shown in Figure 8. The pulling tab is pulled and the firing pin is released when it receives from 1 to 2.5 kilograms of pressure or more. The spring of the firing pin activates the firing pin to strike the explosion tube and the mine explodes. Loose detonation is mostly used for tricky installations (luring mines). Its structure is shown in Figure 9. When the heavy object is removed from the detonator, the release board releases its control of the firing pin. The firing pin is acted upon by the coil spring and turns, thus striking the firing cap and the mine explodes.

In recent years, to use explosions to open pathways for tanks or to detonate tactical nuclear weapons in mine zones and to be still effective against tanks, multiple action and explosion resistant detonators have emerged. Besides the mechanically operated contact detonators, new types of contact detonators such as electromechanic detonators and electronic breaker detonators have been developed.

2. Non-Contact Detonators

At present, non-contact detonators which have a wide application are magnetically sensitive detonators, vibration detonators, infrared detonators and compound detonators. Depending on whether the detonator has or does not have a radiative source, non-contact detonators developed very rapidly and have been used widely in anti-tank mines that damage the chassis and anti-tank mines that damage side armor.

The compound detonator sensitive to magnetism and vibration used in mines that damage tank chassis is a kind of defensive non-contact detonator and its operating principle is illustrated in Figure 10. When the tank enters a predetermined zone, the vibration sensor can receive the ground vibrations caused by the advancing tanks. This signal activates the magnetic sensor of the detonator and the electrical power of the mine is switched on. When the tank enters the most effective range of the mine, the magnetic sensor sends out a signal. After this signal is processed, it is transmitted to the execution device which explodes the electric detonator, causing the mine to explode. The advantage of this compound detonator is that it conserves the use of electric power and it has a higher resistance to interference. The anti-tank mine that penetrates the side armor has a laser detonator which is a kind of offensive non-contact detonator. Its operating principle is illustrated in Figure 11. When the tank enters the active range of the detonator in front, the laser beam emitted by the detonator is reflected back to the detonator by the side armor of the tank. A receiver in the detonator receives the echo wave signal and processes it, then transmits the signal to the execution circuit causing the detonator to explode.

Some special kinds of mines are also equipped with detonators that can receive remote radio signal commands. The mines can be controlled and activated for combat posture, deactivated and exploded.

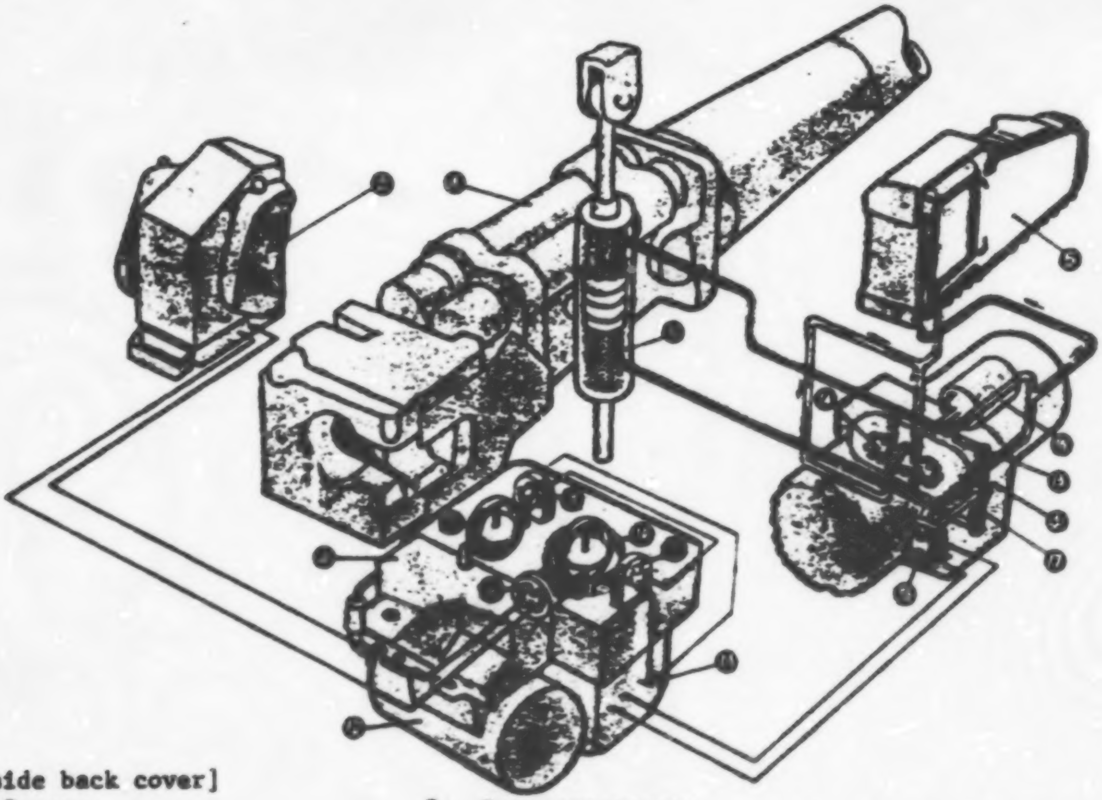
The Direction of Development of Mines

The direction of development of mines is towards the following trends:

1. Small size, light weight, more power.
2. Reliable operation and higher resistance against explosions.
3. Completely save detonators to assure safety during logistics handling and safety in actual use.

Detonators used in mines laid mechanically and quickly over a large area include those mentioned above and also include delayed safety and self destructive devices to assure safety during the laying of mines and freedom of movement of motorized forces of allied troops. When using packed power charges for mines, non-contact detonators should be used as much as possible so that the power of the explosive charge can be most effective.

[Captions for diagrams by Zheng Hongran [6774 1347 3544]



[Inside back cover]

1. Cannon
2. Control tower
3. Gyroscope system
4. Hydraulic pressure booster
5. Reserve gasoline tank
6. Dynamic oil tank
7. Rate gyroscope
8. Rotary transformer
9. Aiming magnet
10. Angular gyroscope
11. Rotary transformer
12. Converter
13. Electromtube magnifier
14. Gear oil pump
15. Oil pump motor
16. Closing valve
17. Lever
18. Control magnet

9296
CSO: 8111/0010

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

STRUCTURE, OPERATION OF TANK CANNON STABILIZER OUTLINED

Beijing BINGQI ZHISHI [ORDNANCE KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 2, 1980 pp 3-7

[Article by Qu Guoshan (1448 0948 0810): "Tank Cannon Stabilizer"]

[Text] In modern warfare, to effectively develop the tank's combat power and reduce the chance of being damaged by the enemy's anti-tank weapons, the mobility of the tank has been increased and correspondingly its travelling speed. A good aim and firing precision of the cannon in motion are needed so that the first shot can hit the target. For this, today's new combat tanks have utilized infrared or night viewing and night aiming equipment or viewing equipment in dim light, laser rangefinders, computers, computers for projectiles for the aiming, viewing and firing control systems. The cannon stabilizer has also been used.

This article is mainly an introduction to the application of a type of electrohydraulic one directional stabilizer, its general structure and basic operating principles.

I. Application of the Stabilizer

Everyone knows that when tanks are travelling on an uneven road surface, the carriage of the tank continuously vibrates and shakes, thus the cannon vibrates with the carriage and deviates from its aiming angle (firing angle), as illustrated in Figure 1.

Because the road is crooked or because of the control of the vehicle, the cannon deviates from its original aim at the target as shown in Figure 2.

Obviously, under this situation, even when the enemy target has been discovered through the periscope, it would be difficult to operate the cannon's elevating mechanism and the aiming device and to rapidly complete accurate aiming and accurate firing within a short time. For this, many people have spent much effort and have taken various measures (such as selecting good vibration reducing equipment of good performance, making short stops or reducing speed during firing and strict training of tank personnel etc). But although these measures increased the firing accuracy of the cannon on tanks, the basic problem of achieving an ideal aim for firing while the tank is travelling has still not been solved. Afterwards, attempts were made to think of a way to install a special kind of automatic adjustment equipment while the tank is travelling so that the cannon can be adjusted against the vibration of the carriage of the tank to effectively assure that the direction of aim will not be distorted by vibration of the carriage, as Figure 3 and Figure 4 show. This type of automatic adjuster (i.e., stabilizer) was first developed and equipped on armored vehicles during the latter part of World War II, and in actual combat, relatively ideal results were achieved.

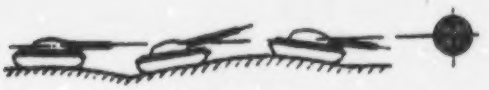


Figure 1. High and low vibration of the cannon without stabilizer

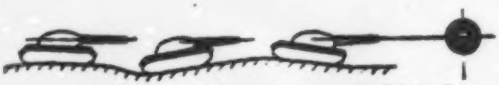


Figure 3. Cannon stabilized in elevation

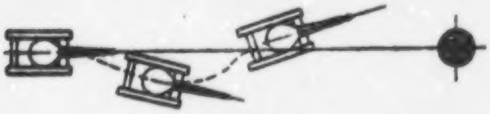


Figure 2. Horizontal vibration of the cannon without stabilizer

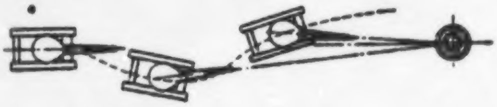


Figure 4. Cannon stabilized in traverse directions

To further explain the application or use of the stabilizer on the cannon of tanks, the following brief introduction talks about the several kinds of vibrations of the tank carriage and their effect upon the accuracy of firing of the cannon.

It can be seen from Figure 5 that when the tank is in motion, the carriage of the tank moves forward at velocity u and at the same time the carriage vibrates vertically at a rate W, at an angular rate of Q on the plane of the vertical cross section, an angular rate ψ on the horizontal plane, a cross angular rate of u on the cross section plane, and possible parallel sliding forward and sideways horizontally on the cross section plane, etc. These vibrations affect the accuracy of firing to varying degrees.

Vertical vibration of the carriage:

The carriage vibrates up and down at the rate W, as shown in Figure 6. This causes the barrel's axial line to shift in a parallel fashion, and thus changing the projectile angle of the shell. But this type of vertical vibration is not large. On medium road surfaces and travelling at medium speed, the vibration is between 100 and 150 millimeters, therefore the shell fired from the gun undergoes a deviation of between 100 and 150 millimeters in the vertical direction. The effect upon the accuracy of firing is not obvious.

Horizontal vibration of the carriage:

The carriage sways back and forth at an angular rate of $\dot{V}$ along the OX axis within the cross section plane causing the flank axial line of the cannot to slant, as illustrated in Figure 7. Under this condition, if the cannon is fired straight and the firing angle is not large, the error of firing is not too obvious. Relatively complete firing control systems have a flank axis slant sensor to correct the slant.

Angular vibration within the horizontal plane of the carriage:

The carriage vibrates in the horizontal plane at an angular rate of $\dot{\psi}$ about the OZ axis, as illustrated in Figure 8. This type of vibration will cause the horizontal sweep of the fired shell to increase and the error will be more pronounced than in the two cases above.

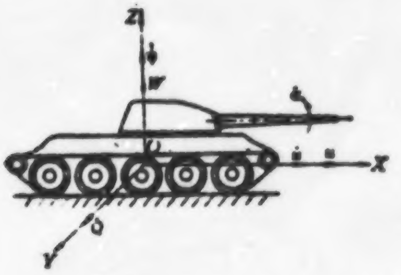


Figure 5. Vibration of the carriage of the tank

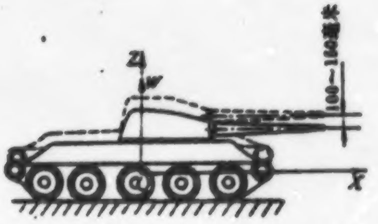


Figure 6. Vertical vibration of the carriage. 100-150 millimeters

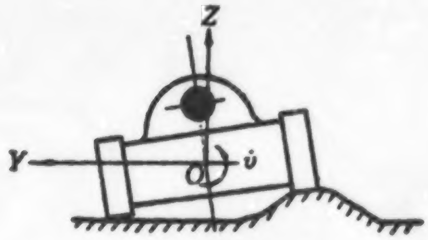


Figure 7. Cross section angular vibration of the carriage

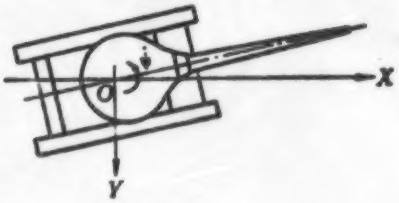


Figure 8. Horizontal angular vibration of the carriage

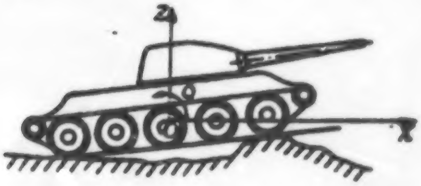


Figure 9. Vertical angular vibration of the carriage in the vertical plane

The carriage vibrates in the vertical angle within the vertical firing plane:

This means the carriage vibrates in a vertical angle from the center of vibration of the carriage (center of elasticity) at an angular rate $\dot{Q}$ within the vertical firing plane. This is mainly caused when both tracks of the tank run over an uneven surface, the front of the vehicle is raised and the back of the vehicle correspondingly is lowered, or because the driver suddenly steps on the throttle and increases the speed of the vehicle or because of unskilled operation of the clutch. This type of vibration will cause a violent change in the axial line of the barrel in the vertical firing plane and a continuous change in the firing angle leading to great deviation in the firing range or the height of firing. The prevision of firing is thus drastically reduced. For example, according to calculations, when the center of vibration of the carriage of the tank is 6 meters from the plane of the muzzle, the initial speed of the shell is 900 meters/second, the delay in firing is 0.16 seconds, the average angular rate of vertical vibration within the vertical firing plane of the tank is 3.7 degrees/second. When the traveling direction of the tank and the aim of the gun are the same and firing at a vertically fixed target at 1,000 meters, the vertical deviation of the shell from the target will reach 10.35 meters.

It can be seen from the above analysis that the vertical angular vibration within the vertical firing plane of the tank exerts the greatest effect upon firing precision, and horizontal angular vibration exerts the second greatest effect. Therefore, the stabilizers equipped on the guns of present-day tanks are mainly to stabilize vibrations in these two directions.

Vertical stabilization within the vertical firing plane of the cannon is also called elevation stabilization. Elevation stabilizers can automatically adjust the cannon so that it will not be affected by the vertical angular vibration of the carriage, thus assuring that the high or low aiming angle of the cannon does not change.

Traverse stabilization of the cannon is also called turret stabilization. The traverse stabilizer can automatically adjust the turret so that it will not be affected by the horizontal angular vibration of the carriage to assure the horizontal aim of the cannon does not change.

Ordinarily, cannon stabilizers with only an elevation stabilization function is called a one directional stabilizer. Stabilizers with both an elevation and traverse stabilization function is called a two directional stabilizer.

Because of the application of the stabilizer on tank cannons, the firing precision of the gun while the tank is in motion has been raised. The basic operating principle of the stabilizer is mainly based on the gyro effect. This means utilizing the gyroscope to exercise automatic control of the cannon. Before introducing the operating principle of the stabilizer, the top and the gyroscope will be briefly described.

II. Gyration and the Gyroscope

(1) Gyration

Everyone knows that all bodies rotating about their spin axis have some common characteristics, for example, a fixed axis and precession under external forces.

These characteristics are only visibly evident when the revolving body is rotating about its axis of rotation at a high speed. Generally the above characteristics of rotating bodies at high speed are called the gyro effect.

Fixed axis of the top: Figure 10 shows an ordinary top for children and it is also an actual toy. When the top rotates about its acis of rotation at high velocities and if the top is not affected by an external force, the direction of the axis of rotation will not change from its original spatial position. This characteristic of the top is called the fixed axis characteristic. The faster the rotation of the top, the greater the quality, the greater the moment of motion and the more stable it is.

Precession of the top: When an external force is applied to a free top rotating at a high angular speed Ω, i.e., when applying force F on the axis of rotation OZ, as shown in Figure 11, the axis of rotation will shift from its original position but the direction of deviation will not be in the direction of the push but at a 90° or 270° angle (depending on the direction of the spin of the top). If the external force is removed as soon as the top shifts, the top will gradually resume its original state. When the external force is applied continually, the top will continue to shift, and the greater the external force, the faster the shift. This characteristic of the top is called precession.

The pattern of precession of the top i.e., the direction of precession is an attempt to make the vector Ω of angular velocity of the spin of the top coincide with the vector M of the moment of the external force that caused the top to shift.

The direction of the vectors of the angular velocity and the moment can be determined by the right hand method. Position the four fingers of the right hand (slightly bent) perpendicular to the thumb, and point the four fingers in the direction of rotation of the angular velocity (or the direction of the moment), then the direction pointed out by the thumb is the direction of the vector of the angular velocity (or moment).

Moment of the top:

To explain the moment of the top, let us first perform an experiment. As shown in Figure 12(a), use a string and tie it to a round plate. When it is not in motion, the plate will hang down due to its own gravitational weight G. When the plate is placed in a horizontal position and is rotated at a high angular velocity of Ω, the plate will not fall from its horizontal position even though it is still under the pull of its own weight. Let us analyze this physical phenomenon. When the plate rotates about its spin axis OX at an angular velocity Ω, and under the pull of its own moment Mg of its weight (the direction of the vector of Mg is the negative direction of the axis OY), the plate will move about the OZ axis at an angular speed w, as shown in Figure 12(b). The plate, under a combination of the two movements, will produce an acceleration called the coriolis acceleration. We know that a substance that has mass and acceleration will produce inertia. This inertia forms a moment Mr on the OY axis (the vector of Mr is in the direction of the OY axis), and this is the inertia moment. Its magnitude and gravitational moment Mg are equal but are in opposite directions. Thus, the plate's falling graviational moment Mg is counterbalanced by the inertia moment Mr. Therefore the plate can rotate on the horizontal plane without falling.

The top is equivalent to a round plate rotating at high speed, as shown in Figure 12(c). When the top rotates about its spin axis AZ at a high angular velocity Ω, an addition of an external moment M (equivalent to the gravitational moment of the round plate), when its vector along the OY axis is in the opposite direction causes a precession about the OX axis at angular speed W. This produces an inertia moment Mr along the positive direction of the OY axis, balancing the external moment M. This inertia moment is also called gyro moment.

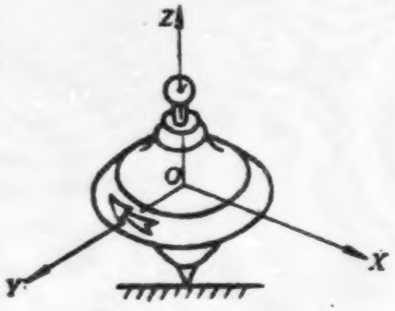


Figure 10. Fixed axis characteristic of the gyro.

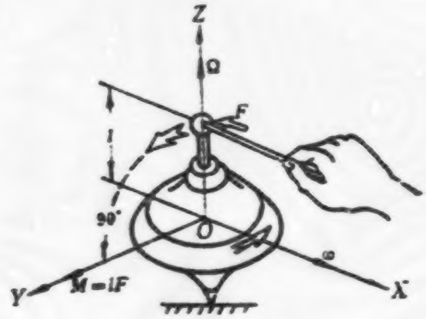


Figure 11. Precession of the gyro

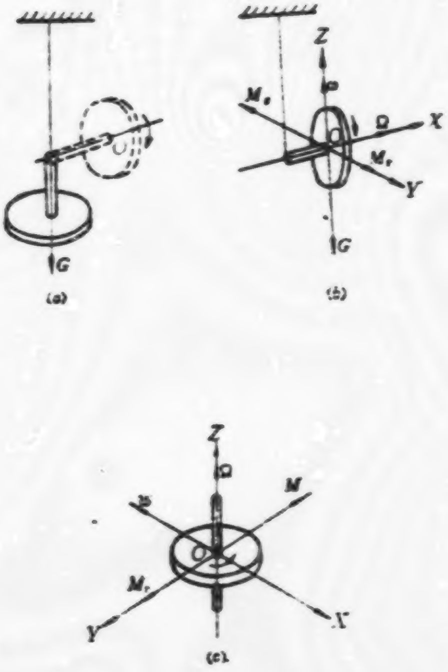


Figure 12. Moment of the gyro

(II) Gyroscope

A gyroscope is an instrument or equipment built on the gyro effect. Based on the number of rotational axis about which the gyro can rotate, there are the free gyroscope and the rate gyroscope. The gyroscope is generally powered electrically, pneumatically or by another form. The electrical gyroscope is actually a micro high speed rotary (generally above 15,000 rotations/minute) triple phase alternating electric motor. The electrical motor's gyro rests outside of its stator for greater momentum. Therefore, the electric gyro is also called a gyro motor.

Structure and Operating Principles of the Free Gyroscope:

The free gyroscope mainly consists of a gyro motor, an inner frame, an outer frame, and a gyro base, as shown in Figure 13. The gyro motor is affixed on the inner frame B by its spin axis AA. The inner frame is affixed to the outer frame C by its two semi-axis BB. The axis CC of the outer frame is affixed on the base K. Between each rotating axis and corresponding holes are high precision ball bearings. In this way, the gyroscope can rotate about three axis i.e., the gyro rotates about its spin axis AA, the gyro and the inner frame rotate about the BB axis together and the gyro, the inner frame and the outer frame rotate about the CC axis of the base together. In structure, the centers of gravity of the gyro, the inner and the outer frames and the intersecting axle centers of the three mutually perpendicular axis (AA, BB, CC) coincide exactly and are kept strictly in this position. The point is called the gyro support. This arrangement gives the gyro a three-dimensional freedom in space, therefore it is called a free gyroscope.

In a free gyroscope, when the gyro motor rotates at angular velocity Ω about its spin axis AA and if the base is rotated about the relative axis CC at angular velocity Wc, as shown in Figure 14, then the direction of the spin axis AA of the gyro will not change and will remain at its original spatial position when the base rotates because of the fixed axis characteristic of the gyro. If a compass is placed on the CC axis of the outer frame and a corresponding graduation is marked on the base, then the slanting and rotating angle between the outer frame and the base, i.e., the angle of the plane M of the base relative to the plane H of the outer frame can be measured.

Now let us look at another situation. Keep the base of the gyroscope stationary and apply an external moment M_B to the BB axis of the inner frame, as shown in Figure 15. At this time, the inner frame does not turn in the direction of the external moment, but the outer frame will rotate about the CC axis at angular velocity Wc, i.e., this is the precession of the gyro (because, when the external moment acts upon the BB axis of the inner frame, the outer frame immediately undergoes a precession, causing the gyro to simultaneously rotate about the two axis AA and CC. Therefore, a gyro moment Mr_B is created on the BB axis of the inner frame. This gyro moment counterbalances the moment of the external force, and the inner frame acted upon by the external force does not rotate). The greater the moment of the external force M_B the greater the angular velocity Wc of the precession of the outer frame. After the moment of the external force ceases, the outer frame immediately stops its precession, and the gyro axis stabilizes at a new spatial position. In this way, the slanting and turning angle of the outer frame relative to the base of the gyroscope acted upon by a definite moment of external force can be measured.

Utilizing the characteristics of the free gyroscope, the angle of the base plane relative to the plane of the outer frame can be measured. Therefore, the free gyroscope is also called the angle gyroscope. Ordinarily in the various stabilizers, it is used to measure (sense) the angle of deviation of the object to be stabilized from the originally stable position under external interference.

The structure and the operating principle of the rate gyroscope:

The free gyroscope becomes the rate gyroscope after one frame is removed so that it loses freedom in one of the dimensions, as shown in Figure 16. Thus, when the gyro motor turns at angular velocity Ω, and when the base rotates about the CC axis at angular velocity Wc, the inner frame will undergo a precession about the BB axis at angular velocity W_B. The greater the angular velocity of the slanting rotation of the base, the greater the angular velocity of the precession of the inner frame becomes. When the base ceases to turn, the gyro and the inner frame will stop at the position after the precession. Thus, when the inner frame undergoes precession, the angular velocity of rotation of the base can be measured at any moment by means of the angle of slanting and rotation of the needle. Therefore the rate gyroscope is also called the velocity gyroscope. In stabilizers it ordinarily serves to measure (sense) the angular velocity of deviation of the object to be stabilized from the stable position.

Since the rate gyroscope has lost freedom in one dimension, the spin axis of the gyro does not possess the characteristics of remaining at its original position, i.e., its fixed axis characteristic. At the same time, for the gyro to rapidly resume its original position after undergoing precession, generally one of the semi-axis of the inner frame is made into a spring torque axis and the other end is affixed to the base. Because of the use of the spring axis, the gyro will vibrate at a certain neutral position. Thus the rate gyroscope has an air to hydraulic damper. (To be continued)

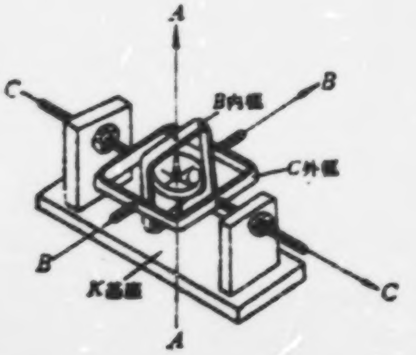


Figure 13. Free gyroscope

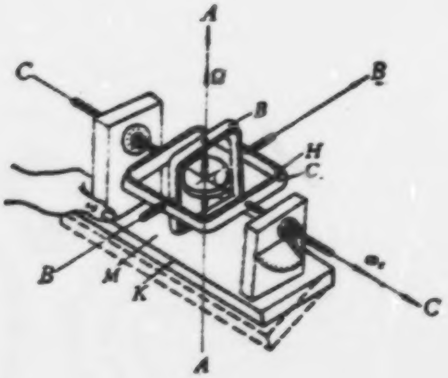


Figure 14. Fixed axis characteristic of the gyro when the base rotates

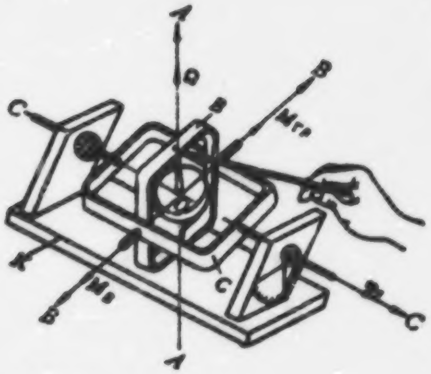

A
Ω
B
C
B
Mгр
K
C
Mв
B
C
A

Figure 15. Precession of the gyroscope under external moment of force

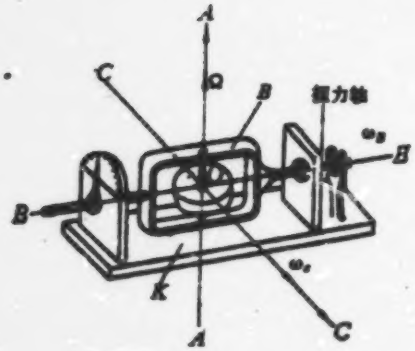

A
C
Ω
B
扭力轴
ω_B
B
B
K
ω_c
A
C

Figure 16. Rate gyroscope

Captions to figures by Zheng Hongran [6774 1347 3544]

9296
CSO: 8111/0010

BRIEFS

QINGHAI ENLISTMENT--Departments concerned in Qinghai Province held meetings to make arrangements for 1980 enlistments beginning 1 November. They decided: In rural areas, youths aged 18 and 19 will be drafted if they are educated youths residing in the countryside or mountainous areas or if they are middle school graduates from families having adequate manpower. In urban areas, 1980 high school graduates aged 17, 18 and 19 will be drafted. However, those who are working or continuing studies will not be drafted. In minority areas, education restrictions on draftees can be eased accordingly. [Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Oct 80 SK]

XINJIANG PLA UNITS MARK CORBAN--Urumqi, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--Cadres and fighters of all nationalities of Urumqi PLA units celebrated the Islamic Festival Corban on 20 October together with the local people in various parts of Xinjiang. [OW261400 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1201 GMT 21 Oct 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR URGES ADOPTION OF ACADEMIC CREDIT SYSTEM

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Li Zhiyuan [2621 1807 6678], assistant professor at Shanghai Academy of Finance and Economics: "Higher Education Should Adopt the Credit System Rather Than the Academic Year System"]

[Text] Institutions of higher education throughout the world use mainly two systems of schooling: one is the credit system under which after matriculation a student is allowed to graduate on completing a specific number of credits, and the other is the academic year system under which after matriculation a student is graduated on completing a specific number of years of schooling. China used both systems in higher education before Liberation, but after Liberation it adopted uniformly the academic year system which is still in force. Which system is better is a question deserving of discussion. I think that the credit system is better than the academic year system.

1. The credit system is better able to fully mobilize the initiative of the students to study and is better for producing qualified personnel faster.

The academic year system currently used is overly restrictive with regard to the years a student can study. The 4-year university arranges the courses of all specialties into 8 semesters over 4 years without regard to the students' level or ability. Every semester they must take a certain number of courses and study for 4 years, then are graduated. Students with more ability cannot take more courses, nor can they shorten their study time. Students with weaker foundations cannot take fewer courses and even though they do not learn as well, also must graduate on time. This "cutting everything with one knife" method is not good for mobilizing the initiative of students to study and is especially bad for those students with good levels and great potential.

If the credit system is adopted these defects will be corrected. The credit system is more flexible. It also arranges the required courses into 8 semesters over 4 years, but each course is assigned a certain amount of credit depending on the time required in class and the degree of difficulty (the amount of credit is roughly the same as the number of class meetings per week, and although there are variations, they are not large ones) and the student can take a greater or lesser number of credits depending on his own ability and time. This way, good students can elect to take more credits each semester and can complete the necessary number of credits in less than 4 years, graduate and go to work ahead of time. Weaker students can take fewer credits each semester. In this way, although they study 6 to 12 months longer than the others, they have a good grounding in their fields, and this is much better than not learning well. If this were done, it would guarantee the quality of students, produce qualified personnel earlier and be better for both the individual and the nation.

2. The credit system is better for teaching students in accordance with their aptitudes.

University professors fear mostly the unevenness of student abilities. It is a great strain in teaching, for if they attend to the good students, they cannot attend to the poorer ones, and finally they can only adopt a compromise method and attend to the large majority in the middle. This is very bad for selecting the best and training qualified personnel. The academic year system produces just such a situation. After students matriculate they are assigned to a class and while in the first year it is all right, after the second the unevenness becomes more and more clear, but because the classes are rigidly assigned, they cannot be revised and the faculty can only adopt methods which cut the feet to fit the shoes, and this has an impact on raising the quality of teaching.

If the credit system is adopted, courses will be chosen by the students themselves, and their interest in study will become greater and their drive to study will also become greater. Faculty will also have some leeway as far as students who elect their courses are concerned and students who have not done as well can be either refused or made to postpone electing a course and in this way it can be guaranteed that the levels of students in the same class is not too disparate, and this will be good for teaching students in accordance with their aptitudes.

3. The credit system can better adapt to new situations in the rapid development of science.

Since the 1970's, some new situations have appeared because of the rapid development of science: in the past the liberal arts and the sciences and engineering were unrelated, but now there is science and engineering in the arts, and arts in the sciences and engineering. In the past a discipline could resolve its own questions, but now many disciplines must be combined to resolve a question. Thus the courses which a student must take are no longer only in his own field, or can even be handled independently by one department. The results of implementing the academic year system necessarily arranges the courses in an overly rigid manner. Although in their upper-class years some advanced courses can be elected, the system is far from able to adapt to the demands of the objective situation, and furthermore, one field or one department cannot offer all courses. If the credit system is used, the situation becomes quite different. A student can choose courses quite freely, especially when he gets to his upperclass years he can go outside his field and department or even school to take related courses in accordance with his own study direction. This is good for the student's learning, and can produce qualified personnel quickly and can create conditions for the development of new sciences.

4. The credit system allows working cadres to participate in afterwork education.

Because of a decade of calamity, the professional level of many working cadres is far from up to the demands of the objective situation, but it is impossible to transfer a great many cadres out of production to study. The best method is to create conditions which permit them to use afterwork time or available time for advanced study. Generally speaking, they demand only relevant knowledge which will help them resolve a certain question, and do not demand longterm systematic and comprehensive study. The academic year system currently in force has little flexibility and cannot adapt to the demands of this kind of special circumstance. If the credit system is adopted, working cadres can go to university and choose courses according to the demands of work and as time permits, and as time goes on they can complete all the credits and through examination qualify as university students. Therefore, if higher education institutions adopt the credit system it will be good for motivating working cadres to participate in afterwork study and further raise their professional and managerial levels.

8226
CSO: 4005

MASSES URGED TO RESPECT, STRIVE FOR KNOWLEDGE

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Lu Gan [7120 1626]: "On the 'Cultured' and the 'Uncultured'"]

[Text] In social life, people frequently have certain biases toward certain things. The valuing of the "uncultured" and disdain for the "cultured" is one type of bias. People with this type of bias regard the "uncultured" as glorious and valuable, as if the "uncultured person" were a synonym for the "revolutionary." In their eyes, the "cultured" are "sour and stinking things", and cultured, educated intellectuals are the "capitalist class." They have even been categorized as the "old nine" and alienated. Naturally, during the 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four", there have been fewer and fewer people with this type of bias, yet this type of bias still plays a role in certain units. Some intellectuals have been unable to attain appointments, some have been appointed incorrectly, and some are employed but not trusted. All of this is related to this type of bias.

I have heard that in a certain county there is a high school principal who has not even had one good class in his 20 years of work in the school and yet he does not even have the slightest guilty conscience about this. He hasn't gone out into the fields and worked, and always rolls his pants up high. He runs about inside and outside of school, and after a while people have come to call him "the clodhopper principal." When he heard this, he was very proud. And how did this principal treat the teachers? If their hands had calluses, it was good to roll their pants up high. If their clothes were clean and tidy, they were very polite, and their hands had no calluses, even if the quality of the school was very high, they were not appreciated and he sarcastically ridiculed them for having a "capitalist class ideology" and for "selling quick remedies."
If we value the "uncultured" and disdain the "cultured" to the point of confusing right and wrong, how can we correctly implement party policies concerning intellectuals?

In fact, "uncultured" is not worthy of praise. An "uncultured person" is the strong catastrophic imprint of the old society on the workers and peasants and is not an innate feature of the workers and peasants. On the contrary, "cultured" is worthy of honor. Cultural and scientific knowledge is a sign of human civilization and is the natural indispensable force for improving society. Therefore, our party has consistently promoted the study of cultural and scientific knowledge and has sought the intellectualization of worker and peasant cadres. In 1939, Comrade Mao Zedong personally drew up the resolution "Magnanimously Accept the Intellectuals," in which he clearly pointed out: "Without the participation of the intellectuals, the victory of the revolution is impossible." Now, in our building of the four modernizations, the "cultured" should be increased and not diminished. To mold a society of high-level matter and spirited civilization we must first have these signs and devote ourselves to having people with the necessary cultural and scientific knowledge. Only if we have these kinds of people will we be able to form an effective administrative machine and be able to control modern technological and scientific knowledge. An uneducated person cannot deeply understand the value of culture and science, and those lacking in scientific knowledge cannot control and utilize the laws for building a modernized economy. If this type of person functions as a leader, he will be unable to respect and select able subordinates. Is this principle not clear?

The viewpoint of valuing the "uncultured" and disdaining the "cultured" is intolerable; this is the conclusion reached after people have suffered much. Early, before the Cultural Revolution, the bias of despising culture and looking down on intellectuals had already often emerged to obstruct our line of vision. During the Cultural Revolution, to realize their wild ambitions of seizing party power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed this bias to the extreme and tried to destroy culture. At the time, the desks and chairs in some schools flew about violently, creating a military battleground. Some scientific research units stood in great numbers with spears, and the precious materialized into ashen butterflies. Several thousand years of meticulously preserved famous historical locations and cultural relics were trampled, and cultural and educational facilities painstakingly built up over several decades were in total disarray. These material losses further caused the cream of the nation and people, the masses of specialists, to suffer injustices and even death. The studies of innumerable students were cast aside and neglected for 10 years, causing a temporary shortage in talented individuals, so that now there are difficult problems in building the four modernizations.

Recently, Comrade Song Renqiong [1345 0117 4522], director of the Central Organization Department, pointed out: "From now on, for the recruiting of cadres not engaged in production, we should pay complete attention to cultural level and specialized knowledge and strictly, according to the requirements for cadres in the new period select young graduates mainly from universities, specialized secondary schools, those of the same level. In general they should not be selected directly from workers and peasants with low cultural levels." I think this important policy decision will have a decisive significance for realizing the four modernizations. Yet, if we want this policy decision to be universally carried out for the people, the bias of "uncultured" and "cultured" must be eliminated. At present, are there not people who say: "If we want to value the use of cultured people, the uncultured will be unpopular," and "Then do we still need worker and peasant cadres?" This type of viewpoint is wrong.

In building the four modernizations, "uncultured people" will be unpopular; as for the worker and peasant cadres, that is another matter. It goes without saying that after the founding of the People's Republic, all intellectuals came basically out of worker and peasant households, and after 30 years of study and training most of the intellectuals from the old society have already become part of the working class. Intellectual cadres are also worker and peasant cadres. Those who have come directly from the workers and peasants originally had no culture or were culturally lower "worker and peasant cadres." Many among them diligently studied and soon shed their "uncultured" hat, becoming useful [persons] with rich practical experience and suitable cultural levels. The problem rests only with those long "uncultured" comrades who should quickly come to realize the truth and seize the opportunity to study hard and strive for early proficiency in specialized knowledge. In this way they can become experts in their work and keep in step with the building of the four modernizations.

9480
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JIAOTONG UNIVERSITY EXCHANGE PROGRAM PRAISED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Smash the Rigid Situation of Limiting Personnel Movements; Shanghai's Jiaotong University Implements Personnel Exchange Program; Sends Out Staff To Support Units Outside University and Brings In Small Number of Urgently Needed Teachers."]

[Text] Since early this year, Shanghai's Jioatong University has been carrying on a personnel exchange, with 200 teaching, administrative and working staff happily going to factories, research institutes and other schools to work while another group of personnel are going through the transfer procedures. At the same time, a small group of specialist teachers and technicians urgently needed by Jaiotong University has been transferred to the University. Because of this personnel exchange, Jiaotong University has outside talent for newly established specialties and units and has made preliminary steps to change the rigid situation which has existed heretofore that these people could only be brought in and not sent out, bringing great vitality to the teaching, administrative and working staff.

Over the years, the staff of Jiaotong University has become enormous because of the policy of only bringing in personnel and not sending them out. The ratio of staff to students among the nearly 10,000 present staff and students is nearly 1:1, and there is no way to replenish the strength of mainstay faculty and new students within the stipulations relevent to personnel strength. And the contradiction of insufficient work strength in some areas but the oversupply of talent beyond authorized strength is a rather sharp one. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the school's party committee has adopted a series of important measures to find suitable work for the broad faculty and constantly improve their working and living conditions, so they could get what they deserved and develop their strengths, but there is still an oversupply of highly trained talent in some areas, while some capable "heroes" have no room to exercise their talents. The overwhelming majority of those of the faculty which have been retained, are graduates of the same school and have become established in the faculty so basically that they are all of the same mold, creating, over a long period of time, the phenomenon of something close to biological "inbreeding" which prevents learning and absorbing the best of other schools. In addition, during the past few years, over 1,000 young workers have been assigned work by the socially adopted methods of "unified arrangement," "group recruiting of workers," and "replacement system." They have been the victims of a decade of disorder, and the cultural level of many is too low for them to be suited to the demands of university work.

After Jiaotong University began personnel exchange work, the University's personnel office organized cadres to go to departments and teaching and research sections to understand thoroughly the personnel level of the basic units and the needs and shortages of specialized personnel. Throughout, the University's party committee conducted numerous specific studies and deployments and repeatedly explained to departments and teaching and research sections the profound significance of this personnel exchange work. Then with the departmental party general branch as the basic unit, they conducted some ideological work among the Jiaotong University comrades who were being transferred so that they would understand that shifting from Jiaotong University to factory, research agency and newly established school work was so that individuals could fully develop their talents, get what they deserved and play an even greater role. At the same time, they thoroughly resolved the actual problems of transferring personnel, mainly that technical cadres needed jobs suited to their specialties without influencing the material treatment of transferred personnel and paying attention to satisfactorily resolving questions on conforming to conditions of promotion so that they would be happy to undertake new work posts.

This exchange of Jiaotong University personnel involved 10 specialties: dynamic mechanics, engineering mechanics, applied physics, applied mathematics, precision instruments, electronic engineering, electrical engineering and computers. Some of the personnel graduated from University in the 1970's, some in the 1950's and 1960's and even some graduated about the time of Liberation. They went to the First Bureau of Electromechanics, the Second Bureau of Electromechanics, the Bureau of Handicrafts, and universities, factories and research institutes subordinate to research agencies. After arriving at their new units, many of the personnel involved did very good work, some became the responsible persons of a technical section, some became teaching mainstays of schools, some independently shouldered important tasks. Faced with these realities, comrades who were transferred out said, with deep feeling, "The Jiaotong University party committee really wanted us to play a role."

Some of the personnel moved out, but some also moved in. In the past two years, Jiaotong University has newly built a science department and an industrial management department and some new frontier specialties, to strengthen the teaching and research in basic theory and sophisticated science, and now has transferred in some mainstay cadres and technicians who have expertise in these specialties. After their arrival at Jiaotong University, some have become mainstays in the new specialties there, some have made contributions to the school by training graduate students to go abroad. After being transferred to Jiaotong University to work, one professor established with the other professors a Light Communications Research Agency and became a leader in this new field. Jiaotong University is still considering the weaknesses in the learning of students at industrial and scientific universities and is preparing to provide electives for them in literature, music and the arts. The necessary faculty is already being recruited, and over 2,000 applications have been received from all over the country. Jiaotong University will either transfer in or hire the best of them.

8226
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

XINJIANG JAPANESE LANGUAGE SOCIETY--The Urumqi area Japanese Language Study Society, the first foreign language study mass organization in Xinjiang, was established on 6 October. The society will support teaching of the Japanese language and organize translation of Japanese publications and introduction of advanced science and technology from Japan. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1620 GMT 23 Oct 80 OW]

NEI MONGGOL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT--Nei Monggol's 1980 technical school enrollment has concluded, and 9,000 new students have begun their studies. There are 74 technical schools or technical study classes throughout the region with some 16,900 students attending. [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Oct 80 SK]

JILIN JOINT UNIVERSITY--A joint university was recently established in Jilin Municipality, Jilin Province, under the sponsorship of Jilin Normal University, Jilin Institute of Electrification of Metallurgical Industry and Jilin Engineering Institute. The joint university has departments in Chinese languages, the chemical industry, mathematics, the electrification and automation of industrial enterprises and chemical engineering. Applicants should either be educated youths in urban areas of Jilin Municipality or those settling in the countryside. They should either be educated youths in urban areas of Jilin Municipality or those settling in the countryside. They should pay 10 yuan per person as a monthly tuition fee. Following graduation, they will receive the same treatment accorded those from other universities. [SK300702 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Oct 80 SK]

KAZAK LANGUAGE PUBLISHING HOUSE--The Ili People's Publishing House, the first Kazak language publishing house in China, starts operating in Xinjiang's Ili Kazak autonomous prefecture. Among the first 17 books to be published in the Kazak language are some dealing with 4 major inventions in ancient China and other topics. Besides this publishing house, there are at present other Kazak language editorial departments at the Beijing Nationality Publishing House and the Xinjiang People's Publishing House. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1620 GMT 30 Oct 80 OW]

XINJIANG PUBLISHING HOUSE--Urumqi, 29 Oct (XINHUA)--China's first Kazakh language publishing house--the Ili People's Publishing House--was recently established in Kuytun City in Ili Kazakh autonomous prefecture, Xinjiang. To be published initially will be "The Four Major Inventions of Ancient China," "Scientists on Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry," long poem "The Stars of Junggar Basin" and 14 other books. In addition to this Kazakh language publishing house, Kazakh language editorial groups have been established in the Beijing Nationalities' Publishing House and the Xinjiang People's Publishing House. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0116 GMT 29 Oct 80 OW]

SHANDONG ISLAMIC CONGRESS--The second Shandong Provincial Islamic Congress was held 17-23 October in Jinan. Over 140 Muslims of Hui nationality and Islamic patriotic personnel attended. Representatives of Christians, Catholics, Buddhists and Taoists extended congratulations. The congress set forth these tasks for the Shandong Provincial Islamic Association: implementing the policy on religious freedom, organizing Islamic personnel to study, uniting Muslims to contribute to the Four Modernizations, establishing friendship with foreign Muslims, supporting the just struggles of Islamic countries, opposing hegemonism and protecting world peace. [SK251009 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Oct 80 SK]

SHANGHAI FAMILY PLANNING--The Shanghai television station recently held a discussion meeting of advanced units and individuals in family planning, preschool education and women's and children's work. Yang Kai, vice mayor of Shanghai, spoke at the meeting on family planning work and encouraged each couple to have only one child. The Shanghai television station announced that it would show a video tape recording of the meeting on Channel 5 on the evening of 23 October. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 23 Oct 80 OW]

CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 76832

18 November 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 139

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76832

18 November 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 139

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Western Public Opinion Polling Techniques Explained
(Yuan Yuan; RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Sep 80)........................ 1

Muskie Holds Press Conference on Hostage Issue
(XINHUA, 2 Nov 80).. 4

Thai Foreign Minister Comments on UN Kampuchea Vote
(XINHUA, 24 Oct 80).. 5

Pakistan President Discusses Afghan Refugee Situation
(XINHUA, 3 Nov 80).. 6

Arab Ministers Urge End to Iran-Iraq War
(XINHUA, 29 Oct 80).. 7

USSR Plundering Afghanistan's Resources
(XINHUA, 29 Oct 80).. 8

Bangladesh Official Discusses Gulf War, Kampuchea, DRA
(Beijing Domestic Service, 3 Nov 80)........................ 9

Afghan Guerrillas Claim Successful Anti-Soviet Operations
(XINHUA, 4 Nov 80).. 12

Afghan Guerrillas Active Against Russians
(XINHUA, 29 Oct 80).. 13

Ugandan Paper Denounces Soviet 'Exploitation'
(XINHUA, 2 Nov 80).. 14

Japanese Rally Demands Return of Northern Territories
(XINHUA, 25 Oct 80).. 15

GDR Restricts Visits Between Germans, Poles
(XINHUA, 29 Oct 80).. 16

British Foreign Secretary Ends Visit to Hungary
(XINHUA, 30 Oct 80).. 17

Jamaica's Political Turbulence Noted
(XINHUA, 29 Oct 80).. 18

Hong Kong Entrepreneur Sets Up Private Business in Shenzhen
(STANDARD, 30 Oct 80).. 20

PRC, French Geologists Complete Phase of Himalayas Study
(XINHUA, 29 Oct 80).. 22

EEC To Limit Steel Production
(XINHUA, 1 Nov 80)... 23

Briefs

Vietnamese Soldier Withdrawal 24
Greater ASEAN Vigilence 24
Polish Officials in Moscow 24
Hungarian Officials, Unionists Meet 25
Textile Delegation to Panama 25
Argentina Seismic Seminar 25
Thai Prime Minister Visits 25
Cuba Releases Americans 26
Japanese Official Criticizes Soviets 26
Hong Kong, London Flights 26
Chinese Americans' Association 26
Thai Official on Kampuchea 27
Polish Official Visits USSR 27
British Official in Poland 27
Yugoslavian Defense 27
Indian Ocean Naval Forces 28
Soviet Invasion Denounced 28
U.S., USSR Neutrality 28
Pakistan Air Exercise 28
Soviet Offensive in Afghanistan 29
Afghans Abroad Refuse Returning 29
Bani-Sadr Appeals 29
Egyptian-Somali Military Agreement 30
Soviet Aggression Scored 30
Palestinians, U.S. Military Facilities 30
France, Saudi Arabia Security Agreement 31
USSR Invasion Scored 31
Waldheim on Iran-Iraq 31
Iraqi Cease-Fire Offer 32
Arab Foreign Ministers Meeting 32
Security Council Resolution Rejected 32
Pakistan Protests Afghan Attack 32

PARTY AND STATE

Respect, Concern for People Said Necessary in Ideological, Political Work
(Tan Yao; GUANGMING RIBAO, 19 Aug 80)........................ 33

Hong Kong Paper Reports 'Gang of Four' Trial To Be Filmed
(SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, 29 Oct 80)........................ 37

Position of Eunuchs in Ming Dynasty
(Guo Houan; GANSU XUEBAO; 10 Jan 80)........................ 38

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Briefs

Shanghai Family Planning Magazine 55

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION POLLING TECHNIQUES EXPLAINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 80 p 5

[Article by Yuan Yuan [0337 0337]: "The Origin of Public Opinion Polls"]

[Text] Public opinion polls, also called public opinion balloting originated in the United States. It is said that the first public opinion polls were conducted by newspapers prior to presidential elections for the purpose of making news attractive. The polls were conducted by asking readers to fill out and mail in simulated ballots in newspapers, called "straw ballots," to ascertain the attitudes of the citizens in order to forecast the outcome of presidential elections. So far as we know, the earliest "public opinion polls" were conducted by the Harrisburg PENNSYLVANIAN and the Raleigh STAR of the United States in 1824. However, the polls at that time exercised very little influence. People began to gradually pay attention to them only as late as the end of the 19th century. Beginning in 1904, public opinion polls of various scales were conducted prior to each presidential election. At first, the public opinion poll conducted by the LITERARY DIGEST magazine was in the limelight because of its scale and the accuracy of its predictions. However, in the 1936 presidential election campaign, the poll conducted by the LITERARY DIGEST predicting that Alfred M Landon would defeat Franklin D. Roosevelt turned out to be staggeringly inaccurate. At that time, LITERARY DIGEST mailed out a total of 10 million questionnaires, of which more than 2,370,000 were returned. Based on the statistical results, the magazine categorically predicted that Alfred M Landon would defeat Franklin D Roosevelt! However, another poll-taker, the "American Public Opinion Poll Institute," which was founded by George H Gallup only in 1935 and was then still unknown to the public, announced a totally different prediction: Franklin D Roosevelt would win by a majority. The result of the voting was 19 million votes for Roosevelt, a margin of 11 million over the total for Landon. This success has helped boost [Gallup's] reputation for accuracy ever since.

After 1936, attracting people's interest was no longer the main concern of public opinion polls; they entered a new era by applying scientific approach to practical research work. The public opinion polls were applied by Gallup not only to forecast the results of presidential elections, but also to political and social surveys, and even to go still further to market surveys and so forth. In 1939, Gallup founded a "Listeners' and Viewers' Survey and Research Institute" to specifically investigate the reactions of the public to broadcasting programs and moving pictures. At the same time, two public opinion poll organizations, respectively established by

Elmo Roper and Archibald M Crossley, also were very active. These are the three big public opinion poll organizations in the United States. In 1937, the American Public Opinion Research Association began to publish a "Report on Public Opinion Polls." In 1941, a "National Survey and Research Center" was set up by the University of Denver, which turned it over to the University of Chicago in 1947. Meanwhile, a number of public opinion poll organizations were set up in principal capitalist countries one after another. In 1970, the World Association of Public Opinion Polls had 300 members from 31 countries, among them members from countries in East Europe, Asia, and Africa, as well as Latin America.

The emphasis of public opinion polls in the beginning was on being fascinating; they made no claim to being scientific. The disastrous defeat of LITERARY DIGEST in 1936 was due chiefly to its wrong approach. No matter how large the scale of "straw ballots" was, its questionnaires were mailed to people chosen from telephone directories and from lists of automobile owners; yet people who did not own telephones or automobiles also cast their votes on election day. Therefore, a great disparity was certain.

The approach which Gallup adopted was "typical sampling." Based on Brown's theory of "typical selection," he classified a cross-section of the total American population into a number of terms under different categories such as sex, age, income, political attitudes, and locality. A certain number of survey targets were then allocated proportionally, thereby completing synthetical statistics. In the 1936 public opinion poll, he selected 1,000 survey targets. Facts have proven that if the proportion of typical sampling is selected correctly, it is usually more representative than nationwide large-scale polling.

However, this is not to say that this method is the acme of perfection. An unusual polling failure by all three big public opinion polling organizations--Gallup, Roper, and Crossley--as well as that of the month-long survey conducted by the NEW YORK TIMES throughout the nation took place in the 1948 presidential election [campaign]. At that time, these public opinion polling organizations, as well as the information media, which depend on public opinion polls, all announced that Thomas Dewey would defeat Harry Truman. The outcome of the election went just the other way. This failure caused public opinion polling institutions to be taunted by the whole nation. People made them "eat crow" (meaning to bow one's head and admit one's guilt). The Gallup Public Opinion Poll Institute and others conducted an investigation of their setbacks and came to a conclusion. They found that when they carried out their typical surveys, they overlooked voters who had only an elementary school education and they set the closing date for the survey too early; the attitude of the American people "changes everyday, and almost every hour." Since then, techniques for conducting public opinion polls have been reformed. A new technicque, which combines both the "typical sampling" and the "random survey" (which is to select the target of survey at random), has been adopted so that the subjective flavor in the technique of typical selection might be attenuated.

In practice, polling was done in the very beginning by "straw ballots" in newspapers which readers were asked to fill out and mail in. This method was called the "card technique." Later, both the methods of "mailing questionnaires" and of "questioning people by interviewers" were separately employed. "Mailing questionnaires" means mailing the contents of questionnaires to the survey targets and then compiling the answers; "questioning people by interviews means hiring canvassers to go out and question people individually (sometimes the telephone is also utilized).

In the West, public opinion polls meet with both praise and censure from the public. When they fail, people criticize them for having "fallen into a trap"; when they succeed, people praise them as being "absolutely reliable." We should say that public opinion polling has its advantages. It is an important technique for understanding society. They key lies in the attitudes and techniques of the pollster. In the capitalist society, wrangling exists among the parties and factions, and their financial groups and they intrigue and maneuver against each other. Their entanglements would certainly influence public opinion polling organizations. Polling also has been much used by politicians as a means of attacking their opponents; furthermore, the outcome of polls is utilized by them to influence public opinion. Therefore, one can hardly blame people who criticize that the "public opinion poll" has changed from an "instrument for testing" to an "instrument for commanding."

9560
CSO: 4005

MUSKIE HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE ON HOSTAGE ISSUE

OW020228 Beijing XINHUA in English 0218 GMT 2 Nov 80

[Text] Washington, November 1 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie said today some "essential circumstances" have been realized for the release of the American hostages, but the United States still has no way of knowing when the release will come to fruition.

Speaking at a press conference held at the State Department, Muskie said there was a "growing awareness" in Iran that it is in Iran's interest to resolve the hostage issue. Iran's parliament has been put in place and a prime minister has been selected. But "we don't really know what terms the Iranians may propose if they take a decision tomorrow." "I have no basis upon which to set a time frame for a final resolution of the hostage question," he added.

Debate in the Iranian parliament on the hostage release began some time ago and a public debate on the terms for the release is scheduled in parliament tomorrow.

Muskie indicated that there probably would have to be some negotiations even if Iran's parliament debate concludes with a decision on the terms, saying such negotiations "are a probability because of the complexity of the issues."

Meanwhile, the administration assured Iran of its acceptance of the regime of Ayatollah Khomeyni. Answering a question at a press briefing yesterday, State Department spokesman John Trattner said, "We have accepted the results of the April 1979 referendum and consider the present government of Iran as the legally constituted government in Iran."

This move by the State Department is noted here as "part of the Carter administration strategy to try to persuade authorities in Iran that it accepts the revolutionary government." One of the conditions set by Khomeyni for the hostage release is a U.S. promise not to interfere in Iran's internal affairs, the others being return of the late shah's property, unfreezing of Iranian assets and dropping of legal claims against Iran.

CSO: 4020

THAI FOREIGN MINISTER COMMENTS ON UN KAMPUCHEA VOTE

OW241340 Beijing XINHUA in English 1258 GMT 24 Oct 80

[Text] Bangkok, October 24 (XINHUA)--Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila told the press yesterday that the adoption of the ASEAN proposal on Kampuchea by an overwhelming majority vote in the U.N. General Assembly has shown that the proposal is correct and won the support of the people throughout the world, according to press reports here today.

Vietnam and the Soviet Union, he pointed out, should heed the views of the great majority of countries. If they want peace, they should accept ASEAN's proposal. Their rejection of this proposal is unjustified. Past practice has proved what they have done is wrong.

Vietnam has done much to advertise its willingness to enter into direct negotiations with Thailand on the Kampuchean problem. This is an attempt to divert public attention from facts and the root cause of the problem. The Kampuchean problem is not an issue between Thailand and Vietnam but one of foreign troops' invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. Therefore, a dialogue between the two would not possibly bring peace to Kampuchea, he said.

Thailand, the foreign minister noted, has not ignited a war in Kampuchea. The Thai troops are stationed in Thai-Kampuchean border areas for the sole purpose of defending the state sovereignty.

He said that the Vietnamese people are afflicted with untold suffering. The country is faced with many problems. Its grain shortage is expected to reach three to four million tons next year. The Vietnamese authorities should keep the interests of their own people at heart and spend much more time to build their country instead of pursuing war, Sitthi added.

CSO: 4020

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT DISCUSSES AFGHAN REFUGEE SITUATION

OW030113 Beijing XINHUA in English 0103 GMT 3 Nov 80

[Text] Islamabad, November 2 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Mohammed Ziaul Haq said this evening that his people felt the pain of the Soviet intervention against the people of Afghanistan, who were their brethren in faith and their next door neighbour.

Speaking at a civic reception held in Peshawar, capital of the North West Frontier Province, he pointed out that due to this intervention, hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees crossed over to Pakistan, and their number reached from 1.1 to 1.2 million. Their deplorable conditions were a challenge to human conscience. If this challenge was not met and no voice was raised against it, then it would be knocking at the doors of someone else tomorrow, he added.

For this principled stand, he went on to say, Pakistan was being punished with violations of its northern and northwestern borders. Defenceless and innocent refugees were fired upon and the border posts were attacked from air.

The president stressed that these attacks were intended to telling Pakistan that it will have to pay heavily, if it does not abandon its present policy on Afghanistan. But, Pakistan's policy was based on certain moral principles, which it could not abandon at any cost.

The president emphasized, "We cannot sacrifice our principles to please others, nor can we compromise our national prestige due to threats." He added, "Every man, woman and child of Pakistan would be steadfast to foil any designs against the security of Pakistan."

He reiterated that Pakistan wanted a political settlement of the Afghan crisis. "We wish that foreign troops should leave Afghanistan and its Islamic and non-aligned character should be restored." Pakistan also wished to see the Afghan refugees return to their homeland with honour and dignity and the Afghan people allowed to have a government of their own choice, he said.

CSO: 4020

ARAB MINISTERS URGE END TO IRAN-IRAQ WAR

OW291600 Beijing XINHUA in English 1524 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Amman, October 29 (XINHUA)--The participants in a meeting of the seven-member committee of Arab foreign ministers here expressed the hope that the war between Iraq and Iran would end as soon as possible and that Arab efforts would be focused on the main danger facing the Arab nation--Israeli aggression and occupation.

The foreign ministers of Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Algeria and the head of the political department of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) are meeting here to make preparations for the 11th Arab summit conference to be held here next month.

In a statement on his arrival here yesterday, Saudi Foreign Minister Sa'ud Ibn al-Faysal expressed the hope that "the war between Iraq and Iran would end as soon as possible.

The Palestine question, he said, "will be the foremost among the topics the foreign ministers' committee will discuss in drawing up a strategy for the summit."

In his arrival statement, Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir stressed that it is necessary to tackle inter-Arab problems and confront the major challenges facing the Arab nation.

Meanwhile, Algerian Foreign Minister Ben Yahia said that the aim of the meeting is to draw up a unified Arab strategy for confronting the Zionist enemy and achieving the paramount goals of the Arab nation in liberating Palestine including holy Jerusalem and the occupied areas."

In a statement to the press, PLO spokesman 'Abd al-Muhsin Abu Mayzar said, "PLO hopes that the Iraq-Iran war could be ended."

Speaking at the first session of the meeting, head of the PLO political department Faruq Qaddumi pointed out that the meeting should focus on the main danger confronting the Arab nation, namely, Israeli aggression and occupation.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR PLUNDERING AFGHANISTAN'S RESOURCES

OW291955 Beijing XINHUA in English 1942 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 29 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union is milking Afghanistan of natural gas and other resources, according to a UPI report from Peshawar today quoting a group of former Afghan senior officials who fled to the Pakistan border town of Peshawar recently.

The officials said that the Soviets are taking large quantities of natural gas, fertilizer, cement and other Afghan goods but paying only a small part of their real value.

They said that the Soviet occupation troops now take complete hold of Khoja Gogerdak and Jar Qudugh gas fields in Jauze Jang Province, about 18 miles from the Soviet border.

"They (Russians) are treating our resources as if they belonged to Russia," noted a Planning Ministry official. "They do not even let us examine our own records so we don't know exactly how much gas Afghanistan actually produces," complained another official from the Ministry of Mines and Industries. They estimated production of the fields at 2.3 billion cubic meters per year.

The officials said that the Soviet Union purchases the country's total gas production at dlrs 82 per 1,000 cubic meters on credit which they said comes to only half the world market price.

The Soviets also buy fertilizers, cement, cotton seed oil and fruits on a credit/barter basis, with Afghan products calculated at half their commercial value and the Soviet exchange goods overvalued, the officials said.

An economist who used to work at the Planning Ministry disclosed that the Afghans purchase sugar on credit in return for their cement sales and lose dlrs 97 per ton of sugar on the deal in terms of world market standards.

Urea nitrogen fertilizers from the Mazar-i-Sharif plant in Balkh Province fetches only dlrs 120 per ton, or less than half world market price, a former Agriculture Ministry official said.

The Soviets have halted all shipment of olives and citrus fruits from orchards outside Jalalabad to Iran, and pay about 25 per cent of what the Iranians used to pay for the now requisitioned produce, they added.

CSO: 4020

BANGLADESH OFFICIAL DISCUSSES GULF WAR, KAMPUCHEA, DRA

OW032313 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Nov 80

[From the "Forum on International Affairs" feature--"Recent" interview by Mme (Chen Yunqi) of the UN Broadcasting Department with Bangladesh Foreign Minister Mohammad Shamsul Haq attending the UN General Assembly--recorded in English fading into Mandarin translation]

[Text] [Chen] Mr Foreign Minister, you are aware that the Iran-Iraq conflict has caused very serious concern around the world. The Islamic conference good-will delegation has been trying to mediate the conflict between the two countries. In your opinion, what are the prospects for settling the conflict? What other measures is the Islamic conference prepared to take?

[Haq] The problem that you have mentioned is indeed an extremely distressing one about which all UN member states are concerned. As you know, the two Islamic, developing and nonalined Asian countries must take measures themselves to end the unfortunate, tragic hostilities between them. The delegation sent by the Islamic conference was not a mediation but a good-will delegation. The purpose of the delegation was to convey to the leaders of Iran and Iraq the great concern of the Islamic conference member states for the relations between the two countries. This is what the good-will delegation did. It called on the presidents of the two countries and briefed the conference of foreign ministers of Islamic countries on the situation. After hearing the briefing, those attending the conference of foreign ministers of Islamic countries had their own views on the situation. But they all held that it is neccessary, first of all, to stop the hostilities and to seek a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the two countries. We will further hear the opinions of the two countries and study them. With the UN Security Council's endorsement, positive proposals have been put forward. I have found that all delegates from nonalined countries to the UN Security Council are concerned about this matter. We should make special efforts and ask the UN Security Council to endeavor to have the two countries stop their hostilities and peacefully settle their conflict at a negotiation table. The UN Security Council held a formal meeting and adopted a resolution calling on the two sides to stop their hostilities and settle their conflict through peace talks. We hope that Iran and Iraq will send their representatives to the UN Security Council and the Islamic conference to hear the opinions of other countries. In this way, it will be possible to find a way to stop the very unfortunate hostilities between the two countries. A fair and honorable settlement of the conflict should be sought through peace talks.

As far as Bangladesh's stand is concerned, it is the same as the stand of most other countries. People will be disappointed if any country does anything causing the war to spread or expand. We hope that the two superpowers will remain neutral.

[Chen] We really hope that you will be successful in this. The next question is: What stand does your country take on the question of the Kampuchean seat in the United Nations?

[Haq] I believe you understand that the stand taken by Bangladesh is a principled one. We have taken this stand in line with the principles of the UN Charter--serious respect for the sovereignty of all countries, refraining from using military or other means to interfere in other countries' internal affairs and refraining from using armed force or the threat of force to settle a conflict. We recognize the right of all countries to choose their own political, economic and social systems. But I hold that they should be able to make their own choice without foreign interference. These are the principles on which Bangladesh has based its stand.

The change of government in Kampuchea has been caused by others' interference. Therefore, our stand is that all foreign troops should withdraw from Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people should be allowed to choose their own government freely without any outside interference or military threat. As you know, we support the government of Democratic Kampuchea and its seat in the United Nations.

[Chen] Yes, in this connection, the ASEAN countries have suggested that an international conference be called sometime in 1981 to discuss the Kampuchea issue. What is your opinion on this?

[Haq] I should consider this proposal sympathetically so far as Bangladesh is concerned. I think you understand that the root cause for the clash is unfortunately spreading in Asia and in the developing Third World. All the delegates attending the UN session must join their efforts to eliminate the root cause of the conflict. Just like what you have seen, special conferences have been held on other major issues. Therefore, we cannot find any reason to oppose the holding of such conference.

[Chen] Another disquieting situation in Asia is the Afghanistan issue. The special session of the General Assembly held last January adopted a resolution calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan. However, as of now, this resolution has not been carried out. This issue will once again be debated at the UN session. What will be the outcome of the debate?

[Haq] I believe this is a major issue about which all UN member nations are concerned because Afghanistan is located in a very sensitive area. It borders Pakistan and Iran. Therefore, Bangladesh, as an Asian nation and a member of the Security Council and a developing nation, earnestly hopes to step up its efforts to find a political solution for this issue. This calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops and efforts to create conditions to help the Afghan people determine their own destiny and choose their own government. The refugees who continuously pour into Pakistan and Iran have also created another new issue. I believe that the groups concerned are drafting a resolution. We hope that the delegates attending the UN session will support this resolution. This is a proposal put forward by the Islamic conference. I hope that this proposal will be adopted by the majority of the UN member nations at the 35th General Assembly.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AFGHAN GUERRILLAS CLAIM SUCCESSFUL ANTI-SOVIET OPERATIONS

OW041602 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 4 Nov 80

[Text] Islamabad, November 4 (XINHUA)--Afghan freedom-fighters shot down two Russian helicopter gunships and captured a sub-provincial headquarters in Jawzjan Province bordering the Soviet Union northwest of Kabul, a spokesman of the Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan said this in Peshawar today quoting a report from Sang Charak, Jawzjan Province.

The freedom-fighters also claim to have killed 100 Russian and Afghan Government troops, and destroyed ten tanks. In retaliation, Russian planes bombarded the area. In all the attacks, Russian planes came directly from Soviet soil.

He also reported that another fight took place in Khawal sub-province of Jawzjan Province, with the Russians suffering even more casualties in this incident.

According to a spokesman of Hezb-i-Islami (Islamic Party) of Afghanistan in Peshawar today, Afghan freedom-fighters also inflicted very heavy losses on the Russian and Karmal's troops in big clashes in Alishang District of Lagham Province northwest of Kabul on October 29. Over a hundred Russian troops were reported killed and eight tanks and armoured cars destroyed in the fight.

He added that Russian troops had attacked Alishang District several times before in an attempt to gain control over the areas liberated by freedom-fighters but each time they were beaten back.

Freedom-fighters recently attacked the Russian troops stationed in Maqoor District of Ghazni Province southwest of Kabul, destroying two tanks and one armoured car, the same source said.

Guerrilla operations by freedom-fighters were also reported in various parts of Logar Province south of Kabul.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AFGHAN GUERRILLAS ACTIVE AGAINST RUSSIANS

OW291520 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 29 (XINHUA)--Afghan freedom-fighters have been successful in their guerrilla operations in the capital Kabul nearly every night, according to a spokesman of Hezb-i-Islami of Afghanistan in Peshawar today.

He added that the freedom-fighters attacked Soviet forces on October 26 in Shahabuddin Maidan region, about two kilometers west of Kabul. In this surprise attack, an oil tank was burnt down, 30 Russian soldiers were killed and one Russian tank destroyed.

Heavy fighting between freedom-fighters and Soviet troops was reported in various areas in Kunduz Province bordering the Soviet Union, the same source said. In a battle on October 26 in Ajighat village of Imam Sahib District of the province, 10 Russian soldiers were killed by a mine planted by the freedom-fighters. In another fight lasting about three hours early in the morning of October 26 in the same district, 38 Russians were killed and 50 others wounded. In addition, two Russian armoured cars and two personnel carriers were destroyed.

According to the Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan in Peshawar today, Afghan freedom-fighters are actively fighting the enemy in the northern provinces along the Afghan-Soviet border and the main roads of these provinces. The freedom-fighters staged a surprise attack on Faizabad airport recently in Badakhshan Province, killing five Russians including one officer, and destroying a tank and a jeep. The source said that in another attack near the Amu River on October 10, 13 Russians including one officer were wiped out. In Baghlan Province, the freedom-fighters attacked the sub-governor headquarters two weeks ago, killing 30 Russians and destroying 7 enemy tanks. They also attacked a militia center in the Rustaq District of Takhar Province, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. The Russians had tried to strengthen their positions in Rustaq but failed.

The source said that the freedom-fighters ambushed a Russian convoy last week along the Kabul-Logar road and traffic remained closed for many days there as a result of this encounter. Scattered fighting took place in different areas along the Kabul-Gardez highway. The Kabul-Jalalabad highway was also attacked very often.

The same source added that the freedom-fighters recently attacked the western part of Jalalabad city and killed five Russians.

CSO: 4020

UGANDAN PAPER DENOUNCES SOVIET 'EXPLOITATION'

OW021643 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 2 Nov 80

[Text] Kampala, November 2 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union has been "camouflaging its imperialist designs of exploitation and plunder with socialist rhetoric of mutual benefit and cooperation" in its economic relations with Third World countries, the Ugandan weekly TOPIC notes in its latest issue.

Referring to Soviet trade with these countries, the weekly says that the trade has been characterized by unequal exchange. In recent years, it adds, the Soviet Union has been raising the prices of its exports. From 1970 to 1974, for instance, it sold its products to Third World countries at prices 70 per cent higher than those of products turned out by Western industrialized countries.

At the same time, the weekly goes on, the Soviet Union has been forcing down the prices of its imports from the Third World. It is estimated that the Soviet Union makes purchases in the Third World 15 per cent cheaper than its rivals.

Furthermore, the weekly points out, the Soviet Union often resells its imports to obtain hard currencies to the detriment of the developing countries.

On the Soviet cooperation with over 50 developing countries in production, the weekly says that instead of helping them realize self-sufficiency and consolidate economic independence, the Soviet Union has been trying by every means to secure raw materials from them. Through building companies for Third World countries on credits and getting part of the products as repayment, the Soviet Union obtains extraordinary opportunities for worldwide economic manipulation and domination.

All this shows the economic aggressiveness of "the natural ally" of liberation movements and anti-imperialist struggles of the Third World, the weekly says in conclusion.

CSO: 4020

JAPANESE RALLY DEMANDS RETURN OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES

OW251658 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 25 (XINHUA)--Some 1,500 representatives of various circles and strata from all parts of Japan held a mass rally in Tokyo this afternoon to express their determination to push forward the movement of demanding the Soviet Union to return the northern territories, according to [word indistinct] report from Tokyo.

Japanese Foreign Minister Masayochi Ito, who is now in Hokkaido to inspect the northern territories at sea [as received] sent a message from Menuro City to the rally, calling on the various private organizations to enhance still more powerfully the movement of backing the government's efforts in negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Ito said in his message that he had decidedly brought up the demand for the return of the northern territories when he had talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in New York this autumn. He added, "the government is resolved to carry on still more tenaciously the negotiations with the Soviet Union to seek an en bloc return of the four islands."

Addressing the rally, Taro Nakayama, director-general of the administrative affairs in the prime minister's office, said: "The Suzuki cabinet agrees to develop Japanese-Soviet friendly relations." "However," he emphasized, "we should make the Soviet Union understand that the return of the northern territories is indispensable for the development of genuine Japanese-Soviet friendly relations." He added that he agreed to the proposal by a woman representative on the establishment of "day of northern territories."

Other speakers at the rally expressed their great indignations at the despotic act of the Soviet Union which has continued illegal occupation of Japan's inherent northern territories and has installed more military bases there. They pointed out that in order to repel the Soviet high-handed attitude, the Japanese masses should unite closely by overcoming t[illegible] differences in political faith and generations, persist tenaciously in the just demand and make still more efforts to arouse international public opinion.

A declaration adopted at the rally criticized the illegal Soviet occupation of the four Japanese northern islands for 35 years and reiterated the demand for their return.

The rally was sponsored jointly by 93 private organizations.

CSO: 4020

GDR RESTRICTS VISITS BETWEEN GERMANS, POLES

OW291929 Beijing XINHUA in English 1922 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Berlin, October 29 (XINHUA)--The German Democratic Republic (GDR) will, as of October 30, enforce new regulations which restrict private visits between citizens of the country and Poland.

Under the regulations, GDR citizens can visit Poland only at the invitation of their Polish hosts and with the authorisation of the police section charged with issuing passports and handling exit formalities. The frontier checkpoint will examine whether they have gone through all the formalities.

Polish citizens, on the other hand, must have invitations issued by GDR citizens and endorsed by GDR authorities before they are allowed to enter and stay in GDR. GDR citizens, foreign nationals, and those who have settled in GDR without specific nationality can invite Polish people to visit them only with approval by the pertinent police authorities.

Polish workers and their families in GDR must produce certificates issued by the enterprises concerned when they travel to or from the GDR territory.

People of the two countries have been visa-free in mutual visits. A visitor needs only to show his identity card when crossing the border.

The GDR Government stressed that the changes introduced in travel regulations are "temporary."

CSO: 4020

BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY ENDS VISIT TO HUNGARY

OW300150 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 30 Oct 80

[Text] Budapest, October 29 (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary of State Lord Carrington said here today that what had happened in Poland was a matter of Polish internal affairs and he hoped that all countries would share the same view.

He made the statement at a press conference before leaving for Warsaw at the end of his official visit to Hungary. He was the first British foreign secretary of state to visit the country since 1975.

He told reporters that he was the first minister from the West to visit Poland since the Polish event had taken place. He hoped that his visit would be helpful to a clear understanding of what had happened in Poland.

Talking about his visit to Hungary, he said that his visit was to further develop the bilateral relations and promote confidence in each other.

He said that he had had friendly and constructive talks with his Hungarian counterpart Puja Frigye. Both sides held that there were no problems in the Anglo-Hungarian relations and they expressed their willingness to further the development of the bilateral relations on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual respect, he added.

Carrington and Puja also had an exchange of views on international affairs which, he said, had led to a better understanding of each other's positions.

Hungarian party leader Kadar Janos met Carrington this morning, who arrived here on October 27.

CSO: 4020

JAMAICA'S POLITICAL TURBULENCE NOTED

OW291846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Georgetown, October 28 (XINHUA)--With the general election date set for October 30th approaching, the political situation in Jamaica has become more and more turbulent as the struggle between the ruling People's National Party (PNP) and the main opposition party, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), turned white-hot, according to a report from Kingston.

As the nation-wide election campaigns carried out by both the PNP led by Prime Minister Michael Manley and the JLP led by Edward Seaga now entered into the final stage, supporters of both parties have held mass rallies in various places of the country and Manley and Seaga outlined their respective election programmes and lashed out at each other on many occasions.

Seaga announced at a rally in the capital of Kingston today that "if the government tries (to win the election) by manipulation, by abuse, by fraud," his party will respond to it with the call for a general strike. At the same time, Manley urged his supporters to refrain from letting themselves be provoked.

The election campaign in Jamaica has been conducted at a time when the political uncertainty and the frequent political-inspired violences prevailed in the country. Over 500 people have been slain in violence since Prime Minister Manley announced the general election earlier this year. The PNP and JLP blamed each other for the violence, especially for the slaying of Roy McGann, assistant national security minister.

Jamaica also faces grave economic difficulties. According to Western news agencies, now unemployment in Jamaica has reached 30 percent, the country's indebtedness is about 1,450 million U.S. dollars and its annual growth rate in 1979 was minus two percent.

Both the ruling and opposition parties hold diametrically opposed views as to the grave social and economic problems facing the country. PNP leader Manley wanted to continue to practice his "democratic socialism" and refused to accept the loans offered by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), while JLP leader Seaga insisted that a free-enterprise economy be restored, the country's relations with both Cuba and the Soviet Union severed and the IMF's loans accepted.

Manley accused JLP of trying to reimplant the power of the moneyed groups with the support of the United States, while the JLP leader charged the ruling PNP leader with "flirting" with Cuba and wanting to transform Jamaica into an "English-speaking Cuba" as well as ruining the country's economy. The JLP leader has recently also exposed the arrival of seven high-ranking Cuban officials in Jamaica and requested that the government closely watch them so as to make the general elections free from any outside interference.

CSO: 4020

HONG KONG ENTREPRENEUR SETS UP PRIVATE BUSINESS IN SHENZHEN

HK300124 Hong Kong STANDARD in English 30 Oct 80 p 2

[Text] A Hong Kong businessman has opened what he claims is China's first privately owned business--a hamburger bar in the border town of Shenzhen.

And according to Mr Lai Ping-kun, the Chinese are eager to try their first taste of fast food.

But the shop has a more important role to play--as a testing ground for free enterprise in China.

"They want to use us as a guinea pig for how they will adopt the capitalist way of business," said Mr Lai.

He also plans to set up a HK$2 million factory making instant noodles.

The shop, Wang Ming Co-Food Factory, which also sells chips, hot dogs, rice and drinks, will be used for comparing with other forms of business in the country, such as state-owned, collective-owned and joint ventures with foreign countries, he said.

Mr Lai said the business was originally to be a joint venture.

It was later turned into a private-owned business and the decision was approved by the Guangdong Provincial Administration of Special Economic Zones.

Mr Lai said the profit of the business will not be shared and the business has only to pay rents and income tax to the Chinese authorities.

Wing Ming Co-Food Factory is paying 1,000 yuan a month for a shop area of 140 sq meters in liberation road.

The shop pays a 15 percent income tax, is the same for joint ventures in the special economic zones.

"There is no testing period for the business," Mr Lai said, adding that he is confident that the shop will make a profit.

The most striking advantage of a private-owned business is "flexibility," he said.

"We can respond to the changing demands of the market quickly, and we can sack inappropriate workers without consulting the Chinese authorities," he said.

Mr Lai said the equipment and materials for the noodle factory will be imported from places like Japan and Taiwan and the noodles will be sold locally and overseas.

Some of the materials for the fast food are imported from Hong Kong, such as beef, flour and potatoes.

The shop's chefs are all brought from Hong Kong, mainly to ensure that the quality of the food is up to the standard.

However, Mr Lai praised local workers. "They are very hard working and regulation-biding," he said.

CSO: 4020

PRC, FRENCH GEOLOGISTS COMPLETE PHASE OF HIMALAYAS STUDY

OW300022 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Lhasa, October 29 (XINHUA)--Chinese and French geologists have completed a two-month-long study of the Himalayas in the first phase of a three-year project.

Scientists of the two countries have studied the geological structures and the formation and evolution of the earth's crust and upper mantle of the Himalayas so as to uncover the factors that caused the upthrust.

The joint project is part of a Sino-French agreement on scientific and technological cooperation signed in 1978. It is the first joint project that Chinese scientists have ever undertaken in the Himalayas.

The Chinese scientists participating are scholars from the Chinese Academy of Geological Sciences, the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Geological Bureau of Tibet, who have been engaged in geological research into the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau for years.

Many of the French scientists have previously participated in field expeditions to the southern slopes of the Himalayas.

Covering a total distance of more than 5,000 kilometres from the southern foot of the Nyainqentanglha Mountains to the Himalayas proper, the scientists have collected nearly 10,000 paleobiological and rock samples and charted a geological map of the area. They studied the ophitic suite, part of a former marine bed and the upper mantle, which was uplifted because of a collision between two tectonic plates. Their findings have provided important clues to the study of the theory of tectonics.

The Chinese and French geologists have found typical tethys rock characteristic of the ancient Mediterranean area. This is an important scientific clue in the study of the paleobiology in the Himalayas. Tethys has been found in the Kashmir area only in the past few years.

French Professor Colohen discovered that the ophitic rock in Dazhuka is covered with a layer of marine sedimentation, a phenomenon he had earlier found on a Mediterranean island. He concluded that a sea environment still existed when the ophitic rock was formed. French Professor Nicolas, through the study of characteristics of rock formations in very deep geological layers, discovered that the marine bed rock dating back more than one hundred million years is of the same type as that found in the middle ridge in the Atlantic.

CSO: 4020

EEC TO LIMIT STEEL PRODUCTION

OW011702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1649 GMT 1 Nov 80

[Text] Brussels, October 31 (XINHUA)--The European Common Market officially declared last night that the steel industry in Europe was in a state of "manifest crisis" and EEC member countries have approved an emergency plan to put mandatory limits on steel production.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Common Market in Luxembourg yesterday.

The decision calls for cuts of between 13 and 20 per cent in steel products in the last quarter of this year. It will continue in effect until June 30, 1981.

Since the founding of the Common Market, it was the first time that such a measure was taken in accordance with the European coal and steel community treaty.

EEC steel production has been deteriorating since last June. Shrinking market, reduced production, price cuts and declining finance forced the EEC Commission to ask the Council of Ministers on October 6 to change the situation by imposing mandatory production cuts on the industry.

The steel industry is of great importance to the EEC economy. Over 700,000 employees of the industry are following the decision uneasily. The production cuts will inevitably bring about unemployment. From 1974, the beginning of the steel crisis, to 1980, the industry has 180,000 employees less, one fourth of the total number now employed. The number of unemployed in the steel industry reached 8,816 this month, or 2.5 times that of the previous month.

There is uncertainty about next year's steel production. According to the estimation of the International Iron and Steel Institute, consumption in Europe will drop 4.6 per cent as happened this year. The September issue of the Belgian monthly NOUVEAU COCKERILL said, "People discover today that the real crisis has just begun. No one knows where it will go."

SO: 4020

BRIEFS

VIETNAMESE SOLDIER WITHDRAWAL--Beijing, November 1 (XINHUA)--A number of South Vietnamese soldiers stationed in the city of Kompong Chhnang of Kampuchea recently openly demanded the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reports today. The radio said these South Vietnamese soldiers distributed leaflets in the city on October 25 along with Kampuchean puppet troops and self-defence guards, denouncing the Hanoi authorities for launching the war of aggression and demanding that Vietnam implement the related U.N. resolutions by withdrawing its troops from Kampuchea and allowing the Kampuchean people to solve their own problems by themselves. The radio said similar leaflets also appeared in and around the barracks, creating a panic among Vietnamese officers. [Text] [OW010734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 1 Nov 80]

GREATER ASEAN VIGILANCE--Hong Kong, October 31 (XINHUA)--The Malaysian paper SING PING YIT PAO in an editorial yesterday called on the ASEAN countries to be prepared against foreign aggression. The editorial said that Thailand and the other ASEAN countries are opposed to Vietnam's military aggression against Kampuchea. They believed that Vietnam's motive may not confine to the conquest of Kampuchea. It recalled that the Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea had intruded into Thailand's border area but were firmly repulsed by the Thai frontier guards. The editorial pointed out that Thailand is a member of ASEAN and enjoys its full support. ASEAN regards any aggression against Thailand as a challenge to itself, it added. Therefore, it said, the ASEAN countries must be prepared and strengthen their defense capability. [Text] [OW311708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1634 GMT 31 Oct 80]

POLISH OFFICIALS IN MOSCOW--Moscow, October 30 (XINHUA)--First secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Stanislaw Kania and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Jozef Pinkowski arrived here today on a "friendly working visit" at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government. Polish leaders were greeted at the airport by Leonid Breshnev, Nikolay Tikhonov, Andrey Gromyko and Konstantin Rusakov. It is believed that the talks between the Soviet and Polish leaders will center on the current situation in Poland and the Soviet authorities' attitude towards the Polish event. [Text] [OW301706 Beijing XINHUA in English 1657 GMT 30 Oct 80]

HUNGARIAN OFFICIALS, UNIONISTS MEET--Budapest, November 4 (XINHUA)--The government and representatives of the trade unions called a joint meeting recently to discuss the tasks of the national economy, the new five-year plan, the people's living conditions, employment, social policies and other major problems, according to a Hungarian press report. The report said that the trade unions agreed with the objectives as fixed in the draft of the new five-year plan. The trade union representatives stressed at the meeting that "a major requirement to ensure a wholesome social atmosphere lies in the maintenance of the average real wages of the workers, salaried employees and members of the agricultural cooperatives in 1980. The representatives urged the administrative institutions of the government to pay special attention to the living standards of the working class in the days to come." They also proposed a hike of the real value of family and child care subsidies, social benefits and minimum pensions. Such joint meetings have been held semiannually since 1975. [Text] [OW041614 Beijing XINHUA in English 1605 GMT 4 Nov 80]

TEXTILE DELEGATION TO PANAMA--Panama City, October 23 (XINHUA)--Vice-President of Panama Ricardo De La Espriella this afternoon received Huang Runting and two other representatives of the China National Textile Import and Export Corporation and had a cordial and friendly talk with them. De La Espriella welcomed the establishment of the office of representatives of the China National Textile Import and Export Corporation in Panama as a new step for promoting the relations between Panama and China. The three representatives of the corporation arrived here not long ago. [Text] [OW270926 Beijing XINHUA in English 0751 GMT 24 Oct 80 OW]

ARGENTINA SEISMIC SEMINAR--Buenos Aires, October 24 (XINHUA)--Over 80 seismologists and geologists from more than 20 countries held a five-day seminar which ended today in San Juan, West Argentina, to discuss earthquake forecasting and estimates of quake disasters. The Chinese delegation made a report on the characteristics and divisions of China's seismic structure, the features, classification and forecasting of major earthquakes in recent years, and other problems. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 25 Oct 80 OW]

THAI PRIME MINISTER VISITS--Beijing, October 28 (XINHUA)--General Prem Tinsulanon, prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, and his party attended the Chinese historical dance drama, "Silk Road Episode" here this evening. Arranged by the Ministry of Culture, the performance was presented by the song and dance ensemble of the art troupe of the Ministry of Coal Industry. Set in the most prosperous period of the Tang Dynasty, the dance drama describes how a Dunhuang muralist, his daughter and a foreign merchant, trading along the silk road, help each other and cement a close friendship. The performance drew enthusiastic applause. At the end of the performance, the prime minister went on stage and presented the dancers with a basket of flowers. Accompanying the distinguished Thai guests were Huang Zhen, minister of culture, Han Nianlong, vice-minister of foreign affairs, and Zhang Weilie, Chinese ambassador to Thailand. This afternoon, Prime Minister Prem and his party toured the temple of heaven. [Text] [OW281508 Beijing XINHUA in English 1459 GMT 28 Oct 80]

CUBA RELEASES AMERICANS--Havana, October 27 (XINHUA)--Thirty Americans released by the Cuban authorities left here for home today. The Cuban Government announced on October 13 the release of all 33 Americans who had been locked up in Cuban territory. An AP report said about 10 of the 33 were alleged hijackers. Most of the rest were convicted on charges of trafficking in drugs. Most of them were arrested in the past two years. It is reported that American officials said most of the returnees would be arrested on some charges when they returned home. A Western diplomatic source said this was "a positive step" towards the Carter administration as "part of a general pattern of attempts at reconciliation." Three other released Americans chose to stay in Cuba. [Text] [OW271837 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 27 Oct 80]

JAPANESE OFFICIAL CRITICIZES SOVIETS--Tokyo, October 24 (XINHUA)--Japan will continue to press the demand for the return by the Soviet Union of the Japanese northern territories and persist in its steadfast diplomacy towards that country, stressed Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito today. According to a KYODO report, he criticized the Soviet Union for its military buildup in the northern islands and its military intervention in Afghanistan. Speaking before the House of Councillors special committee on security, Okinawa and northern problems this morning, Ito said that the Soviet Union is one of Japan's major neighbours. However, Japan's northern territories are still under the illegal Soviet occupation. He expressed much regret for the recent Soviet military buildup on the northern territories. He said that on the one hand, Japan should stand firm on what it should do in its dealings with the Soviet Union, and on the other hand, it believes major diplomatic tasks is to establish stable relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of mutual understanding." He said that Japan would beef up its defense power because a U.S. military buildup in the Indian Ocean has reduced American military power in Asia and the West Pacific. "Under such circumstances," the foreign minister said, "what our country cna do is to abide by the people's dedication to pure defense and not to be a military power, persevere in replenishing and reinforcing our self-defense forces within the framework of the constitution and to ensure the deterrent effect of the Japan-U.S. security treaty." [Text] [OW241248 Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 24 Oct 80]

HONG KONG, LONDON FLIGHTS--Beijing, Oct. 28 (AFP)--The Chinese flag carrier CAAC will make its first direct flight from Beijing to Hong Kong next Tuesday and its first flight to London on November 15, it was officially announced here, today. Chinese officials said the civil aviation administration of China (CAAC) would operate three weekly flights from here to the British colony and one weekly flight to London in line with a September 1979 Sino-British air agreement. British Airways will meanwhile inaugurate a weekly London-Bombay-Hong Kong-Beijing flight on November 12. [Text] [OW281134 Hong Kong AFP in English 0953 GMT 28 Oct 80]

CHINESE AMERICANS' ASSOCIATION--Washington, October 25 (XINHUA)--The National Association of Chinese Americans (NACA) held here today its second national convention, which was attended by representatives from various parts of the country. A report on the association's work in the past few years was delivered by its former President Dr. Chen-ning Yang. The convention elected a new executive committee with retired MIT Professor Yao-Tzu Li as the association's president. The association's work for the coming years was discussed at the convention. Chinese Ambassador Chai Zemin gave a reception this evening in honour of the convention's participants. The NACA was founded three years ago for the enhancement of friendship between the American and Chinese peoples as well as among the Chinese Americans. [Text] [OW270926 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 26 Oct 80 OW]

THAI OFFICIAL ON KAMPUCHEA--Bangkok, October 28 (XINHUA)--Thanat Khoman, deputy prime minister of Thailand, said yesterday that the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea violated international law, according to Thai National Radio. His statement was made in reply to newsmen after presiding over the ASEAN scientific and cultural ministerial conference being held in Thailand's city of Pattaya. He stressed that the Kampuchean problem is not one between Thailand and Vietnam, but is one between Vietnam and Kampuchea. He added that confronted with the condemnation by international public opinion, the Vietnamese authorities are trying to strengthen military operation in Kampuchea. Therefore, Thailand must be more watchful against Vietnam's military moves in Kampuchea. [Text] [OW281528 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 28 Oct 80]

POLISH OFFICIAL VISITS USSR--Warsaw, October 29 (XINHUA)--Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, and Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, are going to the Soviet Union tomorrow on a working visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, according to a PAP report today. [Text] [OW300846 Beijing XINHUA in English 0709 GMT 30 Oct 80]

BRITISH OFFICIAL IN POLAND--Warsaw, October 20 (XINHUA)--The visiting British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington said here this evening that events in Poland were "self-evidently an internal affair to be settled by the Polish Government and people without external interference." He made the point in a toast at a dinner given in his honour by Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek. Before the dinner, he was received by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and they conferred on international problems and ways and means of strengthening Polish-British relations. Chairman Jozef Pinkowski of the Polish Council of Ministers met him later today. They discussed bilateral relations and stronger economic ties in particular. The British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs came here from Budapest today for a three-day official visit to this country. [Text] [OW300849 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 30 Oct 80]

YUGOSLAVIAN DEFENSE--Belgrade, October 29 (XINHUA)--The need to steadily strengthen the armed forces was stressed at a meeting of the National Defence Council of the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today, according to a TANJUG report. Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the presidency of the Federal Republic, chaired the meeting which discussed the present international military and political situation. The meeting pointed out that the further deterioration of the international situation makes it imperative for Yugoslavia to strengthen its defence in all fields, that is, to strengthen economic, social and political stability and the armed forces. The meeting called on the people of all nationalities of the country to do their utmost towards this end. [Text] [OW300851 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 30 Oct 80]

INDIAN OCEAN NAVAL FORCES--Paris, October 28 (XINHUA)--Five French minesweepers are en route to the Indian Ocean to join the permanent naval squadron there, the president's office announced here today. They include two 700-ton mine hunters and three 450-ton minesweepers, accompanied by a supply ship. They will be based at Djibouti. The ships left a week after France sent the guided missile frigate Sufren to the Indian Ocean. [Text] [OW291407 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 29 Oct 80]

SOVIET INVASION DENOUNCED--Beijing, November 1 (XINHUA)--The Central African and Gabonese presidents "condemn the Soviet troops' invasion of Afghanistan, a non-aligned Islamic country," said a joint communique issued yesterday at the end of the two-day visit to Gabon by President David Dacko of Central Africa, according to a report from Libreville. The communique added that the two heads of state supported the mediation by non-aligned countries in the Iran-Iraq conflict and their call for a cease-fire so as to restore a fair, lasting peace in the region. In the communique, the two presidents reiterated their willingness to continue working for the maintenance of world peace based on mutual respect for state sovereignty and independence, freedom and justice. The two presidents reaffirmed their support to the South-west African People's Organization and expressed their appreciation of the efforts made by the members of the ad hoc committee of the Organization of African Unity for the restoration of peace and a reconciliation in Chad. They also expressed their willingness to help settle the conflict by peaceful means. [Text] [OW011908 Beijing XINHUA in English 1850 GMT 1 Nov 80]

U.S., USSR NEUTRALITY—Baghdad, November 1 (XINHUA)--Iraqi Foreign Minister Sa'dun Hammadi declared today that his country would be "very pleased if the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries adopt a really neutral attitude" towards the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. He told the National Assembly that the United States could not be considered truly neutral if it sent Iran arms "under any guise." Hammadi said Iraq was "defending its national sovereignty and independence." The foreign minister pointed out that Iraq wanted to build a kind of stability and equality in relations with Iran without any intention of expansion or domination. [Text] [OW020726 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 2 Nov 80]

PAKISTAN AIR EXERCISE--Islamabad, October 31 (XINHUA)--A major operational exercise of the Pakistan Air Force code-named "Jetstream 1980" started today. The 10-day nation-wide exercise, in which various types of aircraft as well as air and ground defence elements are participating, is designed to test operational concepts and to assess the preparedness of the Pakistan Air Force for its assigned tasks. In his order issued on the commencement of the exercise, the chief of the air staff, Air Chief Marshal Muhamad Anwar Shamim, reminded air force personnel that vigilance and operational preparedness were the key to effective defence of the country. Observers here believed that the current military exercise has special significance after the repeated attacks on Pakistan territory by Afghan helicopter gunships. [Text] [OW311722 Beijing XINHUA in English 1659 GMT 31 Oct 80]

SOVIET OFFENSIVE IN AFGHANISTAN--Islamabad, November 1 (XINHUA)--The foreign troops in Afghanistan have been seen moving towards the borders with Pakistan and Iran to launch a pre-winter offensive against the Afghan freedom-fighters, said a report in the paper THE MUSLIM today quoting an eye-witness. The witness, who visited north Waziristan, the Pak-Afghan border area and crossed over the border recently, said that the situation prevailing in Afghanistan was likely to force the Kabul regime to seal off its borders with the neighbouring countries. The source said that the Kabul authorities would also attempt to prevent the Afghan refugees and other people from crossing the border into Pakistan and Iran. The Kabul government was very unhappy with the Zardan tribesmen of the Paktia Province, where Afghan Minister of Tribal Affairs Fayz Mohammad and his two companions were assassinated by the Afghan freedom fighters last month. The government is reported to have asked the Zardan tribe to hand over the murderers. According to the source, the tribesmen have rejected the order and are continuing their struggle against the Afghan government. The source added that the refugees, mostly belonging to the Zardan tribe, have become main target of government gunship assaults because the tribesmen have been supporting the cause of the freedom fighters. [Text] [OW011300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 1 Nov 80]

AFGHANS ABROAD REFUSE RETURNING--Beijing, November 1 (XINHUA)--The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan is so disgusting to the Afghan people that many of them who had the chance to go abroad were reluctant to return to the country. An AP dispatch from New Delhi quoted a Western diplomatic source in that city as saying yesterday that some of the hundreds of Afghan pilgrims who went to Mecca last month have asked the Saudi Arabian Government for permission to remain in that country. Several of those who had expressed reluctance to return home were reportedly Afghan officials, the same source said. The Afghans had traveled to Mecca, the holiest city of the Islamic world, during the annual period of pilgrimage. The diplomat also quoted a "qualified Western source" as saying that about two-thirds of the 1,500 doctors in Afghanistan three years ago have fled the country, and about half of the remaining 500 doctors are serving in the Afghan army, the AP report said. A Khalqi official working in the printing department of the Education Ministry in Kabul was taken to a police station by the secret police recently for questioning about a pamphlet protesting the presence of the estimated 85,000 Soviet troops in the country since late last December. The report said several of the official's colleagues went to the station and secured his release. However, the group issued a statement later claiming that although they would remain in their jobs, they would continue to protest against the presence of Soviet troops in their country. [Text] [OW011210 Beijing XINHUA in English 1203 GMT 1 Nov 80]

BANI-SADR APPEALS--Tehran, October 29 (XINHUA)--President of Iran Bani-Sadr in a letter called on countries of the non-aligned movement to condemn the Iraqi aggression on Iran, according to the TEHRAN TIMES today. Bani-Sadr in his letter said that he was making the appeal in consonance with the spirit of the non-aligned movement which respects the integrity and sovereignty of an individual nation and its affirmations of neutrality and impartiality in judging conflicts of this nature. [Text] [OW291530 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 29 Oct 80]

EGYPTIAN-SOMALI MILITARY AGREEMENT--Cairo, November 3 (XINHUA)--An agreement to increase military cooperation was signed between Egypt and Somalia, Somali Chief of State of the Armed Forces Omar Haj Mohamed announced here yesterday, according to the Egyptian paper AL-AHRAM. Omar Haj Mohamed made the announcement at the end of a ten-day visit to Egypt. He said that he had successful talks with Egyptian Minister of Defence Ahmad Badawi during his visit. The Somali chief of staff emphasized that policies adopted by Egypt affect Somalia for political, geographic and cultural reasons. Defending the need for the present state of emergency in Somalia, he said that it is necessary in order to fully prepare the country against Ethiopian raids. However, he went on to affirm that Somalia is committed and ready to resolve the conflict with Ethiopia through peaceful means. [Text] [OW031516 Beijing XINHUA in English 1502 GMT 3 Nov 80]

SOVIET AGGRESSION SCORED--Beijing, October 29 (XINHUA)--The Soviet troops must withdraw immediately and restore sovereignty to the Afghan people, declares a reader's letter in today's NATIONAL HERALD. The letter says: "The Russians have committed wanton aggression against Afghanistan and they are trying to justify it by all means. Karmal is their principal stooge and he enjoys no popular support. It is no argument that one needs foreign troops to maintain law and order in one's own country--this is only Russian propaganda." The letter points out: "The Russians are also great enemies of Islam and of religion generally. Now they are trying to take full advantage of the war between Iran and Iraq to consolidate their position in Afghanistan. They think the world will not pay any more attention to their aggression and the continuing atrocities which amount to genocide against the poor and defenceless people of Afghanistan." "It is a pity that the people and government of India have not unequivocally condemned the Soviet action, giving rise to the impression among sections of the Afghan people that we are indifferent to their plight. They are facing the greatest challenge to their freedom and we in India who have a record of support to other countries fighting for independence must not sit still," the letter says. [Text] [OW291355 Beijing XINHUA in English 1235 GMT 29 Oct 80]

PALESTINIANS, U.S. MILITARY FACILITIES--Cairo, 3 Nov (XINHUA)--Mustafa Khalil, vice-president of the Egyptian National Democratic Party for Foreign Affairs, said today that the Palestinians are part of the Arab nation and have their own identity of which they should not be stripped, MENA reports. In an interview with the paper ASH-SHARK AL-AWSAT published in Paris, Khalil declared that peace in the Middle East will not be a comprehensive and lasting one unless it does justice to all the parties concerned. He explained his country's views concerning the issue of Jerusalem, saying that Israel's annexation of the city is null and void and unacceptable as it violates the Geneva conventions prohibiting the acquisition of land by force. He went on to say that the issue, as agreed at Camp David, is subject to negotiation. But this does not mean that Egypt accepts Israel's claim that East Jerusalem can be ceded to it. On Egypt's agreement to give the U.S. military facilities, Khalil said that the facilities, which are not military bases, are temporary arrangements governed and brought about by the circumstances and are under the sovereignty of Egypt. "These facilities are not anti-Soviet positions," he said. [Text] [OW040716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 4 Nov 80]

FRANCE, SAUDI ARABIA SECURITY AGREEMENT--Beijing, November 4 (XINHUA)--Saudi Arabia and France signed an agreement on November 2 for cooperation under which France will help train members of the Saudi security services and set up a center in Saudi Arabia for the study of the French language, according to reports from Riyadh. France will also furnish that Gulf country with equipment for coastal defence. The agreement was signed by Saudi Interior Minister Nayif Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz and visiting French Interior Minister Christian Bonnet. France recently concluded a nearly three billion U.S. dollar arms deal with the world's largest oil-exporting country. The deal described by French papers as "the deal of the century," involves the purchase of naval arms and equipment. [Text] [OW041919 Beijing XINHUA in English 1858 GMT 4 Nov 80]

USSR INVASION SCORED--Ankara, October 27 (XINHUA)--The Turkish paper SON HAVADIS points out in a commentary today that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the lesson drawn from the incident should never be forgotten. The commentary entitled "Afghanistan Is Forgotten" says, "The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is aimed at driving southward to the Indian Ocean via Afghanistan. Now the Russians are only 300 kilometers awey from the Indian Ocean." It adds that in the past few years, the Russians entered Afghanistan under the cover of giving technical aid. They built roads there, which enabled their tanks and armoured vehicles to roll into Afghanistan easily and turned it into part of the Soviet Union. Today, the commentary says, the Soviet Union is carrying out the power politics as Hitler once did. "The Turkish people," the commentary says in conclusion, "are well aware of what the Soviet Union has done. Therefore, Turkey must make itself powerful as soon as possible." [Text] [OW281518 Beijing XINHUA in English 1508 GMT 28 Oct 80]

WALDHEIM ON IRAN-IRAQ--United Nations, October 28 (XINHUA)--U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim expressed hope once again today that the Iran-Iraq conflict "may soon be brought to an end" through the efforts of the Security Council. In a personal appeal, the secretary-general "urges in the strongest terms, in accordance with established humanitarian law, that the utmost care be exercised in distinguishing between non-military and military objectives and between the civilian population and combatants to assure that civilians shall enjoy general protection against the dangers arising from military operations." Meanwhile, in a letter addressed to Waldheim yesterday, Iraqi Minister S. Hammadi declared that "no partial or total withdrawal should be practically contemplated" unless it is supported by the achievement of "the recognition by Iran of our sovereignty and rights" and "its reaffirmation of the principle of the inadmissibility of her acquisition by force of Iraqi territories and those of neighbouring Arab states in the Arab Gulf"; and of "practical arrangements" that guarantee the withdrawal. He also declared, "There is no longer any border agreement which delimits the frontiers between the two countries with the exception of the protocol for the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontiers signed in 1913." [Text] [OW290130 Beijing XINHUA in English 0109 GMT 29 Oct 80]

IRAQI CEASE-FIRE OFFER--Baghdad, October 28 (XINHUA)--Iraqi President Saddam Husayn reiterated Iraq's readiness for a cease-fire and negotiations to solve the problems with Iran peacefully, the press here reported today. He made the statement yesterday in his talks with the visiting special envoy of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The settlement of the disputes should guarantee Iraq's sovereignty, independence and its legal rights to its territory and waters, he said. [Text] [OW281714 Beijing XINHUA in English 1644 GMT 28 Oct 80]

ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING--Amman, October 28 (XINHUA)--The seven-member committee of Arab foreign ministers began meeting here this evening. The committee was formed and entrusted by the July Arab foreign ministers' conference to prepare a "pan-Arab political strategy" for the forthcoming period, which will be presented to the 11th Arab Summit scheduled for November 25-27 in Amman. The meeting was attended by foreign ministers from Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, as well as by PLO's political department director and Arab League secretary general. Speaking at the opening meeting, chairman of the committee and Jordan's foreign minister Marwan al-Qasim said: "There should be no differences among our Arab countries except the differences in terms of time and means in gaining our goals, because any difference among our ranks will pose a threat to Arab nation." "We must strive to deal with the challenges of disintegrating our ranks and undermining our existence," he added. After the opening ceremony, the meeting proceeded to the closed session. The meeting is expected to last three days. [Text] [OW290132 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 29 Oct 80]

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION REJECTED--Tehran, October 27 (XINHUA)--Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i announced here yesterday that Iran would not accept the U.N. Security Council's resolution on the Iran-Iraq war, ETTELA'AT reported today. He was talking to a correspondent of this evening newspaper. "Our resolution is being issued at Khuninshahr [Khorramshahr] and signed with the blood of our brothers and sisters," he said. Raja'i denied occupation of Abadan and Khuninshahr by Iraq. "The existence of hand-to-hand fighting in the two cities proved itself that they are not in the enemy's hands," he added. [Text] [OW271858 Beijing XINHUA in English 1851 GMT 27 Oct 80]

PAKISTAN PROTESTS AFGHAN ATTACK--Islamabad, October 28 (XINHUA)--The charge d'affaires of the Afghan Embassy to Pakistan was called today to the foreign office of Pakistan and a strong protest was lodged with him regarding the latest Afghan helicopter attack on Pakistan territory. Six Afghan helicopter gunships attacked a refugee camp and adjoining villages in the north Waziristan agency at three places situated between Miran Shah and Datta Khel in North West Frontier Province on October 24. The charge d'affaires was asked to convey to the authorities in Kabul the protest of the government of Pakistan at this unprovoked and deliberate attack well within Pakistan territory which had caused injuries to three civilians including one child. [Text] [OW281628 Beijing XINHUA in English 1614 GMT 28 Oct 80]

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

RESPECT, CONCERN FOR PEOPLE SAID NECESSARY IN IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Tan Tao [6223 3325]: "Respect People, Trust People, Show Concern for People"]

[Test] Mao Zedong said in his "On Protacted Warfare": "Many people handle the relations between officers and soldiers and the relations between the army and the people badly. I think that the method is wrong. I always tell them that it is a problem of fundamental attitude (or fundamental purpose). This attitude is to respect the soldiers and respect the people. If they begin with this attitude, then there will be various policies, methods and ways. If they depart from this attitude, the policies, methods and ways will certainly be wrong and the relations between the officers and soldiers and the relations between the army and the people will undoubtedly be handled badly. The three great principles of army political work are: firstly, the unity between officers and soldiers, secondly, the unity between the army and the people and thirdly, the unity to disintegrate the enemy forces. These principles must be carried out effectively and must start from the fundamental attitude of respecting the soldiers, respecting the people and respecting those enemy captives who have already laid down their weapons. Those people who think that it is not a problem of fundamental attitude but is a technical problem have incorrect thinking and should be corrected." Although Comrade Mao Zedong said this during the time of the national-democratic revolution, it does speak of army political work. However, in ideological and political work, it is first necessary to take a correct attitude towards people and respect people and then afterwards we can have correct policies, methods and ways. This basic view still has a guiding significance for us today to do well ideological and political work.

Ideological and political work is work concerning people and is the work of training people. This is general knowledge known by all. However, to understand this general knowledge is one matter but is another matter whether or not they can comprehend the deep significance of this general knowledge, correct their attitudes towards the people and employ correct methods to develop ideological and political work. It goes without saying that people are very complex organisms. Each person has their various attributes: natural attributes, social attributes and in a class society there are also class attributes. Among people there are also various types of relations: biological relations, social relations and in a class society there are also class relations. Within the different attributes and relations of people there are distinctions and connections. Our ideological and political work only goes under the premise that there is comprehensive and unified knowledge of the different attributes and relations of people. Using the attitude of seeking truth from facts and the correct method, then we can attain good results.

In the past the very reason why we achieved outstanding successes in our ideological and political work was because we adopted a correct attitude and correct method in dealing with the targets of our work. The ideological and political workers at that time always viewed the targets of their own work as class brothers, comrades and friends, respected their honor, creative spirit and efforts to forge ahead, and showed great concern for their material and spiritual well-being. There was mutual respect, mutual sympathy and fraternal friendship among the comrades. There was also the sharing of comforts and hardships and feelings of family closeness among all comrades.

Later, however, due to the influence of leftist thought, especially the poison of the ultraleftist line, there appeared a deviation in our views and attitudes towards people. We always considered people as class people and a person's class as his only attribute. We only paid attention to a person's class nature and class relations and overlooked their other attributes and other relations to the point that among the comrades in the party, among teachers and students in the schools and among the masters and apprentices it was always necessary to mention the problem of class relations and it was always necessary to carry out a class analysis of people's words and deeds. Under the guidance of this type of viewpoint the tradition of respecting people, trusting people and showing concern for people in ideological and political work was discarded and no one dared to make inquiries about it. If someone mentioned respecting people, trusting people and showing concern for people they were then denounced as "lacking a strong sense of class stand" or were labeled as "revisionists standing for class conciliation." Today, we need to restore the prestige of ideological and political work, to eliminate the influence and poison of leftist thought and the ultraleftist line and to basically correct the attitude towards people and respect people, trust people and show concern for people. This will bring about, the scientific fulfillment of our socialist ideological and political work.

During the different periods of historical development, relations among people are determined by people's economic relations. In a feudal society, the relations between people are relations of enslavement and dependence. Marx pointed out that the principle of the autocratic system "generally speaking is underestimating people, showing contempt for people and not considering them as people" (see "The Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, page 411). In a capitalist society, the relations between people are money relations and "cash transactions" and "it transforms individual respect into exchange value" (quoted from "Communist Manifesto"). In a socialist society, after we eliminate the oppressive system, the relations between people should be that between equal, mutually helping and cooperative comrades. This type of relationship is the economic relationship determined after the elimination of the oppressive system, and only after the oppressive system has been eliminated can there be the potential for its full realization. After the oppressive system was eliminated in China, besides their class natures and class relations, people's other attributes and relations had gradually become prominent. This type of trend should be sharply pointed out and given full attention by ideological and political workers.

Naturally, there still exists in China the struggle of proletarian ideology and non-proletarian ideology (such as the evil legacy of feudalistic thought, capitalist thought and petty bourgeos thought). The neglecting and discarding of this type of ideological struggle is harmful for the proletariat and the great masses. Therefore, if we accord with the viewpoint formed over the past several years and view this type of ideological struggle as a class struggle between people, this is also incorrect. We must appropriately deal with the differences and relations of these certain non-proletariat ideologies and those that are influenced by this type of thought.

We must criticize incorrect thought and yet people must have well intended attitudes and a desire for unity. Only in this way can we adopt a positive ideological struggle and attain new unity on a new foundation.

Marxism has always considered that the masses are the moving force in creating world history and are the practical main body. When we mention the demands of respecting people, trusting people and showing concern for people in ideological and political work, it is the use of this viewpoint as a theoretical basis. It is necessary to criticize them and help them correct their flaws and shortcomings and it is also necessary to first of all respect them, trust them and show concern for them. We cannot injure their moral quality and self respect. People always have self respect, regard for themselves and self confidence. To not respect another person's moral quality, to train them for no reason or to viciously slander them we will then encounter their disdain and dissatisfaction. We have often said that we should transform negative elements into positive elements and actually positive elements exist in these comrades themselves. If we do not see this one point and do not adopt an attitude of respect and trust and show concern towards them, no matter how much ability we have we will not be able to transform and bring out the positiveness of the comrades. Innumerable facts prove that to have others conform to our intentions, our intentions must be correct and for others to be satisfied with our desires, it is necessary that we respect others and trust others.

Some intellectuals and returned overseas Chinese say that: "The greatest worry is that we cannot attain trust." How can this statement not be worthy of our consideration? This is nothing more than saying that the class origins of these comrades are complex, their political histories are complex and their ideological situations are complex. In reality, these views frequently reflect the existing onesidedness in our own mind. We tend to look only at the historical situations of intellectuals and returned overseas Chinese, but not at the real performance of these comrades nor the ardent love for the homeland of these comrades who wholeheartedly contribute their intelligence and wisdom for building and strengthening their socialist homeland. Ideological and political workers must exert themselves to eliminate the influences of ultraleftist thought and ultraleftist lines, constantly, examine themselves, carefully look to see whether or not they have biases and prejudices towards the intellectuals and returned overseas Chinese, widen their field of vision, expand their knowledge and start with correcting the relations between these comrades and themselves.

Marxism always considers that the relationship between the educator and the educated is one of dialectic unity. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Only by speaking for the masses can we educate them and only by being their pupil can we be their teacher." ("Talks At The Yenan Forum On Art And Literature"). This is a famous saying. It is a commonly existing phenomenon that for some matters the leaders have come to recognition but the masses have still not. But the opposite situation also exists, that the masses have come to recognize some matters when the leaders still have not. When the masses have already recognized it, they should express their opinions. If at this time, the deficient knowledge of the leaders takes the views and opinions of the masses as erroneous opinions and treats them as ideological problems they they will be making the error of subjectivism and bureaucratism. Originally, there was the question of mutual study between the educator and the educated. Looking at it from this angle, it can be seen that respecting people, trusting people and showing concern for the people by the leaders and ideological and political workers is the very least to be done in order to carry out ideological and political work in a scientific manner and on the basis of reality.

In our development of ideological and political work, whether in the form of praising or criticizing, there is one goal, to induce people who have different ideologies, ideals, wishes, feelings and interests to realize the four modernizations so that all of us, inside and outside of the party, will devote wholeheartedly to the four modernizations, pooling our wisdom, efforts and strength. Ideological and political work should take praise as primary which will give the honor of outstanding achievement and high character to those who are praised and also provide a study example for other comrades. Naturally, not carrying out conscientious criticsm and letting drift those who truly need criticism is also incorrect. For the two forms of praise and criticism, neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. Whether it is praising people or criticizing them both necessitate understanding people. Only if we understand people can we appropriately praise them or criticize and help them. This will cause ideological and political work to be closely linked with reality and enter the bottoms of their hearts. To establish the work of understanding and knowing well people and situations is the essential technique of ideological and political work.

Ideological and political work is subordinate to the general goal of building the four modernizations. For the one goal of building the four modernizations, it is necessary to continually satisfy the needs of the daily increasing material life and cultural life of the masses. In accord with this, the showing of concern for the people's vital interests should be reflected in the process of ideological and political work. Many of the ideological problems of people are because their own desires or vital interests cannot be realized and properly resolved. No matter how we view our own vital interests, there is the problem of coordinating the individual, collective and national interests. Some comrades only stress individual interests and do not look at the collective interest and the national interest. Naturally, it is necessary to educate these types of comrades, yet we should also show concern for them and present the facts, reason things out and help them. For those comrades who objectively and truly have difficulties, we should show concern for them and make every effort to help them resolve their difficulties. If we do not help them resolve their existing, unresolvable difficulties how can we find fault with these comrades. This type of method is obviously not in accord with the aim of ideological and political work and cannot achieve good results.

The Party Central Committee appeals to us that to successfully carry out the building of the four modernizations, it is necessary to strengthen party leadership, improve party leadership and raise the party's fighting capacity. To do well ideological and political work is an important step toward strengthening and improving party leadership. In view of the many new situations and new problems that appear in building the four modernizations, while restoring the good tradition of ideological and political work it is also necessary to enthusiastically improve and promote creativity so that this work can be carried out scientifically. Only if we respect people, trust people and show concern for people in specific work and, while educating the masses pay attention to their study and ideological and political work will we be welcome to the great masses. The masses will then wholeheartedly praise the ideological and political workers as their own "good teachers and helpful friends" and "close friends."

9480
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG PAPER REPORTS 'GANG OF FOUR' TRIAL TO BE FILMED

HK291015 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 29 Oct 80 p 9

[Text] The public trial of the "gang of four" will be filmed and shown in cinemas throughout the country at a later date, according to novelist and movie playwright Chen Canyun.

Mr Chen said this at a recent seminar at the Grantham Training College.

The film may also be shown in Hong Kong in future, he said.

Mr Chen (66) and another prominent Chinese author, Mr Qin Mu, are in Hong Kong for 2 weeks during which they will be engaged in a series of cultural activities here.

In his lecture to 500 young people, Mr Chen said the cultural circles in China were watching the trial closely as three of the people, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, had been involved in cultural matters for a long time and many in the cultural circles were persecuted during the cultural revolution.

Mr Qin (61) presented a rosy picture of the current cultural field on the mainland. Not only are the older cultural workers such as Mao Tun, Bujin and Ye Shentao diligently engaged in their work, but younger authors and novelists are being groomed to take up the mantle of the older people.

Today's writers are no longer the physically weak ones as were so often the case in the past. Many of them are athletes and fighters.

However, there are still inadequacies, Mr Qin said. There is a heavy demand for the printed word but because of shortage of paper the quest of most readers could still not be met.

At present, it was estimated that the billion people spend about one yuan (about HK$3) per head a year on books.

The problems facing today's writers include the need for further development of socialist democracy and limited time for writing because many of the writers have concurrent tasks.

Mr Qin also disclosed that the project of compiling the complete works of Lu Xun was proceeding smoothly and the new set, which would also include more than 1,000 pieces of correspondence, would be published next year, the 100th anniversary of the author's birth.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

POSITION OF EUNUCHS IN MING DYNASTY

Lanzhou GANSU XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUIKEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF GANSU TEACHERS' UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY and SOCIAL SCIENCES Edition)] in Chinese No 1 10 Jan 80 pp 60-71

[Article by Guo Houan [6753 0624 1344]: "Flunkeys Acting Tyrannically by Virtue of Imperial Power--on the Eunuchs in the Ming Dynasty"]

[Excerpts] The eunuchs occupied an important position on the political stage all throughout the Ming dynasty, starting with the Yong-le reign and until the fall of the dynasty, enjoying at all times the favor and tolerant indulgence of the emperors. The eunuchs stretched their evil claws into every domain; they established in particular a secret-police terror over the entire populace. Although they did strengthen the ultra-autocratic monarchy, their activities in the end had disastrous consequences in political, economic and military respects.

Even though the Ming eunuchs attained dazzling heights of power, they still remained nothing but slaves to carry out wanton cruelties using and relying on the emperors' power and behaving as if they were the emperor's falcons and hounds let loose to pounce on the people. They on their part did not and also could not pose any threat to the imperial power. This peculiar phenomenon that the Ming eunuchs held great power but remained merely cringing slaves of the emperors was determined by the nature of the then prevailing ultra-autocratic monarchical system.

To have the Ming eunuchs intrude on all politics was an important organic part of that ultra-autocratic monarchical system. This must not be ignored when enquiring into the system of power centralization in the highly developed autocracy of the Ming dynasty.

1. In 1368 Zhu Yuanzhang ascended the throne of the great Ming empire. This "commoner from south of the Huai River" in all his proud self-contentment could not help feeling increasing anxiety and fear at the thought of how to uphold the rule of the landlords and how to consolidate for all generations to come the great unification achieved by the house of Zhu.

History is a mirror, and Zhu Yuanzhang was one who paid great attention to summing up historical experiences. He saw as one of the important reasons for the fall of the Han and Tang dynasties the disastrous intrusion into politics of the female branches of the emperor's family, the rise to power of the eunuchs and the establishment of commanderies in the outlying districts. To preserve his regime in prolonged peace and not to fall into the same pitfalls as the Han and Tang, Zhu Yuanzhang adopted a series of preventive measures. As a result, thoughout the Ming era "all palace cabal had been eliminated" and at no time did any empress attend court and participate in government. Relatives of the wives' and mothers' sides were "without the least power." As to the commanderies in the outlying districts, they also never became so powerful as to appear like "tails too large to be wagged," or start wars or usurp territory by the commanders themselves.

However, the intrusion of eunuchs into politics took a development that Zhu Yuanzhang had not foreseen. Throughout the Ming era the power of the eunuchs had its ups and downs but in summary they became more and more arrogant with increasingly serious consequences.

Of course, this cannot be blamed on any ineffectiveness of Zhu Yuanzhang's measures to prevent eunuch intrusion into politics. He himself was clearly aware that "if the palace eunuchs are day and night at the emperor's side, accompanying him everywhere with a constant cheerfulness, bringing him news that they had espied, these small favors and confidentialities were sufficient to captivate the ruler's mind. To show favoritism and exercise indulgence was in the basic nature of the system. Once the emperor was ensnared and deluded and showed no awakening from the illusion, the eunuchs would use the imperial might and prestige to usurp power and to interfere in political affairs. If continued over a lengthy period, such usurpation of power cannot be restrained and curbed anymore, and this resulted in much confusion and disturbance with regard to the bureaucratic hierarchy."[1] The emperor, therefore, decreed that eunuchs may only perform sprinkling and sweeping work, that they should remain illiterate and not to be used as confidential informants. They were strictly forbidden to take part in government, to take charge of military affairs or to have communications with officers of state. He went even so far as to have an order cast in iron and placed over the gate which proclaimed: "Eunuchs must not interfere in government affairs. Those who disobey this order will be beheaded."[2] In the 10th year of the Hong-wu reign "a eunuch who had served in the inner court for a long time disgressed on court affairs. He was immediately returned to his native place and disqualified for life."[3] We see from these instances that Zhu Yuanzhang took a very firm stand in the matter of keeping eunuchs out of government.

However, it evolved as a natural consequence of the ultra-autocratic Ming rule that the eunuchs did indeed become involved in politics. Regardless of whether the rulers were "astute" or "obtuse," or whether they realized the consequences of eunuch meddling in politics, they all came to use and even to rely on the eunuchs to a greater or smaller degree to help them rule the country. Even Zhu Yuanzhang could not avoid it although he bitterly hated and abhorred eunuch meddling in politics. For example, in the 8th year of the Hong-wu reign he appointed a chamberlain to the office in charge of procuring horses at Hezhou. In the 10th moon of the 11th year the eunuch Wu Cheng was ordered to a border defense post to be in command of overall strategy at the Yuangzhongming military camp. In the 9th moon of the 19th year, the envoys Liu Min and Tang Jing were accompanied by eunuchs on their embassies to Indochina and other countries. Furthermore, the eunuchs were also appointed as councillors. It is, therefore, already in the Hong-wu reign that precedent was established for eunuchs to enter politics, so that for all practical purposes the ban on such activities had already been lifted at that time.

In the Yong-le reign, the fortune of the eunuchs underwent another change for the reason that Zhu Di had received considerable help from the eunuchs when he usurped the throne and became Emperor Cheng-zu. After the "Battle of Pacification" Emperor Jian-wen's fate was unknown and many rumors sprang up, which had Zhu Di guessing and in suspense. More importantly, many meritorious old ministers vigorously opposed Zhu Di for the way he had usurped the throne, which made Zhu Di suspicious of their loyalty. All these were forceful reasons that drove Zhu Di to favor the eunuchs. They were charged with such duties as special missions, acting as purchasing agents, as superintendents of maritime trade, employed in the military directorate, as travelling inspectors and pacification commissioners. In addition, the emperor established the Eastern Depot, a secret-service organization, to let "the eunuchs torture and spy out things that would stop the gaps in the net of Heaven [which was supposed to catch criminals]" and "trusting the eunuchs to elicit the truth and get criminals into prison."

From then on the power of the eunuchs increased incessantly and they never ceased to occupy important positions on the political stage. There was no exception to this even during the reign of so-called "astute" and "enlightened" rulers, or at times when according to histroical records the eunuchs had become somewhat withdrawn from view. For instance:

In the Xuan-cong reign, a short time after Zhu Zhanji had ascended the throne, a Palace School was established and Hanlin compilers and grand secretaries were ordered to teach young eunuchs, to educate them and render them qualified for important missions. He granted his trusted follower and powerful senior eunuch Jin Ying a patent insuring his immunity from the death sentence, "with effusive terminology and much praise." The eunuchs Tan Shun, Wang An, Wang Jin, Xing An and others were on several occasions accompanying military commanders on campaigns. After Wang Jin returned from the campaign against Gao Yu, Prince of Han, Wang participated in military affairs in all directions. In addition to large monetary rewards, the emperor presented Wang with silver mementoes inscribed, "Loyal and Faithful," "Nobel Person of the Golden Marten," [the marten tail being a customary adornment of eunuch attire], "Loyal Conscientious and Man of Great Exertions" and "Pure in Mind and Motive." Wang was also given two palace girls as maids and a government position for his adopted son."[4] This will give some idea to what extent the eunuchs enjoyed imperial favors.

In the Hong-zhi years of Emperor Xiao-zong, the eunuch Jiang Zong "with humble ability met imperial appreciation" and "held the office of Grand Commandant of Nanjing." He was overbearing, licentious and without regard for law. In a case involving some alluvial land over 100 people became affected. The case dragged on for many years. He was retained in office and the accusations declared unfounded."[5] Li Guang "ensnared the emperor with amulets and prayers at the temples and then engaged in villany and corrupt practices. He fabricated edicts conferring ranks and appointing officials like writing fairy tales. He took bribes from every source and appropriated to himself private land of peasants on the imperial domains. He also monopolized the salt trade and from this source embezzled huge sums."[6] A eunuch who in this way "acted overbearing, licentious and without regard for law" in the end was able to "exploit the foibles of the officials" and chase away a large number of officials from their jobs. It was only due to the imperial favor that Li Guang's power could "subvert the metropolitan and provincial officials," and even induce the highest officials to profer bribes to ensure his friendship. This shows us to what extent eunuch power had inflated and that their interferences in government by that time had been serious and could no more be turned back.

Because the eunuchs of the Ming dynasty constantly enjoyed the favor of the emperors, they could acquire extremely wide powers. Their powers mainly included approval of memorials, supervision of the Eastern Depot, control of state prisons, investigation of prisoners together with the three highest judicial officers, superintending army affairs, officiating as grand defenders, grand commandants, travelling inspectors, envoys, be in charge of maritime trade, as mining and tax superintendants, procurement officers, superintendents of public works and equipment, of textile manufacture, etc. As a result of such extensive powers, the eunuchs managed to have the directorate of ceremonial affairs become an organ over and on top of the grand secretariat, because "documents from the grand secretariat had to be approved by the directorate of palace servants, which was in the hands of the eunuchs. In the end the laws of the imperial court, the employment and retirement of worthy men and high officials became all affairs in the hands of the eunuchs, handled by them in a topsy-turvy manner and causing utter confusion. Holders of sinecures claimed they had no time to carry out the imperial will and remained blind to the situation doing nothing about it."[7] The three highest judicial officers were only a sham. All power over life and death rested with the Eastern Depot and the imperial bodyguard. As for instnace Xu Gui, a police commissioner of the board of punishments, memorialized in the 12th moon of the 9th year of Hong-zhi: "I have served under the Board for 3 years. Whenever there was a judicial investigation of banditry it was in the hands of the Eastern Depot and it was said that the officer in charge either vented his hate or received bribes. Even if the truth had leaked out, who would dare take steps on his own to attempt the change of even one single word!"[8] The agents of the superintendent of military affairs and of the grand defender not only impeded command of the army on all occasions but even turned the army completely into a tool for their own ends. Apart from that, the special agents of the Eastern Depot, of course, instilled in the people a fear as of tigers and to the extent of almost not daring to take a breath. Even an ordinary eunuch sent on an errand "ranking so high by imperial grace and mouthing the imperial orders" was, of course, regarded by the people as representing the emperor.

If requests were made to the eunuchs, they were able and apt to respond, but even if no requests were made, they had to be flattered and fawned upon in every way. The people feared only one thing that was to offend them. The eunuchs on their part relied on the "might and prestige of the emperor," to abuse their power tyrannically and to act as they pleased. To sum up: since the eunuchs has brought immense power in politics, military affairs, criminal justice, economics, etc. into their hands, it was unavoidable that they strove to place themselves above the entire bureaucracy to become the most powerful group directly under the emperor.

Allow us to cite some instances to show to what extent eunuch power had expanded:

After the death of the Empress Zhang, Wang Zhen gradually became unrestrained in his power, "whoever aroused his ire was accused of a crime." At that time Emperor Ying-zong "greatly admired him, graciously called him 'my senior,' gave him high official recognition and allowed him increasingly greater powers. The princes called him 'venerable elder.' Those fearful of trouble hastened to get on good terms with him to evade execution. Bribes and presents piled up high."[9] In the Xian-zong reign, Wang Zhi was in charge of the Western Depot "with ultimate powers over metropolitan and provincial officialdom. To join up with him meant honor and prosperity, to arouse his ire meant banishment to the border areas. When the empire prospered, high officials and influential gentry hastened to his door. Wherever he went on his tours of inspection, the metropolitan censors in full armor and military array would prostrate themselves at the sight of the dust raised by his carriage and rise only after he had passed. When Wang would have arrived at his hosteiry, they would change their attire and kotow. The superintendent of the region would come forth half kneeling like a servant."[10] At that time, people would only recognize the power of the Western Depot and take no notice of the court; they only feared Wang Zhi but took no note of the emperor. In the Wu-zong reign there was Liu Jin. "He had monopolized all power in the empire, enjoying great might and prestige and indulging in passions at will.... From princes and noblemen down, none dared aspire to equal ceremonial rank. People vied with each other to pay their respects to Liu, when they would kneel and make obeisance. Memorials were first made out in red and first handed to Liu, therefore, called red copies, and then transmitted to the competent government office in white, called white copies, all in the name of Director Liu Jin and none other."[11] When Wei Zhongxian was at the height of his arrogance in his position of power, "the people throughout the country hardly dared breathe so downcast and frustrated was everybody." "All power at the court and throughout the country was in Wei Zhongxian's hands. From the six departments and the grand secretariat to the viceroys and governors, all were his sworn followers. Everybody sought eagerly for an opportunity to flatter him. Many high officials, such as Yan Mingtai, praised his virtue and erected temples honoring his image. None wanted to stay behind in these things, it had become a popular fashion. All memorials, whether large or small, sang the praises of Wei Zhongxian. On his several outings per year, the highest officials would crowd the roads to pay their respect in obeisances and call out: "Nine thousand years to you!," while Wei hardly deigned to look at them."[12] In his impeachment of Wei Zhongxian, Yang Lian stated that all officials, high and low, only took note of Wei Zhongxian and not of the emperor. "Wei Zhongxian has arrogated to himself all matters, large and small, within the palace and in all government offices. On the other hand, the emperor exists only in name, Wei Zhongxian is the real substance."

The eunuchs of the Ming era were of a very similar nature as those in the Han and Tang dynasties as far as awe-inspiring power and devastating destructiveness are concerned. However, history will not simply repeat itself. Following the constantly increasing strength of the feudal and autocratic centralization of power, the position of the eunuchs began to change, turning them gradually into tools of the tyrannical government of the rulers. In the chapter on eunuchs in the History of the Song Dynasty it is said: "During the Song dynasty the treatment of the eunuchs was very strict." "Since at certain times the ruler was very young, the empress-dowager took charge of the government in three reigns. In past generations would this not have been like harvest time for the machinations of the eunuchs! The laws of our forbears were strict and the power of the prime minister was strong. Any treacherous or wicked eunuch would have been removed in a very short time. The high officers of state were farsighted enough to destroy any evil before it became apparent." In the Ming era, the eunuchs, under the ultra-autocratic tyranny of the rulers, did not and, in fact, could not organize any threat or pressure on the monarchical power. They only could be slaves and servile underlings of the emperor. All their awe-inspiring power was only a manifestation of the much inflated imperial power. Compared with Han and Tang times, the situation of the eunuchs in Ming times, therefore, unavoidably, showed certain peculiarities.

The social position of the Ming eunuchs was actually very low. This is demonstrated by the contempt shown by many officials and the officers of state. Even the emperor who bestowed so many favors on them, looked on them as his slaves. Throughout the Ming dynasty, no eunuch was ever granted the title of nobility, a salary-based income or rank as a government official. The only honors they could obtain consisted in rewards for meritorious service, plaques for their ancestral temples and sacrifices. When Wang Zhen was at the height of his power, Shen Gu, junior vice president of the Board of Revenue on military duty in Yunnan, respectfully submitted: "The inner palace officials who protect the imperial person have greatly promoted the imperial well-being and performed their duties with outstanding merit. It has been requested that honors be bestowed on them by imperial edict, as also on their families, according to the precendent in the case of foreign governors. This is to be disallowed." As we see, Emperor Ying-cong thought these slaves were not qualified to enjoy such honors. This is radically different from the situation in the Han and Tang dynasties. There are many instances when eunuchs were enobled by the Han emperors, and cases in the Tang dynasty are even more conspicuous. For instance, Yang Sixu, "who for meritorious military services was granted the title 'grand commander, succour of the country,' also grand commander of cavalry and enobled as Duke of Guo." In the early period of the Tian-bao reign he was raised to 'illustrious and outstanding grand commander' and 'junior guardian of the gate,' and further enobled to Duke of Bohai. In the 7th year he was made 'grand commander of cavalry.' When the An Lushan and Shi Siming rebellion broke out, he followed Emperor Xuan-zong in his flight to Sichuan and was given the further title of Duke of Qi. After return to the capital, he was made a noble with the title Kai-fu-yi-tong-san-si and enobled to Duke of Cheng, furthermore, granted a feof of 500 households and promoted to president of the board of war. When Emperor Dai-zong ascended the throne, he honored Li with the title 'honorable father,' promoted him to minister of works and granted him a feof of 800 households. All this clearly shows how much more elevated the social status of eunuchs was under the Han and Tang as compared with the situation in the Ming dynasty.

No matter to what heights of power the eunuchs rose in the Ming era, they always remained to be driven on by the scoldings of their boss and hard put to win the emperor's favors, as otherwise they may take a fall from the pinnacle of power that would smash every bone in their body. However, in the Han and Tang dynasties (especially in their later years) the eunuchs not only had might and prestige and freedom to act as they pleased but could also at will replace one emperor with another. The emperor was no more master of his own destiny but completely at the mercy of the eunuchs.

In summing up the above we may say that the eunuchs of the Ming dynasty on the one hand had extensive powers under the favoritism of the emperor, but on the other hand never rose beyond the status of faithful slaves of the emperor, so-to-say the evil "falcons and dogs" that were let loose to pounce on the people. This is the peculiar situation of the eunuchs in the Ming dynasty.

Zhu Di, who became Emperor Cheng-zu, acquired the throne in an act of usurpation and for this reason was opposed by many civil and military officials who had served under Emperor Jian-wen. This situation added complexity and intensity to the existing contradictions. Against these opposing elements Zhu Di employed unprecedented cruel punishments to wipe them out. "Apart from executing the person himself, he had his maternal relatives to the ninth degree arrested too, and if there had been the slightest communication he had their maternal relatives, teachers and friends falsely accused of plotting rebellion, such measures extended to the tenth degree of relationship and whole villages were laid waste."[13] In those days an atmosphere of terror prevailed, just as Tan Qian has stated it: "In the beginning of the drive to eliminate the opposition it was as if falcons and hawks were let loose on the people, men were exiled for military duty at the frontiers or executed, families trembled and whole households were terrified. Old ministers of state and retired officials were beset with fear and misgivings, frustrated and despairing, with no hiding place to escape to."[14] Through one term of wanton massacres the centralized power of the ultra-autocratic system was further advanced and the relationship between ruler and ministers was firmly established as one of master and slaves.

The constant fear of usurpation of power by the ministers of state, of their forming cliques for rebellion, the constant fear of bureaucrats and high officials engaging in conspiratorial activities to overthrow their emperor's rule, this deep suspicion and fear of ministers and officials persisted in all the emperors following the Hong-wu and Yong-le reigns. For instance, in the Chong-zhen reign there were 54 grand secretaries, changes were frequent, they just came and went, one after the other, as in a merry-go-round. Zha Jizuo said: Emperor Zhuang-lie never placed confidence in others. He would punish the slightest misuse of knowledge the way he had dealt with the rebellious Wei. In the end all ministers were unable to save themselves, even worthy ones would rather go into hiding. He persisted in taking eunuchs into his service and discouraged talented people so that they sought retirement."[15] The attitude of Ming Emperor Si-zong towards his ministers and his officials basically reflects the relationship of rulers to ministers in the Ming dynasty.

The distrust of his ministers and high officials naturally made the emperor rely on his so-called trusted followers and to use them to strictly supervise all ministers and officials. As Tan Qian expressed it: "The ruler inside the seclusion of his palace always suspected that his officials and people hated and cursed him and he suspected their mischievous deceit and lawlessness. He deplored having no device to control them. He had officials thoroughly investigate and spread a dense net of spies, not less than making a magic mirror."[16] Zhu Yuanzhang mainly used the officers of the imperial bodyguard, occasionally also dispatching eunuchs. Zhu Di, apart from planting spies among his bodyguard, preferably used eunuchs, as for instance in the 8th year of Yong-le reign "the emperor ordered eunuch Ma Jing to go on an inspection tour of Gansu. If anything was found amiss in the place of the Marquis of Xining and of Song Hu, Ma was to do some secret consultations and arrangements and to report back." The Marquis of Xining was a meritorious minister of the "Pacification" period and Song Hu was Zhu Di's son-in-law, but the emperor would still insist on "placing all his trust in a eunuch."[17] This is again evidence of how eunuchs were favored. In the 18th year of the Yong-le reign the Eastern Depot was established, place of the despot's assassins and scoundrels. From then on the imperial bodyguard and the Eastern Depot (also the Western Depot and the Palace Depot which came into being later) cooperated fully in nefarious activities. They constituted throughout the entire Ming era the spy organization and sinister prisons that were used to oppress the officials and people, acting under the direct control of the emperor.

The rise to political eminence of the eunuchs is inseparably bound up with the absurd behavior and decadence of the emperors. The senior eunuch of the Tang dynasty by the name of Chou Shiliang on retirement due to old age told his colleagues: "We must not have the emperor have leisure. In leisure he will read books, see scholars and ministers, accept remonstances, deepen his knowledge, have concern for the future, reduce playfulness and travel. For us eunuchs that would mean few favors and little power. My advice to you is: amass riches, many good horses, amuse him with ball games, hunting, music and women. With wasteful extravagance, pleasures without end, he will forget classics and arts, withdraw from outside affairs and every plan and scheme will be ours. Favors and power, where would you than wat it to go?"[18] These tricks, one may say, have always been used by eunuchs throughout history, and that does not exclude the Ming eunuchs.

The eunuchs not only profitted from the absurd behavior of the emperors to arrogate the imperial powers to themselves, but utilized also the ingratiating approaches of the bureaucracy and high officials to consolidate and develop their power. In the Ming era there have been a great number of officials and officers of state who with flattery and communications tried to ingratiate themselves with the eunuchs. The reason was that in the renewed struggle for distribution of wealth and power, power was of utmost significance as far as the landlords of the numerous clans and their political representatives were concerned. The measure of power determined the share of property. With sufficient power, things could be acquired by force or trickery and one's wealth could be expanded to the utmost. Otherwise, one could possibly suffer disgrace and ruin and lose one's entire family fortune. This problem is clearly evident in the changes of fame and fortune of such men as Yan Song and Zhang Juzheng. How was one to consolidate one's own power and promote its continuous growth? Under an ultra-autocratic rule, apart from ingratiating oneself with all kinds of tricks with the emperor himself, there was only the other henchmen and loyal slaves--the eunuchs. Speaking of conditions in the Ming dynasty, the latter method was evidently the more important one. In the 8th year of Tian-shun, Wang Hui, a spervising censor of the two capitals, and others, memorialized the Emperor Ying-cong: "The eunuchs attend to your Majesty day and night, and some high civil and military officials without sense of honor or shame are associating with them, sending them gifts of all kinds of valuables. Then those subserviant, slavish creatures will praise the officials whenever they are near you day and night. Then there are upright and honest men without cladestine connections whom the eunuchs consider unworthy and day and night discredit to you... These daily insinuations will unavoidably cause suspicions to arise. Those that have been praised unexpectedly advance to high positions, those that have been discredited are forever stuck in lowly positions."[19] This shows that anyone who wanted to advance in his career and occupy a dominant position in the struggle for power and profit was compelled to fawn upon and ingratiate himself with the eunuchs. In this way the eunuchs gained an opportunity to add as members of their clique those shameless creatures whose mind was only on advancing in their careers as officials and on enriching themselves, which in turn again increased the power of the eunuchs. It is just as we may read in the chapter on eunuchs in the History of the Ming Dynasty:

"The eunuchs were a calamity of serious consequences in the Ming dynasty. But if the various parties would not have associated themselves with them, helped them increase their power, the calamity would not have been so severe... When Liu Jin usurped power, Jiao Fang as head minister associated himself with him, then all ministers vied with each other to flatter Liu, and the power of the Office of Protocol Affairs ranked higher than the grand secretariat. Toward the end of the Shem-cong reign, many political groups formed based on wild talk. Mutual antagonism and factionary fighting became an insoluble entanglement. The eunuchs took advantage of the disorder and usurped power. They were crafty and cruel and full of flattery; they were inside the imperial harem, they carried out excessive punishments and painful persecutions to satisfy their hate of the righteous and proper. They fill the prisons with gentry and good people died at their cutting and maiming. Emperor Zhuang-lie set right the case of treachery by handing the affair over to grand secretary Wei Guang and others. He sighed regretfully: "Wei Zhongxian was only one person. All officials outside the palace supported him, only thus could it happen, no punishment is enough for such crimes!" The intrusion of eunuchs in government, furthermore, added to the corruption in the bureaucracy, which showed itself mainly in the following aspects:

The overstaffing of offices with superfluous personnel grew into a very serious situation. In the feudal society employment was solely based on relationships. It was, therefore, unavoidable that positions became overstaffed with superfluous personnel. With the inflationary increase of eunuch power this evil got constantly worse. For instance in the Cheng-hua reign, the eunuch Liang Fang "obtained a palace decree to employ up to 1,000 officials as what he called messenger officers." On this matter Censor Zhang Ji memoralized: "Recently low-caste thievish characters preposterously push into the ranks of high officials. Dog butchers and silk peddlers occupy honorable and important positions. On the civil side, men who don't know to spell a single word and on the military side men who have never shot an arrow are unjustifiably rising up rapidly and repeatedly promoted within one year. Sometimes father and son sit in the same office or brothers share the same government post. There are even soliders and artisans who abscond, change their names and gain entrance to upper circles. Officials engage in bribery, conceal their crimes and curry for the favor of their superiors. In one day dozens of people are installed as officials and in one office hundreds of people are put on the payroll. Was there ever in our history a governmental order of this kind?!"[20] In the Wu-cong reign, Liu Jin "on checking official records to decide on awards, picked out and promoted over 1,560 people and newly employed several hundereds for the imperial bodyguard." In the Tian-qi reign, when Wei Zhongxian usurped authority and oppressed the people "menials and thievish slaves climbed up the official ladder on the basis of certain connections or by mere sycophancy, climbed up into the highest positions, tarnishing the ranks of high officials and corrupting court and government officials." Even offspring "in their infancy, not yet able to walk" were enobled to marquises and earls and the unnecessary employment of superfluous officials got to a stage where there was simply no more place for more additions.

There was no clear dividing line between right and wrong, rewards and punishments were meted out improperly. The situation of "good men not necessarily reaping any benefits from their good deeds, and evil men not necessarily suffering their deserved disaster" was fairly conspicuous throughout the entire Ming era. The basic reason for this situation was, of course, the ultra-autocratic monarchical rule and the sharpening contradictions within the ruling class. Right or wrong, merit or demerit was always determined by the likes and dislikes of the emperor or the minority group in power; it was decided only on the basis of how beneficial or harmful it would be for this clique. But it is undoubtedly true that the intrusion of eunuchs into politics greatly exacerbated the situation. For instance in the Cheng-hua reign, the eunuch Wei Juan, in charge of maritime trade at Guangzhou, levied heavy taxes and seized property wherever he could, bringing "the Hainan island into a mood for revolt." Chen Xian, a senior municipal administrator of Guangdong, repeatedly reprimanded Wei Juan, who, therefore, hated Chen. In the 22nd year of Cheng-hua "during a famine in Guangdong and Guangxi, Chen Xian provided relief as he saw fit. Wei Juan falsely accused Chen Xian of distributing grain without authority and with the intention of enriching himself and gaining undeserved recognition and rewards for his underlings to pay debts of gratitude." Emperor Xian-cong dispatched Li Xing, a secretary of the board of punishments, and censor Xu Tongai to crossexamine the accused. "All were afraid of Wei Juan and did not dare to go against him. They asked the throne to dispatch a thousand men of the imperial bodyguard to take him into custody. He [Chen Xian] died at the Shiting temple in Nanchang," while Wei Juan stayed on in his post as grand defender.[21] In another instance, the prefect of Jingzhou, Wang Shou, was an exceptionally unscrupulous official but the judicial officials were afraid of him. At an audience in the 9th moon of the 3rd year of Zheng-de, the court of censors commented on his verbal statement: "The two judicial officials feared his power and their written comments would deceive the emperor. The people suffer from his insatiable demands and their cries of grievance shake the world." "This was a realistic reflection of Wang Shou's true features but because he could rely on Liu Jin, Wang could not be removed from office."[22] Since it was a time "when there was no clear distinction between right or wrong and rewards and punishments were meted out improperly," a large number of officials were naturally driven to flatter and ingratiate themselves with the eunuchs and men of power, which would provide their sustenance to the end of their days without having to work hard for it, and which allowed them to forget the hardships of the common people. It was a time when a great number of officials were driven to do evil rather than good.

The custom of flattering and todaying was flourishing to the utmost. The ultra-autocratic system with the additional rule of terror openly practiced by the special organs of the state, unavoidably created a thoroughly corrupt mode of behavior of all officials and high officers of state, namely of currying favors, insincerity, dishonesty and shamelessness, of holding on to lucrative posts and of consolidating all their sources of special favors. As early as in the Hong-wu reign under Zhu Yuanzhang's rule of strict punishments and control of officials, under conditions of wanton murder, there grew up a situation where officials and highest officers of state only paid attention to flattery and would not have the courage to criticize and remonstrate. This corrupt style of work, with its flattery and fawning, holding on to lucrative posts and consolidating all sources of special favors, got worse and truly disgusting with the growing power of the eunuchs. Toward the middle period of the Ming era, they "outdid each other in cruelty, outbid each other in shrewdness and deceptions, outmastered each other in flattery, outperformed each other in servility," "they vilified people while flattering them to their faces and spread a net of lies." All these evil practices became so prevalent that they could no more be suppressed. History records that when Wang Zhen wielded power, Wang You managed, merely by flattery, to jump up from second-class secretary in the board of works to vice-president of the board of works. "Wang You was of good appearance and without whiskers and skillfully flattered Wang Zhen for his good looks. One day Wang Zhen asked: "Vice-President Wang, why don't you have whiskers?" Wang You replied: "Since you, venerable elder, have no whiskers, how would I dare have them."[23] Instances of such contemptible and shameless officials like Wang You were later "extremely common." It is well known that Wei Zhongxian had numerous adopted sons and grandsons, who were not ashamed of this fact but rather boasted of it as an honor. Furthermore, the governor of Zhejiang Province, Pan Ruzhen, was the first to build a temple in honor of Wei Zhongxian. This custom very quickly spread throughout the country. The temples they built were absolutely resplendent, built as palaces with nine principal columns and ceremonials just like those for the emperor. "All hymns of praise were sounding like extolling a saint, calling him virtuous like the heavenly Yao, the saintliest, the most divine." The most despicable was Huang Yuntai, president of the board supervising soldiers' pay and rations. After he had built his temple for Wei, to demonstrate how deeply devoted to Wei he was, at the time when Wei's effigy was to be installed, "he performed five obeisances and three kowtows and had all civil and military officials lined up at the foot of the steps to do the same. After that was done, he stepped before Wei's image and prayed that 'his excellency' may give his support to certain affairs, then again kowtowed to express his gratitude. In a certain month he thanked 'his excellency' for having raised him and expressed his gratitude with further kowtows, also had the whole company again do the same." At that time, even people like Hua Kui, Prince of Chu, and Li Chengming, Marquis of Wuqing, "honoring him as a princely person and of high family status, offered up flattery of auspicious favors received and vied with each other in praying for Wei's well-being."[24] The customs of the Ming officials had reached this extreme state of corruption, a rare phenomenon throughout our history.

Corruption was a widely prevalent custom. Corruption may be said to be a chronic disease of the exploiting classes. Even though Zhu Yuanzhang employed cruel punishments and draconian laws to punish corrupt officials and thereby brought about a slight improvement in officialdom, corruption could not be stamped out completely. As the decay of the landlord class progressed, the general corruption among officials became more and more rampant. Following the middle period of the Ming dynasty, it had gone so far that "men showed no ambition to work hard and bribes were a common practice." Zhang Juzheng once pointed out: "As from the Jia-jing reign on, those in charge of government affairs practiced bribery to achieve their purposes. The bureaucracy exploits the people and use their gains to get into the good graces of those in power."[25] In the Chong-zhen reign, Ming Emperor Si-cong could not but admit in his decrees, that "in recent years officials were laxe in levying taxes and administration deteriorated. Love of writing and honesty have died out. They consider the baton as outdated and take no heed of agriculture and sericulture. They extort heavy taxes and levies merely to feed their gluttonous desires. They increase neighborhood tithing to fill to some extent the needs of fund requirements. Our people's suffering from cruel government is no less serious than floods and conflagrations."[26]

There are, of course, many reasons why there was no letup in the general corruption and one extremely important factor was the exaction of bribes by the eunuchs. To elucidate this problem we may only have to cite the following facts: After Xu Xi managed by flattered Wang Zhen to be selected as grand secretary of the board of war, the high officials of the various offices and bureaus all called on him bringing presents of gold. At the days of audience, it was the rule for a caller to bring at least 100 pieces of gold; those bringing 1,000 pieces could wine and dine at will. People vied with each other to bring bribes, only then were they welcome."[27] In the Zheng-de reign, "all officials of state coming to the capital for an imperial audience, feared Liu Jin's tyrannical temper and were afraid that disaster may befall them, so each collected silver to bribe him, one province up to 20,000 taels. They frequently borrowed it from rich residents of the capital. When they got back to their posts, they took money from the treasury to repay the loans, which were called metropolitan debts. High and low were engaged in this activity, devoid of all sense of shame."[28] In his chapter on the Eastern Depot in his Dong-yu za-ji [Random Notes of Grief] Shi Dun wrote: "The Eastern Depot was originally established for criminal investigations and arrests, but its items of business grew to such an extent that it was more than in the board of civil affairs and the board of war, because they monopolized the selling of civil and military posts as well as of titles of nobility. Finally the two boards arranged with the Eastern Depot: for each high appointment an imposition of several thousand taels, called regular sustenance money. Later an additional several ten thousand was to be added, officials inside and outside the palace to support this without making demands on each other." Examining the property of several eunuchs on the basis of lists of confiscated property, their wealth must have run into many thousands and tens of thousands of taels, truly most frightening sums! The wealth of those eunuchs for whom no lists of confiscated property exist must have been equally large. The greater part of these fortunes originated from bribes, which in the last analysis is really the "fat and blood" of the working people.

Intensifying party struggle. Originally, due to the struggle for power and profits within the ruling class, deep-rooted sectarianism easily developed and took the form of party struggle. However, the intrusion of eunuchs into government rendered these party struggles even more severe. As mentioned before, in order to consolidate and augment their power, the eunuchs had to ingratiate themselves with the emperor, but also had to win control over groups of officials and high officers of state and enlist their services. A corresponding number of officials and high officers of state were ready, for the sake of their future careers, to set aside all scruples and sell their souls and attach themselves slavishly to the eunuchs. Like a pack of rogues they would oppose and keep out anyone of different views and would attack any opposing clique. They would rapaciously plunder and carry out brutal oppression, persecuting the people ruthlessly. However, there were indeed some officials and high officers of state who "did not fear devils and demons." For their own interests, which were also the interests of the entire landlord class, unafraid of prevailing dangers and not hesitating to sacrifice their lives, they launched a blow-for-blow struggle against the all-powerful eunuch clique. For instance, history records "when chief eunuch Wei passed through Wu, Zhou Sunchang treated him cordially for several days ...escorting cavalrymen urged Wei to act, suggesting he attack and appropriate for himself the city of Shunchang. Zhou Shunchang wide-eyed shouted: 'Don't you know that there are men in the world who are not afraid to die? Tell Wei Zhongxian, here I am, Zhou Shunchang, a former official of the Board of Civil Affairs.'"[29] This heroic spirit is heavens apart from the spirit of those who wagged their tails ingratiatingly and curried favor by flattery. It is a pity that the former had never been able to defeat the eunuch clique that was hiding under the protection of the emperor. However, their repeated defeats did not stop the fight, but on the contrary rendered it ever more violent. Between the middle and the latter period of the Ming dynasty with its Donglin party and the eunuch party, the fight developed to a climax and only ended with the fall of the dynasty. Because of the violence of the party struggle there developed in the middle and end periods of the Ming dynasty that turbulent political situation with its endless debates. "The legal and political order fell into decay and high and low disintegrated." The strength of the Ming dynasty rule was also greatly weakened as the party struggle increased in violence.

As the feelers of the eunuchs stretched into the military, the decay and decadence in official and military circles increased rapidly and as a consequence the stability of the Ming dynasty rule was critically shaken.

In the preface to the chapter on officials, the History of the Ming Dynasty states: "The commanders of the five armies were originally veteran generals of distinction, and the military system was one of respect and severity. ...Later more and more eunuchs infiltrated, acting as inspectors of the border defenses, or as military supervisors participating in campaigns in all directions, with the result that the border defense system greatly deteriorated and the Ming throne finally could not be sustained." The main reason why eunuchs serving as military supervisors, grand defenders, inspectors, superintendents or armament, etc., were so detrimental to the border defenses was that they were highly ineffective in the military. The eunuchs came into the military as representatives of the emperor and unavoidably began to act autocratically, and all the generals and defense commanders were, of course, everywhere impeded as if holding nominal posts only. As early as in the early years of the Xuan-de reign, eunuchs at the borders were "holding all power, acting wantonly and recklessly and not capable of controlling the entire military."[30] In the Chong-zhen reign, Wang Zhichen, a superintendent with the army, referred to himself as "superfluous official" and "retained as nominal official" in a memorial addressed to Emperor Si-cong, which is clear evidence of the restraints imposed by the eunuchs. This is one aspect of the problem. Another aspect is that the majority of officials at the borders were happy to have inspectors, because it was then only necessary to satisfy the greed of the supervisors; they would then have someone to rely on who would play up their merits and cover up their faults." The eunuch supervisors were, therefore, either attempting nothing and accomplishing nothing, or helping along the general decay and decadence. In addition, the eunuch military superintendents furthermore made the military camps their bases for the building up of their power and for amassing money and property. They used private people as garrison commanders, employed able-bodied soldiers as servants, embezzled soldiers' pay, cut down the feed for the horses, and used every trick to enrich themselves. They were "haughty because of the power in their hands. They considered as greatest achievement the capture of many prisoners and much loot, and made light of humiliating officers and men." As a consequence, there was increasing disintegration among officers and men. When it came to fight a battle "then only emaciated soldiers were sent to fight, so that decisive victory could not be achieved. When the slightest advantage was gained, this was exeggerated into great triumphs." Due to these malpractices for selfish ends, "men who had not yet left the capital district had their merits already recorded in the official register." This made "those who were killed, die with grievances on their lips, and those who were wounded wailing in pain." This kind of an army had no fighting strength at all, that is only altogether natural. The social economy suffered serious damage, which also rapidly sharpened the class contradiction.

The exploitation by the ruling class increased constantly and reached such a state that the rampant corruption would have the common people scream with pain and despairing of life. In addition the dispatch of a large number of eunuchs charged with every type of extortion and plunder further contributed to the deterioration of the social economy. As from the Yong-le reign on, the demonic claws of the eunuchs extended into every field of the economy. They forcefully seized land on an extensive scale, "they imposed on households in circuits and provinces, they used manpower as corvee, they did not submit to taxation," they were doing great harm to the people. They received mandates to act as purchasing agents, they willfully imposed levies on civil and military men, demanding bribes. On behalf of the emperor they acted as purchasing agents for every kind of goods, "there was the trouble of being rejected or having to stock up, there was the worry of supplying all the needs. If the court's requirements were very limited, the costs to the people was very heavy." The "officially requested to have warehouses, or clandestinely built warehouses and shops, they took in travelers, they engaged in credit business relying on their power and refused to pay up." They requested the salt permits and to have the monopoly of salt sales, the profits of which could be twice or five-fold." They spoiled the government's tax monopolies and stole the profits from the merchants." They took advantage of their "supervisory faculties" for acts of insatiable greed and cruelty." They pretended to send tribute gifts and collected levies and taxes. Every one of these items naturally greatly increased the burden on the people, and the most harmful were the mining commissioners and tax superintendents, the most serious destructive damage to the social economy and a hard to endure calamity for the masses of people.

The large-scale dispatch of mining commissioners and tax superintendents started in the 24th year of the Wan-li reign. Mining commissioners were "to be found everywhere in the empire" and "in all large cities there were tax superintendents." The Lianghuai area had a superintendent of salt and Guangdong had a superintendent of pearls. They were either specially commissioned or acting concurrently. Big and small eunuchs were swarming throughout the country, sucking the marrow and blood of the people in order to collect and deliver up revenue."[31] The alleged opening up of mines and the collection of taxes were only signboards, they actually "did not want mines to be dug or taxes to be negotiated; the people's killocks, river banks and dikes, public roads and highways all were counted as mines; officials, peasants and artisans were all counted as people who had to pay taxes."[32] Because they had the support of the imperial court, the mining commissioners and tax superintendents could afford to be extremely overbearing. They extorted money from the people everywhere they could, going even so far as to "put an arrow on the bow to kill honest people, ruining homes and whole clans with the calamity growing into a ruthless mass slaughter ... destruction of burial mounds and disturbing the bones of the dead, maltreatment of children and leaving good people groaning with grief."[33] A few years after the mining commissioners and tax superintendents had been sent out, the whole country felt "as if dropped into a boiling cauldron with no place to take refuge to. Poor and rich were completely finished and done for, farms and orchards were stripped clean, people ran off their land, sold children and deserted their wives, all roads resounded with crying and lamenting and lanes were left desolate."[34] It truly came about that "even the smallest village had not even one chicken or dog left. There was not a grain of rice or millet in the larger cities."[35] As a result "the individual citizen was unable to survive" and the whole social economy went bankrupt. Faced with this grave danger to their rule, some knowledgable members of the ruling class repeatedly memorialized on the great harm done with regard to mining and taxation, and demanding a recall of all mining commissioners and tax superintendents. In his memorial to put a stop to the mining commissioners and tax superintendents, Li Sancai, governor of Fengbo, indignantly pointed out: "Since the mining and tax affairs were started up on a wide scale, thousands of people have lost their livelihood. Your Majesty are the lord of these people, but you not only do nothing to clothe them, but even steal their clothes. You not only do not feed them, but have even all their food swept up and taken away. The tax officials are extremely pressing, extortionist orders come as thick as hair on a cow's back. ...High and low are being taxed, profit is all that one gets to hear." He also asked reproachingly: "Your Majesty are fond of pearls and jade, the people are also fond of having enough to eat and wear. Your Majesty loves to have generation after generation, the people also love their wives and children. Why do you want to pile up gold sky-high and not leave the people even pints and pecks of chaff and husks? Your Majesty wishes your children and grandchildren many thousand years of life but you allow the common people not even one more day to live?!" This is extremely bitter talk, but you might as well ask a tiger for its skin if you want Ming Emperor Shen-cong, with his out-and-out rotten and bloodthristy nature, to give up "the pearls from Guangnan, cinnebar from Yunnan and Guizhou, precious stones from Kongqing, Honan chinaware, Shaanxi tapestry, cotton from Sichuan and gold and silver mined in Qi and Chu, which he greedily amassed with a thousand tricks and schemes"[37] all these huge exploitations. At the same time, the eunuchs too, who had inflicted wanton persecution and amassed riches under the pretext of official mining and tax business, also would not let go of their loot. All memorials that requested to put a stop to the mining and tax activities were as a rule, therefore, "filed away" or "not reported" to higher authority.

The rapacious acts and wanton persecutions by the mining commissioners and tax superintendents resulted in an intensified class contradiction, which had been extremely sharp even before that. The direct consequences were a series of revolts by the people. The main revolts were: Gao Huai's revolt in Liaodong, Liang Yong's revolt in Shaanxi, Chen Feng's revolt in Jiangxia, Li Feng's revolt in Xinhui, Sun Long's revolt in Suzhou, Yang Rong's revolt in Yunnan, Liu Cheng's revolt in Changzhen, Pan Xiang's revolt in Jiangxi. Gu Yingtai gave as his opinion: Those were days of disintegration and collapse, people scattered and governments dispersed. Lucky those who managed to survive. However, at that time already the seeds were planted for the fall of the dynasty. It took about 30 more years until the rotten reactionary Ming dynasty was swept away by the violent storm of peasant revolution.

The Ming rulers thought to use the eunuchs as a kind of clamp to restrain the bureaucracy and the people, so as to maintain and consolidate their ultra-autocratic monarchical rule, but it turned out exactly contrary to the wishes of the rulers. The perverse acts of the eunuchs hastened the dynasty's demise. One may say that in a certain sense the eunuchs dug the grave for the Ming dynasty. What a stinging and bitter irony of history!

FOOTNOTES

1. The Records of the Hong-wu Reign of Ming Taizu, Vol 112.
2. Preface to the Chapter on Eunuchs, History of the Ming Dynasty.
3. Guo Que [State Monopolies] Vol 6.
4. Biography of Jin Ying, with the Biography of Wang Jin, History of the Ming Dynasty.
5. Biography of Jiang Zong, History of the Ming Dynasty.
6. Biography of Li Guang, History of the Ming Dynasty.
7. Preface to the Chapter on Officials, History of the Ming Dynasty.
8. Guo Que, Vol 43.
9. Biography of Wang Zhen, History of the Ming Dynasty.
10. Guo Que, Vol 39.
11. Biography of Liu Jin, History of the Ming Dynasty.
12. Biography of Wei Zhongxian, History of the Ming Dynasty.
13. Guo Que, Vol 12.
14. Ibid., Vol 13.
15. Zui wei lu, yi zong lie huang di.
16. Guo Que, Vol 37.
17. Wan li ye huo bian, Nei jian.
18. Biography of Chou Shiliang, New History of the Tang Dynasty.
19. Ri zhi lu, Huan guan.
20. Biography of Zhang Ji, History of the Ming Dynasty.
21. Guo Que, Vol 40.
22. Ibid., Vol 47.
23. Ming shi ji shi ben mo, Wang Zhen yong shi.
24. Biography of Yan Mingtai, History of the Ming Dynasty.
25. Collected Works of Zhang Juzheng, Reply to Song Yangshan, Governor of Yingtian, on the Question of Grain for the People.

26. Chun ming meng yu lu, Du cha yuan.

27. Ming shi ji shi ben mo, Wang Zhen yong shi.

28. Ibid., Liu Jin yong shi.

29. Ibid., Wei Zhongxian's Disturbance of Government.

30. The Records of the Xuan-de Reign of Ming Emperor Xuan-cong, Vol 56.

31. Biography of Chen Zeng, History of the Ming Dynasty.

32. Biography of Tian Dayi, History of the Ming Dynasty.

33. Biography of Zhao Shiqing, History of the Ming Dynasty.

34. Memorials of Ming Ministers, Vol 33.

35. Biography of Wang Zongmu, History of the Ming Dynasty.

36. The Corrupt Practices of the Mining Tax, Ming shi ji shi ben mo.

37. Sui kou ji lue, Bian ju dian.

8453
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

SHANGHAI FAMILY PLANNING MAGAZINE--Shanghai, 26 Oct (XINHUA)--An exhibition on birth control, maternity and child care has opened at the Shanghai Workers' Cultural Center. Films, slides, charts and drawings illustrate the importance of family planning, its relationship to China's economy and the improvement of living standards. New contraceptive drugs and devices are displayed and specialists from child care centers, hospitals and human reproduction regulation experts answer visitors' questions. China's first magazine on birth control will be put out earlier next month by the Shanghai Science and Technology Publishing House. The first issue of BIRTH AND BIRTH CONTROL will include 20 clinical reports and articles on basic theoretical research as well as on contraceptive drugs and devices and sterilization surgery. The magazine is edited by Shanghai Institute of Family Planning. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 26 Oct 80 OW]

CSO: 4020

END

JPRS 76858

21 November 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 140

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76858

21 November 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 140

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Reagan's 'Erroneous' Views on 'Two Chinas' Scorned
(Zhuang Zong; ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 30 Aug 80) 1

Soviet Hegemonism Called Threat to World Peace
(Wei Shihua; BEIJING DAXUE XUEBAO, 20 Aug 80) 3

PARTY AND STATE

Country-Level Direct Elections Being Held in Sichuan
(Wu Youbin, Mao Shuren; SICHUAN RIBAO, 31 Jul 80) 14

Regulations That Hamper Progress Must Be Eliminated
(Gao Lan; TIANJIN RIBAO, 25 Aug 80) 16

Struggle Against Revisionism on Two Fronts Emphasized
(Qi Zhenhai, Xu Rongwu; SHEHUI KEXUE ZHANXIAN, 25 Jul 80) 18

Question of Exercise of Democratic Rights Examined
(Li Dingwen; SHEHUI KEXUE, 20 Aug 80) 26

Study of Practice as Criterion for Testing Truth
(ZHEXUE YANJIU, 25 Jun 80) 32

Editor's Note
Results, Aims of Practice, by Li Jingyuan
Correct Reflection of Results of Practice, by Meng Xianzhong, et al.
Difference of Criterion Between Marxism, Pragmatism, by Wang Jianwei

Sichuan Intellectuals Promoted to Leading Posts
(Tian Shuchang; SICHUAN RIBAO, 6 Aug 80) 44

Relationship of Economic Law, Moral Standards Discussed
(WEN HUI BAO, 26 Aug 80) 46

Present-day Contradiction Denied, by Zhou Tingnan
A 'Lofty Tone', by Yu Yueming
Moral Propaganda, by Zheng Chuangren

State Council's Action on Capsize of Oil Drilling Platform Applauded
(Editorial; TIANJIN RIBAO, 27 Aug 80) 50

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Military Instructor Updates Training in Tactics
(Wen Zichun, Zhu Zhengping; XINHUA RIBAO, 1 Aug 80) ... 53

Militia Political Work Vital in New Situation
(Han Qilin, et al.; XINHUA RIBAO, 16 Jul 80) 55

Party Leaders in Regiment Set Good Example
(Lu Liguo, et al.; XINHUA RIBAO, 15 Aug 80) 57

Hardships of Militiamen Outweighed by National Interests
(Bin Wuping; DAZHONG RIBAO, 11 Sep 80) 59

Value, Function of Tank Tracks Described
(Yu Defu; BINGQI ZHISHI, No 3, 1980) 61

Public Security Official on Incidence of Robberies in Capital
(BEIJING RIBAO, 31 Aug 80) 66

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

A Discussion on Planning Population Growth
(Han Mingxi, Wang Shuxin; JILIN SHIDA XUEBAO, No 2, 1980) 68

Politics, Influence of Literature and Art, Discussed
(Ai Yin, Du Zhong; BAOTOU WENYI, Jul 80) 77

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN'S 'ERRONEOUS' VIEWS ON 'TWO CHINAS' SCORNED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 30 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zhuang Zong [5445 4844]: "A Question of Principle Leaving No Room for Compromise--Refuting Reagan's Erroneous Statements on the Relationship Between the United States and Taiwan"]

[Text] American Republican Party presidential candidate Reagan sent the party's vice presidential candidate, Bush, to Beijing to "explain" his erroneous statements detrimental to the Chinese people regarding Sino-American relations. Bush stated over and over that Reagan hopes "to improve relations with the People's Republic of China" and will go in for "two Chinas." If there is any difference, it will be only "a question of semantics." However, just at the moment when he was busy making this explanation, Reagan in a speech in Los Angeles on 21 August, once again advocated establishing "official relations" with Taiwan, and "establishing an official liaison office of the U.S. Government" on Taiwan. On 25 August, at a press conference held jointly with Bush, who had just returned home, Reagan again further defended his wrong "two Chinas" position.

Reagan did not begin making such statements from this day. When China and the United States established diplomatic relations, he at once blamed the Carter administration for severing diplomatic and official relations with Taiwan. Moreover, Reagan over and over called Taiwan the "Republic of China." This was still less "carelessness" or a "slip of the tongue."

The relationship between China and the United States was founded on the basis of th political principle that there is only one China, and that Taiwan is a part of China. This principle, already written in the 1972 China-U.S. Shanghai Communique, was reaffirmed in the 1979 communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. The development of Sino-American relations cannot for one moment depart from this basis. This is a question of principle involving China's territorial integrity and national sovereignty, and is the firm and unshakable stand of the Chinese Government and Chinese people. This principle leaves no room for compromise.

Reagan did not mention one word about the China-U.S. joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, but took the so-called U. S. "Taiwan Relations Act" as the basis for establishing "official relations" with Taiwan. The "Taiwan Relations Act" is a domestic law of the United States. Many aspects of this act run counter to the fundamental principle of the communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. Our government has more than once declared China's solemn stand against this act. Now Reagan is making a big issue of it, trying to force it on China and to turn the clock back in Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations. This is unacceptable to the Chinese people.

Reagan's erroneous stand on U.S.-Taiwan relations not only infuriates the Chinese people but also runs counter to the wishes of the American people. The normalization of relations between China and the United States came from the common wishes of peoples of the two countries, and it is not only in keeping with the interests of peoples of both countries but also related to the world situation. Everyone knows clearly that in the present world, if the United States fails to ally itself with China, West Europe, and Japan and gain support from the Third World, you cannot talk about effectively controlling the Soviet Union in worldwide expansion. The ones who are pleased with the sabotage of Sino-U.S. relations have to be the Soviet hegemonists. The Chinese people approach this problem from the point of view of the total situation of opposing hegemonism and maintaining world peace. It is not a question of China's having to look to the United States for help.

All knowledgeable persons in the world have seen that any action causing damage to Sino-U.S. relations is not a local issue. Reagan's erroneous stand not only has been criticized widely by public opinion in the United States but also has aroused the anxiety of many countries in the world. Reagan has placed himself in a tight corner. Whoever turns back the wheel of history will always run into a stone wall.

9039
CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET HEGEMONISM CALLED THREAT TO WORLD PEACE

Beijing BEIJING DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [BEIJING UNIVERSITY JOURNAL (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDITION)] in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 80 pp 23-29

[Article by Wei Shihua [7614 0013 5478]: "Oppose Hegemonism and Safeguard World Peace"]

[Text] For 30 years, our government and people have stood at the foremost front of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemony and have made our own contribution to the safeguarding of world peace. Today, a great historic turning period has begun. To build our great motherland into a modern socialist power, for the lofty purpose of world security, stability, and human progress, we must continue to hold high the banner of peace and, along with the people of the world, struggle together in opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace.

Our Country's Foreign Policy Is a Foreign Policy of Peace

The socialist system ensures that our external policy will advocate peace and oppose aggression. War comes about with the appearance of private ownership of the means of production and the division of society into opposing classes; it is the direct continuation and development of such a private ownership system. Modern wars are brought about by imperialism and social-imperialism. But the goal of the proletarian revolution is to substitute socialism for capitalism, to eliminate the phenomena of man being exploited by man and man being oppressed by man, and thereby to eradicate the root cause of class exploitation and class oppression. Socialist countries have established a dictatorship of the proletariat, have realized public ownership of the means of production, and are equipped with broad domestic markets. They absolutely will not commit aggression against, or enslave, the people of other countries for the sake of seizing the world sales market, the areas of raw material production, and world hegemony. Also, after the proletariat and all the toiling people have seized state power, and especially after they have established a socialist system, they must elevate economic construction to the position of first importance, greatly develop social productive forces, and continue to satisfy the people's increasing needs in their material and cultural life. If a socialist country commits external aggression and contests for world hegemony, this not only violates the interests of other countries and peoples but, in the first place, goes against the very tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, sabotages the cause of its socialist revolution and socialist construction, and fundamentally violates the interests of its own people. For a socialist state under proletarian dictatorship, this is absolutely impermissible. After a socialist state has won victory in its revolution, it must fulfill the duties of internationalism that we undertake, assist the revolutions of various countries of the world, and struggle together to eliminate from this earth the system of exploitation of man by man and to achieve the liberation of all mankind. But the liberation of the people of various countries is the business of the people of those various countries themselves. In any country, if there is no revolutionary situation there and the people there do not demand revolution, no one can create a revolution there. Therefore, while we carry out the principles of Marxist internationalism and sympathize with and support the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries, we must also be faithful to Marxism-Leninism in the idea that "a revolution can neither be exported nor imported" (the spreading of revolutionary ideas transcends state boundaries). Nor will a socialist state adopt the approach of starting a war as a substitute for the revolutionary struggle of the people of another country. It is precisely the essence and characteristics of the socialist system itself which determine that what socialism demands is peace and not war. Lenin said: "Only the working class can, after the seizure of power, carry out a policy of peace in deeds and not just in words" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 309). Lenin also said: "Even the smallest nation, without any arms, however weak and small it might be, can and should rest assured: apart from a desire for peace, we have no intention toward it" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 122).

Our government has carried out a foreign policy of peace since the very first day of its establishment. In February 1953, Premier Zhou pointed out at the Fourth Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference: "Our policy of peace is determined by the people's democratic system of our state." According to our people's desire for peace and standpoint on the safeguarding of world peace, our first Constitution in 1954 clearly prescribed: "In international affairs, our firm and consistent policy is to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity." In February 1958, in his speech on the present situation and our foreign policy at the Fifth Session of the First National People's Congress, Premier Zhou once more repeated our firm and consistent policy of peace, saying that our state had since the very first day of its founding regarded the defense of peace as its sacred responsibility. For the past 30 years, we have always adhered to this policy of peace.

Shortly after the founding of New China, U.S. imperialism started an aggressive war against Korea, forcibly occupied our territory Taiwan, and envinced a boisterous attitude and overbearing posture in general.

At this important historic moment, we resolutely decided to aid Korea and resist America in order to protect our own country, and in July 1953 we were able to force U.S. imperialism to sign an armistice and thereby make an important contribution to peace in the Far East and the world. In 1954, Premier Zhou advocated, in response to imperialism's policy of aggression and war, the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. These principles became the foundation stone safeguarding world peace. They have exerted a profound and far-reaching influence in the international arena, and they are of great international significance. In 1954, our country participated in the Geneva Conference and made a contribution to the restoration of peace in Indochina. In 1955, Premier

Zhou led the Chinese delegation to attend the Asian-African Conference, which was of important historic significance. Along with delegates of other participating countries, Premier Zhou worked to have the conference pass the "Declaration on Promoting World Peace and Cooperation," or the "Ten Principles" of the Asian-African Conference, which became the fundamental principles for international dealings. From 1963 to 1964, Premier Zhou paid visits to 14 countries in Asia and Africa in order to seek friendship, increase understanding, and learn from each other. He issued the five principles governing mutual relations between our country and African countries as well as Arab countries, and also the eight principles on our aid to foreign countries, which creatively developed the five principles of peaceful coexistence, provided the norms for the establishment of good international relations, fully demonstrated our policy of peace, and enabled us to gain the respect of the world's countries and thus to have friends everywhere. In accordance with our friendship and good-neighbor policy, and on the basis of equitable negotiation and principles of mutual understanding and mutual concessions, we have satisfactorily solved the boundary questions between our country and most of our neighbors and have set an example in international dealings on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. With respect to disputes which exist between nations, including nations of the Third World, because of historical or other reasons our country has also stood, under the premise of facilitating the common [struggle] against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism, for peaceful solutions through patient and friendly negotiations, and not for a resort to force or threat of force. The Joint Declaration on the Establishment of Sino-Japanese Relations, the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and the Communique on the Establishment of Sino-American Relations have all incorporated the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the content of antihegemonism. We are resolutely opposed to the aggression, subversion, control, and interference by imperialism and social-imperialism in countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and we warn the people of the world that they must maintain sufficient vigilance toward the danger of new wars of aggression which are likely to be started by the hegemonists, and that they must make preparations for them. This is of important significance to the safeguarding of world peace in the present world situation.

Chairman Mao's instruction that China has never wished to become a superpower is a general summing up of historical experience in the struggle between the two diplomatic lines fundamentally opposed to each other in the international arena; it is also the norm and guiding principle for our relations with foreign countries. While leading our people to resolutely oppose hegemonism, Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou at the same time repeatedly taught us not only that China will not seek to become a superpower today. but that she will not do so when she becomes economically strong in the future. China will never become a superpower. Chairman Mao also indicated to foreign friends face-to-face that if China should ever become a superpower, the people of the world should then attach to China the label of imperialism, and the people of the world and the people of China should unite together to oppose and overthrow Chinese hegemonism. All this demonstrates that our adherence to the policy of peace based on never becoming a superpower is absolutely not just a matter of expediency but a long-range, fundamental, national policy.

China's modern history is one in which China has been subject to aggression. Even today, China is still under the threat of aggression. In terms of fighting a world war, China neither has any reason, nor is she prepared, to do so. The Chinese people have suffered the havoc of wars in full, and hence they love peace to the fullest extent. One of the points of departure of our proletarian foreign policy of peace is the delaying of the outbreak of another world war and the safeguarding of world peace. Our country has consistently held high the banner of peace and, along with the people of the world, has opposed imperialism's policy of aggression and war, has made untiring efforts to struggle for world peace, has exerted great influence, and has earned the praises of the people of the world. But there was a period when we, because of the interference of the extreme-leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," failed to pay attention in our propaganda to putting emphasis on the safeguarding of world peace while exposing the root source of imperialist wars and telling the people of the danger of war. In order to conceal its true face of hegemonism, the Soviet Union also took the opportunity to oppose China, slandering China as "warlike"; this kind of anti-China lie of course cannot deceive the people of various countries of the world. In the era of imperialism, there are bound to be wars as long as imperialism exists; the danger of another world war exists objectively. From the realities and the development trend of the international situation, even though it looks as though the aggressive character of Soviet social-imperialism is unlikely to change and its forces of expansion are unlikely to become self-restrained, as long as our forces can continue to grow and become further strengthened, as long as we sharpen our sense of vigilance, make adequate preparations for our opposition to wars of aggression and consolidate as well as develop our antihegemonistic united front, promote the enhancement of antiwar forces, and fully expose and defeat every strategic deployment of Soviet hegemony, a postponement of an outbreak of war is entirely possible. The future of mankind and of the world is bright. In order to better adhere to, and carry out, our foreign policy of peace, Premier Hua, in his Report on the Work of the Government, at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in June 1979, reiterated our principled stand on opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace. In taking opposition to hegemonism and the safeguarding of world peace as our fundamental foreign policy, we have not only grasped the crux wherein lies the principal contradiction of today's world, hit at the vulnerable spot of hegemonism, and profoundly exposed and solemnly criticized global hegemonism, but we have also eliminated the interference of the extreme-leftist line and genuinely restored the true identity of our foreign policy of peace. Since the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, we have in our external work held high the banner of opposition to hegemonism and of the safeguarding of world peace, opened up a new situation, and achieved conspicuous results. The reason why Premier Hua's visits to the four countries of Western Europe in 1979 were solemnly received and warmly welcomed by the governments and people of the four countries, and hence achieved complete success, was precisely because we set the goals of the visits in terms of "promoting understanding, strengthening friendship, expanding cooperation, and safeguarding peace." From this, it can be seen that in holding high the proletarian banner of a policy of peace, our approach has already played a major role in elevating our international status and in promoting the international struggle against hegemonism, and it will continue to play such a role in the future. Our analysis of the international situation is persuasive, our external policy is appreciated by people everywhere, and our international prestige is high.

Construction of Our Four Modernizations Requires a Sustained Peaceful International Environment

At present, and for a rather long historical period hereafter, our principal task is none other than to carry out socialist construction in a planned way and then to take a step further to change our backward outlook and build our country into a modern socialist power. The destiny of our state and our nation hinges on whether or not we can realize the four modernizations within the present century. In order to realize this magnificent goal of the four modernizations, we must, apart from having as our guarantee a Marxist ideological line, political line, and organizational line, secure domestic and external conditions that are beneficial to the rapid launching of our peaceful construction. That is to say, domestically we need to maintain and develop a political situation of stability and unity, and externally we need a sustained peaceful international environment. As early as September 1954, Premier Zhou pointed out in his Report on the Work of the Government at the First National People's Congress: "All our efforts are designed to build our country into a prosperous, happy, socialist industrial state. As we carry out our peaceful labor, we demand a peaceful environment, a peaceful world. This basic fact determines a policy of peace in our foreign relations." From now on, so long as no large-scale invasion by an external enemy occurs, the work of modernization remains our central task. Therefore, gaining a peaceful international environment becomes an important premise for the realization of our four modernizations. With this condition present, our country can not only consistently adhere to our general line in the absence of an outbreak of war, but also carry out open-door international policies in a peaceful international environment and, under the premise of persisting in our independence and self-reliance, and through the international strengthening of cooperation and exchange, actively make use of foreign capital and the world's advanced achievements, import advanced science and technology, and thereby accelerate the pace of our four modernizations. During the past few years, we have gained major advances in our external work, and the situation of united opposition to hegemonism has already basically taken shape. The people of various countries of the world are all willing to make contributions to China's execution of her modernization plans. This is an international condition which was absent in the first 25 of the 30 years since the founding of our state. We should make use of this beneficial international condition, more speedily elevate our labor productivity and the level of the entire national economy, build our country into a modern socialist power, and make even greater contributions to the safeguarding of world peace. This tallies not only with the interests of the Chinese people but also with the interests of the people of the world.

Our socialist modernization construction requires a sustained, stable, peaceful international environment. When our country triumphantly reaches its goal at the end of this century, we will still need a peaceful international environment. By that time, our productive power will have greatly increased, but because our country is vast, our population large, and our foundation very weak, we must catch up with the developed countries of the world. In order to create an economic system higher than that of capitalist society, we need a long-range struggle lasting several generations so as to make a beginning through hard work. Our strategy is defensive. The realization of modernization in our national defense on the basis of modernization of the national economy consistently serves the defense of the cause of our socialist construction, our opposition to hegemonism, and our safeguarding of world peace. Upon our entry into the 21st century, when our outlook is going to undergo even greater change, we must still assert our firm and consistent stand to continue to carry out a foreign policy of peace with all forces and all methods at our disposal.

For the sake of construction, we need peace. But this kind of peace must be genuine peace under which the people of a country are not subject to aggression, interference, or abuse, and can all secure development and progress according to their wishes; it must not be a false peace under which we are subject to the threat of hegemonism or serious disturbances and sabotage of the serenity of our border areas. The realization of the four modernizations and the building of our country into a powerful socialist state serve to make it even harder for the expansionist ambition of the hegemonists to gain any ground. For this reason, either the big hegemonists or the small hegemonists will not resign to letting us work steadily and calmly toward our four modernizations. In this regard, we must have sufficient perception and full preparations. To realize the four modernizations is a great revolution in which are included the serious tasks of putting up resolute struggles against the aggression, threat, and sabotage of hegemonism. Our people never intend to threaten or commit aggression against anyone, but we will absolutely tolerate no threat or aggression imposed on us by others. In order to oppose aggression, there may come a time when we will spare no sacrifice and become forced to do what we ordinarily are not willing to do. Our defensive counterattack which repelled the Vietnamese aggressors and punished the aggressors was undertaken precisely to win a peaceful international environment and to maintain the peace and stability of the Southeast Asian and Asian-Pacific regions.

It Is Necessary To Oppose Hegemonism in Order To Safeguard World Peace

Safeguarding world peace and opposing hegemonism are the common desires and urgent demands of the people of every country. As the world enters the 1980's, the international situation has become more unstable and more tense; factors for war are still growing. The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan is a serious escalation of Soviet aggression and expansion. It is a step further from the invasion of Czechoslovakia, as it has extended the notorious "theory of limited sovereignty" from the so-called "big family" to the nonaligned Islamic countries of the Third World; it has already escalated from behind-the-scenes plotting, utilization of agents, and organization of mercenaries to unabashed personal participation in battle and the direct dispatch of troops to invade another country; it has already developed from the undertaking of subversive activities and the propping up of puppet regimes to the glaring occupation of a sovereign country by armed forces. The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan marked the entry to a new stage of Soviet social-imperialism in carrying out an offensive strategy. East of the Malacca Strait, which straddles the sealanes between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, it has, by seizing the opportunity of Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, extended its naval and air force bases 4,000 kilometers to the south, up to the China Sea and the Gulf of Siam. Thus, toward the south, it threatens the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and if necessary it is in a position to cut off the sealanes leading from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific. Toward the east, it is in a position to coordinate with its Far Eastern forces and establish a posture of pincer attack against Japan and the naval and air force bases of the United States in the Philippines; at the same time, it is also in a position to threaten China from both the south and the north. West of the Malacca Strait, it is intensifying the execution of its southward strategy, since, after securing control of the crucial Red Sea strait of Bab el Mandeb, it has invaded Afghanistan with its armed forces, begun to threaten Iran, Pakistan and the strategic narrow pass of the [Persian] Gulf, the Strait of Hormuz, and has moved forward to menace Saudi Arabia on the Arabian Peninsula, thus linking up the "Crescent" from the Middle East to Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union is connecting its European strategic deployment with its strategy in Asia and the Pacific, forging a pincer offensive on the sea-lanes between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, and gradually trying to assume a strategic posture whereby the eastern and western lines complement each other, so as to grab oilfields in the Gulf region, seize strategic spots, take a further step to threaten the "lifeline of the West," and ultimately outflank Europe along a roundabout route. This is a matter of life and death to the Western countries. At the same time, it is "perfecting" its strategic encirclement of our country in a vain attempt to realize its dream of world rule. This cruel.fact of over a year's development of the international situation further proves that Soviet hegemonism is the principal source of war and a serious menace to world peace.

The pursuit of world hegemony is the purpose of the foreign policy of Soviet social-imperialism and a goal which it has "never changed, never overlooked." The Soviet Union is a latecomer to dinner with a great appetite for expansion and a fiery initial thrust. But because of the opposition of the people of the world, it has to spread a smokescreen of "detente" and has been forced to make gestures of "peace" in order to deceive the people. It also employs the tricks of "a thief crying 'stop thief'" and hoodwinking the world while stealing other people's reputation, in order to resort to hegemonism even more unscrupulously under the very signboard of antihegemonism, and to do all sorts of injurious and heinous things. Lenin taught us: Imperialist [countries'] wars are a continuation of their ordinary policy; peace is a continuation of their wartime policy. Insofar as the Soviet Union's hegemonism is concerned, peace is but an interval between two wars. It merely utilizes such intervals between military offensives to digest absorbed entities and to engage in more arms expansion and war preparations. With peaceful coexistence as its signboard from the mid-1950's to the end of the 1960's, it secured supreme rule in a separate sphere of its own, actively engaged in arms expansion and war preparations, and got ready to contest with the United States for hegemony throughout the whole world. Under the smokescreen of "detente" in the 1970's, it cerried out an offensive strategy. After its armed invasion into Afghanistan, with the pressure of world public opinion vigorously demanding the Soviet Union withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, it is now unfolding a "peace" offensive, trying very hard to keep its foothold steady under expressions of "peace" in order to carry out the long-range military occupation of Afghanistan. To sum up: sometimes it uses the two arms of "detente" and expansion simultaneously and sometimes it uses them alternately, with the "peace" strategy as a supplement to its offensive strategy; it practises expansion in the name of "detente," with "peace" as a cloak and strategic offense as substance.

Opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace are two sides of the same coin. The struggle for peace and the struggle against hegemonism are inseparably connected. The point of departure for opposition to world hegemonism is the safeguarding of world peace. Hegemonism is nothing more or less than aggression, than war. Struggling to safeguard world peace means struggling to oppose the aggression policy and war policy of social-imperialism. Only by opposing hegemonism can we safeguard world peace. The question now is: In the face of this threat by Soviet hegemonism, what is the correct path for safeguarding world peace?

1. It is necessary for us to recognize the worldwide strategic intentions of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a world hegemonist. In order to realize its ambition of hegemony over the world, it has a clear world strategy. This strategy is namely an offensive one, with "disarmament," "detente," and "liberation of the people of various nationalities" as its signboard, military power as its foundation, the United States as its rival, and Europe as its center of gravity. Eyeing the whole world, and especially threatening the regions next to the West's core interests, it employs methods ranging from mainly fighting wars by proxy up to direct armed invasion, and it takes as its strategic aim the establishment of an unprecedented empire. In 1975, using Cuba as its mercenary, it stirred up civil war in Angola and carried out military occupation of Angola; in 1977, it twice instigated mercenaries to invade Zaire; in 1978, it seized the opportunity of conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia to expand its influence; in 1979, it supported Vietnam's large-scale invasion of democratic Kampuchea, so as to work for a "Federation of Greater Indochina" and to promote an "Asian collective security system." All this was designed to carry out its offensive strategy and constituted a component part of its world offensive strategy. The direct invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union this time was by no means an accidental event; it was a painstakingly planned and long-plotted strategic action. Under the situation of military confrontation and stalemate in the European and Asian regions, which is not easy to break at present, the Soviet Union succeeded in achieving a breakthrough by way of the "soft belly" and thus expanded swiftly southward. This was not only an indispensable step in its advance southward to the Indian Ocean by the land route, but also of direct service to its world strategy with Europe as the center of gravity, and it was at the same time beneficial to the linking of Southeast Asia, West Asia, South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa into a single front, and hence the realization of its worldwide strategic deployment. The Soviet Union has always had an established offensive strategy for achieving hegemony over the world, with Europe as its center of gravity. We should therefore have a clear strategic point of view, and we can only realistically consider and cope with the problems of our own country and region from the point of view of the whole situation, from the overview of strategy and not from the angle of an individual region or country. Only thus can we attach sufficient importance to each expansionist action on the part of the Soviet Union, see far and wide enough and adopt our correct standpoints and attitudes accordingly, and thereby formulate correct policies and practical steps to continue to throw the war plotter's expansionist plans into disarray and safeguard world peace. Contrariwise, if we look at but do not see the Soviet Union's world strategic intentions, and take its every expansionist action designed to realize worldwide strategic deployment as some "oozing strategy," some "opportunistic incident," and hence let it gain an inch and aspire to a foot, and let it press forward step by step each time, then wars will follow one another and disasters will continue until we ourselves incur some catastrophe.

2. We must resolutely support the Afghan people and the Kampuchean people in their struggle against the invaders. The Afghan people's struggle against the Soviet invaders and the Kampuchean people's struggle against big and small hegemonism are problems of the same nature; they are both just struggles in defense of national independence and state sovereignty. The struggles of the oppressed nations of Afghanistan and Kampuchea against foreign invaders and the struggle of the people of the world to oppose Soviet hegemonism and safeguard world peace are entirely consistent with one another. The very fact that big and small hegemonism have

committed armed invasion in two sovereign states today is itself a serious threat to peace. If their aggression is tolerated, it will not only be of no help to the safeguarding of peace but will also surely bring about the dangers of expanded aggression and acceleration of another world war. Therefore, the adoption by peace-loving people and countries the world over of more varied, more effective measures to punish the aggressors and to provide powerful support to the Afghan people and the Kampuchean people politically, morally, and materially has already become an important component of the effort of the people of the world to oppose hegemonism's policy of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace. And the fact that the Afghan people and the Kampuchean people, by sparing no national sacrifices, have exerted themselves to resist the aggressors constitutes by the same token a great contribution to the cause of world peace. With the support of the people of the whole world, it is possible for them to turn Afghanistan and Kampuchea into traps ensnaring big and small hegemonism, making the burdens on their backs heavier, aggravating their difficulties, exhausting their strength, and exposing their expansionist essence as aggressors, and thereby to further mobilize the people of the world, including the people of their own countries, to rise in a just struggle against hegemonism. The big and small hegemonists are daring enough to resort to such wanton actions, so they are unlikely to halt in Afghanistan and Kampuchea and advance no further. Recently, Vietnam openly carried out an excursion into Thailand; it is necessary for people to become vigilant about a repetition of the Kampuchean incident in Thailand. The big and small hegemonists are cruelly suppressing the countries and people that demand national independence and liberation, and they carry on bloody wars every day. If we resort only to empty talk about opposing wars but somehow refrain from opposing wars that are precisely of this kind, refrain from sympathizing with and supporting the just struggles of weak and small nations safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty, or even bargain, using the independence and sovereignty of small countries as our chips, then we will be evincing a hypocritical attitude toward peace.

3. People of the whole world must unite to promote the development of an antihegemonist situation. Safeguarding world peace is the common cause of people of all countries of the world. The purpose of this struggle for world peace today is to call forth the people of all countries of the world to oppose hegemonism and delay the new world war. This is not a struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism. Therefore, under the banner of opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace, we should unite together all those who uphold peace and oppose hegemonism's policy of aggression and war, mobilize and organize all antihegemonist forces, including the developed countries facing the threat of Soviet aggression and expansion, and consolidate and develop a great antihegemonist association. Only when the ranks of the contingents participating in this procession become more powerful will the struggle to safeguard world peace become more vital and equipped with fighting stamina. The Afghan incident has stripped away the disguise of hegemonism and wiped people's eyes clear. The common interests of world peace and security have enabled the United States and the countries of Western Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and the Asian-Pacific regions to gradually strengthen their ties. China and the United States are striving to coordinate their actions on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. China and Japan are strengthening their cooperation. Because of the Soviet Union's threat, the United States and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN] are also strengthening their cooperative relations. The United States likewise is strengthening its cooperation with Japan, Australia,

and New Zealand, and Japan has just participated for the first time in joint military exercises with the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The European Economic Community and the conference of ASEAN foreign ministers have issued a joint communique in which they adopted a common stand with respect to the Soviet Army's invasion of Afghanistan and Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea. The contradiction between the Western and Third World countries has become somewhat mitigated. The signing of an agreement on defense and economic cooperation between Turkey and the United States marked the end of Turkish-American tensions during the past 5 years. The Arab countries and West European countries have moved closer to each other. The West European Community has explicitly recognized the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Japan's special envoy Sonoda has visited the Gulf and Middle Eastern countries and decided to readjust his country's policy toward the Middle East. A special emergency meeting of the U.N. General Assembly and a conference of foreign ministers of Islamic countries have requested that Soviet troops be entirely, immediately, and unconditionally withdrawn from Arab territories, and they have also called upon countries of the world to support the struggle of the Afghan people. All of this illustrates that all countries concerned with international peace are now uniting to resist Soviet hegemonism. However, very angry and ill at ease with fear toward this trend of association on the part of various forces of the world, the Soviet Union has played the trick of sowing dissension in order to sabotage the world's sanctions against it. Especially with such methods as intimidation by war, inducement by "detente," and economic integration, it has done its best to drive a wedge between the United States and the West European countries and to create discrepancies between countries opposed to Soviet aggression, in the hope of defeating them individually. It has also taken advantage of the crisis in U.S.-Iranian relations to stir up differences and sabotage the united resistance to hegemonism by countries on the same front. Toward this, the countries of the world must raise their vigilance, strengthen their unity, support each other, and coordinate their actions in order to adopt a coordinated policy toward Soviet hegemonism. The development of this worldwide united antihegemonist strategy is created by the offensive strategy of the Soviet Union. The United States and West Europe are facing the serious threat of the Soviet Union together; their interests are consistent with each other. They are bound to coordinate their steps against Soviet expansion along largely similar and only slightly different paths. So long as the Soviet Union's strategy for achieving world hegemony does not change, the trend of united antihegemonism is unlikely to be reversed.

4. We must oppose the policy of appeasement. Over the years, because of the West's softness and retreat with respect to the Soviet Union, the latter's momentum for aggression and expansion has been greatly increased. This has emboldened the Soviet hegemonists to make the decision to occupy Afghanistan. The Afghanistan incident was an eyeopener to the appeasers. It seriously impinged upon the illusions of Western countries toward the Soviet Union, made the United States reconsider and readjust its strategic deployment, and also led certain other Western countries to adopt various sanctions against the Soviet Union's aggressive activities. This has been the main current of the developing situation. But recently, some people in the West, because of their fear and tension in the face of the war intimidation perpetrated by the Soviet hegemonists, and because of their illusions about "detente" and their desire to maintain the status quo, still think of bringing about a political solution through making concessions to the aggressor. At present, the struggle of the Afghan people against the invasion of Soviet troops is still developing. The

puppet regime in Kabul is very weak, and Soviet troops have become the only pillar proping up its rule. Under such circumstances, it is utterly impossible for the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops; but in order to attain their aggressive goals, the Soviet hegemonists are playing certain tricks. On 22 February, Brezhnev made a personal appearance, declaring in a speech to those present that "as long as opposition to the Afghan Government and people and all forms of external interference are stopped," the Soviet Union would "proceed to prepare for the withdrawal of troops." Therefore, once negotiations over the withdrawal are initiated with the Soviet Union according to the conditions recommended by them, it would be tantamount to acknowledging the pretext on which the Soviet hegemonists committed the aggression in the first place, and would enable the puppet regime they had fostered in Kabul to secure international recognition. Countries of the world would then have morally disarmed themselves, and the upshot would not at all facilitate a reprimand or sanction against the Soviet hegemonists. Such a political solution would not only help the Soviet hegemonists divert their goal and realize their long-range occupation and control of Afghanistan, but also would fundamentally remove the struggle of the Afghan people against the invasion and thereby create a bad precedent for the struggle by other countries and people of the Third World against big and small hegemonism. Any scheme for a political solution to the Afghan question must be based on the resolutions passed respectively by the special emergency meeting of the U.N. General Assembly and the conference of foreign ministers of Islamic states in demanding the immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Afghanistan of all troops of the Soviet Union, so as to allow the Afghan people to solve their problems themselves without any interference from the outside. The peace that the people of the world wish to strive to maintain is a peace in accord with the interests of the people, which the people of the world will have secured through struggle with hegemonism, and not appeasement or submission to hegemonism effected by hegemonism under the signboard of peace and by means of armed threat. Appeasement and submission are not peace; they can only aggravate the ambition of hegemonism and create conditions for the next expansionist action by the Soviet Union. In the face of Soviet hegemonism's fire-breathing expansionist offensive, is it to be appeasement and retreat, or resolute struggle? All of the countries of the world are faced with this solemn choice. History and realities both continue to prove that the adoption of a policy of appeasement toward an ambitious hegemonist can only increase international tensions and the danger of an outbreak of war, and that only the conduct of a tit-for-tat struggle can safeguard world peace.

The Soviet Union is a fierce and cunning aggressor; it is at the same time a paper tiger. It looks powerful, but it is actually feeble. As long as peace-loving countries and people of the whole world unite, insist on opposing hegemonism, dare to struggle, and are good at struggling, the cause of safeguarding world peace and justice is bound to continue to win victories.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTRY-LEVEL DIRECT ELECTIONS BEING HELD IN SICHUAN

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jul 80 p 1

[News Report by Wu Youbin [0702 2589 1755] and Mao Shuren [3029 1859 0086]: "Sichuan Provincial County-Level Direct Election Work Conference Opens in Chengdu"]

[Text] A conference on the work of direct elections at county level in Sichuan Province was held in Chengdu from 25 to 30 July. The central task of the conference was to sum up experiences gained by units which have been selected to hold county-level direct elections; this will serve as a basis for conducting similar elections in other parts of Sichuan Province in the months ahead.

In addition to reviewing achievements and experiences in county-level direct elections which have been held on a selective basis, the conference discussed problems of how to hold similar elections throughout the province in the future. The conference pointed out: The results of elections that have taken place in 18 selected counties have proven fairly successful in broadening the political power base, in educating the broad masses in socialist democracy and the legal system, and in strengthening their sense of pride and responsibility as masters of their own country with a duty to manage affairs of state. This form of universal suffrage, in which all citizens of voting age can feel free to elect deputies of their choice for public office, has actually given the voters a kind of power to supervise cadres and to induce them to rectify their workstyle, and thus to strengthen their ties with the masses. At present, most of the aforementioned selected counties have opened their newly elected people's congresses so that they can elect their standing committees and form leading groups for the country-level people's governments. As a result of the elections, positive factors from all walks of life have been further mobilized to strengthen stability and unity and to promote production and other work. In short, the successful conclusion of the elections has given new impetus to production. On the basis of experiences has given new impetus to production. On the basis of experiences accumulated by the selected counties, the conference also adopted plans for county-level direct elections to be held in the future, calling on all remaining counties to work out their specific schedules for holding such elections as soon as possible and to bring them to a successful conclusion by the end of the coming winter or spring.

The conference pointed out: The county-level direct election is the first of its kind ever held in Sichuan since the PRC's founding and an important political event for the people of all nationalities in their province. When such elections are scheduled, the authorities in charge of elections should make it clear that candidates running for public office should be recommended and nominated by the masses, that the number of nominees can be greater than the actual number to be elected, and that all voting should be conducted by secret ballot. These new practices are in striking contrast to past elections. Since the election campaign is a popular, wide-ranging, strenuous activity, conscientious efforts must be made to carry it out. Various local authorities are required to strengthen their party leadership, to conscientiously organize and train cadres to widely educate the masses in the electoral law, and to nominate candidates according to the principles of democratic centralism and mutual consultations, in order to bring every election campaign to a successful conclusion. The electoral law must be strictly observed in order to effectively protect every voter's democratic right. When elections are scheduled for minority areas, the authorities should take into account specific local conditions and should work out plans to meet specific needs.

The conference also adopted the revised version of the "Bylaws Governing the Election of Country- and Commune-Level People's Congresses in Sichuan Province" for consideration by the coming session of the Sichuan Provincial People's Congress. This bylaw was drafted by the Sichuan Provincial Election Committee on the basis of the "Electoral Law for the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses of the People's Republic of China," in line with Sichuan Province's specific requirements.

During the conference, Qiao Zhimin [0829 1807 2404], vice governor of Sichuan Province and vice chairman of the Sichuan Provincial Election Committee, delivered a report on results of county-level direct elections in selected localities. In his report, he outlined plans for future elections at the Sichuan Provincial People's Congress' request. The conference also heard a summing-up report by Du Xinyuan [2629 1800 3293], secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee. The conference was attended by vice chairmen of the Sichuan Provincial People's Congress Li Linzhi [2621 2651 2655], Zhang Xiushu [1728 4423 3578] and Ma Shitu [7456 6221 6634]; responsible comrades of various municipalities and prefectures and 18 selected units in charge of election work; responsible comrades of the organizational and civil affairs departments; and comrades of the provincial election committee.

9574
CSO: 4005

REGULATIONS THAT HAMPER PROGRESS MUST BE ELIMINATED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Gao Lan [7559 1526]: "Abolish Obstructive Rules and Regulations"]

[Text] In a recent forum on how to display superiority, a comrade complained: If we want to bring our superior system into full play, "obstructive" rules and regulations must give way to "constructive" ones. He then followed this complaint with this story: Some time ago, the Tianjin Dagu Chemical Plant applied for a loan. The processing of the loan took 3.5 months to complete because it had to be approved by 10 ministries and 34 departments or bureaus. It might have taken longer if no one had been sent to push for it. If we go about our business at this speed, how can we hope to accomplish the four modernizations? A Japanese proverb says: "Quality is life, and time means money." A system that requies an application to be routed through so many offices costs us not only time but a lot of good opportunities. At a time when we emphasize economic results, we must take steps to wipe out such "obstructive" rules and regulations.

"Obstructive" rules and regulations are too numerous to mention here. For example, many localities still retain regulations protecting local products from competition with higher quality and lower priced commodities from other parts of the country. The consequence of applying such regulations to restrict competition and protect backward production units will cost us not only progress but also our capacity to compete on the national and international markets. Typical of these backward production units were the Tianjin Motor Plant and the Tianjin Electric Machinery Plant. The former used to be an enterprise that was unable to improve the quality of its diesel engine power-generating units and lower its production costs because it was required by regulations to form a partnership with another backward production unit, the Tianjin Electric Machinery Plant, in assembling its products. The latter was notorious for its poor quality and expensive power-generating units. Under such circumstances, it was impossible to improve the business outlook. Changes in this dismal outlook did not come about until new regulations were put into effect delegating to the enterprises greater power of self-determination. Under these new regulations the Tianjin Motor Plant has been able to select a different partner of its own choice to solve its longstanding problems. Confronted with strong competition, the Tianjin Electric Machinery Plant has also been able to remarkably improve its products through hard work. As can be seen from this, competition can serve as an incentive for progress. For this reason, we must foster competition with new constructive regulations and replace the old ones that hamper and discourage it.

As far as I know, the most obstructive regulations are those that "cut everything the same way." For example, when the regulation calling for "taking steel as the key link" was in effect, large steel mills had to be built in areas where neither iron ore and coke nor means of transportation were available. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Yuqi—a key to tobacco-producing center in Yunnan Province—was forced to give up this cash crop and convert its land to grow food crops in order to comply with the call for "taking grain as the foundation of the national economy." Herdsmen in Inner Mongolia were compelled to grow crops for their own sustenance for the same reason. The damage to the economy caused by such regulations has been appalling.

For a long time there have been economic doldrums in Tianjin, partly because of Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's destructive counterrevolutionary measures and partly because of the aforementioned obstructive regulations. For 30 years, no steps have been taken to fully develop 900,000 mu of wasteland, terraces, and tideland, plus another 300,000 mu of riverside land on the outskirts of Tianjin which are suitable for the development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fisheries. Reed grass can be grown and fish, shrimp, and crabs can be raised in rivers and tideland on the outskirts of Tianjin; animal husbandry can be developed and fruit plantations can be grown along with ordinary trees on terraces out there. Counties on the outskirts of Tianjin can also make large tracts of land available for growing sunflower seeds. Per unit output of this crop can reach 200 jin, which can be converted into 80 jin of edible oil and 120 jin of feedcakes for pigs. One jin of such edible oil is worth 8 jin of rice. If they are not used that way, sunflower seeds can be sold at the market price of 0.6 yuan per jin, which would mean a higher income for peasants than growing rice and other food crops. Why can't we taken advantage of the land on the outskirts of Tianjin to grow sunflower seeds?

At present, our country remains in a stage of reconstruction and rehabilitation. To make it prosperous and strong, we must formulate and put into effect new, constructive regulations to replace the obstructive ones. The new cannot be established if the old are not destroyed first. Neither the aforementioned comrade nor this writer can specifically advise what constructive regulations should be enacted and put into effect, because they involve too much detail. However, I firmly believe that constructive regulations sooner or later will come into being to take the place of those obstructive rules and regulations, because we have wisdom and resources to do so.

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM ON TWO FRONTS EMPHASIZED

Chungchun SHEHUI KEXUE ZHANXIAN [SOCIAL SCIENCES FRONT] in Chinese Vol 3 No 3, 25 Jul 80 pp 21-25

[Article by Qi Zhenhai [7871 2182 3189] and Xu Hongwu [1776 7703 2976]: "A Brief Discourse on the Two Forms of Revisionism"]

[Text] There are two forms of revisionism, or right and "left" revisionism. But the people have long maintained that there is only right, but no "left" revisionism. They have also put revisionism on a par with right opportunism, and have viewed "left" opportunism as something unrelated to revisionism. This view is theoretically wrong and practically harmful. We consider it absolutely necessary to straighten out this confusion with some historical experiences drawing from domestic and foreign sources.

I

A correct assessment of the two forms of revisionism first of all calls for a clear understanding of the true nature of revisionism.

What does revisionism mean? Revisionism is an anti-Marxist trend of thought or faction within the workers' movement, whose purpose is to "revise" (actually nullify) the basic principles of Marxism under the guise of Marxism. Lenin once suggested that theories "be revised as a result of practice." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 3, p 398) In that sense, the term "revise" denotes no intent to degrade Marxism. But the term "revisionism" is different. It is a synonym for total nullification of, and betrayal to, Marxism. Revisionism sprang up at the end of the 19th century. As a result of the extensive dissemination of Marxism, revisionism soon dominated the workers movement. Of course, Marxism had enemies. At first, they openly challenged Marxism. Then they changed their anti-Marxist strategy from one of open opposition to that of adulterating and nullifying the basic principle of Marxism under the banner of Marxism. In Lenin's language, at this time, "revisionism no longer takes its independent course but continues its struggle against Marxism under the common banner of Marxism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2, p 257) In other words, any trends of thought or factions intent on tampering with and nullifying the basic principles of Marxism under the banner of Marxism should be categorized as revisionism. As long as one can grasp this point, one will be able to understand the core and essence of revisionism. This being the case, can we call all forms of opportunism revisionism? It is not so simple. There are also two forms of opportunism: First, the form of opportunism which openly challenged Marxism cannot be called revisionism. This form of opportunism includes Proudhonism and Bukuninism which sprang up during the period of the First International. Second, another form of opportunism which does not assert its independence from Marxism but carries on its anti-Marxist struggle under the guise of Marxism is called revisionism. For example, Lenin called Russia's "economists" Mensheviks, and empirio-critics manifestations and variants of revisionism in Russia because they were all opportunists who opposed the basic principles of Marxism under the guise of Marxism. Bernstein, founder of revisionism, once cunningly said that he "revised" Marxism with the aim of "strengthening the scientific foundation of this theory so that it can withstand any rebuff." This form of opportunism founded by Bernstein can be called revisionism.

The theory of the aforementioned two forms of revisionism--right and "left" revisionism--was explicitly spelled out by Lenin in 1908. In his article entitled "Marxism and Revisionism," he said: "Revisionism comes from both right and left directions. The two forms of revisionism are hostile to Marxism although they flaunt the same banner of Marxism. Both have the same intention of revising Marxism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2, p 262) Because "left" revisionism was not so well known and "internationalized" as right revisionism at that time, it eventually escaped thorough analysis and criticism by Lenin. On an occasion of criticizing the "gang of four" for opposing the so-called "empiricism," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Our correct strategy is a struggle against revisionism, including empiricism and dogmatism, both of which have the same intention of reviving Marxism-Leninism." This remark by Comrade Mao Zedong not only exposed the "gang of four's" trick to oppose only empiricism instead of dogmatism but also clearly taught the people that revisionism sometimes takes the form of dogmatism. In this way, he rectified an incorrect proposal to put revisionism on a par with right opportunism. Furthermore, he listed "left" opportunism under the category of revisionism because it often assumes the form of dogmatism.

II

Both right and "left" revisionism adopt the same double-dealing attitude of endorsing Marxism in public and rejecting it in private although they follow different approaches. Followers of right revisionism often abandon the basic principles of Marxism under the pretext that Marxism is now out of tune with time, while "left" revisionism usually takes the form of a theory of "preserving and defending" certain Marxist conclusions and formulas without taking into account time, places and conditions. "Left" revisionism also has the intention of exaggerating certain Marxist conclusions and then transforming them into an erroneous ultraleft line. Typical of the promoters of the theory that Marxism is out of tune with time were Bernstein, Trotsky and other old revisionists. Bernstein once insisted that "the times change" and the Marxist theory was now "out of fashion," while using the so-called "new information on economic developments" to discredit the theory that contradictions do exist in the capitalist system and the economic crises are unavoidable in the capitalist world. Assuming that the capitalist system is unlikely to collapse with the emergence of Cartel, Trust and other monopolistic organizations which will strengthen the ability of the capitalist countries to meet the economic challenges of modern times, he contended that "the sharpening of social conflicts will not materialize as described by the 'Communist Manifesto'; this fact forces me to revise the concepts on which my original beliefs are based.'" Although Karl Kautsky "criticized" some of Bernstein's opinions, his basic viewpoint actually fell in line with Bernstein's. Kautsky also concocted a fallacy of "superimperialism," arguing that some of the Marxist principles would become invalid when imperialism progresses to a new stage. He alleged that the substitution of the international banking cooperation for the clash of capitalist interests has brought a "new hope" to capitalism, denying that imperialism is the highest stage of the development of capitalism and is doomed.

"Left" revisionism also can take the form of dogmatism, which denotes an intent to preserve certain outdated or invalid Marxist conclusions, to emasculate the living soul of Marxism and to ossify it into dead dogmatic formulas. Styling himself "a 100 percent Bolshevik" because he studied "orthodoxy" Marxism in Mowcow, Wang Ming ridiculed Mao Zedong and other comrades as "country pumpkin-oriented Marxists," "Narrow-minded empiricists," and "peasant ideologists." Although he could draw up some seemingly good reports and fill them with quotable quotes from the classic works, his knowledge about China's real conditions and the objective laws governing the development of the Chinese revolution was almost nil. He was also good at mechanically copying the individual Marxists-Leninist phrases. As an adherent to the formula that it is necessary to start armed uprisings in cities and then spread them from there to the countryside, he opposed the correct strategy to encircle the cities from the countryside and eventually take cities. His strategy on struggle with emphasis placed on dealing blows to the middle forces eventually destroyed the cooperative relations between our party and its allies, and undermined the party's policy for the formation of the united front. He also instructed the party to start violent uprisings everywhere in order to whip up a new high tide in the revolution. Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line was responsible for bringing our revolutionary forces to the abyss of annihilation. Although he appeared loyal to Marxism, he actually betrayed it.

Although the "left" revisionism promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also takes the form of dogmatism, it differs from the general form of dogmatism.

First, this form of dogmatism was inseparable from the creation of a modern cult of worship. While using the high prestige of the revolutionary leader among the masses as a tiger-skin to cover themselves and to intimidate others, they converted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought into a form of dogmatism and a cult of worship. Their diabolical design was to "vigorously promote themselves" under the pretext of promoting others, to create opportunities for them to move up to the supreme leadership position of the country and to carry out a variety of criminal activities under the "shelter of a tall tree."

Second, all signs indicated that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were not believers in Marxism-Leninism." Their claim to go all the way to defend Marxism-Leninism was only a device to boost their political fortune. Unlike other revisionists, who wanted to preserve those obsolete Marxist-Leninist conclusions, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took a different attitude toward Marxism-Leninism. Their method for distorting, adulterating and tampering with Marxism-Leninism was extremely diabolical and unscrupulous. They even committed forgery in this field. For example, they dished out such terms as the "exercise of dictatorship in an all-round way," "Omnipresence," "act according to the principles laid down" in order to serve their reactionary political aim.

As we have stated earlier, right revisionism is mainly devoted to directly "revising" the basic Marxist principles under the pretext that they are "out of tune with time" while the aim of "left" revisionism is to ossify Marxism into dogmatic formulas. But we must make clear that this thesis on right and "left" revisionism is relative but not absolute, because it deals with only key aspects but not the entire picture of them. We must note that right revisionists sometimes are also interested in applying Marxist phrases and formulas to rebuff the revolution. For example, Kautsky and other revisionists of the Second International once used Marx's theory that the proletarian revolution could succeed only when it was carried out in several economically advanced countries as a theoretical basis for rebuffing Lenin's doctrine that the socialist revolution could be won in a single country. After noting this, Lenin called Kautsky "a theorist capable of readily quoting everything written by Marx in an orderly manner." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 3, p 640) But Kautsky was also denounced by Lenin for emasculating the living soul of Marxism and for trying to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie. "Left" revisionists sometimes also wanted to adopt the same theory to nullify the basic principles of Marxism. For example, the "gang of four" once declared that "the State and Revolution," "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder" are now no longer valid!" Since revisionists are also pragmatists, they can resort to all available tactics to achieve their reactionary political aim.

III

Both right and "left" revisionism are politically devoted to negating and tampering with the Marxist theories of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, although they adopt different methods to achieve the same purpose. Right revisionism tends to scale down or ignore the class struggle while "left" revisionism is devoted to escalating it.

Before seizing the political power, both right and "left" revisionists did not agree to smash the bourgeois military bureaucratic state machine as a step in establishing and consolidating the proletarian political power. As the promoters of the theory of class conciliation, both Kautsky and Bernstein argued that both capitalists and the proletariat would benefit from the development of capitalism; the more the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie diminishes, the greater the prospect of "peaceful evolution into socialism." They also contended that under the capitalist system, the proletariat could be organized to realize socialism through the practice of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. Their attempt was to put the proletariat under the perpetual control of capitalism. "Left" revisionism favors secret and violent struggles and rebuffs struggles by peaceful means. Its followers hated all state authorities and rebuffed the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They even conspired to overthrow the capitalist system by means of terrorism. For example, the massive struggle, the party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat were considered unnecessary to the revolution by those representatives of "left" revisionism named by Lenin in his article "Marxism and Revisionism." In their opinion, there was no need for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and capture the power of the management of production because general strikes could be organized to do the job well.

After the proletariat captured the political power, both right and "left" revisionists in Russia acted against the interests in upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, although they followed different approaches. The Bukharin branch of revisionism that appeared in the Soviet Union in the 1930's was a kind of right revisionism. In addition to calling for the realization of socialism through cooperation between the working class and the bourgeoisie, Bukharin suggested that in socialist society, socialist and capitalist economies "work together to bring about prosperity"; in cities, peaceful competition be encouraged between socialist and capitalist enterprises; in the countryside, a kind of rich peasant economy be developed, and freedom to hire workers be permitted along with free trade and freedom of tenancy. This suggestion was essentially a political line for developing capitalism and abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Trotsky, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were "left" revisionists interested in escalating the class struggle. Trotsky called for drastic efforts to shift the emphasis of the class struggle under the socialist system to social reforms. He postulated that with socialism gaining ground, the "domain of the proletariat would become narrower and more shaky than ever"; with victory, reactionary elements would unavoidably emerge from among the members of the proletariat along with "new nobles of working class origin"; in the countryside, "bourgeois organizations consisting of new rich peasants" would become predominant forces. His proposed solution for this problem was a "world revolution" which would wipe out the "rule of the bureaucratic clique" in the Soviet Union.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed an ultraleft line aimed at steadily escalating the struggle. In addition to suppressing democracy, they misinterpreted the dictatorship of the proletariat as an "exercise of the dictatorship over the proletariat and the broad masses of working people in an all-round way." They mistook enemies for friends and friends for enemies, turned upside down the relationship between the resource and target of the revolution, and confused the two different types of contradictions. They emphasized only the necessity of escalating the struggle against the wishes of the broad masses of cadres and people, and ignored the need for unity. Although they stridently claimed to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, they worked behind closed doors to change its nature by imposing a fascist dictatorship on some localities and units under their direct control.

Although the advocation of class conciliation appears at variance with the assertion of the escalation of class struggle, their consequence is the same. The Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is based on a realistic analysis of the objective reality of class contradictions. Only by scientifically analyzing and correctly carrying out the class struggle, can we truly uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must be aware that the class struggle exists objectively. Any deliberate attempt to ignore or escalate it will weaken or undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as Stalin pointed out, "although they proceed from two opposite extremes, both right and left deviations will arrive at the same conclusion. They are all bad." ("Collection of Works of Stalin," vol 11, p 200) Although the two forms of revisionism are poles apart, their political conclusions often coincide. For example, Bernstein and Kautsky proceeded from the right side to charge the Soviet power with "undermining democracy," "violating humanitarianism," and "exercising dictatorship," and vowed to "thoroughly crush it," while Lin Biao and the "gang of four" stepped forward from the "left" side to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country as "the bourgeoisie exercising dictatorship over the proletariat," threatening to "completely smash it" and "replace it with another dynasty." Right revisionism often converges with "left" revisionism to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. Sometimes, their followers use almost the same language to confuse the people. On an occasion of criticizing "left revivalists" and right "abolitionists" at the beginning of the 20th century, Lenin pointed out: "Various trends of thought have converged to produce revivalism and abolitionism. The result is a mixture of the extreme right and extreme 'left' fallacies." ("Collection of Works of Lenin," vol 16, p 105) This fact shows that the two forms of revisionism can be practiced for the same purpose of abolishing the proletarian revolution.

IV

Both right and "left" revisionism are characterized by estranging subjective from objective reality and theory from practice. This is their common nature. But they differ in that the former lags behind reality while the latter transcends reality. In this connection, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "There are two kinds of opportunism, being slow and being hasty." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5, p 204) The former is right revisionism and the latter "Left" revisionism.

There were "theories of a single revolution and dual revolution" in the history of both Russian and Chinese revolution. Among the Russian representatives of the "theory of a single revolution" were Trotsky and Zinoview. Their Chinese counterparts were Trotskyists. They all suggested that the democratic revolution be circumvented so that both bourgeois democratic revolution and proletarian socialist revolution could be accomplished at one stroke. Both Trotsky and Zinoview proposed that "we don't need tsars but we need the workers' government," advocating that "the democratic revolution must be accomplished under the dictatorship of the proletariat." They were all "left" revisionists who wanted the democratic revolution to be circumvented.

Russia's Mensheviks and China's Chen Duxiu were promoters of the "theory of dual-revolution." They argued that during the bourgeois democratic revolution, the proletariat should put itself under the command of the bourgeoisie and should not try to take over the leadership; after the revolution triumphs, a kind of bourgeois dictatorship should be established in order to create a condition for developing capitalism; the proletarian revolution can start only after capitalism has run its full course. They were all right revisionists whose revolutionary theory falls behind reality.

After coming to power, the proletariat still faces a problem of either going too far ahead of or falling behind schedule in handling the matters concerning the economic base and the superstructure and productive forces and the relations of production. Right revisionism represents a force which resists any attempt to reform that part of the superstructure that is not in harmony with the economic base, and to modernize the relations of production when the conditions are ripe for such actions. "Left" revisionism is known for its rashness and recklessness in pushing through similar reforms long before they are necessary. These two forms of revisionism can cause the same serious damage to the socialist cause. For example, in 1958, Zhang Chunqiao prematurely declared that "the bourgeois rights should be eliminated." Chen Boda then echoed him by saying that "the commodity system should be abolished." At the same time, that "theorist" also nonsensically alleged that "socialism heralds a beginning of transition to communism." During the Great Cultural Revolution, they went a step forward in cutting off the so-called "tails of capitalism," in prohibiting commune members from farming small plots for personal needs and from engaging in legitimate trade at village fairs, and in canceling the principle of "to each according to his work." Their vigorous propaganda effort to convince the people that "the road from socialism to communism is marked by a transitional stage of poverty" also caused extremely serious damage to the cause of the socialist revolution and construction in our country. Although the two forms of revisionism often move in opposite directions, they are mutually transferable to each other. Their transferability can occur to individual persons. For example, during the early days of the Soviet Union, Bukharin, organizer of the "left communist" clique, ganged up with Trotsky in opposing the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. With regard to the question of the trade union, he threw his weight behind the call for its nationalization, and for using executive orders and coercive orders and coercive measures in dealing with the masses of workers. Upon entering the 1930's, he shifted his position to the right by promoting the theory of class conciliation in opposition to the policies of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War in our country, holding high the "most revolutionary" banner, Wang Ming pushed an ultraleft line heading the Chinese revolution down the road to defeat. Shortly after the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan, he shifted his stand to the extreme right by agreeing to put "everything under the command of the united front" in an attempt to hand the proletarian leadership to Chiang Kai-shek. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Lin Biao was a pessimistic, disappointed and irresolute man with no confidence in the future of the revolution. During the liberation war, he feared the enemy troops as if they were tigers and hesitated to challenge them to a decisive battle. But during the socialist revolution, he shifted his position to the extreme left, masquerading himself as the "most revolutionary fighter" to cover up his diabolical design to usurp the supreme party and state power. Just as Stalin said it well, "Rightists and 'ultraleftists' are actually twin brothers." ("Collection of Works of Stalin," vol 8, p 9) It can be said that only a reactionary political stand, and the idealistic and metaphysical world outlook will contribute to the growth of such twin brothers.

V

Now resting on our shoulders is a heavy responsibility assigned by history to combat and prevent revisionism. A major issue that is laid before us today is how to persevere in practicing genuine Marxism instead of revisionism, and in safeguarding the basic interests of the working people so that we can prevent our country from taking a revisionist road of suppressing the people at home and indulging in aggression and expansion abroad. Efforts must be made to sum up our past experiences in combating revisionism. The battle to combat and prevent revisionism must be fought on two fronts. We must combat not only right but also "left" revisionism as well. We cannot just combat the one and forget the other. The fallacy spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that "during the socialist period, there is only right but no 'left' deviation, and the right deviation is the main danger" should be eliminated. Only by summing up experiences in combating both right and "left" revisionism can we succeed in the revolution. This was the experiences we gained during the New-Democratic Revolution. Shortly after the PRC's founding, we concentrated on combating only right revisionism, thus leading us to neglect our struggle against "left" revisionism. Shortly after 1958, the conviction that there was only right revisionism in our country caught us ideologically and theoretically unguarded against "left" revisionism fanatically promoted by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that "theorist," causing serious damage to the cause of the socialist revolution and construction.

While endeavoring to combat and prevent revisionism, we must be aware that one tendency can often be covered up by another; everything does not advance along a straight course but in a zigzag manner. For this reason, we must apply dialectics to guide our work. In other words, we must guard against the "left" deviation while combating the right deviation and vice versa. Only in this way can we correctly chart a course for the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and prevent it from going astray.

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

QUESTION OF EXERCISE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS EXAMINED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 80 pp 67-70

[Article by Li Dingwen [2621 7844 2429], Changwei Medical College: "Study Lenin's Discussions of the Democratic Rights of the Masses"]

[Text] The masses are the principal makers of history and their own masters in the socialist society. In socialist construction, how they can truly exercise their democratic rights is a fundamental question which must be solved.

In the course of leading the Russian working class and working people in establishing the Soviet regime, Lenin had many brilliant discussions about the masses exercising fully their democratic rights. It is of great significance to us in understanding clearly and solving correctly the question of the people's democratic rights under the socialist system.

1. Without exercising fully the democratic rights of the people, socialism cannot really come true.

After the establishment of a socialist regime, the reform of the political system will inevitably follow the reform of the economic system. The basic requirement of this reform is to really develop socialist democracy and really exercise the democratic rights of the masses, so that socialist democratic centralism is built truly on a broad democratic foundation, to overcome bureaucratic centralism that may possibly arise, and to guard against the occurrence of the tragedy of feudal fascist despotism.

First of all, Lenin believed that exercising fully the democratic rights of the people, and recruiting the masses to participate in state administration, is the source of Soviet political power and a reliable guarantee for the consolidation of the Soviet regime. The masses are the principal makers of history and the real principal body. This was the fundamental point of departure of Lenin's attitude in dealing with the masses. Lenin pointed out: "The main source of our strength lies in the workers, who are very conscious, very heroic and have all along gained the sympathy and support of the working peasants." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 118). "The bourgeoisie has strangled, suppressed and destroyed a large number of talents among the workers and working peasants. These talents perished under the oppression of poverty, hardship and personal insults. At present our duty and responsibility is to be good at finding these talents and giving them work to do." ("Selected Works of Lenin", Second Edition, Vol 4, p 81.) "As far as I can see, the most important summation of the Soviet Republic's construction in the last 2 years is the lesson drawn from the building of the workers' political power....This lesson is that only by allowing the workers to take part in the whole work of administration of the state can we hold out under such hard to believe, difficult conditions. Only by taking this road can we win complete victory." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 30, pp 108-109.)

Secondly, Lenin believed that exercising fully the democratic rights of the people and recruiting all residents to take part in state administration is the fundamental way to conquer bureaucracy. Lenin summed up the experience of the Paris Commune and believed that the three measures laid down by the Paris Commune to guard against cadres becoming bureaucrats provide the proletariat with "an outline" for "extending democracy and eradicating bureaucracy," "if we advance along such a road, we can destroy bureaucracy completely." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 273.) After the proletariat seized political power in Russia, Lenin paid very serious attention to the struggle against bureaucracy, and emphasized the necessity of guarding against the revival of bureaucracy in the Soviet regime. The bureaucratic system is the product of the exploitation system. With the founding of public ownership, the bureaucratic system has been broken down accordingly. However, bureaucracy still remains and will still produce new bureaucrats. It interferes with the relations between the party, the state and the masses, and corrupts the Soviet regime. Therefore, Lenin pointed out repeatedly that "there should be still many more varied form and methods of supervision from below to above in order to stop all possibilities of poisoning the Soviet regime and repeatedly and indefatigably uproot the weeds of bureaucracy." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 537.) If there are no full democratic rights of the masses, then their wisdom, ability and rights will be suppressed, and the ranks of cadres will also be aging because of the lack of replacement. The phenomena of lax discipline, dilatory style of work, bureaucracy and violation of law and discipline will inevitably occur everywhere, and the proletarian regime will face the danger of degeneration.

Thirdly, Lenin believed that exercising fully the democratic rights of the people is the condition for the state to wither away. State is a category of history. A state is born with the birth of classes, and will also wither away with the disappearance of classes. Fully developing socialist democracy is also an important way for a state to wither away. Lenin expounded on this truth in "The High Stage of Communist Society," the last topic of chapter 5 in his work "The State and Revolution." Until the stage of socialism, democracy expands continuously and the people increasingly take part in state administration and economic management, so that social life continuously pushes forward in all fields, and forms a true mass movement. When all people have learned the management of social life, "then the people will very quickly observe, from being of necessity to becoming a habit, all simple basic rules of the common life of mankind." ("The State and Revolution," p 91.) Until that time, socialism will develop to communist society, and the state will wither away completely.

2. The Soviet regime is the highest type of democratic system.

The Soviet regime is the first regime in the world in which the working masses take part in state administration. From the first day of the founding of the Sovier regime, the working masses began to enjoy democratic rights. Lenin said: "As far as the workers and peasants are concerned, the Soviet system is a democractic system of the highest limit. Meanwhile, it also means a break with the bourgeois democratic system and the birth of a new-type democratic system of world historical significance, that is, the emergence of a proletarian democratic system or the dictatorship of the proletariat." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 4, p 568.)

In his famous article "The Current Task of the Soviet Regime," Lenin discussed the nature of the Soviet democratic system, and emphasized the democratic rights of the masses. He said: "The socialist nature of the Soviet democratic system, that is, the proletarian democratic system in concrete enforcement at present, lies in: First, the voters are the exploited working masses, without the bourgeoisie; secondly, all procedures and restrictions in the form of bureaucracy in election are abolished, the masses themselves decide the procedure and date of election, and have their complete freedom to revoke the elected; and thirdly, it establishes the finest mass organization of the working people's vanguard, that is, the proletariat of large industries. This organization helps the working people's vanguard lead the broadest exploited masses, absorbs them to take part in an independent political life, and gives them political education based on their personal experience. Therefore, it is unprecedentedly the first time truly all the people learn state administration and, moreover, begin to administer the state. This is the main feature of the democratic system enforced in Russia. This democratic system is one of the higher type." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 524.)

After the October Revolution, Lenin led the Soviet regime in working out the regulations of supervision in all domains of politics, economy and education, and in all related fields. These regulations encouraged the masses to participate directly in state administration, and to wage struggles against all acts disrupting the socialist legal system. All personnel holding public offices of the government are persons to carry out the will of the people and under the supervision of the people. If they abuse their authority, usurp the rights of the people and infringe upon the interests of the people, the people will have the power to dismiss them.

Lenin believed that proletarian democracy must have the leadership of a proletarian political party. Lenin emphasized that the Soviet regime, led by the communist party, must put into effect, in the practice of revolution, the democratic rights of the masses, as laid down in the law. Lenin pointed out that the difference between bourgeois democracy and Soviet democracy lies in the fact that bourgeois democracy puts the stress on the lofty declaration of various freedoms and rights; on the contrary, proletarian democracy actually guarantees that the working masses actually take part in state adminstration. "The Soviet regime should unflinchingly continue to carry out a very important work, that is, to actually help the exploited workers really enjoy cultural, civilized and democratic well-being." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 745.) It can be seen that a proletarian political party should transform legal democratic rights of the people into facts of practical life, and guard against lofty sham democracy.

Lenin believed that the point of departure of the principles and policies of the Soviet regime is the masses. "Policies should have the tens of millions of people in mind, not a few thousand people in mind. Only by having tens of millions of people in mind will there be practical and realistic policies." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 464.) "Only when we can correctly express things which the people are conscious of can we manage; otherwise, a communist party cannot guide the proletariat, and the proletariat cannot guide the masses. The whole apparatus will break down." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 4, p 651.)

From these statements of Lenin on the democratic rights of the masses, we can see that Lenin had not taken democracy simply as a means, but as the basic content of the socialist political system, and as rights which every citizen really enjoys.

Democracy and dictatorship are the unity of opposites. With democracy, there is dictatorship. The democratic rights of the people also include dictatorship imposed by law upon the enemy, through the political power of the state. "The absolute majority of people enjoy democracy, and those who exploit and oppress people are suppressed vigorously, that is, they are excluded from democracy. This is democracy which has changed its pattern under the condition of transition from capitalism to communism." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution," p 79.) While laying stress on exercising fully the democratic rights of the people, Lenin also laid stress on necessary discipline, law and unified will. "Socialism is the product of big machinery. If the working masses, while carrying out socialism, cannot make their own mechanism work as industries of big machinery should, then you can't take about socialism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," First Edition, Vol 3, p 503.) He said: "We advocate democratic centralism; however, we must see clearly its great difference from bureaucratic centralism on the one hand, and from anarchism on the other." (First draft of an article, "The Current Task of the Soviet Regime," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 190.) This is to say that you shouldn't turn centralism into bureaucratic centralism, and democracy into anarchism. In socialist society, we must carefully oppose these two tendencies, and guarantee the perfect development of socialist democratic centralism. Bureaucratic centralism does not take democracy as its basis, and places the will of a very few people above the will of the broad masses. A few people have the final say on everything, so that a very few people become the masters, and the broad masses are turned into servants only to carry out orders. Bureaucratic centralism is a kind of feudal thing even more backward than capitalism. The socialist system will never tolerate the existence of this decadent thing. Anarchism takes individualism as its core, preaches freedom as the highest, individuals as the highest, and absolute democracy, and opposes discipline, centralism and the leadership of the party, and holds that the party, the government and the collective must submit to the will of individuals. Such idealistic "solipsism" and "theory of free will" are idle dreams impossible to realize in any society.

Some comrades argue that with democratic centralism we cannot carry out autonomy and the federal system. Against this point of view, Lenin pointed out: "Democratic centralism will on no account exclude autonomy and the federal system and, at the same time, also will not in the slightest degree deny all localities and even all communes throughout the country complete freedom to adopt various forms in respect of national life, social life and economic life; moreover, on the contrary, it will also take such freedom as a prerequisite." ("Selected Works of Lenin," First Edition, Vol 3, p 499.) Democratic centralism does not reject the multiplicity of forms; moreover, "the more plentiful the multiplicity (of course, not doing something unconventional or unorthodox), the more reliably and more quickly can we attain democratic centralism and carry out socialist economy." ("Selected Works of Lenin, "First Edition, Vol 3, p 500.) This explains the fact that autonomy and the federal system are the important substance of democratic centralism, and that the masses may create still more democratic forms favorable to the people. The more numerous and plentiful these forms, the more favorable it will be to the cause of socialism. The idea of pursuing a unitary form is not in line with Leninism and, likewise, also departs from real life.

3. Struggle for the realization of the democratic rights of the masses.

After the founding of the Soviet regime in the Soviet Union, considering how to help the people become their own masters in reality as well as in name, Lenin, besides waging struggles against persons like Kautsky who clamored "pure democarcy," the bourgeois democrats, those who advocated bureaucratic centralism and anarchists, also adopted a series of measures contributing to the realization of the democratic rights of the masses.

For the true realization of the democratic rights of the masses, Lenin believed that it is necessary to vigorously promote the cause of education, and enhance universally the cultural and scientific knowledge of the masses, so that they can establish their democratic rights on the basis of their cultural and scientific knowledge. By so doing, the broad masses can be helped to take part in state administration in the best way. He said: "The task placed before us can be solved only by long-term education." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 789.) Lenin also advocated bringing into play the role of the masses in the political and economic life of the state through multiple forms of organization, such as the worker-peasant congress and worker-peasant inspection institutes and trade unions, and training and promoting personnel by means of these organizations. Lenin said: "Our aim is to recruit all the poor people to actually participate in the work of administration. All measures for achieving this task--the more forms the better--should be recorded in detail, to be studied and systematized, and they should be examined with still more experience and be made into laws and regulations." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 525.) Lenin pointed out enthusiastically: "In the course of our revolution, practice has created an organ, that is, the non-party worker-peasant congress. We are doing our best to support, develop and expand this organ, in order to observe the morale of the masses, approach the masses, meet their needs, and promote outstanding talents from among them to take jobs of state administration, etc." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 4, p 204.)

To truly give play to the democratic rights of the masses, Lenin also believed that the democratic rights of the people must be protected by law, and struggles must be waged against all acts of violating people's rights. The proletarian law is the tool for attacking the enemy and protecting the people. After the founding of the Soviet regime, laws and decrees were promulgated to abolish classes, cancel restrictions on nationalities and beliefs, give women the same rights as men, and treat all nationalities in Russia with equality. In July 1918 the first Soviet Constitution was passed, in which it was laid down that the masses have the right of participating in state administration. Lenin set demands on the state cadres that they must obey strictly the socialist legal system, and act according to the law. Lenin utterly detested those ambitionists and adventurers, the self-claimed communists, who "only seek their promotion to higher official posts" but "use coercive means in the localities." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 802.) He called upon the communists to wage struggle against acts violating the democratic rights of the masses. He stood firmly opposed to "the use of revolutionary violence and dictatorship in violation of law and discipline." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 39, p 137.) He stood firmly opposed to "the abuse of rights for personal interests of the dictator." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 309.) The masses should obey the law; the cadres and government offices should also obey the law. When the common people have violated law and discipline, they should be punished according to the law. When the cadres, even those of high ranks, have violated the law, they should also be punished according to the law. Under the protection of the legal system, the people can then exercise fully their democratic rights.

If this fundamental question is ignored, there is the possibility that the socialist system will deteriorate. Lenin pointed out: "Socialism of vigorous creativity is founded by the masses of people themselves." ("Complete Works of Lenin, Vol 26, p 269.)

Socialism works not against bourgeois democracy by means of despotism, but against bourgeois sham democracy by means of still more complete democracy. Socialist democracy is the natural results or historical development, which no force can resist. The socialization of production and the democratization of politics are historical trends which complement each other. Despotism is the enemy of socialized large-scale production, and democratic centralism is the partner of socialized large-scale production. The higher the degree of socialization of production, the more complete should be the democratic system. Otherwise, economic development will be hindered, and the democratic system will be punished economically. As we recognize this law, we must consciously apply it to avoid paying a great price for taking a roundabout course.

9039
CSO: 4005

STUDY OF PRACTICE AS CRITERION FOR TESTING TRUTH

Editor's Note

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 6, 25 Jun 80 p 52

[Text] [Editor's Note] Taking the theoretical study of practice as criterion for testing truth in the in-depth direction is an important task which lies before our philosophical workers. Here, we publish in excerpts the manuscripts contributed by several comrades so that they may serve as reference material for our further study.

Results, Aims of Practice

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 6, 25 Jun 80 p 52-54

[Article by Li Jingyuan [2621 2529 0337]: "The Results and Aims of Practice"]

[Text] Practice is man's conscious and purposeful activity. The process of practice is one by which a subject transforms a material object with the assistance of a certain material means. The result of practice is the conversion of its aim into an objective object. The result and aim of practice are opposites which are at the same time in unity. Viewed from one aspect, the result is different from the aim, the result constitutes negation of the aim, and the two are opposites to each other in the sense that a subjective thing and an objective thing are opposites to each other. Viewed from another aspect, at the initial stage of the activity of practice the subject and the object exist as opposites; in the process of practice aim is converted into object with the assistance of a certain material means and becomes result, the opposition between the subject and the object thus disappears, and result emerges as the unity of the subjective desire and the objective outcome. Hegel said: the realization of an aim "negates the direct subjectivity reflected in this aim on the one hand and, on the other hand, also negates the direct objectivity reflected in the means or assumed object" (Micrologic," p 391). This idea on Hegel's part is acceptable. Since the result of a practice proves on the one hand the unity of the subject and the object, it is impossible for man to engage in the activity of practice without such unity; but on the other hand it also proves the relativity of this kind of unity, and this kind of relativity just serves to turn result into the motive force for the continued development of practice and perception.

A result is not only related to an aim but also associated with the characteristics of the means and the object involved. Therefore, the movement from an aim to a result reflects a complex and complicated situation. A concrete analysis of the movement of the contradiction between aim and result has an important meaning to people's activity of practice and activity of perception.

In the course of practice, there are generally the following three situations concerning the movement from aim to result:

First, the aim of an action is expected, but the result actually coming from that action is not always expected; a sharp contradiction is thus reflected between aim and result. This situation obtains either because the theoretical knowledge according to which the subject sets forth the aim does not tally with the nature of the laws pertaining to the object, or because [the subject] happens to have deviated from actuality and hence misjudged the situation on hand, whereby the possibility contained in the aim is no longer a realistic possibility but merely false possibility. The result of practice thus exposes the contradiction between the theoretical system and the realistic object. Under such circumstances, result often emerges as a "positive" aspect, demanding the subject to change the existing system of knowledge with the new perception, to negate the original aim and assumption, and to establish a new aim and assumption with realistic possibilities. This situation is bound to lead to the birth of a new theoretical system and thereby confine the old theory in definite limits.

Second, although some aims will not run into contradiction with objective laws, because of a lack of necessary means to realize a given aim in this category, a situation may also emerge wherein the result does not correspond to the aim. Here, because of this lack of a material condition, what is contained in the aim is but an abstract possibility; such an abstract possibility is the incipient form of an actual possibility, and along with the development of objective realities this abstract possibility is likely to transform itself in the direction of an actual possibility. Engels once took the realization of public ownership as an example to explain this question: "Ever since the mode of capitalist production emerged in history, possession of all means of production by society as a future ideal has often faintly appeared in the minds of individual personalities and whole schools of thought. But this kind of possession is possible or can become an inevitability in history only when material conditions for its realization are present" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 3, p 321). This situation explains that in the process of the realization of aims, we must also be good at differentiating various possibilities contained in such aims under different material conditions, e. g., differentiating their realistic possibilities and abstract possibilities. If we disregard historical conditions, and take an abstract possibility for a realistic possibility, then we are bound to create danger in our practice. Of course, we must see that, under this situation, the contradiction between aim and result is temporary; once conditions are ripe, an aim is likely to be set forth anew and once again become the motive of the subject's action.

Third, the subject's aim tallies with the nature of the laws pertaining to the object and also possesses the means to attain that aim; thus in the process of practice, that aim "discards" itself with the assistance of that means and becomes concretely embodied in the result. Even in such a situation, the unity of aim and result is also relative; that is to say, the two still have contradiction between them, and such contradiction is not only reflected in form, as between subjectivity and objectivity, but also in substance in terms of concrete contents. Such a situation is determined by the nature of the aim, the means, and the object in practice.

The activity of the subject's transforming of the object is under the direct command of aim, and an aim is always established on the basis of a certain perception and takes knowledge as its core. A concrete aim always contains some knowledge such as the following: knowledge about the nature of the laws pertaining to the object; knowledge about the means of practice applied to the object; knowledge about the functioning mode of the subject and the object; etc. Aim is a reflection of future things appearing in reality, an assumption and expectation of the things subjectively striven for, and these things do not, as yet, exist in reality. Therefore, even the fullest theoretical knowledge (leaving aside experience and perception) cannot possibly thoroughly perceive all the dispositions of the object and means of practice, but only achieve a relative accord. When the subject proceeds beyond the mental realm and enters the process of practice, the relativity of that subject's perception of the object and means of practice becomes exposed. The various kinds of material means people create in the process of practice do not necessarily immediately reflect their diversity in quality; when they interact with different objects in different systems, their functions are also different. And in practice too, unanticipated new dispositions of an object also emerge and interact with the means of practice; these new dispositions and functions directly affect the results of practice, and unexpected new situations and new elements also emerge in these results. This kind of new elements have their objective basis in the means and the object; it is only because of the previous partiality of the processes of practice and perception that the subject did not yet recognize them. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Generally speaking, whether in the practice of changing nature or of changing society, men's original ideas, theories, plans or programs are seldom realized without any alteration. This is because people engaged in changing reality are usually subject to numerous limitations; they are limited not only by existing scientific and technological conditions but also by the development of the objective process itself and the degree to which this process has become manifest (the aspects and the essence of the objective process have not yet been fully revealed). In such a situation, ideas, theories, plans or programs are usually altered partially and sometimes even wholly, because of the discovery of unforeseen circumstances in the course of practice" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 1, p 270).

The contradiction between the aims revealed in the course of practice and the new elements contained in the results becomes the motive force for the development of theoretical perception. This kind of new elements often become the objects of perception, and they constitute the urgent task that need to be solved in theoretical research; the entire history of man's perception of microscopic objects in the microscopic realm has proved this point.

Perception of the new dispositions reflected in the object expands the purview of men; people very naturally unite the new characteristics of the object with their own interests, leading to the shaping of new needs which further encourage them to carry out new practices. Therefore, the contradiction between aims and results likewise constitutes a motive force for the promotion of new practices. This motive force is contained in the organic system of practice itself; it propels the incentive for practice to develop vigorously so that it will never stops at the same level.

Lenin said: "The result of action is a test of subjective perception and criterion for the really existent objectivity" ("Complete Works of Lenin," vol 38, p 235). Here Lenin stressed the meaning of cognition of results of practice as the objective criteria for testing theory. Examined from the angle of this theory of cognition, the movement from aim to result in practice is at the same time the theory-testing process. Generally speaking, in the course of practice "if preconceived aims can be realized or, that is, if preconceived ideas, theories, plans or programs can be turned into reality or largely into reality in the same course of practice," then that would prove the correctness of those theories.

But, the complicated situation [of the movement] from aim to result tells us that, when we take the result of action as the criterion for testing theory, we must carry out concrete analysis from the dialectical point of view. An aim (here temporarily regarded as equivalent to theory although, in reality, the two are different from each other) can only get itself realized by interacting with the object according to a specific mode with the assistance of some material means. Here we can clearly see that the structure of an aim itself includes at least the three factors we have already mentioned above: perception of the nature of the laws pertaining to the realistic object; perception of the means for realizing what is foreseen; and perception of the mode according to which the subject and the object interact with each other. And a result has to do precisely with the subject acting directly in accordance with its perception in these three aspects. A problem occurring in whichever aspect is to directly affect the result of practice. Therefore, in the process of testing theory by practice, one cannot depart from logical analysis for a single moment; a practice excluding logical analysis can only be based on the utilitarian view of practice, which can neither help perceive truth, nor test truth. When an aim fails in the course of practice, the most important thing for a logical analysis of the result of practice is to find the direct cause for the failures; this would avoid projecting a part to the whole, and hence preclude the possibility of negating the whole chain because of a problem in a single link. This point is especially important in the testing of a complicated perception.

(The author of this article is a graduate student in the philosophy department of the graduate school, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.)

Correct Reflection of Results of Practice

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 6, 25 Jun 80
pp 34-56

[Article by Meng Xianzhong [1322 2009 1813], Wang Yanbin [3769 3601 3453], Liu Renke [0491 0432 0344], Wang Yitang [3769 5030 1016], and Hu Hao [5170 4110]: "It Is Necessary to Reflect Results of Practice Correctly"]

[Text] During the 2 years since the discussion of the question on the criterion for testing truth was launched, the principle of taking practice as the only criterion for testing truth has come to be accepted by more and more people. But to actually and not just orally uphold this criterion is a rather complicated task and requires the solution of a series of questions. One of such questions is to objectively and correctly reflect the results of practice.

Objectively and correctly reflecting the results of practice does not constitute a question in the eyes of certain people, because the results of practice are clearly there for all to see. But this question is not so simple. True, the results of practice are objective, and there can be only one correct reflection of the results of the same practice. Yet, people's reflection of the results of practice may not always be correct. People are often likely to derive several different, or even sharply contradictory perceptions from results of the same practice.

Before the armed uprising of the Russian people in December 1905, Lenin was of the opinion that armed uprising was the most important means for overthrowing the Tsarist system and winning the democratic republican system. The result of practice was that this uprising ended in defeat. How were people to correctly treat this result of practice? Prihanov maintained that the result of practice proved that the path of violent revolution was erroneous, saying: "It was never necessary to take up arms." But Lenin replied: "Exactly to the contrary, it was always necessary to take up arms more resolutely, more courageously, and more actively; it should have been explained to the masses that it would simply not do to rely entirely on peaceful strikes and it was necessary to carry out armed struggles heroically, dauntlessly, and relentlessly" ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 1, p 666). Of the same result of practice, the reflections of Prihanov and Lenin were not only different but exactly opposite to each other.

Similar situations can be seen in various realms of our social life: When a scientific experiment ends in failure, some would think that the failure of the experiment proves that the original conceptualization and program were faulty, whereas some would think that even though the experiment temporarily ends in failure, it does not necessarily prove that the original conceptualization and program were faulty. When forests are destroyed for land-reclaiming purposes and crop production increases as a result, some would think that since crop production has increased, it shows that it was correct to destroy the forests and reclaim the land, whereas some would think that dependence on the destruction of forests for the reclaiming of land and crop production increase, like carving flesh to mend a scar, is bound to have endless ill consequences. Countless facts tell us that, in respect to the result of the same practice, people may reflect it correctly to have the objectivity of the result of the practice that was originally objective kept intact so as to achieve a unity of the two, but people may also reflect it with some distortion to have subjective discretion added to the result of the practice that was originally objective and thereby create a split between the two. Among the many reflections of this result of the same practice, there may be only one which is correct and all the rest may be incorrect, correct and incorrect ones may be mixed, or they may all be incorrect. Relatively speaking, there are more situations of this kind in the realms of scientific research than realms of our daily life, more in the realms of social struggle than in the realms of struggle for production.

When we point out, under the premise of a firm acknowledgment that people's minds should and can indeed correctly reflect the results of practice, the possibility on the part of people's minds, as a matter of fact, to reflect the results of practice with some distortion, this is obviously different from agnosticism; this is, instead, an adherence to the dialectical point of view that thinking and existence are both opposites and in unity.

The fact that, in respect to the result of the same practice, people can derive several different or even sharply contradictory perceptions is not strange, because the concrete process through which people perceive the results of practice contains itself such a possibility.

First of all, we know that the result of a practice often comes from the contradictory movements of many factors. In order to achieve an objective reflection of the result of such a practice, we must take possession of all factual data on the result of the practice, study and master all its aspects and "interferences." But, because of subjective reasons, it is often not easy for people to do so.

Secondly, the result of a practice is often a complex and complicated entity which externally reflects colorful and variegated phenomena and internally contains many false appearances. It is possible for phenomena to conceal substance, and it is very easy for false appearances to confuse people's senses. All this brings difficulties to people's attempt to uncover the substance of the result of a practice and the nature of its internal laws, and is likewise liable to lead to a distortion of the result of that practice.

Furthermore, in order to achieve an objective reflection of the result of a practice, we must also use the dialectical-materialistic method of analysis. If our approach to factual data is not to master them from the sumtotal of all facts and from their interconnections but to take our own wishes and tastes as the criteria for inclusion or exclusion, then it would also be impossible for our reflection of the result of a practice to be objective and correct.

When people make a distorted reflection of the result of a practice, there are, apart from causes pertaining to the theory of cognition, often social causes involved; and, in a society where classes still exist, there are usually profound root causes pertaining to classes. These are reflected especially saliently in social struggle and in the realms of philosophy and social sciences are reflected in this concept. Because it is in these realms that people derive two sharply contradictory conclusions from the result of the same practice, and many situations cannot be simply explained by causes in respect to perception. When conclusions turn out to be sharply contradictory to each other, only if we step beyond the realm of perception and search from the profound contradiction between people's relations based on interests in the economic realm can we find the rational explanation.

Perception is always concrete, and the result of a practice is also always concrete; the truthful nature of a certain concrete perception can only be tested by a corresponding concrete result of practice. Since people's reflection of a certain concrete result of practice may be correct and may also be distorted, then how can this concrete result of practice undertake to be the only objective criterion for testing the truthful nature of the corresponding concrete perception?

We are of the opinion that the correct answer to this question can only be: it must objectively reflect the authenticity of the result of practice. If people's reflection of the result of a certain perception is objective, then, along with this their judgment of the truthful nature of that certain perception will also be correct, and only thus can it be said that they have insisted on the criterion of practice. Contrariwise, if people's reflection of the result of a certain practice is distorted, then, along with this their judgment of the truthful nature of certain perception is bound to be erroneous, and in this case they have actually deviated from the criterion of practice. Therefore, objective, correct reflection of the result of practice is an indispensable link in the process through which truth is tested by practice. Without this link, it would be sheer empty words for someone to say that he actually insisted on the criterion of practice.

If we place this question in the total process of people's perceiving the world and changing the world and examine it in that context, its significant meaning can be seen even more clearly. The total process of people's perceiving the world and changing the world is reflected in practice -- perception -- repeated practice and their repetition in that order. In such an order, every practice plays a dual role, i. e., it is both the criterion for testing the truthful nature of the preceding perception and the source and foundation of the following perception. Every perception also plays a dual role, i. e., it is both a generalization and summation of the preceding practice and also provides a guiding ideology for the following practice and make the following practice, that is, repeated practice, a more effective practice on a higher level.

In every cycle of such practice -- perception -- repeated practice, if we succeed in objectively reflecting the result of the preceding practice, we would be in a position to correctly insist on, or correctly modify, the perception guiding that preceding practice, to guide the repeated practice with correct perception or more correct perception, and hence have this repeated practice elevated to a higher, new level. Under contrary conditions, if we happen to reflect the result of the preceding practice with some distortion, we would find ourselves incorrectly insisting on, or incorrectly modifying, the perception guiding that preceding practice, guiding this repeated practice with an incorrect perception or even more incorrect perception, and hence making it possible for this repeated practice to fall victim to past mistakes. Under the latter conditions, the greater the degree of distortion in people's reflection of the result of the preceding practice, the more severe would be their punishment by objective laws in their repeated practice.

The above significant meaning can be seen in both of the following two kinds of situations. One kind of situations is that, because a certain perception is more complex, its truthful nature cannot be clearly attested by a single practice but only by a repetition of many practices. Even so, if we succeed in reflecting the result of each practice as objectively as possible, then we would be able to reduce the blindness as much as possible in the activities of our practice and to accelerate the realization of a certain preconceived aim. Another kind of situation is that the result of practice has already proved that a certain perception was erroneous; if the practising person or the person guiding practice reflects the result of practice with distortion and time and again persists in such erroneous perception, then such person would bring increasingly heavier losses to his work. Therefore, we are of the opinion that putting forward and paying attention to, the question of correct reflection of the result of practice in our discussion of the criterion for testing truth is of great realistic significance to the magnificent cause of socialist modernization in which the people of our country are engaged.

Difference of Criterion between Marxism, Pragmatism

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 6, 25 Jun 80 pp 56-58, 51

[Article by Wang Jianwei [3769 1696 0251]: "The Difference in Principle between the Criterion of Practice in Marxism and the 'Criterion of Practice' According to Pragmatism"]

[Text] In our discussion of the criterion for testing truth, some comrades have put forward this question: Marxism speaks of practice, pragmatism also speaks of practice; Marxism thinks that practice is the only criterion for testing truth, pragmatism also thinks that "practice is the only criterion": then, what is the difference, after all, between them?

First of all, the practice Marxism speaks of is all the activity relating to people's attempt at changing the objective world; it is social practice; but the "practice" pragmatism speaks of is the isolated, blind action by which an individual instinctively "copes with the environment."

Concerning the social nature of practice, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In a classless society every person, as a member of society, joins in common effort with the other members, enters into definite relations of production with them and engages in production.... In all class societies, the members of the different social classes also enter, in different ways, into definite relations of production and engage in production to meet their material needs." In the activities of their practice to change nature and change society, the masses of the people, especially the toiling masses, have created the material wealth and spiritual civilization in society and have been propelling the history of society to develop forward. For this reason, Marxism holds that practice mainly means the practice by which millions upon millions of the masses of the people actively change the world. But pragmatism holds that theirs cannot be regarded as practice, and it calls instead the life of isolated individuals in "coping with the environment" as practice. It also says that this is "the way I treat things, and things treat me." Principal representative of pragmatism Dewey said without mincing any words: "Man discovers that he exists in a lucky world; his existence, to put it nastily, is a gamble" (cited from "Selected Discourses on Modern Bourgeois Philosophy of the West," p 194). James also said: "How can I win if I don't gamble? I am willing to gamble, so I simply gamble and do so without fear, just as if I never lost anything" (cited indirectly from "Works of Hu Shi [5170 6684]," Second Collection, vol 2, p 255). From this, it can be seen that what pragmatism calls "practice," symbolically speaking, is no other than an individual's activity in "trying his luck" and "gambling." Very obviously, such activity in "trying one's luck" and "gambling" has nothing in common with the practice of millions upon millions of the masses of the people actively changing the objective world as spoken of by Marxism.

Secondly, the way Marxism speaks of practice as the only criterion for testing truth means a recognition of that which is proved to be in accord with the nature of the laws pertaining to the outside world through the test of people's social practice as truth; but the way pragmatism speaks of "practice as the only criterion" means the recognition of that experience as truth which an individual considers to be satisfactory or capable of providing him with the most effective guidance and suited to various aspects of his life through the practice in his individual life.

Lenin pointed out: "Pragmatism comes from the Greek word pragma -- activity, action; it is namely a philosophy of action.... It propagates experience, and propagates experience alone; it regards practice as the only criterion; it follows a general trend of pragmatism;...it relies on the saying that science is not "an absolute duplication of reality"; and...smoothly infers God from all this. This is for the sake of practice, and only for the sake of practice..."

("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2, note on p 349). This criterion of practice in pragmatism absolutely is not the criterion of practice Marxism speaks of. The master of pragmatism James clearly said in "Pragmatism" that pragmatism's "only criterion for testing a probable truth is to see which can give us most effective guidance, which is suited to various aspects of our life, so that nothing is amiss when it is all united with various demands of our experience. If a theological concept can achieve this and, especially, if the concept of God can really achieve this, then how can pragmatism deny the existence of God? If some take a concept with such great success in pragmatic use as 'untrue,' then pragmatism can very well say that such a view is totally meaningless" (in "Selected Discourses on Modern Bourgeois Philosophy of the West," p 154). This is to say that to judge whether or not a perception is truth need only to start from my desire and see if things in the outside world can satisfy my own desire. That which can satisfy such an individual desire and demand is truth; otherwise, falsehood. What else can this be if not a naked subjective, idealistic criterion? In contrast to this, Marxism holds that "To judge whether or not a perception or theory is truth does not depend on how one feels subjectively but on what the objective result of social practice is. The criterion of truth can only be social practice." In thus objectively taking the perception that accords with the nature of laws pertaining to objective things as truth, Marxism's criterion is strictly different from the subjective, idealistic "criterion of practice" of pragmatism.

Thirdly, what Marxism means in maintaining that truth must be tested by the effects of social practice is the effects of objective practice, whereas the effects pragmatism speaks of mean the degrees to which an individual's subjective needs can be satisfied.

Concerning the criterion of truth having to be tested by the effects of social practice, Comrade Mao Zedong already discussed this question in his "On Practice." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "What actually happens is that man's knowledge is verified only when he achieves the anticipated results in the process of social practice (material production, class struggle or scientific experiment). If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice." This is to say, we must let the effects of practice test whether or not people's ideas correctly reflect objective realities. And pragmatism also holds that whether a concept is true or not depends entirely on effects. Hu Shi said: "All meaningful ideas are liable to have practical effects; such effects constitute the meaning of those ideas. If we ask whether a given idea has any meaning or what meaning does it have, we need only to ascertain what practical effects that idea may have; we need only to ask what effects it will have if it is recognized, and what effects it will have if it is not recognized" ("Works of Hu Shi," Second Collection, vol 2, p 247). What are these "effects" pragmatism speaks of? Hu Shi explained this point with a colloquial analogy. He said: "A concept (an idea) is like a check on which the amount that can be cashed is indicated; if this bank of nature immediately cashes this check upon receiving it, than the check is genuine -- that concept is true" ("Works of Hu Shi," Second Collection, vol 2, p 260). Here the key lies in how the check is written. The "check" of pragmatism is written not according to the correct reflection of objective realities but according to "my" subjective needs. Whatever and how much "I" need are then written on the "check." The so-called "practice" here is to have this "check" cashed by whatever means. Once it is cashed, it becomes truth; as to whether or not it accords with objective laws, that would be entirely unrelated, different matter. Obviously, this is a purely subjective theory of truth. When Lenin criticized Machism, he said: "From the materialist point of view, the 'success' of man's practice proves that our symbol and the objective essence of the thing sensed by us accord with each other. From the egotist point of view, "success" is all I need in practice, and practice can also be examined seperately from the theory of cognition" ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2, p 139). Testing truth by the satisfaction of individual subjective needs is thus the idealistic essence of pragmatism in speaking of testing truth by "effects," and is also where the fundamental difference of the Marxist criterion of testing truth by the objective effects of social practice lies.

Fourthly, the way Marxism speaks of a truth tested by practice as being useful means that a truth tested by practice which correctly reflects objective things and the law of their development is useful to people attempting to change the world; it points to the disposition and function of truth; whereas the way pragmatism speaks of "that which is useful is truth" means that subjective needs are truth; it points to the basis and criterion of truth.

Marxism holds that truth is useful. A truth in natural science is a great force for people to change nature; it is capable of speeding up our four modernizations. A Marxist truth can guide the proletariat and the toiling people to win victories in their revolutionary struggles. But the reason why these truths are useful is because they correctly reflect objective things and the law of their development. But pragmatism speaks of "that which is useful is truth," as James said: "we can both say that 'because it is true, therefore it is useful' and also say that 'because it is useful, therefore it is true'" (cited from "Selected Discourses on Modern Bourgeois Philosophy of the West," p 158). Here "being useful" and "being true" are equated to each other. Whatever is useful is truth. When it is useful to us today, it is truth today; when it becomes no longer useful tomorrow, it will no longer be truth tomorrow; what does this have in common with the Marxist criterion of practice? and where is it consistent with the Marxist dictum that a truth tested by practice is useful? There is a strict difference between truth being useful and "that which is useful is truth"; we can absolutely not turn truth being useful upside down and into "that which is useful is truth" at random.

Fifthly, the way Marxism speaks of truth as a process means that along with the development of practice truth follows the process of developing from the relative to the absolute, and that the testing of truth by practice is also a process; whereas the way pragmatism speaks of truth as a process means that "when the environment changes, truth also changes along," thus it recognizes only the relative nature of perception but not the absolute nature of perception, and thereby negates objective truth.

Marxism acknowledges that people's perception of the concrete process in each given stage of development possesses only truth of a relative nature; it therefore requires people's perception to shift forward along with the shifting of the objective process and does not allow them to turn their perception of the concrete process into absolute: this is something we must insist upon. Because if the relative nature of perception is denied, the development of perception is also denied; this would turn theory into dogma and lead to the petrification of people's thinking. But Marxism will definitely not negate absolute truth because of this, but regards truth merely as a process of developing from the relative to the absolute. The testing of truth by practice, too, is not all completed at once, but constitutes a process of repeated testing. Practice in a given stage of history can only prove part of the truthful nature of man's perception; indefinitely developing practice proves the whole of the truthful nature of man's perception. Here, dialectical materialism acknowledges both the relative nature of truth and the absolute nature of truth. The premise in both cases is that truth develops along with the development of practice, and moves from the relative to the absolute continuously through its continued testing by practice. But when pragmatism speaks of truth as a process, it means that "when the environment changes, truth also changes along." Hu Shi said: people "need only to ask, when we encounter this situation at this time, how should we cope with it: such method of coping with this situation is no other than 'this truth'" ("Works of Hu Shi," vol 2, p 416). If this is the case, how can anyone speak of objective truth? Also, according to the theory of "environment," all truths are relative, "those absolute truths are overhung, abstract, vague, baseless, and unprovable" ("Works of Hu Shi," vol 2, p 415). Obviously, such a "theory of the process of truth" which hinges on "environment," which is truth today when convenient to me and which turns into non-truth tomorrow when inconvenient to me, is entirely different from the dialectical-materialistic theory of the process of truth.

9255
CSO: 4005

SICHUAN INTELLECTUALS PROMOTED TO LEADING POSTS

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO Chinese 6 Aug 80 p 3

[News report by Tian Shuchang [3944 2885 2490]: "Change the Composition of the Cadre Ranks; Meet the Needs of the Work of the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] The Nanping County Party Committee has adopted effective measures to select and appoint a great number of professional and intellectual cadres of political integrity to leading posts.

Nanping is a mountainous county inhabitated by people of the Tibetan and Han nationalities. In the past, it was noted for having too many worker and peasant cadres and too few professional and intellectual cadres. In an effort to change the composition of its cadre contingent and to raise its scientific and cultural level, the Nanping County Party Committee has selected cadres of minority nationalities to pursue advanced studies in politics, economics, science, and culture at central, provincial, and prefectural nationality colleges which will enable them to sharpen their professional skills. On the other hand, it has taken bold steps to appoint professional and intellectural cadres of political integrity to leading posts so that they can bring their wisdom and talent into full play.

Wen Chengzhi [2429 2052 1807] was a graduate of the Botany Department at Southwest Agricultural College. Since his assignment to Nanping County, he has lived frugally and worked enthusiastically. After joining the agricultural workteam and spending time acquiring some basic crop-growing skills, he has been promoted by the County Party Committee to the positions of deputy secretary and secretary of the party committee of Baihe and Tazang communes and deputy secretary of the Baihe District Party Committee. While holding these leading positions, he has organized agricultural production with professional skills that he acquired from college. He has been warmly praised by commune members for his outstanding achievements in agricultural production. Since his assignment to Nanping, Zong Bazhi [1350 0735 1807], graduate of the Agricultural Machinery Department of Sichuan Agricultural College, was first hired by an agricultural machinery plant as a technician. Four years later, he joined the party. So that he can fully demonstrate his professional skills, he accepted a promotion to the position of director of the county agricultural machinery plant and secretary of its party branch, with the approval of the County Party Committee. From that position, he has formulated a series of effective and feasible production plans, has kept his plant in good shape, and has transformed it into one of the advanced industrial units in the Aba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Leng Dengya [0397 4098 0068] studied agronomy at the Sichuan Provincial Agricultural School before liberation. Since his assignment to Nanping County in 1957, he has worked diligently. Because he was born of a family of the exploiting classes, he was never promoted despite his achievements. Not until the downfall of the "gang of four" did he receive a promotion from agricultural technician to the position of director of an agrotechnical station. Since that promotion, he has worked harder than ever, and has cooperated with other agricultural technicians in promoting hybrid corns and in presenting agrotechnical lectures to cadres at the county, district, commune, and brigade levels. He has also compiled and printed technical materials on crop growth and field management for distribution to leading groups at all levels for reference. In this way he has helped increase agricultural production for several years in a row. At present, some 24 percent of college-graduate cadres have joined the leading groups at county, district, and commune levels, and many of them have become their No 1 or No 2 leaders.

9574
CSO: 4005

RELATIONSHIP OF ECONOMIC LAW, MORAL STANDARDS DISCUSSED

Present-day Contradiction Denied

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zhou Tingnan [0719 2185 0589]: "Are There Contradictions Between Moral Standards and Current Economic Policy?"]

[Text] Some comrades believe that a part of the people in present-day society haggle over every ounce for their own individual benefit, paying attention only to immediate profit and not the future, creating an unhealthy moral climate, the principal reason for which is that the present economic policy is off-balance, and that such policies as distribution according to work, the system of awards, and making economics active tend to encourage people's individualism and an ideology of selfishness. For this reason they feel that there is a contradiction between present economic policies and moral standards. It is worth studying whether this viewpoint is correct or not.

If we are to clarify this question, we must first be explicit about what kind of moral standards we need during the present period. The socialist society we live in today is the lowest stage of communism, and therefore, the morals appropriate to the present stage are the lowest stage of communist morals, which are also socialist morals, and we can only proceed from today's social conditions and use socialist moral standards to place requirements on and appraise today's things. Thus, moral standards and present economic policies can be mutually appropriate and generally not generate contraditions or clashes. For example, an advanced producer who studies science and technology intensely has great innovative creativity in production, and in accordance with policy receives an award. He has made a contribution to the country and has himself received some profit, and this is, in a way, in accordance with the principle of to each according to his work, as well as being conduct in accordance with socialist moral standards. We cannot believe that he is seeking personal profit because he received an award and thus lower our appraisal of his conduct. On the contrary, we should see the award as a special incentive given by the country to a laborer, and in a certain sense, you could say that whoever should receive the greatest award must also have the highest honor. Also, there are unemployed youths in some towns who can, within the limits of what is permitted by national policy, work for themselves, arrange for their own capital, and individually operate small stands or shops for the service of the people. Under the country's present relatively difficult economic conditions, to depend on the labor of your own two hands and develop your own way of making a living, while at the same time providing some convenience for the lives of the masses, is also a contribution to socialism. To do this is not only appropriate to present economic policy but also does not go beyond the bounds of socialist moral standards. Therefore, not only are present economic policies and socialist moral standards not in opposition to one another, they are even coordinated and consistent, and promote the development of social productive force.

However, why is it that some comrades have felt that there are contradictions between present economic policy and moral standards? My feeling is that this is principally because comrades maintaining this viewpoint have been unable to proceed from facts in considering the men and affairs of a socialist society in the light of socialist moral standards, but have used unrealistically high communist moral criteria, such as that labor should not consider remuneration, not consider its own benefit in the slightest, but should work especially for others, etc., and have universally placed these demands on the people of a socialist society, using them as a rule to measure present policies. The result is that they feel present economic policies are askew, and that there are contradictions between moral standards and present economic policies. For example, as they see it, distribution to each according to his work is haggling; concern for the material welfare of the masses causes the growth of individualism; adopting a system of awards causes money to take the lead. One can remember that a few years ago, when the "gang of four" was opposing the so-called "bourgeois right," there were people at some coal mines who, under the control of the ultra-leftist trend of thought, mouthed the high-sounding idea that labor should not consider remuneration and advocated calceling the underground differential that had been in effect for many years, viewing the underground differential that the party and government had set up to protect the health of the mine workers as a poison that corrupted the spirit of the miners, assuming that people should only be allowed unselfish thoughts, and that in the understanding that labor is the first requirement of life, productive activism would arise spontaneously. This ultra-leftist viewpoint, in representing the relationship between moral standards and present economic policy, places the two in direct opposition, and to break away from moral standards that are too high for actual social conditions in the present stage, denies present economic policies that proceed from reality to the extent that artificial confusions are created, obstructing to the extent that development of productive force is disrupted.

Of course, simultaneously with the implementation of the present economic policy, we must also strengthen political and ideological work and moral education. We cannot assume that for the present we should handle things according to economic laws and economic policies alone, and that it makes no difference whether we discuss moral standards or not; nor should we assume that we need only carry out the policy and raise production, and then people's moral level will automatically be raised. After the victory in the October revolution, Lenin spoke of the mission of the younger generation and pointed out solemnly, we must "carry out anti-exploitation education" and "education against the habit and psychology of 'I will make my profit, and nothing else matters'." In implementing the present economic policies, we must persist in carrying out political and ideological education, making moral education an important part of its content, continuously raise the level of people's socialist moral ideology, and struggle against all such illegal and undisciplined behavior and remnant ideology of the exploiting classes as is represented by opportunism, enriching oneself at the expense of others, and fattening oneself at the public trough, to guarantee implementation of party and national policies.

A 'Lofty Tone'

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Yu Yueming, Shanghai First Textile Machinery Plant: "Haven't We Suffered Enough From High-sounding Slogans?"]

[Text] Didn't we learn a lesson in 1958? Expecting to erect a skyscraper when you have no substantial material foundation is an empty dream contrary to reality. Its result mercilessly proved that we today are unable to complete this great and formidable task--to make all the people have a firm communist moral outlook. In the important historical stage of socialism, we must on the one hand advocate and propagandize a communist moral outlook, the better to solve those unavoidable contradictions in social development, and on the other hand we should steadfastly and realistically manage affairs in accordance with socialist economic laws, mobilize all positive factors, invest great effort in economic development, implement the "four modernizations" as early as possible, and accelerate the pace of economic development. The moral concepts advocated should suit the economic foundation. In the past, we vainly adopted a "lofty tone" but did not manage affairs in accordance with economic laws, and didn't we suffer greatly for it? Could it be that this was not enough to be used as a mirror?

Moral Propaganda

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zheng Chuangren, Shanghai Electrical Equipment Wholesale Department: "Moral Propaganda Is a Lubricant, Not a Cure-all Oil"]

[Text] When the "gang of four" was rampaging about, they promoted an ultraleftist line and chattered away at their so-called moral propaganda, departing from objective reality, causing people to distrust and dislike moral propaganda, with the result that it led to many sham examples and encouraged an opportunist psychology in some people. Therefore, the ultra-leftist pernicious influence must be cleaned out of moral propaganda, and it must give careful attention to science.

I feel that moral propaganda can only be used to supplement economic law, and can certainly not be substituted for it. The content of the propaganda should be appropriate to the times and appropriate with regard to quantity, not excessive or overdone. Moral propaganda is not a "cure-all," but it should be regarded as a "lubricating oil." "Lubricating oil" is used only to lubricate the machinery, and cannot solve problems concerning the nature of the "machinery." These problems can only be fundamentally solved by proceeding from the social "machinery" itself, or by proceeding from a grasp of economic law.

9284
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

STATE COUNCIL'S ACTION ON CAPSIZE OF OIL DRILLING PLATFORM APPLAUDED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 80 p 1

[Editorial: "A Serious Warning"]

[Text] Workers on the economic front and the people in Tianjin municipality have expressed warm support for the State Council's decision on handling the incident that caused the "Bohai No 2" oil drilling platform to capsize and sink. In addition to distinguishing those who deserve commendation from others who should be punished, this decision reflects a serious and conscientious attitude toward this incident as well as a high sense of responsibility to the people. In other words, this incident has been handled by the state council in accord with our national interests. The State Council's decision is also of high educational value to us, because it has further increased our confidence in our country's ability to realize the four modernizations.

Since it was publicly reported, the "Bohai No 2" incident has jolted the nation into a shock, and has aroused nationwide indignation. This tragic incident, unprecedented in the history of oceanographic exploration, took a toll of lives of 72 class brothers and caused a direct economic loss of 37 million yuan to the state. The State Council's decision pointed out: this incident was a serious warning not only to the Ministry of Petroleum Industry but also to other industries, enterprises and units throughout the country.

The incident was also a serious warning to Tianjin, where it occurred. The harsh facts remind our comrades, especially leading and responsible comrades, that they should study and observe laws governing economic construction, and should strictly act according to the objective laws, and that any method based on subjective imagination instead of scientific laws will never work, and therefore should no longer be used as a guide to the economic construction. Yet, in the couse of directing economic construction, many leading comrades on the economic front still mess everything up by issuing subjective orders. Thus far, no genuine efforts have ever been made by them to study the aforementioned laws as a guide to their future action. The "Bohai No 2" platform was a large-scale equipment imported from abroad. There were strict rules and regulations governing its management and operation. But it was strange to note that even 6 years after its delivery to us, the translation of some foreign language data on this oil drilling platform had not been done by the Oceanic Petroleum Prospecting Bureau; the "temporary regulations governing its operation and management" drawn up by our authorities concerned were not conscientiously implemented. It was precisely this factor that led it to make that ill-fated decision to shift its position from one well to another on short notice without taking into account the objective conditions and imminent bad weather. Under such circumstances, only a miracle could save it from its doom!

For years, we have drawn what we have consistently called "our successful experiences" in economic construction from the mass movements, and the people's war carried out by the task force, and shock teams. Scientific management has long been beyond our reach. Over 20 years of practice have proven that any unscientific method not based on the principles of seeking truth from facts, and planning work on a solid basis, and any workstyle of emphasizing only the mobilization of equipment and human resources without checking the possibility of whether the planning works or is economically feasible cannot be relied upon to fulfill our economic construction. The old workstyle of sidestepping the party's policies, and trampling under foot useful rules and regulations that once brought our national economy to a standstill or set it back by years should be discarded forever. These are painful lessons, too painful to forget! Shortly after the "Bohai No 2" incident occurred, some of the Oceanic Petroleum Prospecting Bureau's leading comrades shamelessly said: "We have to pay some tuition for learning this lesson." It must be said that this kind of "tuition" is really too high to be paid by anyone.

Some other shortcomings that still exist among some leading comrades today include blind obedience, excessive regimentation of life, gross disregard of the need to display democracy, and tendencies to issue coercive orders to mess everything up. Economic undertakings are a very complicated scientific process that cannot be hastily handled and accomplished by a few persons. In planning major projects, we must carefully conduct investigations and study and humbly listen to different opinions. Surely, we must race against time in order to accelerate the tempo of economic construction. But in doing so, we must also pay attention to its economic results. We cannot risk the loss of lives and property in order to speed up our economic construction. Is it true that only a fool wants to do that? We have learned that before it was decided to move the "Bohai No 2" oil drilling platform from one well to another, some comrades provided the leading members of the Ministry of Petroleum and the Oceanic Petroleum Prospecting Bureau who were in charge of its operation with important objective suggestions. Unfortunately, these suggestions were ignored, thus causing a tragedy that otherwise could have been avoided. Can we take this as a painful lesson to be remembered?

The incident that caused the "Bohai No 2" platform to sink to the bottom of the sea tells us that whatever we do, we must take into consideration the safety of workers. The State Council's decision pointed out: "All economic departments and manufacturing enterprises throughout the country must consider safety in production a matter of prime importance. Leading comrades of various enterprises, related government organizations and trade unions who are in charge of administrative affairs should adopt every conceivable measure to insure the safety of workers; they should no longer take any reckless and thoughtless attitude toward them." Clearly, that incident, or unnecessary sacrifice, was caused by those leading comrades who commanded the platform in violation of regulations. Responding to this charge, some leading members of the Oceanic Petroleum Prospecting Bureau contended that "sacrifices cannot be avoided through struggle; we should fear neither hardships nor death." Our present socialist economic construction and production are promoted with the aim of satisfying the growing demands of the people for improving their material and spiritual well-being. How can we sacrifice the precious lives of workers as a price for success in economic construction? This being the case, where is the oft-repeated superiority of the socialist system? Practical experiences accumulated by many units have proven that many unnecessary deaths in the course of economic construction can be avoided as long as we value the lives of workers as the most precious assets of our country, take effective measures to insure their safety in production, act according to the economic laws and do everything carefully. The incident that caused the "Bohai No 2" platform to capsize and sink is a serious warning to us all. It reflected that many major problems still exist on our economic front. Every unit and every leading comrade involved in this incident should reexamine their ways of thinking and acting and should do everything possible to eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over the economic front. Only in this way can they accomplish the heavy and difficult task of the four modernizations with better results.

9574
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITARY INSTRUCTOR UPDATES TRAINING IN TACTICS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Wen Zichun [3306 1311 2504] and Zhu Zhengping [2612 3630 1627]: "Spreading His Wings--Outstanding Instructor Guo Xingfu [6751 5281 4395] Takes New Strides"]

[Text] When Guo Xingfu is mentioned, people naturally think of the "Guo Xingfu teaching method" that he created in the decade of the sixties. However, during the unheard-of calamity of the Great Cultural Revolution, the "Guo Xingfu teaching method" met the same fate as Guo Xingfu himself--being cruelly trampled upon. In March 1979, the verdict on Guo Xingfu was completely reversed, and the reputation of his method was restored. But Guo Xingfu, deputy director of the Teaching and Research Section of the Nanjing Units Infantry School, was definitely not content to rest on his former laurels. In 1964, well-remembered and esteemed Marshal Yeh had exhorted him: With the development of the situation, we need to study ways of attacking tanks. He was determined to emancipate his mind, boldly make reforms, and come up with a new teaching method suited to the peculiarities of modern warfare.

In April of this year, after the school had received the task from the party committee of the Nanjing units to be the instructor of the Divisional Second-Class Rotation Training Unit, it decided to put Guo Xingfu in charge of the teaching group. After receiving his assignment, he moved his bedroll to the rotational training unit, and during the day he attended lectures and did the assigned schoolwork together with the students, running up against all sorts of difficult problems; in the evening, like one famished and thirsty, he read all kinds of military treatises, ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign. His desk was piled high with over 50 military treatises, including "Sunzi's Art of War" and "Teaching and Studying the Yugoslav Method of Attacking Tanks at Close Range." Opening any of these books at random, one would see that it was covered with red and blue pencil marks. Guo Xingfu paid special attention to the study of the experiences gained in the war of self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam and of the tactics teaching plans of the infantry schools of the fraternal units. He learned by heart some incisive, original training methods from the tactics teaching plans of the infantry schools of the Beijing, Shenyang, Guangzhou, and Fuzhou units. The key of modern military science and knowledge opened up a new world in the realm of military tactics teaching and research. Slowly, Guo Xingfu, on the foundation of his former teaching plan, formed many new ideas.

When reforming his teaching method, Guo Xingfu not only studied intensively and throught with deep concentration, but also sought advice from everybody and was not ashamed to ask questions. The form and method of an infantry assault in the past did not depart from the method of pressing on to the finish without letup. Guo Xingfu thought to himself: In modern warfare, the defenseive obstacles set up by enemy tanks will be deep, of many kinds, and with close firepower control. If the assault method is still one of pressing on to the finish without letup, then there are bound to be unnecessary casualties. In order to find a way to improve this tactical movement, Guo Xingfu and several other instructors one after another went to six companies [zhongdui 0022 7130] and studied with 23 instructors who had taken part in the war of self-defense counterattack against Vietnam, seeking to learn with an open mind. At the same time, he consulted a large amount of data and calculated the firing safety limits of various sizes of cannon. He also asked comrades at military training and research units to brief him in detail on the ability of cannons of various kinds to fire in coordiuation with an infantry assault. He then proposed that the method of all-out assault be changed to the method of artillery fire accompanying our side's assault. This proposal was unanimously endorsed by the instructors and students.

In order to meet his responsiblities in a future war, Guo Xingfu restudied, meticulously and conscientiously, every tiny tactical movement in his original teaching plan, doing his best to meet the requirements of actual battle. In the past, when an individual solider was moving to come in close contact with the enemy, he would drop to ground and fire his weapon when he first saw the enemy. Nobody had ever before carefully considered whether this small movement was reasonable. But Guo Xingfu did not let this problem slip by without studying it. He thought to himself: When soldiers dropped to the ground and fired their weapons as they came in close contact with the enemy, it was assumed that the fire control zone of the enemy's forward position was only 200 to 300 meters, but in modern warfare the enemy's fire control zone is 600 to over 700 meters, exceeding the effective range of hand-carried weapons; thus, to fire at the enemy at this range is meaningless, and also increases the unnecessary drain on physical strength. For this reason, Guo Xingfu revised this tactical movement in his original teaching plan so that it became a tactical movement determined by the specific conditions on the battlefield--i.e., if the distance is outside the effective range of handheld weapons, then the essential movement should be to defend against artillery or chemical attack and if the distance is within the effective range of handheld weapons, then, the essential movement should be to fire the weapons.

In close coordination with the instructors and students, Guo Xingfu, after more than 2 months of hard work produced six tactical lesson plans for squad level and below, including "Infantry Squad Reconnaissance" and "Strengthening the Infantry Squad's Night Defense." Everybody said: "Guo Xingfu's reform of the methods of teaching tactics at squad level and below has broken through old conventions. This kind of training will make soldiers flexible in tactics."

The great eagle-roc certainly does not curl up because of wounds, and as long as it has strength it spreads its wings and struggles to fly. Isn't Guo Xingfu precisely this kind of eagle-roc?!

9727
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITIA POLITICAL WORK VITAL IN NEW SITUATION

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 80 p 1

[Article by Han Qilin [7281 0202 586D], Han Qilin [7281 0796 2651], and Kong Dehong [1313 1795 1347]: "In the New Situation Militia Political Work Can Only Be Strengthened and Cannot Be Weakened"]

[Text] From 9 to 15 July, the Jiangsu Provincial Military District held a militia political work forum in Suzhou. The forum studied the question of how, in the new situation, to further strengthen militia political work.

Attending this forum were leading comrades and political work cadres from all military subdistricts, the Political Department of Nanjing Garrison District, and all people's armed forces departments in the province.

Guo Jinlin [6751 3855 2651], advisor of the Nanjing Military Region, and Bu Hanxiang [1580 3466 5980], deputy political commissar of the provincial military district, attended and spoke at the forum. The first stage of the forum was a meeting held in Wu County, Suzhou Prefecture, to exchange experience in militia political work, and the meeting was briefed on the experiences of 15 units.

The meeting fully affirmed that, ever since the shift in emphasis of the party work, militia political work throughout the province has obtained basic successes. The meeting focused on the problem of some comrades having insufficient understanding of the important position and role of militia political work, pointing out that, in the new situation, militia political work can only be strengthened and cannot be weakened. The main task in militia political work now and for a period of time in the future is to conscientiously implement the party's ideological and political lines and all its general and specific policies among the broad masses of militia soliders and cadres, mobilizing them to make new contributions to the construction and defense of the four modernizations.

The meeting raised demands for militia political work in the future. One demand is, based on the requirements, of the situation and the task, to emphasize widespread and profound education among the armed militiamen on "how to be a good militiaman," further increasing the militiamen's understanding of the strategic position and role of the militia so that they will consciously overcome the idea of lowering their guard during peacetime and of fearing the hardships and losses involved in being militiamen, and will increase their sense of honor and their sense of responsibility. People's armed forces departments at all levels, under the unified leadership of the local party committees, should take the initiative to coordinate with local propaganda and cultural departments and with the CYL and other mass organizations to fully utilize in concert all kinds of propaganda fronts and instruments in this education. At the same time, they should pay attention to training and building up a strong backbone contingent for this education. The second demand is to continue to grasp firmly and well the important content in militia political work of developing and creating advanced units in the "three implementations." This activity should principally be developed among armed militia organizations. They must uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts and of strictly holding to the [truth] criterion. They must maintain the quarterly appraisals and checkups, thereby guarding against the idea of "winning eternal ease by one supreme effort." They must, in particular, arouse the enthusiasm of the basic-level party committees and people's armed forces departments in communes, towns, factories, and mines, developing this activity in a profound, protracted, and sound manner. The third demand is that the spirit of the provincial congress of full-time armed cadres be implemented conscientiously. The ideological education of full-time armed cadres must be strengthened, their work must be strongly supported, and warm solicitude must be shown for their life, thereby making them keep their minds on their jobs and do good work. Activities must be launched among full-time cadres to strive to be advanced workers.

The meeting pointed out that militia political work at present faces many new situations and new problems. People's armed forces departments at all levels must earnestly improve their work style, go deep into the basic levels to investigate and study, and bring out new ways of solving new problems, consciously being a good staff officer for the local party committees in strengthening the leadership of militia political work. They must pay attention to getting a good grip on typical cases, using the new experience gained at key points to guide the work in all areas.

The meeting demanded that party committees at all levels strengthen their leadership over militia political work, putting things in their proper places. Political commissars and political work departments must do their duty to the best of their ability by doing good work. The cadres of military departments must combine their militia work with good political and ideological work. At the same time, the roles of basic-level part-time militia political work cadres and of full-time people's armed cadres must be brought into play, thereby implementing militia political work at the basic levels.

9727
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PARTY LEADERS IN REGIMENT SET GOOD EXAMPLE

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by Lu Liguo [0712 4539 0948], Wu Yunlian [0702 0336 5114], and Su Yuehu [1327 1878 5170]: "Leading Members of the Party Committee of a Certain Regiment in the Provincial Military District Accept the Supervision of the Masses and Persist in the Practice of Taking Part in Organizational Life With the Status of Ordinary Party Members"]

[Text] The leading members of the party committee of a certain regiment in Jiangsu Provincial Military District have studied the implementation of "Some Guidelines for Inner-Party Political Life," have persisted in the practice of taking part in organizational life with the status of ordinary party members, and have further developed the democratic work style within the party.

Based on the fact that the administrative work of the leading members is different, the party committee of this regiment put them in three party branches, further divided into three party groups, to lead organizational life. The party committee demanded that the departments concerned inspect, once each quarter, participation by the leading members of the committee in organizational life, that they not only inspect the frequency and content of this participation but also ascertain the reasons for their not taking part in organizational life, and that they commend those comrades who abide by the system of organizational life, while helping with criticism those who do not. Since the beginning of this year, 10 leading members of the regimental party committee, except when they were studying, holding meetings, or going down to stay in companies, did not miss taking part in organizational life because of private affairs. From January to July, each leading member of the party committee, on average, took part in organizational life on 19.5 occasions.

All leading comrades of the party committee of this regiment, when taking part in organizational life, appeared with the status of ordinary party members, and consciously accepted the administration of the party organization and the supervision of the masses of party members. Deputy regimental commander Liu Fugen [0491 0479 2704] once felt that his cultural level was low, that his age was advanced, and that he did not spend much time with his unit--all of which adversely affected his work and study. At a meeting of a group under a party branch, he set forth all of his thoughts and asked everybody to help him. The masses of party members gave him sincere criticism, which he accepted with an open mind. From that time on, he has kept his mind on his work and has striven hard to do well in building up the unit. In March of this year some party members, at a party organizational life meeting, sharply criticized some leading members of the party committee and some office workers for having excessive living quarters and furniture, and suggested that they make a readjustment. The leading members of the party committee accepted the party members' criticism, adopted the masses' suggestion, and took the lead in giving up excess living quarters and furniture. Their action spurred on the office workers, and everybody in succession then gave up their excess living quarters and furniture, thereby providing in a fairly short time a fairly good solution for this "old, big and difficult" problem that had long eluded solution.

9727
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HARDSHIPS OF MILITIAMEN OUTWEIGHED BY NATIONAL INTERESTS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 80 p 4

[Article by Bin Wuping [3453 2976 6097]: "On 'Balancing the Books'"]

[Text] Not long ago I ran into a militiaman who told me of the misery of being a militiaman: In training, one crawls, climbs, rolls, and fights, wearing out one or two more sets of clothing a year than other people do. By taking part in all the militia activities, much time is wasted that could be spent in household sideline occupations, and so in a year one earns several tens of yuan less than other people. When on sentry duty guarding the harvest, one offends many people. And difficult tasks are piled up and given to us militiamen. The crackling and sputtering of his "small multiplications" produced the following sum total: being a militiaman is a "losing" proposition.

Taking up this problem, I made a point of interviewing more militiamen. The majority of these comrades said: To be a militiaman, shouldering the heavy burden of building up the motherland and defending the four modernizations, is the unshirkable responsibility and honorable duty of a youth. During the revolutionary war period, militiamen jumped at the chance to support the front and take part in battle and to shed their blood in sacrificial actions, without carying in the slightest for their "losses." During the war of self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam, large contingents of militiamen left their parents and fellow villagers, crossed mountains, and forded rivers, bravely going into battle to coordinate with the troops in battering the Vietnamese bandits, without calculating in the slightest their "losses." Now the militiamen are engated in military and political training. They spend a little time, wear out a few clothes, and take in a little less income, and so it looks like the individual is suffering losses, but the purpose of all this is to strive for victory in a future war against aggression. It concerns the life and death, the rise and fall of the motherland. Compared to the interests of the nation and of the revolution, what do a few losses to the individual count? Look! The abacus of these militamen produces this striking calculation: It is worthwhile to be a militaman!

Having written to this point, I thought of the words of the "Battle Song of the Chinese People's Volunteers": "By defending peace and by defending the motherland, we are defending our hometowns." This brings out the following principle: defense of the country, defense of the hometown, defense of the home--these three cannot be separated. If one wants to defend one's home, one must first defend one's country. If everybody was to calculate his immediate losses and be unwilling to be a militiaman, be unwilling to take part in military and political training, and not make good preparations for war, then just think, if a foreign enemy one day trampled with iron heels on the territory of our country, what individual peace and happiness would we have to speak about! In our country's recent history, this kind of humiliating tragedy has occurred several times, and we should draw from this a bitter lesson. Taking the long-term view, there is no reason to calculate that being a militiaman today is a losing proposition.

Naturally, this is not to say that we should not be concerned about the militamen's vital interests and should not solve the problems involved in renumerating them for their militia activities and training. These problems directly concern and affect the militiamen's life and morale, and should cause the leadership to pay serious attention to them and conscientiously and satisfactorily provide solutions for them. But in being a militiaman, one certainly cannot manipulate an abacus and only do "small multiplications." This kind of bookkeeping will make a person forget his ideals, lose his ambition, and dispel his enthusiasm. We must balance the big books of defending and constructing the four modernizations, correctly handle the relationship between the interests of the state and the collective and the interests of the individual, cherish the motherland and strive hard to do well in building up the militia.

9727
CSO: 4005

VALUE, FUNCTION OF TANK TRACKS DESCRIBED

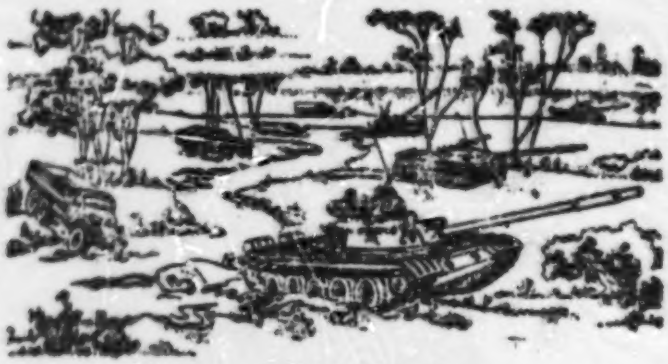
Beijing BINGQI ZHISHI [ORDNANCE KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 3 1980 pp 6-8

[Article by Yu Defu [0205 1795 1318]: "On Tank Tracks"]

[Text] Everybody knows that, although both trucks and tanks are equipped with wheels, the truck's wheels run directly on the road, while the tank's wheels must run on tracks. Obviously, on an asphalt road, a truck will go faster than a tank. A truck turns as its steering wheel turns, but turning is fairly difficult for a tank, and sometimes it must turn a little and then stop, slowly repeating this process in a seemingly clumsy fashion.

But if trucks and tanks compete in a cross-country race--as in Diagram 1--along a route that includes marshes, fields, and all sorts of obstacles, then the tank is the winner!

Why can the tanks forge ahead? The reason is that tanks can travel either on roads or off roads, and the worse the surface is, the faster they are as compared with trucks. This ability is derived from their mode of locomotion—the special feature of their driving parts. Naturally, there are many causes of this special feature, but here we will only discuss the tank's tracks.



[illegible]1 [illegible]

Figure 1. Tanks and trucks on a cross-country race.

The Track Is an Endless Belt for the Tank

Everybody would like to know how a tank is driven along its tracks. To explain this, we will first look at the driving parts. In Figure 2, we see five wheels attached to the tank's chassis (a total of 10 wheels attached on both sides of the tank). They are called road wheels. Some tanks have track wheels. The road wheels run on the track that is laid on the ground (the ground track), and the entire track forms a closed belt which we call the track belt. At the upper rear of the track belt is a cogwheel (there is also a cogwheel at the upper front of the truck belt), and the axle of this wheel is turned by the power from the engine through the transmission gears. On the outside of the tank, the wheel's cogs mesh with the track so as to roll it up. This wheel is called the drive sprocket (or power sprocket). 'Opposite the drive sprocket on the same side of the tank is a cofwheel that guides and adjusts the track, and it is called the guide sprocket.

When the engine's power is transmitted to the drive sprocket—as in Figure 2--the drive sprocket rotates the track clockwise, and the ground track and the ground exert a force upon each other. By the principle of action and reaction of force, the track as it moves in a horizontal direction applies a force to the surface of the earth, which in turn imparts a reactive force to the track; this force is transmitted to the tank's body, becoming the propulsive force that makes the tank go forward. We call this the tank's traction power.

The motive power of the engine is transmitted continuously through the drive sprocket, which continuously rolls up the track. Therefore, while the tank is being pushed forward, on the one hand the track, rolled up by the guide sprocket, is spread on the ground and also is pressed forward under the road wheels; on the other hand, the track by the rear road wheel is then rolled up by the drive sprocket. In this way the track goes round and round, becoming an "endless belt" spread for the tank as it moves.

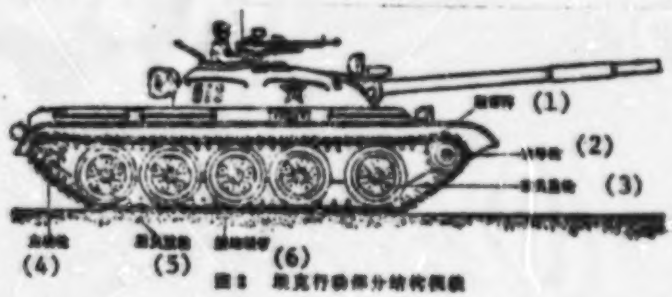


Figure 2. Structure of a Tank's Driving Parts.

KEY:

(1) Track Belt
(2) Guide Sprocket
(3) Front Road Wheel
(4) Drive Sprocket
(5) Rear Road Wheel
(6) Ground Track

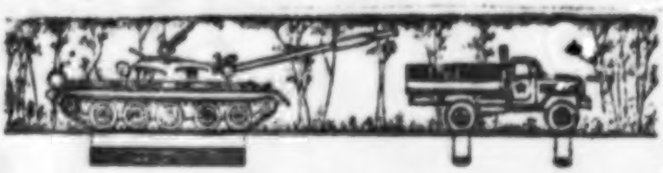
Tracks Improve the Tank's Ability To Move Over Terrain

As we know, a truck will sink deep into marshes, fields, and soft, muddy ground, and then its wheels will spin on the slipper surface and it gets stuck, whereas a tank can move over the same terrain with relative ease. Why is it that a tank, weighing several tens of tons, can move over such terrain, while a truck, weighing only several tons, cannot?

Although a tank weighs much more than a truck, its tracks cover a much larger area than do the wheels of a truck (Figure 3). A vehicle's weight exerts what is known as ground pressure (the pressure exerted on a given unit area). A tank's ground pressure is much smaller than that of a truck, which, when carrying a normal load, has a ground pressure of about 1.5 to 2 kilograms per square centimeter. The maximum ground pressure of a tank is not more than 1 kilogram per square centimeter, about half that of a truck.

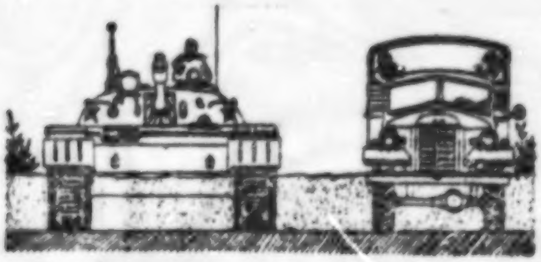
On soft ground, if the ground pressure is too great, on the one hand a vehicle will sink too much and scrape bottom (Figure 4), causing the wheels or tracks to slip; on the other hand, owing to the heavy ground pressure, the soil will be cut up and damaged severely, and the ground, under these conditions, will not provide enough traction. Because the area covered by a tank's tracks is large, the amount the tank will sink is reduced and the damage to the ground is lessened, greatly improving the tank's ability to move over such terrain. And the special pattern of the track's outside surface (its tread) allows the ground track to grip the ground firmly. Compared with the tires of a truck, the tracks of a tank do not slip easily and thus help to give a tank fairly large traction power.

Therefore, the tracks greatly improve a tank's ability to move over soft ground, and this without a doubt is extremely important for a tank's mobility.



[illegible]

Figure 3: The area of ground covered by a tank and a truck.



[illegible]

Figure 4. A tank and a truck scraping bottom on soft, muddy ground.

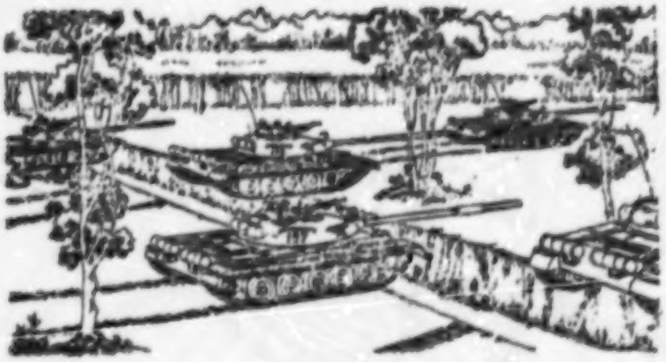
Tracks Improve a Tank's Ability To Cross Over Obstacles

By a tank's ability to cross over obstacles, we generally mean its ability to cross over natural or manmade obstacles such as steep slopes, ditches, walls, and shell craters.

A tank is a battle vehicle, and its ability to pass over these kinds of obstacles is naturally extremely important. In this respect, the tracks play an important role.

We will first consider a tank crossing a ditch (Figure 5).

If a tank tries to cross a ditch at very low speed, to be successful it obviously must maintain a stable support on the ground during the whole process. That is to say, when crossing the ditch the tank cannot pitch forward or fall back into the ditch. In this way, the tracks build a "temporary bridge" for the tank across the ditch. Before the front of the tank contacts the opposite bank of the ditch, the tank's center of gravity is still on the near bank; when the tank's center of gravity is on the opposite bank, the rear of the tank leaves the near bank and thus does not tumble into the ditch. In a word, with the stable support provided by the "temporary bridge" across both banks, the tank can, without danger of overturning, cross the ditch safely. We know from approximate engineering calculations that a tank can cross a ditch that is half as wide as the distance from the drive sprocket axle to the guide sprocket axle. The maximum width of a ditch that a tank can cross is over 3 meters, while the width of a ditch that can be crossed by a two-wheel drive truck is only about 80 percent of its wheel track. Obviously, a tank's ability to cross ditches is much greater.



[illegible]

Figure 5. Tanks crossing a ditch.

How does a tank overcome the barrier of a vertical wall?

Looking at Diagram 6, we see that when the front of the tank presses against a vertical wall, the tread by the guide sprocket against the wall produces a mutually applied force (in the same way as does the ground track along the road wheels against the ground), the tread applying a downward force and the wall an upward counterforce. The raising of the front of the tank caused by this counterforce impels the tank to climb the wall. In addition, while the tank is in contact with the wall the driver quickly opens the engine throttle and the tank suddenly accelerates like a truck. Just as the passengers in a car are thrust backward from the force of inertia when the car suddenly accelerates, the force of inertia helps the tank to raise its front end. With the effect of the momentum to raise its front end, the tank's treads lay down a track by which it can climb the wall. When the tank's center of gravity is over the edge of the wall, the tank begins to tip toward the ground. The driver then applies the brakes to the tracks and the tank falls smoothly to the level part of the ground. A tank can climb a wall close to 1 meter high; a two-wheel drive truck can only cross a wall whose height is 30 percent of its wheel tracks, and before a vertical surface 1 meter high it sees only a "wall"!

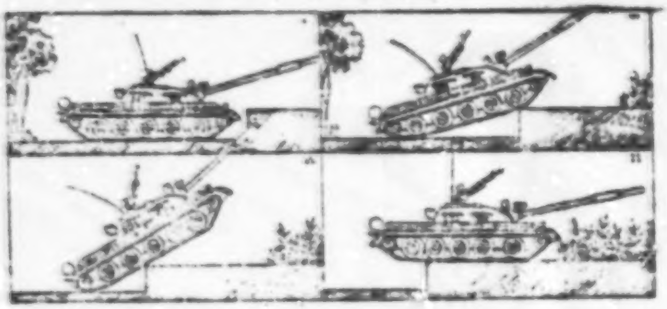


图6 [illegible]

Figure 6. The process by which a tank overcomes the barrier of a vertical wall.

The Era of Tracks

After the above discussion, it is not hard for us to understand that, on the one hand, owing to a tank's protective armor and the heavy weapons with which it is fitted, the weight of a tank far exceeds that of a truck, while on the other hand, under wartime conditions, a tank's movement across country is both difficult and complicated. Therefore, the "endless belt" provided by its tracks is truly important. Moreover, owing to the fact that the tank has an engine with a lot of horsepower, and its driving parts are fairly elaborate, its ability to move across country on its tracks is brought into play even more fully.

Therefore, even if one tank track is heavier than several truck wheels and its cost is much higher [illegible] so even if that makes the tank's suspension system complex, it is sti[illegible]e main tracked battle vehicle of every country in the world today.

When the first vehicle track in the world appeared at the end of the 18th century, it was made of wood. Tracks have been used on battle vehicles for less than 100 years, but the tracks today have already been developed into an "endless belt" for battle vehicles that have been tested in war. Experience in structural form, materials, working processes, and use of tracks has continuously enriched the treasure house of battle vehicles.

9727
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIAL ON INCIDENCE OF ROBBERIES IN CAPITAL

Bejing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 80 p 2

[Article: "Cracking Down Sternly on Robbers, Protecting the People's Life and Property"]

[Text] Recently, Liu Hanchen [0491 3352 5256], deputy head of the Municipal Public Security Bureau, discussed with a reporter of this newspaper the question of cracking down on robbers.

Comrade Liu Hanchen first of all briefed the reporter on the current situation regarding public order in the capital. He said that since the smashing of the "gang of four," under the kind care of the Party Central Committee and the direct leadership of the Municipal Party Committee, all party members, government workers, militarymen, civilians, and students have mobilized to energetically rectify public order, and that we have already begun to see results. The situation with regard to public order has taken a turn for the better, and the number of criminal cases has fallen year after year: 11.4 percent lower in 1978 than in 1977, and 23.1 percent lower in 1979 than in 1978. In the first half of this year, the public order situation in the capital took a further turn for the better, with the number of criminal cases being 19 percent lower than in the second half of last year, but the current situation is still fairly far from that called for by the directives of the central authorities and by the demands of the masses. There are still fairly many criminal cases, especially the critically harmful cases of robbery that still occur. Although the number of robberies is not very big when compared to the total number of crimes, their harm is serious and their effect is very bad. Often, when one person is robbed, everybody is uneasy; when one household is robbed, its near neighbors are affected. This is an outstanding problem that affects public order in the capital.

When analyzing the reasons why robberies are still committed in recent times, he said that, looking at them in general, they are direct evil consequence upon certain teenagers of the pernicious influence and effect of the slogan "Beating, smashing, and looting are justified" during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running wild. During the 10 years of calamity, not only were beating, smashing, and looting not criminal acts but, on the contrary, they were lauded by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as "revolutionary actions." Since the smashing of the "gang of four," although a great amount of work has been done, their pernicious influence and effect are still far from being elminated. This is the main reason why robberies are still being committed. Next, our crackdown on robbers has not been sufficiently timely and powerful, and there has been insufficient propaganda focused on the legal system. This is another reason for the robberies committed at present.

Continuing, he concretely explained what a robbery is and why robbers are severely dealt with by the law. He said that, according to the provisions of our country's penal code, robbery is defined as the act of possessing or taking charge of property by force, coercion, or other methods in which public or private property is stolen and kept in the perpetrator's possession. Force is defined as a violent act such as beating, tying up, wounding, or killing the victim, compelling the victim to immediately hand over property, or stealing the victim's property and running away. Coercion is defined as using the threat of force to compel the victim to hand over his property. The other methods are to use liquor or drugs to dope the victim and then steal his property and flee.

Robbery not only directly harms public or private property but it frequently endangers the victim's life or health, very easily having the serious consequence of injuring or killing the victim, and it is one of the several major crimes stipulated in our country's penal code which should be sternly cracked down on. Article 150 of our country's "Criminal Code" stipulates: "Robbing public or private property by force, coercion, or other methods is punishable by not less than 3 or more than 10 years' imprisonment....In Serious circumstance, or if somebody is badly injured or killed, the punishment is 10 or more years' imprisonment, life imprisonment, or death, and in addition the perpetrator's property can be confiscated."

In conclusion, Comrade Liu Hanchen pointed out that, in the most recent period, following the gradual strengthening of the socialist legal system, there has been a daily increase in the number of fine people and fine deeds in which the masses and the victims of robberies have cooperated with the public security organs in apprehending robbers. We have warned all criminals that they must rein in at the brink of the precipice and stop doing evil. We have strong political and legal organizations, and the masses of people have a high degree of awareness, so that no criminal can escape the net of the people's justice. If a criminal dares to defy the law, he will certainly fall into the masses' dragnet and be severely punished by the legal system.

9727
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

A DISCUSSION ON PLANNING POPULATION GROWTH

Changchun JILIN SHIDA XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF JILIN NORMAL UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES ISSUE)] in Chinese No 2, 1980 pp 17-22

[Article by Han Mingxi [7281 2494 1585] and Wang Shuxin [3769 3219 7451]]

[Text] In his "government work report" at the 2d conference of the 5th People's Congress, Premier Hua listed further effort on planned parenthood and earnest control of population growth as 1 of the 10 tasks of China's development of the national economy today. Population growth planning is an extremely important issue in the socialist construction. With the shift of the emphasis of the party's work to the socialist modernization construction, the conscientious solution of this issue in theory and in practice has become even more important. In this article, a superficial exposition on the objective necessity of population growth planning and its relationship with the four modernizations is attempted.

I

As we must act according to the objective economic laws when developing the socialist economy, we must do the same when developing the socialist population, for otherwise we will be punished by the objective laws. Therefore, in the course of our four modernization construction, we must observe not only all the socialist economic laws, but also the law of the development of the socialist population. Population growth planning is the objective requirement of the socialist population law.

According to Marxism, the law of population is a law determined by the social production pattern, not by abstract biological or natural laws. In "Das Kapital," Marx pointed out clearly: "In fact, each special historical production pattern has its special historical and operational population law. Abstract population law only exists in the animal and plant world which has not encountered historical interferences."[1] Lenin also told us unequivocally: "We should not study population 'abstractly' in disregard of the different kinds of social structural forms in history."[2] Therefore, we must not study the socialist population law apart from the socialist production pattern and economic system. Nor must we lump together socialist and capitalist population laws.

Marx gave us a shining model in his study of the population law of the capitalist society. Under the capitalist condition founded on the production means private ownership system, the demand for labor force is not determined by the total capital, but by the ratio of the variable capital in the total capital. Therefore, with the rise in the organic composition of capital, an ever greater portion of capital is converted into production means, while the portion converted into labor force relatively decreases, thereby relatively reducing the demand for labor force. Therefore, the large increase in labor force accompanying the development of capitalism cannot be absorbed by capital. When the supply exceeds the demand, the inevitable result is large unemployment, or relative surplus population. For this reason, Marx declared resolutely: "While producing capital accumulation, the worker population also creates its own relative surplus population by means of the ever expanding scale of production. This is the population law unique with the capitalist production pattern."[3]

The socialist revolution and the creation of the socialist production relationship forced the capitalist population law to withdraw from the arena of history, and the socialist population law began to produce an effect. On the population development of a socialist society, Engels predicted that, in a communist society (including both the rudimentary and the advanced stages), people would be able to adjust the production of man in a planned way similar to the planned adjustment of production. In his article entitled "to Karl Kautsky," he pointed out: "If it is said that the communist society, at a certain time in the future, will have to adjust the production of man similar to the production of things, then, precisely such a society, and only such a society, can accomplish it without the least difficulty."[4] In his intensive analysis of China's socialist economic relationship and the population situation, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out even more clearly that, in the past, "mankind was in a completely anarchist state on parenthood, unable to control itself," and that the socialist society must "gradually attain universal planned parenthood."[5] These important expositions profoundly revealed the inevitability and necessity of the planned development of population in a socialist society, thereby pointing out that population growth planning is the objective demand of socialist population development.

The creation of the socialist economic system has made population growth planning necessary and feasible. The socialist economic system is built on the foundation of the production means public ownership system, which makes it possible to organize and direct the planned and proportionate development of the entire national economy. Meanwhile, the planned development of the national economy includes the planned production of man himself as well as the material means.

First, let us look at the issue in terms of man as the producer. Man as the producer refers to that part of the people with labor capacity which can take part in social production, viz., the social labor force. They are the direct participants in the production of material means and constitute the indispensable factor in social production. Therefore, to guarantee the planned development of the production of material means in the entire society, we must provide, in a planned way, laborers with socialist awareness and culture to the various units of the national economy, in order to assure a balance in the demand and supply of labor force. This calls for the planned development of population. We know that, for man to grow from birth into a social labor force, a very long time is required. The new labor force today is determined by the number of births more than a decade ago, while the number of births today will determine the scale of the new labor force more than a decade hence. Therefore, to adapt the development of the labor force with that of the national economy, we must regulate the scale and speed of population growth in a planned way, so that the development of the national economy will not be affected by labor shortage, and nor will we encounter difficulties in disposition due to sudden increases in labor force. Therefore, the planned development of the production of material means calls for the planned development of the production of man himself, and a necessary proportion must be maintained between the two, before we can guarantee the planned and proportionate development of the national economy.

Next, let us look at the issue in terms of man as the consumer. Man as the consumer refers to the fact that the entire population needs living means, including those without labor capacity as well as those with labor capacity. Under the socialist condition, the goal of production is to satisfy the people's growing material and cultural needs. Meanwhile, the content and the amount of such needs of the people are not only determined by the total population, but also by its age and sex compositions. Therefore, the size of the population, population growth and the sex and age compositions will directly influence the production planning of consumer means. To satisfy the continuously growing material and cultural needs of the people, while developing the production of material means in a planned way, the production of man himself must also develop in a planned way.

In short, under the socialist condition founded on the production means public ownership system, whether man as the producer or man as the consumer, population growth must be adapted to the planned development of the production of material means. We can thus see that population planning has become the objective law for the development of the socialist population.

In terms of its concrete content, the socialist population law requires the proper handling of the following proportionate relationships:

1. Population and Labor Force. The planned and proportionate development of the national economy requires a definite amount of labor force adapted to such development. Under a given level of production force, insufficient labor force will fail to satisfy the need of expanded reproduction. On the other

hand, excess labor force will be detrimental to the planned and proportionate development of the national economy. Yet labor force is a part of the total population. Maturing from infancy, it again turns into non-labor force when it finally loses its labor capacity. Therefore, it is always a definite proportion of the population. To increase labor force, the population must increase; to reduce labor force, the population must decrease. Therefore, to adjust the labor force and the national economy, the total population and labor force must maintain a certain proportionate relationship.

2. Population and Production Means. Social production requires both production means and labor force, yet labor force only becomes real when the laborer and production means are combined, because only such combination will produce material assets and truly realize the function of man as the producer. To realize the planned and proportionate development of the national economy, while developing and improving the scale and quality of production means in a planned way, we must provide, also according to plan, a certain amount of labor force existing in the population. Therefore, a certain proportionate relationship must be maintained among labor force, the population and the production means. However, this does not mean that the speed of their development must be the same. The development of socialist production mainly relies on using advanced modern technological equipment and raising the scientific and cultural levels of the laborers, enlarging the range and scale of the technological equipment of each and every laborer so as to improve labor productivity continuously. The more advanced the modernization of production, the more will be the technological equipment required by each labor force and the higher will be the quality standard, thereby relatively reducing the number of laborers. Under ordinary conditions, the growth of the labor population should be slower than the increase of production means, manifested in the continuous improvement of the technological composition. This is the inevitable tendency of the development of modern production.

3. Population and Consumer Means. Whether laborers or non-laborers, all require a certain amount of consumer means to survive and develop. Meanwhile, the amount, quality and scope of consumption are not only mainly determined by the amount, quality and scope of consumer means furnished by the production of material means, but also closely linked with the size, composition and rate of growth of the population. Where the consumer means is fixed, the larger the population and the faster its growth, the lower will be the average consumption standard; vice versa, the higher will be the average consumption standard. Therefore, we must raise the people's living standard on the foundation of the continuous development of the production of material means and maintain an appropriate ratio between the size of the population and the living means.

4. Population and Reserve. The expansion of socialist production requires the continuous growth of the socialist reserve, while the only source of reserve is the new value created annually by the various material production units, i.e., the national income. The annual national income must not be entirely placed in reserve, and a consideration portion must be used directly for living needs. Therefore, the planned and proportionate development of socialist production

requires the correct handling of the relationship between consumption and reserve, while population planning is the prerequisite for such correct handling. Where the national income is fixed, for the population development to conform to the demand of the planned and proportionate development of the national economy, a slower population growth, generally speaking, will, on the foundation of maintaining a relatively high reserve level, assure the gradual improvement of the people's living standard; vice versa, not only a relatively high reserve level cannot be maintained, but the general improvement of the people's living standard cannot be assured. Therefore, to increase the reserve continuously while assuring the gradual improvement of the people's living standard, a certain proportion must be maintained between population and reserve.

In short, these proportionate relationships constitute the concrete content of the socialist population law. They reflect the demand of the fundamental socialist economic law and the planned and proportionate development of the national economy and embody the substance and characteristics of the socialist population development. Only the conscientious and proper handling of such relationships will make population growth and the planned and proportionate development of the national economy adapted to each other, thereby promoting the rapid development of the socialist production.

II

The socialist system creates the condition for the emergence and operation of the socialist population law. In other word, the socialist condition provides us with the possibility to regulate by planning the production of man himself and make population growth and the increase in material production adapted to each other. Due to Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" interference and disruption, the population of our country, for a considerable period of time, grew without restraint. The 540 plus million (excluding Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan and the overseas Chinese; the same for below) population of our country in 1949 has now reached more than 970 million, and approximately 600 million, or 63 percent, were born after liberation. The natural population growth rate averages 2 percent annually. The net gain for the 30 years is 420 plus million, or 78 percent. While the annual average growth rate is 2 percent, it was around 2.5 percent for many years. Between 1966 and 1971, the rate was 2.6 percent, or an annual gain of 20 million.

Marxism opposes the population determinism of the bourgeoisie, viz., that population growth is the decisive factor for social development, but it does not negate the promotive and retardant effects of population growth on social development. Under the concrete condition of our country, we must admit that the excessive population growth has affected the development of socialist construction, especially today when the people of the whole country are marching toward the four modernizations. It has become a sharp contradiction with the four modernizations, which is glaringly manifested in the following aspects:

1. Excessive Population Growth and Accelerating Accumulation. The large amount of money needed for our socialist construction must mainly depend on our own accumulation, and the major way to accomplish this is to develop production at a high speed and increase the national income. Under the fixed growth rate of industrial and agricultural production and national income, the scale and speed of reserve accumulation, to a large extent, are conditioned by the scale and speed of population growth. China's average national income per capita is among the lowest in the world. When the production force is low, it is impossible for the reserve level to be high, because the national income, after satisfying the basic living needs of the population, leaves very little surplus. Computed at the minimum living standard, raising the population born after liberation until age 16 required 1,330 plus billion yuan, or 31 percent of the cumulative total of the national income since liberation. Approximately 30 percent of such expenses was paid by the state and the collectives and a little over 70 percent by the families. Thus computed, the state and the collectives paid out 400 billion yuan to raise the 600 million population. This figure is equivalent to one-third of the cumulative reserve since liberation. When the consumption of the existing population is taken into account, the part of the national income which can be used as reserve can be figured out.

Today, China's population is greater than before. If population growth is not strictly controlled, the number of births per annum hereafter will be larger than before. The overwhelming majority of those born between now and the end of this century will require funds for their upbringing and consume large quantities of social assets, which will doubtlessly seriously affect the accumulation of construction funds.

2. Excessive Population Growth and Improving [illegible] Scientific and Cultural Levels of the Entire Nation. Improving the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation is the objective demand of the four modernizations. The key to the four modernizations is the modernization of science and technology, which requires the training, within this century, of a large group of workers, and peasants and intellectuals equipped with modern scientific and technical knowledge, able to employ advanced technology and manage modern industry and agriculture, including a large group of scientists, engineers, technicians and management cadres of the world advanced level. For this reason, we must vigorously develop education. However, China's foundation is weak and the annual education appropriations are very limited, while the number of scientific and cultural talents to be trained is considerably large. Thus emerges a great contradiction. According to statistics, currently in our country, 6 percent of the school age children cannot attend school, 12 percent of the elementary school graduates cannot enter junior middle school, over 50 percent of the junior middle school graduates cannot enter senior middle school, and 95 percent of the senior middle school graduates cannot go to college. One important reason for the backwardness of education is excessive population growth. If population growth is not vigorously controlled today, the task of universal education will be even more arduous and the work of training advanced personnel will encounter grave obstacles.

3. Excessive Population Growth and Employment. To develop his role as a producer, man must be combined with production means. If we have only labor force, but not adequate tools and objects of labor for its use, the development of production will be retarded. After liberation, our country basically eliminated the unemployed population left down by the old China. However, due to excessive population growth, the burden of placing the new labor force is becoming ever heavier.

In urban areas, to employ 1 million people, computed according to a very low technical equipment level per industrial worker in our country today, i.e., 10,000 yuan, will require correspondingly 10 billion yuan of new fixed assets. From 1952 to 1977, the annual new fixed assets averaged around 15 billion yuan, and those since 1973 was only a little over 20 billion yuan. Take 1973 for instance: Besides a part of the funds spent on improving the technical equipment of the existing laborers, very little was left for placing the new labor force. Currently in our country, the number of people in cities and towns awaiting employment is considerable, thus creating the contradiction between the urban labor force and its employment capacity. In rural employment, close to 90 percent of the annual new labor force is placed in rural areas. Even though agricultural production is still basically by manual labor, the current labor force is already in a state of saturation. China's population constitutes approximately 1/4 of the world total, while its cultivated area is only 7 percent. The average cultivated area per capita has reduced from 3 mu at the beginning of liberation to 1.5 mu. Computed according to the agricultural labor force, the average per capita is only 5 mu, which ranks among the lowest in the world. Even in Japan, where the average cultivated area per capita is only 0.7 mu, that per agricultural labor force is 13 mu. In America, each agricultural labor force averages 1,000 mu of cultivated area, which is 200 times that of our country. China's excessive population growth, large labor force and small cultivated area inevitably form a contradiction. In short, whether in terms of urban or rural areas, if population growth is not controlled, the pressure and difficulties of employment will aggravate.

4. Excessive Population Growth and Improving the People's Living Standard. The goal of socialist production is to continuously satisfy the people's growing material and cultural needs, while the extent of such satisfaction is determined, on the foundation of production development, by the proportion between the rate of increase of consumer fund and that of population growth. According to statistics, in the 25 years between 1953 and 1977, our consumer fund increased 2.8 times while the population grew 66.7 percent, resulting in an increase of only 1.3 times in the average consumption per capita. Due to the excessive population growth, 58 percent of the annual new consumer fund is spent on the need of the new population, and only 42 percent is left for improving the consumption level of the existing population. After liberation, our grain output increase, compared with before liberation, has not been small. According to statistics, our 1977 output was 565.5 billion jin, an increase of 97 percent over the 287.4 billion jin of 1952. However, due to the excessive population growth, the average per capita rose from 510 to only 598 jin, an increase of only 80 plus jin. The increase in the absolute amount of our light industrial products after liberation has been considerable but, due

to excessive population growth, the average per capita is very little. As for housing, communication, medical care, service and cultural and recreational facilities, due to excessive population growth, they are far behind the need.

In view of the above, we can clearly see that extremely sharp contradictions exist between China's excessive population growth and the four modernizations. One may say that if we do not control population growth by planning, we will not be able to promote the realization of the four modernizations. To realize the four modernizations as soon as possible, we must, while vigorously developing the socialist production, control population growth by planning, i.e., tackling both kinds of production together. It is a task with a momentous strategic significance confronting the people of the entire country.

III

To start from the practical conditions of our country and control population growth consciously, on a long term basis and in a planned way, the central government proposed the goal of zero for the natural growth rate by the end of the century, viz., no growth. To attain this goal, the first step is to strive to reduce the natural growth rate from 2 percent to around 0.5 percent by 1985; the second step is to reduce it to zero by the year 2000, the end of the century. This is a goal which is concretely feasible as well as positively progressive in conjunction with China's reality and the current and long range interests of the people of the entire country.

The difficulties in realizing this goal proposed by the central government are great. Besides the fact that China's birth rate has dropped from 4 percent in the past to 1.834 percent and it will be difficult to accomplish large scale sustained reduction on this foundation, and the fact that our rural population constitutes more than 80 percent of the total and population control in rural areas is generally more difficult than in the cities, there are 2 even more difficult problems:

1. China's population base is too large. Even if the birth rate in the future drops rapidly, the annual births will still come to a considerable figure. When the natural growth rate is 1 percent, for instance, the annual net gain will be close to 10 million and the number of births will be 16 to 17 million.

2. In the remaining 20 years of this century, there may possibly be another peak in births. In the 30 years since the founding of the nation, there were several peaks in births, creating the age groups of 1954 to 1957 and 1962 to 1971 which, according to statistics, were several million to 10 million more a year than other periods. Before the end of the century, they will successively reach the age of marriage and childbearing, thus the possibility of a new peak in births.

These two problems have a great impact on China's population growth tendency. Recently, several natural science and social science workers jointly made many projections to forecast China's population growth in the 100 years hereafter (figures for Taiwan temporarily unavailable; same for below). To explain the issue, I cite three of the projections:

(1) If the average birth rate (average number of births per woman of childbearing age) from this year on is 3, which is to maintain the 1975 birth level, by the year 2000, the end of the century, the national population will rise to 1.414 billion. By the year 2080, i.e., 100 years hence, the figure will rise to 4.260 billion, almost equivalent to the world total of 1979. (2) If the average birth rate from this year on is 2, i.e., universal practice of "2 births," by the end of the century, the national population will rise to 1.217 billion. When the peak is reached in 2052, the total population will be 1.539 billion, and will drop to 1.472 billion 100 years later. (3) If the average birth rate drops noticeably beginning with this year and reduces to 1 by 1985, and if "1 birth" is universally practiced from 1985 on, by the time of the peak in 2004, the national population will be 1.054 billion. It will only begin to drop after 2005, and will reduce to 370 million 100 years later.

The first and second projections indicate that, if we do not adopt effective measures starting from now, China's population growth, whether by the end of the century or 100 years hence, will be quite startling. The third projection indicates that, if we adopt firm measures and realize "1 birth" as soon as possible, the natural growth rate of China's population will drop to zero by the end of the century, viz., no growth, and the total population will not exceed 1.1 billion. Thereafter, with the development of population inertia, the tendency of population reduction will follow, and we will thereby gain the initiative in population growth control.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 23 p 692
2. "Complete Works of Lenin," vol 1 p 430
3. "Das Kapital," vol 1, "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 23 p 692
4. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 35 p 145
5. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5 p 471

6080
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POLITICS, INFLUENCE OF LITERATURE AND ART, DISCUSSED

Baotou BAOTOU WENYI [BAOTOU LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 4, Jul 80 pp 32-35

[Article by Ai Yin [5337 5593] and Du Zhong [2629 0112]: "Study Notes on the Relationship Between Politics and Literature and Art"]

[Text] In recent times, literature and art circles and academic circles throughout the country have developed extremely enthusiastic discussions on the question of the relationship between politics and literature and art. Although this is an important theoretical question, it is also an urgent question of creative practice, and has a bearing on the prospering or failure, and even the survival, of our literature and art.

(1) Literature and Art Are Not Subordinate to Politics.

The fact is that Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Mao Zedong all provided very clear expositions on the question of the relationship between politics and economics and between politics and literature and art, etc.

In the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels pointed out: "The principal forms of economic production and forms of exchange in any given historical period, as well as the social structures that must be produced by these, are the foundation upon which that period's political and spiritual history depends upon, and it is only by starting from this foundation that this history can be explained."[1]

From Marx's and Engels' joint establishment and affirmation, and Engels' later reaffirmation of this principle, we get a glimpse that the politics and literature and art (the history of spiritual images) of a given age are determined by the economic foundation of that age and are mutually related through it. Moreover, the economic foundations of a given period are the foundation upon which that period's literature and art (particularly the social content of the literature and art) are established, and a scientific explanation of them can only be arrived at by starting from this foundation. This is a truth that Marx and Engels tested and verified in social practice again and again. However, what does the literature and art produced by that period (the history of spiritual images) have to do with the economic foundations that produced it?

First, when the principal forms of economic production and forms of exchange of a given period, as well as the social structures that must be produced by them die out, the politics that represent this economic foundation die out along with them, but the literature and art that have been established on the basis of them are not lost with them, and especially that literature and art that represents that period's historical spirit and historical style and features can have great vitality. The countless chapters of the "Book of Songs," "Li Sao," "Annals of History," the Han ballads, the Tang poetry, the Song odes, and the Ming and Qing novels, because of their portrayal of a deathless democratic spirit, have become a part of the wealth in the proletarian cultural treasure house, and have a fresh vitality. It is just in this manner that reading "Li Sao" today gives the reader a spirit of breaking with the old and exploring the new. As Lenin put it, "Within the culture of every race, even though undeveloped, there are components of democracy and socialism, because there are laboring masses and exploited masses in every race, and their living conditions necessarily produce democratic and socialistic thought systems,"[2] as well as "The proletarian culture ought to be produced according to specifications by the whole knowledge created by mankind's being oppressed by the capitalist society, the landlord society, and the bureaucratic society. All of these large and small avenues, whether past, present, or future, open into proletarian culture."[3] This thesis is the scientific thesis that explains the undying vitality of this phenomenon of literature and art.

Second, new factors have already been produced in the principal forms of economic production and forms of exchange of that period, and before the social structure (including politics) necessarily produced by these new economic factors appears, the new period of these new factors is represented by literature and art that has already germinated. This is the "seed of a future superstructure" that men have spoken of. "Dream of the Red Chamber" is an example of this phenomenon that people often enjoy. During the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong periods, it is true that the silk industry was quite well-established in the Suzhou and Hangzhou areas, and there were already the seeds of new capitalist production relations in China, but the principal forms of economic production and forms of exchange in that period, as well as the social structure produced by them, had still not changed much, so there was still no capitalist politics nor capitalist social structure, but in "Dream of the Red Chamber," there was already the progressive ideology of advocacy of equality and brotherhood, and opposition to the establishment of an autocracy. Further, "Li Sao," produced in the period of the warring kingdoms, had already predicted that China's system of slavery would surely disintegrate, and that historical trends would produce feudalism, and at that time the entire area of the superstructure had produced no feudal politics, laws, etc. Because of this, the world significance of Zhu Yuan lies in the fact that he was the last poet of China's slavery period and the first poet of China's feudal period.

Obviously, in the whole realm of the superstructure, literature and art, and politics, are alike subordinate to ideological categories, and each has its own independence and characteristic functions that are not mutually interchangeable. Not only is the relationship between them not one of politics leading literature and art, and of literature and art being subordinate to politics in a kind of extremely vulgar cancellation of the independence of literature and art, reducing it to a distorted relationship as the servant of politics, but on the contrary, literature and art are the most sensitive, the keenest, and the most novel in that it is not only ahead of philosophy and religion, but is also ahead of politics in representing new changes in the economic foundations.

Third, based on the basic characteristic of literature and art, is to "use the forms of literature and art to make an image"[4] of the writer's experience through thinking in terms of images, and because of this, when representing the economic foundations on which it relies, it has an extremely vivid, rich, and moving quality. Because of this richness, the pictures it provides of life and society describe a much broader world than do its sister components of the superstructure such as politics, philosophy, and religion. In expounding on the writings of Balzac, Engels said, "In 'Comedie Humaine,' he has given us a slice of French society, particularly the 'polite society' of Paris, in a remarkably realistic history, he has used the chronicle form to describe, almost year by year, the increasing assaults by the rising bourgeoisie on the aristocratic society of that time,...he has gathered the whole history of French society into the confines of this picture, and the things I learn from this, even the particulars of economics (such as the redistribution of personal property and real property after the revolution) is far more than what I am able to learn from all the professional historians, economists, and statisticians of that time."[5] It was also because of this that Lenin regarded Tolstoy's writings on peasant life under the patriarchal system on the eve of the Russian revolution as a "one-sided mirror" of the Russian revolution.

From this we see that that view that literature and art can only have an effect on the economic foundation through politics is contrary to objective reality. Literature and art and politics are all subordinate to the economic foundation, and they all are able to serve, independently and dynamically, in the establishment of the economic foundation. Therefore, the ruling class in any age regards literature and art and politics as the two strongest measures for stabilizing the economic foundation upon which they depend for survival, and the terms "culture worship" (meaning not only literature and art, but also the transformation of cultural education), "declaration of arms" (arms being the highest and strongest manifestation of politics), "attention to civil affairs," "attention to military affairs," "the way of civil and military is one of tension alternating with relaxation," etc. are proof of the historical occurrence of this administering the country and maintaining class rule.

(2) Literature and Art Have a Great Influence on Politics.

From ancient times to the present, all the artistic practice of literary craftsmen both in China and abroad proves that those works that stir men's souls and are passed down without losing their freshness are those that are in sympathy with the people and are deeply concerned with the age, and which intensely affect politics—these are the ones that have a great influence on politics.

The Zuozhuan commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals record, in the period of the decadence of the slave system, the unusual political circumstances of the country, the peculiar family customs, the assassination of 36 princes, the conquest of 52 states and the accompanying confusion, and having the enormous social effect that is described in the literature as "Confucius, in writing the Spring and Autumn Annals, threw officials into panic and caused thieves to feel dread," this became the earliest example of literature and art (historical literature) having an effect on politics and the political situation. Confucius said, "The Odes serve to stimulate the mind. They may be used for purposes of self-contemplation. They teach the art of sociability. They show how to regulate feelings of resentment. From them you learn the more immediate duty of serving one's father, and the remoter one of serving one's prince."[6] Obviously, through poetry (literature and art), we can stir up morale (stimulate), know the society (self-contemplation), unite the masses (sociability), criticize the court administration (resentment), and achieve the objective of "serving one's father" and "serving one's prince." It seems that even Confucius and Laozi, more than 2,000 years ago, understood the tremendous influence and effect of literature and art on politics.

This enormous social function of literature and art was understood as high up as the emperor and as low down as the common people and is used as a matter of course without being established: "Through style, the superiors transform the subordinates, and through style, the subordinates satirize the superiors."[7] This is the evidence. Moreover, the ruling classes of all dynasties adopted advanced measures through literature and art and a recognition of political gains and losses to stabilize their own rule. This is what the "Book of Odes" spoke of as "At news of peace and prosperity, we take pleasure in tranquility, and that is proper administration; at news of turmoil, we are resentful to the point of anger, and that is perverse administration; at news that the state has been destroyed, we think of our grief, and that is misery for the people." During the reign of King Zhou, "The emperor went on one tour of inspection in 5 years, and ordered the great master to contemplate the people's customs in a poem,"[8] and this is another example. "In ancient times there were officials who collected poetry, and because of this the king was able to contemplate the customs of the people, know of the gains and losses, and examine the evidence for himself."[9] It can be seen that there is almost nothing that is impossible, from participating in government affairs to managing foreign affairs; from morals and ethics to natural science; from distinguishing between the true and the false in the sentiments of the people and the gains and losses to the national government to handling husbands and wives, governing the state, establishing universal education, and enriching human relations. This is what Liu Xie meant when he wrote, "How great a virtue is the practice of literature!"[10] It really is a "great undertaking in management of the nation, a great event that will not fade."[11]

In his whole life, Bai Juyi, the great realistic poet of the middle Tang period, wrote more than 170 allegorical poems to expose the politics and society of that time, from the Emperor Xianzong at the top, to the influential officials in the middle, to the corruption and reactionary rule of the impoverished officials at the bottom, especially concentrated in the series of 50 poems titled "The New Joyful Prefecture," written in the fourth year of the Yuanhe reign, and in which his trenchant brush could cause the influential officials to "become angry at the sight of him,"[12] and it certainly could not be denied that this was a great and astonishing political gift. Literature has the utilitarian objective of transforming society. When Bai Juyi advocated "The power to punish evil and urge goodness is exercised in the writer's appraisal, and the reason for re-examining gains and losses lies between the pleasing jabs of the poet,"[13] he meant that the poet must "simultaneously serve the whole world," explaining that the lofty ambition he had undertaken encompassed the whole world.

Naturally, when we talk of the great influence of literature and art on politics, we should also say that politics has a similar great influence on literature and art. Moreover, since politics is the most concentrated expression of economics, it is also the location of the core of the superstructure, and because of this,

this influence that politics exercises over literature and art is made more strongly and profoundly apparent:

First, it can help to bring about the flowering of literature and art in a given age. The existence of the "Book of Songs," the "Songs of Chu," the Han ballads, the Han prose poems, the Fujian-Anhui literature, the Han and Tang murals, the Wei and Tang stone carvings, the Tang poetry, the Song odes, the Yuan songs, and the Ming and Qing novels, is of course the inevitable outcome of trends in the internal development of literature and art, but at the same time, they were largely determined by the vivid and vigorous political situation of the age they occurred in, or took strength from the encouragement of the rulers, or thrived and generated a democratic vitality under oppressive politics, all of which are important factors in forming the literature and art of an age. Liu Xie said: "The unity and coherence of folk songs is in that they evolve with the era, moved by the winds above and shaken by the waves below." "Literary changes color the circumstances of an era; their rise and decline mark the chronology."[14]

Second, it bestows literature and art with an internal spirit. Works of literature and art that are produced in a given era and are outstanding enough to be passed down to later ages are always considered on the basis of their ideological and artistic accomplishments, and do not depart from this spirit. Of course, this includes works that oppose as well as those that support.

If we judge on the basis of what has been done in the modern proletarian struggles of the literary and artistic revolution, there is a mutual effect between literature and art and politics, a relationship of mutual influence that is expounded even more distinctly. Not only did Marx and Engels learn a great deal from the great realistic writers Balzac and Shakespeare, which helped them to dissect the process of capitalist development clearly and accurately, but Lenin also took Tolstoy's incomparable picture of Russian life as a mirror image of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and from it saw the direction the Russian revolution must take to obtain victory. In the brief 3 years from 1908-1911, he wrote seven critical essays on Tolstoy. From this number alone, it is sufficient to show what a great assistance Tolstoy's literary works were to Russian proletarian politics. It is just for this reason that everyone, from Marx and Engels to Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, has a great regard for the importance of literature and art to the proletarian political struggle, and advocates "establish the party's literature," and "propose principles for the party's literature." At the same time, the leaders of the proletarian revolution have a great regard for the enormous effect of politics on literature, demanding that "Literary affairs should be made a part of the total affairs of the proletariat, should be made a part of the nuts and bolts of the unified, great, social democratic machine that is operated by the vanguard with all the consciousness of the whole laboring class."[15] This is the most obvious intervention of politics in literature. The aspiration of such intervention, insofar as it concerns a political party leading an intense revolutionary struggle, is correct, and is also necessary. However, it must be noticed that this expresses an intense aspiration and requirement on literature that functions outstandingly, causing it to have an even greater influence on politics, and absolutely does not reduce literature and art to a status of something subordinate to politics, neither is it what some metaphysicists understand it to be, politics ordering literature and art around like a slave, making literature and art "degenerate into a graph of political slogans."[16] When literature and art are forced to serve politics one-sidedly and too strongly, and especially serve certain specific policies of the moment, the result is that the works of literature and art do not proceed from life, but from a concept, the principal reasons for formalism and conceptualization of such works are things like "the main part should come first," and "write the central task, act the central task, sing the central task." It creates a situation where only political criteria are considered in literary and artistic criticism, neglecting the particular rules of literature and art themselves, neglecting the comparative independence of literature and art, and in analyzing a work, speaking only of the content and not of the art; requirements for political content also do not proceed from reality, but are required for the sake of politics and do not even hesitate to distort life, distort history, and other irregularities.

(3) Literature and Art Are Literature and Art

Conduct and politics are both subordinate to the literature and art of the superstructure's ideological realm, having their own irreplaceable characteristics and functions with regard to politics as well as other components.

The basic characteristic of literature and art is that they construct a diagram of social life with man as the center. For example, the "Comedie Humaine" of the world-famous Balzac modeled Pere Goriot and other characters full of flesh and blood and having distinct dispositions, and moreover represented the social life of France in the first half of the 19th century both broadly and deeply, and forcefully exposed the despicable incompetent changes in the upstart bourgeoisie, their repulsive features and mean spirits, representing the naked gold thread relationships between people in the bourgeois society.

The characteristic form of literature and art is that the artist, by thinking in terms of images, "concentrates these ordinary phenomena and typifies their internal struggles and contradictions."[17] For example, when Lu Xun wrote "Ah Q," he focused on the characteristics of poor and miserable peasantry that suffers profound oppression under a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society and so demands revolution, and epitomized them in a vagrant farm laborer, an unaware peasant, making a profound representation of the weakness and tendency to compromise of China's bourgeoisie, and from this gave a true to life representation of the Chinese bourgeoisie's inability to lead the peasants in completing the democratic revolution.

Literature does not use reason to persuade people, it uses images to influence people. It relies on a calm spirit, the transformation of fish and dragons in the depths of the ocean, to mould people's sentiments.

Literature and art also have their own rules of development. Advocating "Shakespeare-ization" and being dissatisfied with "Schiller style,"[18] that is, requiring that novels have some socialistic tendencies, is like this. Things must just be described truly through actual relationships, and even if "one's own standpoint is not made clear," nevertheless, it can still "completely fulfill one's own mission."[19] What is advocated here is individualization of images, the description of liveliness of plot and colorful customs, political developments always through "sudden change" and "violent" activity, and relatively speaking, literature and art are slow, proceeding deliberately, "warm, good, respectful, thrifty, and generous." Therefore, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Comrade Mao Zedong, in their brilliant essays on art, repeatedly warn us that we definitely cannot deny the characteristics of literature and art. Sometimes something like this happens, within one historical period of an era, the politics are corrupt, production does not develop, and literature and art flourish nevertheless, producing brilliant works, and this is determined by literature and art's own laws and rules.

In short, literature and art have an effect that politics cannot substitute for. The creative practice of outstanding masters of literature and art also makes this point clear. For example, in the Franco-Prussian war, France was defeated both politically and militarily and placed in a helpless situation, but Daudet was able, in writing "The Last Class," to generate such indignation at the devastation by the Prussian reactionary power that it raised a kind of unbending heroism among the French people, making us feel that a people like this could never be overcome by bayonets, cannons, or fascist politics, and this is a strong proof of this characteristic power of literature and art.

Also, because the effect of literature and art is different from political and military effects, the content of what it describes is much broader than the boundaries of what can be reached politically or militarily. This is what Engels was talking about when he said in 1859, with regard to the drama "Report on Monetary Relief," that writers ought to use their writing to "introduce the varied and splendored society of the ordinary people of the time," write of the lives of the most ordinary masses, and that only in this way "could they provide a thoroughly valuable backdrop for actions of those nobles acting on the front of the stage, and only under these circumstances can the original aspect of these actions be made clear."20

There are countless works of literature and art that serve to prove this outstanding thesis of Engels. China's "Dream of the Red Chamber," amidst its scribblings about the rise and fall of the Jia, Wang, Xue, and Shi families of nobles, also made a "flourishing age" of the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong dynasties, and made people see the trends that would make China's feudal society of several thousand years collapse; in the depiction of the spirits of the sons and daughters, Jia Baoyu, Lin Daiyu, and Xue Baochai, etc., it teaches us to see, in the constrained tragedy, a kind of rebellious disposition with a new significance. Lu Xun's "Kong Yiji," "Benediction," and "Medicine" are all most vivid descriptions of the nature of those times, providing a vivid and valuable backdrop to Mr Sun Yat-sen's leadership of the old democratic revolution and allowing us to see, in Kong Yiji's actions, in what happened to Sister Xianglin, and in Old Chuan's failure to awaken, the original aspect of that failed revolutionary movement.

To sum up, we feel that the relationship between literature and art and politics is a thoroughly important and thoroughly complex problem. While emphasizing a heavy social effect for literature and art, we cannot overlook the intimate relationship between politics and literature and art and the great effect and influence of politics on literature and art. On the other hand, while stressing the importance of politics, we cannot ignore the unique effect and influence of literature and art on politics. Politics and literature and art are all subordinate to the ideological form of the superstructure, and there is no question between them of which is subordinate to which, nor is there any question of which can be substituted for which. The clarification of this dialectical relationship in which they are opposed and are also unified has a crucial significance for the development and prospering of socialist literature and art. Therefore, we will not hide our own poor ideas, we will bring out those superficial viewpoints, we will cast a brick to attract jade, to encourage everyone to discuss this, and to solve as rapidly as possible this problem that has been tangled for a long time and urgently awaits clarification.

FOOTNOTES

1. Engels, "A Communist Manifesto, Foreword to the 1818 English Edition"
2. Lenin, "Critical Ideas on the Nationalities Question"
3. Lenin, "The Mission of the Youth League"
4. Corky, "On the Techniques of Creation"
5. Engels, "Letter to Margaret Harkness"
6. "Analects—Yanghuo"
7. "Book of Odes—Preface"
8. "The Book of Rites—Royal Regulations"
9. "History of the Western Han Dynasty--Literary Annals"
10. Liu Xie, "Literary Debate--First Principles"
11. Cao Pi, "Canon of Discourse—Essay"
12. Pai Chuyi, "A Grant of Nine Books"
13. Bai Chuyi, "The Writing-slip Forest"
14. Liu Xie, "Literary Debate—Chronology"
15. Lenin, "Party Organization and Party Literature"
16. Mao Dun, speech to the Third Members' Congress of the Chinese Writers' Association and China's Fourth Congress of Literature and Art Workers.
17. Mao Zedong, "Speech to the Yenan Conference on Literature and Art"
18. Marx, "Letter to Ferdinand Lassalle"
19. Engels, "Letter to Minna Kautsky"
20. Engels, "Letter to Ferdinand Lassalle"

9284
CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76883

25 November 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 141

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76883

25 November 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 141

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Soviet Buildup Forced U.S. To Adopt New Nuclear Strategy
(Deng Yin; GONGREN RIBAO, 30 Sep 80) 1

PARTY AND STATE

Necessity of Rehabilitating Liu Shaoqi's Work Reaffirmed
(Wu Liping, Li Minsheng; ZHEXUE YANJIU, 25 Mar 80)............ 3

Origins of Third Thought Liberation Movement Discussed
(SHEHUI KEXUE, 20 Jun 80) 17

Progressive Role of Reform in History Emphasized
(Xu Peihua; WEN HUI BAO, 1 Sep 80) 30

Pragmatism, Other Bourgeois Theories of Practice Repudiated
(ZHEXUE YANJIU, 25 May 80) 33

Struggle Against 'Longing for Emperor' Mentality
(Shao Yanxiang; BEIJING WANBAO, 7 Aug 80) 38

Li Hongzhang's Role in Sino-Japanese War Recalled
(Ye Zuxing; BEIJING WANBAO, 14 Aug 80) 40

Right To 'Discuss Emperor' Should Be Respected
(Liao Mosha; BEIJING WANBAO, 23 Aug 80) 42

Officials Cautioned Not To Oppose Criticism
(Jie Si; RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Sep 80) 44

Jealousy Among Cadres Called Despicable Trait
(Mi Bohua; RENMIN RIBAO, 19 Sep 80) 46

NPC's Call for Reforms Enthusiastically Received
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 25 Sep 80) 48

Sheyang Commune Makes Proper Arrangements for Livelihood of Veteran Cadres
(Jin Xikui; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 11 Sep 80) 51

Thoughts Expressed on 'Clean-Water Ruling Office'
(Zhi Fang; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 11 Sep 80)........................... 52

Young People Need Understanding, Guidance
(Tan Taotao, GUANGMING RIBAO, 28 Aug 80) 54

Softness Toward Violators of Law, Discipline Deplored
(Mao Bangzi, et al., ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 11 Sep 80) 59

Workers'Congress Hailed as Key Institution in Economic Reform
(RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Oct 80) 61

Briefs
Letter to the Editor 63

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Fire Hits Communications Station of 7th Ministry of Machine Building
(BEIJING RIBAO, 18 Oct 80) 64

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Various Aspects of Nationality Question, Situation Discussed
(Ma Weiliang; MINZU YANJIU, 20 May 80) 65

Problem of Nationalities in China Examined
(Mao Aohai; MINZU YANJIU, 20 May 80) 77

Educators Sound Clarion Call for Reforms
(WEN HUI BAO, 15 Sep 80) 84

SOVIET BUILDUP FORCED U.S. TO ADOPT NEW NUCLEAR STRATEGY

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Deng Yin [6772 7299]: "On the New U.S. Nuclear Strategy Toward the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Question: What is the new nuclear strategy recently put forward by the Carter government?

Answer: President Carter recently, in "Presidential Directive 59," formally approved a revised nuclear strategy toward the Soviet Union. Its basic content is: In case nuclear war breaks out between the Soviet Union and the United States, the focus of American nuclear attack will be on the Soviet Union's military forces and command centers, and not on urban targets as in the past. Defense Secretary Brown has called this a "countervailing strategy."

Compared with the nuclear policy of the Carter government since it took power, this is a change in several aspects:

First, in the initial period after it took power, the Carter government denied the possibility of a "limited nuclear war" between the United States and the Soviet Union, thinking that if a nuclear war broke out it would inevitably be a "total nuclear war" in which neither side could win.

Second, the Carter government once stressed in the past that if only the United States possessed, after a sudden Soviet nuclear attack, the ability to mount a counterattack on one-third of the Soviet Union's industry and one-fourth of its population, then the Soviet Union would not dare to launch a nuclear war. Now, the new nuclear strategy is to shift the focus from attacking Soviet cities to attacking military targets such as command centers, strategic weapons, and the defense industry, in order to weaken the Soviet Union's actual combat strength, and at the same time not exclude as a last measure an attack on its major cities.

Third, in the initial period after the Carter government took power, it was anxious to conduct "Strategic Arms Limitation Talks" with the Soviet Union, and with unilateral restraining actions get in return a slowing of the pace at which the Soviet Union is developing nuclear weapons. Now, in order to offset the rapid expansion of Soviet strategic nuclear forces, the Carter government is advocating a rapid development and improvement of America's strategic nuclear weapons. The Carter government's main consideration is that America must have sufficient military force, to be able to respond adequately to the form and scale of a Soviet nuclear attack, and thus convince the Soviet Union that "if they plan to take actions that could lead to war, not only will they not attain their goal but also will suffer enormous damage, and thereby contain the opponent (the Soviet Union) so that they will not dare to launch an attack on America or its vital interests."

Question: What was the reason that impelled the Carter government to put forward a new nuclear strategy toward the Soviet Union?

Answer: Some foreign public opinion thinks that, earlier or later as it so happened, at the most crucial moment in the U.S. presidential election, Carter's putting forward of a new nuclear strategy toward the Soviet Union was with election considerations in mind. Carter's main opponent in the election, Republican Party candidate Ronald Reagan, as early as June of this year threatened that if he were elected he would again adopt Schlesinger's nuclear strategy that advocated "a nuclear strategy of attacking military targets." Therefore, Carter, taking advantage of his office as president, anticipated Reagan by approving a new nuclear strategy based upon that advocated by Schlesinger, and his objective was to prevail over Reagan.

From the competition between Carter and Reagan on this question, we can see that, confronted with the rapid expansion of the Soviet Union's nuclear strength, the United States, in order to vie for hegemony, had to change its nuclear strategy. Circumstances made it imperative that whoever got a firm grip on this problem would hold the "banner."

The "nuclear deterrence" theory pursued by America in the past not only did not restrain the Soviet Union from rapidly expanding its nuclear strength, but, on the contrary, allowed it to seek nuclear superiority over America and also to make preparations for all kinds of nuclear war. This not only threatened America's immediate interests but also its future existence. Facts have taught a lesson to the U.S. Government, especially after the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, when the Carter government received a big jolt. Therefore, it could not but reexamine the American nuclear strategy and decide to adopt an uncompromising stand toward the Soviet Union with regard to this important question.

9727
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

NECESSITY OF REHABILITATING LIU SHAOQI'S WORK REAFFIRMED

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 25 Mar 80
pp 3-11

[Article by Wu Liping [0702 7812 1627], with Li Minsheng's [2621 2404 3932] assistance: "Great Spirit, Profound Righteousness--Rereading 'How to Be a Good Communist'"]

[Text] Forty years have passed since the publication of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's book entitled "How to Be a Good Communist." During the Great Cultural Revolution, it was this book that drew more acrimonious attacks than any other literary works from Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that "adviser." As one of the witnesses to its publication, I have the responsibility to give readers an honest account of the factors that induced Comrade Liu Shaoqi to present it to the public. Since its publication, it has played an important role in the building of our party. I believe that in the future, it will continue to make similar contributions to the party as it has done in the past.

I

A reading of this book reminds me of the War of Resistance against Japan which broke out at the Marco Polo Bridge on 7 July 1937. At that time, in the eyes of the Chinese people, Yanan--home of the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong--was a beacon guiding the War of Resistance against Japan and attracting many youths from all over the motherland to journey to Yanan to study and play a role in the great struggle for national liberation. Later, many of them joined the party. Among them were youths of different family and class origin influenced by different ideologies. They arrived in Yanan and other anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy line in great numbers. After undergoing a specific period of training, a group of advanced elements demanded to join the party one after another. In processing these applications for party membership, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong took a positive but cautious attitude toward them. A large number of activists were admitted to the party after their applications were screened by party organizations at all levels. With the petty bourgeoisie dominating the Chinese society at that time, our party was also susceptible to the influence of petty bourgeois ideology. Although the admission of a large number of new party members swelled our party membership to a new level, they also introduced their non-proletarian ideas to the party. Against this historical background, one of the most debated issues was the problem of how to give new party members political education in Marxism-Leninism, and how to expose them to the proletarian ideology and help them overcome the erroneous bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas and their influence so as to strengthen the party leadership over the anti-Japanese war. In 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong delivered two brilliant speeches--"On Practice" and "On Contradiction"--summing up our party's historical experiences in strengthening the ideological building of the party. At that time, the party was also required to improve the ideological education of its members, who would in turn help the proletariat strengthen its leading role in the national united front in the War of Resistance against Japan. When Comrade Liu Shaoqi headed the North China Bureau and worked in the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy line from 1936 to 1939, he attached great importance to the task of strengthening party character among the communists. He was transferred to Yanan from the North China Bureau in 1939. Comrade Liu Shaoqi lived next door to the home of Comrade Zhang Wentian. My home was also very close to theirs. Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Zhang Wentian often paid great attention to the ideological education of party members. At that time, Comrade Zhang Wentian was general secretary of the party. Under the general leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, he presided over the daily routine work of the party Central Committee. He was also concurrent director of the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee and dean of the Yanan Marxist-Leninist College. On 8 July 1939, Comrade Zhang Wentian invited Comrade Liu Shaoqi to his college to speak in the presence of a large audience, including all students there, on the subject of how to be a good communist. Comrade Liu Shaoqi presented his speech in such a vivid and inspirational way that he received a standing ovation at the end of the speech. Days after that speech, many people from inside and outside the college suggested that the speech he published for the benefit of the general public. Comrade Liu Shaoqi accepted this suggestion. Although he was busy, he squeezed time out of his tight schedule to turn his speech into a well-organized article and handed it to Comrade Zhang Wentian, who was also chief editor of JIEFANG ZAZHI [LIBERATION JOURNAL]. Because I was managing editor of that journal, Comrade Zhang Wentian later turned it over to me. As soon as I received it, I submitted it to Comrade Mao Zedong for approval (in compliance with the party Central Committee regulations which stipulate that all important contributions to JIEFANG ZAZHI should be read and approved by Comrade Mao Zedong). After a careful reading of the article, Comrade Mao Zedong returned it to me along with a letter stating: This article was well written by Comrade Liu Shaoqi, and also very important, and therefore, should be published as soon as possible because "it promotes righteousness and opposes baleful influence." Shortly after receiving this instruction, I published the article in three installments in JIEFANG ZAZHI (see its issues 81 and 82, and combined issue 83-84, published on 20 and 30 August and 20 September 1939, respectively). Shortly after it was published, JIEFANG ZAZHI printed it in book form in response to the requests from readers. Other newspapers and journals located in the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy line also followed suit by publishing this article and reprinting it in book form. This article was subsequently hailed by all our party members as an effective weapon to strengthen party character and the organizational building of the party.

During the winter of 1941, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong decided to launch a rectification campaign or Marxist-Leninist education movement within the party. Through discussion, the Central Committee decided to circulate nearly 20 documents as internal reading materials for the rectification campaign. Excerpts of "How to Be a Good Communist" was among the documents which must be read by cadres. Its role in rectifying the party's workstyle and in overcoming the erroneous ideas was also recognized by the party. "How to Be a Good Communist" was reprinted several times both before and after nationwide liberation. In 1962, its author published it in the combined issue 15-16 of RED FLAG after reediting and revising its content. During the socialist revolution and construction, this book continued to play a very positive role in strengthening the building of the party.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, that "adviser" instructed someone in the senior party school to write an article entitled "Expose the Conspiracy to Reprint the Book 'How to Be a Good Communist' for the Third Time," alleging that the "big poisonous weed" published by Liu Shaoqi in July 1939 was an "open declaration of opposition to the anti-Japanese movement for national salvation and of capitulation to the Kuomintang" and a "capitulationist document betraying the party and the country." This was a malicious slur on the author of the book. As everyone knows, "How to Be a Good Communist" is a work full of revolutionary spirit and determination displayed by communists to serve the nation, the people, the party, and the communist cause. It also urges communists to sacrifice their private interests and even their lives for the benefit of the party, and the struggle for national liberation, and for the future of humanity. Is this book a document really betraying the party and the country? If it was not a malicious slur, I don't know what it was. That "adviser" and company even charged that the reprinting of "How to Be a Good Communist" in August 1949 was an attempt to "lay a theoretical groundwork for developing capitalism in China." This was really nonsense. After winning the war for national liberation in August 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "With victory, certain moods may grow within the party--arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some communists who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugarcoated bullets. We must guard against such a situation." For this reason, the reprinting of the book "How to Be a Good Communist" at a time when the entire country was about to be liberated was significant in that it could help our party members and cadres steel their determination to resist the erosion and influence of the bourgeoisie and to consolidate and develop the fruits of the revolution. But that "adviser" viewed the theoretical propaganda effort to overcome and eradicate the bourgeois ideological influence of the exploiting classes as "an attempt to lay an ideological and theoretical groundwork for developing capitalism in China." How absurd it was! He even acrimoniously attacked the book as "a counterrevolutionary manifesto of capitalist restoration" when it was reprinted for the third time in 1962. But mud-slinging of this kind could in no way tarnish the brilliance of that Marxist-Leninist document "How to Be a Good Communist." I am glad that eventually the party and the people throughout the country have given the book a fair judgment in line with objective reality.

II

"How to Be a Good Communist" is a book which correctly and systematically spells out the basic Marxist-Leninist principles guiding the building of the party, thus dealing a fatal blow to the tender spot of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and other anti-Marxist-Leninist conspirators and careerists, and their plot to usurp the supreme party and state power. This was why the book by Comrade Liu Shaoqi was bitterly hated by them. "How to Be a Good Communist" is also a work evaluating Marxism-Leninism and proletarian leaders in a scientific way, an approach opposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who did everything possible to adulterate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the aim of creating a modern cult of worship; it is a document upholding the principle of subordinating the individual party members' private interests to the interests of the party and the people, a principle which had nothing in common with the principle of feudal dictatorship and decadent lifestyle cherished by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." "How to Be a Good Communist" also urges communists to adopt a correct attitude and method in dealing with the inner-party struggles, and opposes the cruel struggle, merciless persecution and other forms of fascist violence promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

One of the themes contained in the book "How to Be a Good Communist" is a call for taking a scientific attitude toward Marxism-Leninism and proletarian leaders. Commenting on standards to be met by good communists, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "We must adopt a correct method in emulating the fine qualities of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and in studying Marxism-Leninism. Otherwise, we cannot do a good job in this field, nor can be have a good grasp of Marxism-Leninism." He also sharply criticized those party members who were satisfied with "learning only some Marxist-Leninist phrases but failed to apply the Marxist-Leninist principles and conclusions as a guide to solve practical problems." Commenting on those speculators who had sneaked into the party, he said: "Worse than the aforementioned elements are representatives of dogmatism who know nothing about Marxism-Leninism, but only a few Marxist-Leninist phrases. Ironically, they act as if they were 'China's Marx and Lenin,' and shamelessly want our party to respect them as China's Marx and Lenin and support them as 'leaders' in recognition of what they called their loyalty and dedication to the party. Without waiting for others to recommend them, they could go ahead to proclaim themselves 'leaders' by taking up the leading posts so that they could dictate orders to others just as patriarchs did under the feudal system, scold our party and everything it stands for, and freely deal blows to our party members and punish and push them around as they wish." Comrade Liu

Shaoqi called these elements speculators who had sneaked into the party or persons dangerous to the communist movement. Did Lin Biao and the "gang of four" resemble these elements? Could the aforementioned quotation from Comrade Liu Shaoqi sufficiently portray Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as conspirators and careerists?

Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: A faithful student of the founders of Marxism-Leninism was one "who can take the Marxist-Leninist stand and apply the Marxist-Lenninist viewpoint and method tc solve problems that emerged from the revolutionary movement led by the proletariat. In addition, he should not mind too much about his personal gains or losses, should not style himself as China's Marx or Lenin, and should not expect or wish anyone to respect him as China's Marx or Lenin because he has no right to do that. However, the broad masses of party members will sooner or later spontaneously come forward to respect and support him if he can consistently demonstrate his integrity and loyalty to the party, heroism and outstanding leadership qualities through the revolutionary struggles." He called on ordinary party members as well as revolutionary leaders to follow the example of Marx and Lennin in testing and training themselves. But during the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" repeatedly criticized the aforementioned quotation from Comrade Liu Shaoqi as "irrefutable evidence of opposition to Chairman Mao," thus fully exposing their own wolfish ambition. Comrade Liu Shaoqi further pointed out: "Nobody can become a real leader or hero of the communist cause without the support of the broad masses. Nor can anyone recommend himself to that position. Anyone who wants to style himself as a leader or attempts to be one without a large following can never become the leader of our party. The communist cause is a long-term collective undertaking created by millions upon millions of people, and therefore cannot possibly be monopolized by any individual. Even great figures like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin could have contributed only a small share to the communist cause." We must take a scientific attitude toward evaluating the proletarian leaders. This is a basic Marxist principle we must uphold. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" acted against this principle by vigorously promoting the modern cult of worship and by wildly adulterating Marxism and undermining the socialist revolution and construction. We must remember this painful historical lesson by comprehensively and accurately applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and adopting a correct attitude toward the proletarian leaders. Only by doing so can be become the most faithful and best students of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Can we call the aforementioned remark by Comrade Liu Shaoqi a proven truth capable of withstanding any tests?

The second theme contained in the book "How to Be a Good Communist" is a teaching that exhorts communists to "serve the party and the people and to win victory for the revolution rather than single-mindedly strive to elevate their own positions, to flaunt their privileges before the people and to make themselves famous." Comrade Liu Shaoqi also sharply criticized some party members for giving in to the heavy influence of individualism and caring too much about their private interests. In this connection, he said: "This form of individualism often manifests itself in the following way: In dealing with specific problems, they often place their private interests above the interests of the party or care too much about personal gains and losses. They also want to do everything possible to attain their personal aim under the pretext of serving the party, and launch vengeful attacks against comrades they dislike under the pretext of upholding the principle and the party's interests." Ours is a great political party known for its tradition of serving the people wholeheartedly. This is why it can win the heartfelt support of the broad masses. Our party members are wholeheartedly dedicated to the liberation of the people and to enhancing their interests. The interests of the people and the party are indivisible. The people's interests are the only matter that our party cares about in the world. Our purpose is to serve the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. We should regard this as the truth of the highest value. In this connection, Comrade Liu Shaoqi profoundly pointed out: Communists are proletarian vanguard fighters who oppose the granting of any privileges to anyone, or to themselves. They feel that it is unthinkable and a shame to place themselves above the people." For this reason, the relationship between the interests of the people and that of the party and its members should be rectified. He severely criticized those party members who had "never stopped fighting for higher pay and greater privileges than what other comrades could get" and who always wanted "more house servants, and more luxurious homes, and who are deeply interested in seeking the limelight, and fame affiliated with the party." Comrade Liu Shaoqi described them as "people imbued with the ideology of the exploiting classes." "How to Be a Good Communist" is a work which makes the evil influence of the exploiting classes a subject of criticism while warmly extolling genuine communists. Among the genuine communists as described in the book were "those who are the first to concern themselves with the affairs of the state and the last to enjoy life; who are the first to bear the brunt of hardships and the last to seek comfort; who never want to compare their pay with others but are willing to compete with others for achievements in the revolution and for stamina in enduring hardships; who can bravely step forward to make their services available to the nation in times of adversity, and can do their level best in overcoming difficulties." The book says: Theirs is a revolutionary character and spirit which "can neither be corrupted by money or honors nor bent by force of threats. They will never swerve from principle in the face of poverty or other unfavorable conditions." From beginning to end, the book warmly extols this lofty proletarian righteousness. This is why our party can win the support of the people and overcome difficulties. We must treasure and continue to carry forward this glorious tradition. Only those selfless and dedicated communists can demonstrate such noblest and most decent spirit and firmly take the stand of the party and the proletariat and strengthen party character and class character. By asking the communists to "endure hardships ahead of others and enjoy life later, and to show concern for the affairs of the state before others and enjoy comfort later," we do not mean depriving our party members of their legitimate interests. Commenting on this, Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: Within our party, every individual should subordinate his personal interests to the interests of the party. "But this does not mean that every individual within the party should give up his personal interests and identity as party member. Surely, every party member will have private problems that need to be handled by himself; he should develop himself on the basis of his individual character and special skills. In other words, he is permitted to build his family life, and to develop his individual character and professional skills in line with the interests of the party." But Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who pushed an ultraleft line called this a theory of "merging public with private interests." Facts show that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were a bunch of blood suckers who used the power they usurped to embezzle and squander public funds so that they could indulge in feasting and other luxuries and lead a decadent bourgeois life. They were actually typical representatives of extreme individualism! In a sense, the book "How to Be a Good Communist" is a magic mirror which shows up their dirty and ugly souls as swindlers.

The third theme contained in the book "How to Be a Good Communist" is a call for adopting a correct attitude and method in the struggle against various erroneous ideas within the party. Comrade Liu Shaoqi urged communists to adopt the following correct steps toward the inner-party struggle: First, "we must first survey various opinions, ideas and views and clearly distinguish those correct ones that enhance the interests of the revolution from other incorrect and harmful ones before taking a firm and clear stand to endorse what is correct. We should not blindly follow anyone or drift along with the current." Second, "we must learn from all good examples within the party and promote and bring them into full play and actively endorse and support all correct ideas and opinions. We must denounce all bad examples and guard against the influence of incorrect ideologies." Third, "we should not take a laissez-faire attitude toward the inner-party struggle, nor should we retreat from such struggle." Fourth, "ideological struggle over various issues of principle our party inherits from history should be systematically and properly carried out. This form of struggle is not an attempt to disrupt the normal life of the party or spread panic." Fifth, "the inner-party struggle is aimed at unifying the party members and strengthening its discipline and raising its prestige. Party members should consider it their inescapable responsibility to preserve the unity of the party, purify the ideology of the party, and consolidate the organization of the party." "How to Be a Good Communist" describes the inner-party struggle as indispensable to the entire process of the revolutionary struggle, calling on party members to expose themselves to the inner-party struggle so that they can grow in strength.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vilified "How to Be a Good Communist" as a work aimed at "promoting slavish ideology." This is not true because it teaches party members to think independently in the course of the inner-party struggle so that they will not blindly follow others, drift along with the current or give in to the influence of slavish ideology. Comrade Liu Shaoqi sharply criticized the "left" opportunists within the party for adopting a wrong attitude and method in dealing with the inner-party struggle, for carrying out many unnecessary inner-party struggles, for lifting minor issues to the level of principle and for slapping the label of opportunists on people at will during the struggles. In this connection, Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: "To those seemingly mad people, any inner-party peace, even that which is entirely in conformity with the party's line and principles, is not acceptable." This opinion was later vilified by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as a "revisionist fallacy aimed at promoting inner-party peace." As Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago, we must be cruel to the enemy and kind to the people. Based on this view, Comrade Liu Shaoqi's advocation of "inner-party peace" was not a denial of the necessity of inner-party struggle, but a call for upholding principle and strengthening unity. Was there anything wrong with that? During the past 20 years, and especially during the Great Cultural Revolution, the policy and method applied by our party in the inner-party struggle were all wrong. We should draw a lesson from this painful experience. It was this extreme form of struggle that once provided Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with an opportunity to concoct an ultraleft line to serve their counterrevolutionary aim. Just as Comrade Liu Shaoqi predicted, they subjected countless good cadres to cruel and savage criticism, and accused them of being political "opportunists" or "revisionists." Their aim was to "overthrow everything and embroil the country in a full-scale civil war," to cripple our party, to fill the jails with people who were wrongly, falsely and unjustly charged and sentenced, and to place the entire nation under the rule of terror. Since "How to Be a Good Communist" is a work aimed at making justice prevail and opposing evil influence, it is no wonder that the book drew fire from Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

III

In May 1967, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" authorized someone to publish a sinister article entitled "The Essence of 'How to Be a Good Communist' Is a Betrayal of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," viciously attacking it as a betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and criticizing it as a "big poisonous weed" promoting idealism and opposing Mao Zedong Thought. No sooner was this article published than a nationwide campaign was mounted to condemn and discredit "How to Be a Good Communist."

What was the theoretical basis used by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and company to attack "How to Be a Good Communist" as a betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Their only theoretical basis was the contention that "the dictatorship of the proletariat was entirely ignored by its writer." This logic was really absurd. As everyone knows, that book was published during the War of Resistance against Japan, or at a time when all articles carried by our party journals dealt mainly with the anti-Japanese movement for national salvation and the need to strengthen the party leadership over this movement. It seemed quite unlikely to directly emphasize the dictatorship of the proletariat in any book written at that time. Was it ridiculous to accuse the book of opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat because it did not mention it? Although the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" was not there, the essence of the book was an appeal inspiring the communists to display the revolutionary spirit to serve the dictatorship of the proletariat. "How to Be a Good Communist" is a work inspiring the communists--the vanguard fighters of the proletariat--to struggle not only for national liberation, but also for the ultimate realization of the great communist ideals. The theme of the book focuses on the problems of how communists should temper themselves through the struggle and how the proletariat should fulfill the historical mission to remold the old society and build a new one after it came to power. In this connection, Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: "The bourgeois revolution usually ended by the time the political power changed hands. Nevertheless, the proletariat regards its political liberation of the nation and victory as just the beginning of the revolution, on the assumption that there is a lot of work to be done after winning the victory for the revolution and after capturing the political power." This remark reminds the communists that their future depends on how successful they will be in solving the fundamental problem of the proletarian revolution--the problem of how to capture and consolidate the political power and how to remold the entire society. It can be said that the theme of "How to Be a Good Communist" is entirely consistent with the spirit and essence of the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was no wonder that it could not be accepted by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and other sham Marxists. The aforementioned article concocted according to their instruction said: "During those turbulent war years, and during the years devoted to capturing the political power, Liu Shaoqi taught communists to forget their fundamental obligations to the armed struggle to capture the political power. Instead, he taught them to turn inward for 'self-cultivation.' If this teaching were heeded by them, was it possible that they might become philistines unconcerned with the revolutionary war and the struggle to seize the political power?" Wasn't this allegation ridiculous?

Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that "adviser" even confused black with white by criticizing it as an attempt to foster idealism and bourgeois individualism and to promote a feudal philosophy of life among the people. Essentially, "How to Be a Good Communist" is a work which opposes the idealist method adopted by the bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords to train the people, and which supports the method of integrating the training of our party members with the revolutionary practice. In this connection, Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: "In ancient times, the people followed an idealistic, ritualistic, and abstract approach in cultivating their personalities and mannerisms in isolation from social practice. They overly emphasized their subjective efforts in all fields of work, assuming that as long as they adopt a 'benevolent attitude' toward the people, they would be able to change reality, society and themselves. Certainly this is a daydream. We cannot cultivate ourselves in this manner. As revolutionary materialists, we cannot cultivate ourselves in a way that estranges us from the popular revolutionary practice." The book clearly indicates that as far as the cultivation of personality is concerned, the Marxist-Leninist method is at variance with the idealist approach.

Fundamentally, before anyone becomes a good communist, he must undergo training in the Marxist theory, and proletarian ideology and code of ethics. Particularly important is the training in Marxism, which is a sharp ideological weapon for the proletariat to know and change the world. If we cannot truly master the Marxist theory, we will have difficulty in correctly assessing various problems in the revolutionary struggle and handling them properly, and we may even go astray, fall victim to mechanicalism and become its mouthpiece. Being a good communist means being good at learning and mastering theory and integrating it with proletarian revolutionary practice. Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: being a good communist means perseverance in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete revolutionary practice. As a true communist, he must tally his speeches with actions, and must be true to his word, and he must be worthy of emulation by the masses, as distinguished from the representatives of the exploiting classes, who were in effect out and out scoundrels although they wrote and spoke abundantly of justice and morality. Commenting on some of our party members who inherited from the old society the erroneous tendency of estranging theory from practice, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "We must resolutely oppose and thoroughly eliminate the educational method and study style characterized by separating theory from practice left over from the old society." Emphasizing the basic Marxist principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, the book also urges the communists to "seek truth from facts and test and verify all theories and distinguish right from wrong through the revolutionary practice." The dialectical materialist theory of knowledge upheld by the book "How to Be a Good Communist" also falls in line with the dialectical materialist concept of unity between knowing and doing expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong in his work "On Practice."

Emphasizing that great ideals and great goals to be achieved must be based on practical work and on the principle of seeking truth from facts, the book "How to Be a Good Communist" resolutely opposes utopian concepts and all kinds of idle chatter. In this connection, it points out: "The communist cause consists of the great task of changing the world. Every communist party member must start this task from where he lives and work in coordination with his supporters. We must criticize some young comrades for always wanting to run away from or disregard reality. They always keep looking for an ideal job and place so that they can smoothly move ahead with the task of 'remolding' the world. But this utopian way of thinking will never come true." This materialist spirit of seeking truth from facts contained in the book has nothing in common with any idealistic way of thinking and training the people.

True, included in the book "How to Be a Good Communist" were some quotations from feudal thinkers Confucius and Mencius, which were used to emphasize difficulties our ancients encountered in scaling the peaks of achievements rather than to "promote the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and propagate the feudal philosophical outlook of the world."

Accusing its author of opposing Mao Zedong Thought, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" said: "When it was reprinted, the book 'How to Be a Good Communist' never lent space to Mao Zedong Thought or the theme that we should be Chairman Mao's good pupils. This fact proves its author to be sham Marxist and genuine revisionist." This was indeed nonsense. It must be pointed out that the book was strung with a revolutionary ideological line because it persists in upholding the principle of integrating the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice in China, a principle which is in accord with Mao Zedong Thought, and because it specifically applied many important principles proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong to explain the problems concerning the building of the party. It must be noted that Mao Zedong Thought was formally mentioned in Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Party" to the "Seventh National Party Congress" held 6 years after the publication of "How to Be a Good Communist." Since "How to Be a Good Communist" is a historical document, its originality should not be tampered with. Is there anything wrong with this decision?

In 1943, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a letter to the then-director of the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee, saying: "My thought (Marxist-Leninist) remains in a fledgling stage. It is still a time for me to study. The time is not yet ripe for anyone to publicize my thought. Some articles written by me (such as documents on the rectification campaign) may be publicized on a piecemeal basis, but should not be treated as an integral part of my ideological system, which is still in a precocious stage." In August 1938, Comrade Mao Zedong further pointed out: "There is no such thing as the Mao Zedong doctrine. We must call on students to study the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin and the Chinese people's experience in revolution instead of 'the Mao Zedong doctrine.'" The Chinese people's experience in revolution has been dealt with in some pamphlets written by the Chinese communists (including Mao Zedong) on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory and documents on the party Central Committee's line and policies. ("Introduce Some Manuscripts by Comrade Mao Zedong on Theoretical Studies," RENMIN RIBAO, 25 December 1979.) The scientific attitude adopted by the author of "How to Be a Good Communist" toward our party's leader, Comrade Mao Zedong, was correct and consistent with the principle consistently upheld by Comrade Mao Zedong himself. The false accusation that the book "How to Be a Good Communist" reflected a "stand against Mao Zedong Thought" was purely a scheme and conspiracy used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to serve their selfish purposes.

During the 10 years in which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in their heyday of power, they used such unscientific terms as "superb," "most creative," "the noblest," and "every word a truth, one sentence is worth a thousand sentences" to describe Mao Zedong Thought. In this way, they trampled under foot the scientific nature of Marxism, and willfully adulterated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, causing unprecedented damage to our party, country and people. In actuality, "How to Be a Good Communist" is an important document used to combat the baleful influence antagonistic to Marxism in order to make the righteous spirit of Marxism prevail.

IV

The question of how to be a good communist is vital to the building of the proletarian political party. The proletarian revolutionary teachers have consistently attached importance to the training of the communist party members, and have regarded this as a basic step in preserving the qualities of the party as the vanguard of the working class, and in fulfilling the great historical mission to realize communism. In October 1938, Comrade Mao Zedong delivered a report to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee, exphasizing the training of the communist party members. After summing up our party's historical experience in this field, he said: "Our party's mastery of Marxism-Leninism is now rather better than it used to be, but is still far from being extensive or deep. Ours is the task of leading a great nation of several hundred million in a great and unprecedented struggle. For us, therefore, the spreading and deepening of the study of Marxism-Leninism present a big problem demanding an early solution which is possible only through concentrated effort." In addition to explicitly emphasizing the training of the communist party members, he called on the entire party to extensively and widely strengthen the training of its members in the Marxist-Leninist theory. Emphasizing that communists should play an exemplary role in the national war, he pointed out: "Communists in the Eighth Route and New Fourth armies should set an example in fighting bravely, carrying out orders, observing discipline, doing political work, and fostering internal unity and solidarity. Every communist engaged in government work should set an example of absolute integrity, of freedom fro favoritism in making appointments, and of hard work for little remuneration." Exhorting party members to observe discipline, he pointed out: "It is necessary to educate them in party discipline so that the rank and file will not only observe discipline themselves, but will exercise supervision over the leaders so that they too observe it." This important report by Comrade Mao Zedong is entitled "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War." It was later included in the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong." Although no such language as the dictatorship of the proletariat was used in that report, it remains an important document concerning the building of our party. The book "How to Be a Good Communist" published by Comrade Liu Shaoqi a year later was entirely consistent with the aforementioned report by Comrade Mao Zedong in terms of their ways of thinking. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" alleged that the more the communists were taught to cultivate their personalities, the more they would become "revisionist," thus exposing themselves as the archenemy of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. During the 10 years in which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in their heyday of power, they did untold damage to our party by encouraging communists to ignore the necessity of disciplining themselves. Their pernicious influence in this field remains very serious. During those 10 years or more, party organizations were discouraged from talking about the need to discipline their members. Consequently, an unhealthy workstyle prevailed over the party, party discipline was not strictly observed, there was ideological confusion among the party members, and righteous spirit was suppressed and baleful influence made itself widely felt among the people. Today, our party claims nearly 38 million members, most of whom joined the party during or after the Great Cultural Revolution. These new party members were heavily influenced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" along with some relatively senior party members. Although they deserve to be called qualified party members in the past, it is now doubtful whether they are still qualified. The 1980's is an important decade in history. Upon entering this new historical period, in addition to struggling against hegemonism abroad, our party is confronted with the great historical task of realizing the four modernizations and returning Taiwan to the motherland and reunifying the country. The key to success in this field lies in the party leadership. We must uphold and improve the party leadership. To this end, we must effectively strengthen and deepen the education of 38 million party members. Today, we must renew the pledge to strengthen the training of our party members, which is now more significant than ever to the victory of our party's revolutionary cause.

At present, all our party members, both new and old, must make effective efforts to strengthen their party spirit. Since party spirit is a concentrated expression of the proletarian character, we must strengthen party spirit and overcome factionalism. Communists must truly play an exemplary vanguard role in the great struggle to accomplish the "four modernizations." During the revolutionary war, our party members were always the first to bear the brunt of hardships and the last to enjoy themselves, and were eager to fight on the front line and served as the rear guards for the retreating troops. Today, after winning the revolutionary war, our party is confronted with a very difficult task of leading a great nation. To be blunt, a few party members and cadres have acted against our party's glorious tradition by treating themselves as a privileged group divorced from the masses. Some other party members have practiced extreme individualism and anarchism, and have given up their far-reaching communist ideals, thus disqualifying themselves as communist party members. After losing their confidence in our present great national undertaking, they even have begun to spread pessimism among the people. While caring only about matters of interest to themselves and their families, they have paid no attention to the plight of the masses. Also gone is their sense of organization and discipline. In short, a baleful influence is now prevailing over some party members. During this important historical period, our party must do everything possible to make righteous proletarian spirit prevail over the evil non-proletarian influence. We must strengthen the ideological training of party members and apply the proletarian and Marxist-Leninist ideology and the communist world outlook to overcome and eliminate all incorrect non-proletarian ideas. Just as it was pointed out in the book "How to Be a Good Communist," "The communist party represents the force of justice for all mankind. We must carry forward and uphold this proletarian righteous spirit and overcome all forms of evil influence."

In order to further consolidate stability and unity, we must step up study, revive and carry forward the party's fine tradition, commend the outstanding models of party members, and struggle against all forms of erroneous ideas and misdeeds within the party. We must conscientiously and sincerely carry out criticism and self-criticism with the aim of unifying party members behind their common cause. While trying to prevent the struggle from moving too far toward the extreme left, we must resolutely struggle against erroneous ideas and evil trends of thought and prevent them from flooding the country.

Today, our party members must step up the study not only of Marxism-Leninism, just as they did during the revolutionary war, but also science and culture in order to help the party carry out the great four modernizations program. Urging communists engaged in socialist construction to "study science," Lenin said: "Management needs professional skills in production, modern advanced technology, and scientific knowledge." ("Collection of Lenin's Works," Vol 30, p 394.) At present, our party must train a large number of cadres proficient in professional knowledge and capable of following the socialist road. These party members and cadres must have a good command of the Marxist-Leninist theory, commit themselves to uphold the four basic principles, strictly observe party discipline and state laws, and truly know the business of building China into a modern power. If our cadres want to plan a role in the four modernizations, they must become both red and expert. During this new historical period, our party members are required to study harder than ever in order to make themselves good communists.

A review of our party's history reveals that whenever the training of party members was emphasized, our party would develop and prosper; whenever discussions on disciplining communists were banned, our party's cause would suffer serious setbacks. For example, when "How to Be a Good Communist" was criticized and banned, baleful influence prevailed over the righteous spirit. Practice is the sole criterion for testing the truth. The history of our party teaches us that the book "How to Be a Good Communist" by Comrade Liu Shaoqi is an important Marxist-Leninist document and a contribution to the building of the party. We must rehabilitate this book and restore it to its original glory so that it can continue to educate and guide vast numbers of party members, cadres and youths through the struggle for the realization of the great communist cause, a cause unprecedented in human history.

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

ORIGINS OF THIRD THOUGHT LIBERATION MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 3, 20 Jun 80 pp 60-66

[Article by Li Guoquan[[2621 0948 2938] and He Kerang [0149 0344 6245] of the Chinese Department of the Hubei Province Jingzhou Teacher's College: "The Rise of the Third Thought Liberation Movement"]

[Text] A broad-ranging survey of the history of mankind's social developments shows that each movement in or transformation of society demands an accompanying momement or development of social consciousness. This always requires that the progressive class and persons overcome great difficulties and bravely smash the bonds of traditional thought to cry out and struggle for the new age.

During this century the Chinese people have experienced three thought liberation movements. History demonstrates that these three thought liberation movements gave great impetus to the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution and construction, all of which were under party leadership.

Comrade Zhou Yang [0719 2254] made a speech titled SANCI WEIDADE SIXIANG JIEFANG YUNDONG [THREE GREAT THOUGHT LIBERATION MOVEMENTS] regarding the birth, development and great historical significance of these three movements in modern Chinese history. This speech made a profound statement which people found very enlightening and educational. However, all thought liberation movements in human history follow a process of fermentation, birth and development and are filled with complex, roundabout and even tortuous struggles. To search out the truth we propose to present our superficial views on the beginning and emergence of the third thought liberation movement.

The Beginning of the Third Thought Liberation Movement

Chapter Eight of the SHIGANG PINGYAO [CRITICAL OUTLINE OF HISTORY] records the following story from the Han dynasty: Huo Guang gained power and abused his authority. Xu Fu of Maoling sent in petitions relating Huo's excesses and recommending that he be quickly repressed. The petitions were ignored. Finally, Huo Guang's ambition turned toward usurping the throne. He was captured and killed. All those who uncovered Huo Guang's criminal plotting were enfeoffed, while Xu Fu who had repeatedly petitioned that Huo would rebel and should be stopped was forgotten. Some people protested that Xu Fu had been wronged and memorialized the throne relating this story of "taking precautions to prevent possible danger" in order to testify about Xu Fu's prophetic skills. Xu was first given ten bolts of silk and later was made an official.[1]

Although this is 2,000 year-old history, it seems to have happened only yesterday. In the 1960s and 1970s China went through ten years of great chaos, and wasn't this because the socialism of that period did not listen to the views of Xu Fu? During the Han dynasty Sima Xiangru said it well: "The enlightened person sees it rising afar, the wise person avoids the danger by making himself scarce. National disasters are concealed in minor things and develop because people overlook them."[2] What a profound lesson this is for us to learn! The problem is more that this though, because in the Han dynasty Xu Fu "saw the problem from afar" and although he was ignored he did not suffer for it, while the Xu's of this period were condemned as criminals and branded as the "five black elements." Although the Han dynasty Xu Fu was the one person to go unrewarded there were some who memorialized for his just reward, the Xu Fu's of today seldom hear of their everlasting merits and pains. This gives one pause for thought. It appears that if the twists and turns of the historical progression are not straightened out any point in history might conceal an unknowable number of social truths and cover up cases of penetrating judgement.

We are profoundly aware that China's problems are complex and that there is a struggle regarding the question over recognition of the origins of the thought liberation movement in the middle 1950s. However, we firmly believe that even though the path of history may be twisted the light of the truth cannot remain covered! Practice is the only authority and our socialist history has already proven that the beginnings of the third thought liberation movement were in the middle 1950s.

It is certainly true that in terms of the scope and significance of thought liberation movements the one now in progress is far greater than that of its initial period, much like the sprout of a flowering bush. However, one cannot be fond of the "flower" and discard the "sprouts," and one absolutely cannot acknowledge the great significance of the intellectual revolution to destroy the modern superstitions created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and cast off their doctrine of obscurantism which proclaimed that "each and every word is the truth," and not acknowledge the far reaching significance of the strenuous efforts of a group of firm Marxists and progressive intellectuals to seek out the truth according to the lessons taught by the experiences of the international communist movement and those problems which have already appeared or were about to appear in the developmental process of our society. In a word, we believe that one cannot discuss this thought liberation movement apart from the continuity of ideological developments. It is just as Hegel said: "Philosophical discourse in the realm of ideology describes it in terms of its internal activities or its requisite developments." This is not only a problem in the logic of a theory but, more importantly, is a problem of attitudes toward history. Our responsibility to history is to seek truth from facts in order to restore its original countenance. Only in this way will there be any benefit to our people, and only after understanding history can we truly absorb its lessons and consciously shake the dust of history from our bodies and stir ourselves to fly toward a beautiful tomorrow.

Everyone knows that in the historical development of society, the fermentation and occurance of great political and economic changes are always led by a simultaneous ideological revolution.

In the mid-1950s, after reaching a basic conclusion in the socialist transformation of the ownership system of the means of production, and when the great storms of mass class struggle during the revolutionary period were also already basically ended, our people simultaneously faced toward the great task of carrying out a strategic transformation by completing the first five year plan in order to lay a foundation for socialist industrialization. At this time, April of 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong make his report LUN SHI DA GUANXI [ON THE TEN GREAT RELATIONSHIPS]. In this report the first five great relationships stated that affairs should be managed according to objective economic laws and the second five great relationships stated that we should maintain peaceful unity in our socio-political situation. Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out, "All of these ten problems center on a basic policy, which is that all positive national and international factors must be mobilized in the service of socialist endeavors." "We must mobilize all direct and indirect forces in the struggle to build our country into a powerful socialist state."3 This report by Comrade Mao Zedong correctly reflected the great strategic transformation of party work, and the historical development of Chinese society entered into a period of great changes in the course of events.

Just when the Chinese people were facing the glorious difficult task of creating a satisfying, bountiful life, and building a prosperous and powerful great socialist state, the national and international fronts developed new conditions and new problems of extreme importance which the people had to sincerely consider and find solutions for.

On the international front, the Soviet Union Communist Party (CPSU) convened the 20th congress in February of 1956. What most attracted attention in this congress was criticism of the cult of the individual which caused such severe consequences within the party. In June of 1956, four months after the start of the CPSU 20th congress the Polish Poznan riots broke out. In October of 1956, eight months after the start of the CPSU 20th congress, the world-shattering Hungarian riots broke out. In general these conditions were related to the problem of the cult of the individual, the problems of the relationship between the party and the masses in a socialist society, the problem of relationships between socialist nations, the problems of concern for the suffering of the masses and how to plan for the people's benefits, and the problems of the people's democracy and the people's rights. "History very clearly shows us that if any progressive movement neglects moral issues it thus plants the seeds of disruption." (Cheernixuefusiji [transliteration]) This series of problems in the international communist movement could not but influence the Chinese people who were then facing a great turn in the course of historical events, could not but cause the Chinese people to give considerable thought to those matters, and could not but remind the Chinese people to accurately evaluate their own work and observe problems which had already emerged or were about to.

As for national concerns after Liberation, in order to solidify the new political authority a series of political movements and economic reform were carried out with emphasis on attacks against "rightist" forces. People gradually lost the practical and realistic work style of the Yanan rectification movements to eliminate leftist dogmatism, and"leftist" thought again appeared under the new conditions as subjectivism. Because of changes in the nature of the revolution (this refers to the change of the new democratic revolution into the socialist democratic revolution) there was a trend toward one political movement after the other, which resulted in habitually taking orders from the leading cadres and upperlevel leadership. Of course the masses did not completely understand the complexities of the political struggles and were unclear about the violence of social forces, all of which aided the bureaucratism of some worker personnel in the party and state organs. Because the party is the core leadership force in our affairs and also plays a leading role in the revolution and in construction, such behavior by a portion of the party's leading comrades and worker personnel caused a separation from mass ideology and discrimination in work and deed against non-party people, and this gave rise to organization factionalism (The factionalism referred to here is not all-encompassing but rather that between the party and the masses). Because China had a history of several thousand years of feudal dictatorship, the concept of the "sage emperor" found a place in the everyday ideology of retribution held by the Chinese people; furthermore, the propaganda was not suitable (it always was used by individuals and did not become a policy of propagandizing mass leadership) and there was excessive centralization of power which placed the individual over the collective. In this way the shadow of the cult of the individual and the superstitious belief in the individual loomed ever larger. The existence of the "three great isms" (subjectivism, bureaucratism and factionalism) and the cult of the individual, which are empty, negative things and the very death of morality were already manifested in the unease felt by people in a number of areas. Under conditions such as these the people could not but express concern over changes in our great strategy and people could not but worry about the logic of the existence of the "three big isms."

In the latter part of his life Lenin repeatedly warned the people to pay attention to the three great dangers that socialism might encounter: 1. The "extreme danger" to the party brought by those "self-proclaimed communists" and those careerists, adventurers and frauds who insinuate themselves into our ranks. 2. The "bad bureaucrats" who "poison the soviet political authority." 3. The only thing that can cause a loss of power once the proletariat has won it -- our own mistakes. The series of problems in the international communist movement and the disheartening losses in Europe proved the validity of Lenin's prophecy. How can the Chinese people bear to witness the neglect and ruin of our forebears' search for national salvation and the blood of countless revolutionary martyrs on the road to socialism by "self-proclaimed communists," "bad bureaucrats" and "our own mistakes"?

The theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin created for us only the general laws concerning mankind and nature. They did not and could not lay down a blueprint which we could follow in building socialist society. The new conditions and new problems in the international communist movement and in our country have reminded us that if people believe there is no further need for objective socialist laws after the victory of the revolution and after the people have come into power, if they believe that socialism will continue to develop without obstacles and are unwilling to be practical and realistic, and stand as though drunk or insane upon a flowerbed built of falsehoods then the goal of a strong nation and prosperous people will be destroyed. Our socialist affairs demand that we praise highly the bright side of things but we also should be skilled in criticizing the dark side. Therefore, there developed on our Chinese soil the roots and explosive flowering of a thought liberation movement under the leadership of the fundamental principles of Marx-Leninism which discussed and researched Chinese socialism and destroyed the "three big isms" and smashed the shackles of the cult of the individual.

Just at this important point in time when a thought liberation movement to make great changes in response to these conditions was about to take place, the party then convened the Eighth Congress, one which was to have far-reaching significance. History is the fairest of judges and practice is the only standard for examining the truth. After over 20 years of roundabout paths and painful lessons there is incontestable proof that the path of the Eighth Congress was correct.

At the Eighth Party Congress Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a report on revisions to the party constitution. In his report Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave an incisive explanation of the reason for the rise of and the dangers of subjectivism, bureaucratism and factionalism, gave five ways to promote a mass line and fight bureaucratism, emphasized that during the struggle against the "three big isms" there must be development of democratic life in the party and in the nation and development of the party work style and that there must be "close cooperation of non-party persons in this struggle." In his report Comrade Deng Xiaoping correctly evaluated the merit of the CPSU 20th congress' opposition to the cult of the individual, pointed out the fault of "unsuitable overemphasis of centralized authority" then existing in China, reminded the whole party of the "severity of the evil consequences created by worship of the individual," and again promoted the policy of "continuing to firmly carry out party central opposition to giving prominence to the individual and opposing the singing of the praises of the individual."

At the Eighth Party Congress Comrade Liu Shaoqi made a political report which explained the theoretical basis and actual foundation for the shifts in strategy and pointed out that in the future the major tasks of the entire party were to completely give vent to the people and to carry out the struggle in opposition to bureaucratism. The resolution concerning the political report pointed out that in order to guarantee the flourishing of science and the arts there must be firm grasp of the policy "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools contend." It is an error to use administrative methods to carry out forceful, arbitrary decisions on science and the arts. There must be continued criticism of feudal and capitalist thought. However, as far as the beneficial cultural knowledge from China's past and from abroad are concerned, they must be maintained and absorbed and, moreover, there must be utilization of modern science to bring order to China's superior cultural heritage and an effort to create a socialist, national new culture.

The conclusion to be drawn from Comrade Deng Xiaoping's report on party constitution revisions is: The victorious Eighth Congress not only mobilized the core party workers ideologically and organizationally but also pointed out suitable changes in the direction of the thought liberation movement. The Eighth Congress was a great historical turning point which provided the slogans for the third thought liberation movement!

Under the influence of dramatic changes in the international communist movement under the stimulus of objective demands by national social history, and under the guidance of the Eighth Congress there arose a great thought liberation movement that was like the confluence of a hundred rivers!

The Goals and Scope at the Beginning of The Third Thought Liberation Movement

The success or failure of socialist endeavors is related to the fate of the Chinese people. They of course must investigate those problems which have already been revealed and discover what is the true communism. The series of problems in the international communist movement have reminded the Chinese people of the fact that to imitate the experiences of others is to commit the mistake of following the path of an overturned vehicle. We must discover a Chinese path to socialism. The investigation of and search for the Chinese path to socialism then became the major topic of this thought liberation movement, and opposition to subjectivism, bureaucratism and factionalism and the cult of the investigation were the first battles in this struggle. This is the glorious and sacred historical mission entrusted to the Chinese people and the Chinese communist party.

The fate of an age is in the hands of the progressive class and those persons who represent the people's interests and the objective demands of social development, and only those seekers who are willing to pay any price even that of one's life will achieve understanding of what is to come. In the latter half of 1956 the future of the nation, the genuine interests of the Chinese people and protection of party prestige prompted a number of party members and progressive intellectuals who were concerned about the nation and the people, thoroughly open and honest, undaunted by evil suspicions and completely fearless undertook to continue the revolutionary traditions of the May Fourth Movement and the Yanan rectifications movements, discard the trappings of scholasticism, lift high the torches of democracy and science and embark on a search for the true way.

Art, the most sensitive nerve of the process of social development, became a leader of the vanguard in this thought liberation movement. A number of influential works surfaced in this period. A representative work of that period was CHONGFANGDE XIANHUA [FRESH FLOWERS BLOOM AGAIN] published by the Shanghai WENYI CHUBANSHE [WENYI PUBLISHING HOUSE]. These works not only sought to answer the questions of how art and literature reveal contradictions among the people and the multitude of creative subjects and styles, more importantly they were of great significance in the ideological revolution. Writers and artists portrayed literary images, bravely became involved with life, revealed the danger of the "three big isms," lashed those vile and filthy arts which sullied our party's glories, corrupted the physical existence of the party, destroyed our socialism and trod upon the people's pure spirit and elevated morals. At the same time they praised with high spirits the new generation's brave advance, fearlessness of power and authority, willingness to assume responsibility, and its continual struggle for victory in party endeavors and for the victory of socialism in the homeland. The morals of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries continued to shine forth in their new brilliance.

The most prominent of these works are Comrade Liu Binyan's [0491 6333 7159] ZAI QIAOLIANG GONGDISHANG [AT THE BRIDGE WORK SITE] and BENBAO NEIBU XIAOXI [OUR NEWSPAPER'S OWN NEWS] and Comrade Wang Meng's [3769 5536] ZUZHIBU XIN LAIDE NIANQINGREN [NEW YOUTHS COME TO THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEPARTMENT]. The main reasons why these works elicited people's attention and were widely welcomed by readers were because they revealed the then extant contradictions involved in people's lives, gave prominence to taboos and exposed the"dark side of things" that were impeding our progress. These works have weathered 20 years of storm to realistically prove that their contributions to the search for the truth could not be obliterated! Even today don't such bureaucrats as Luo Lizheng [5012 4539 2973], Chen Lidong [7115 4539 2767] and Liu Shiwu [0491 0013 0710] still thump their chests and praise themselves as loyal followers of "Marxism"? They, however, give no thought to such questions as what has happened among the people, what sort of social processes have occured, what new social forces have developed, which social forces are in decline, which contradictions have occured what is the form of these contradictions, which areas demonstrated tendencies toward change and what areas of socialist development determine the loss of old things. Asking these questions could make their own work policies more suitable to the changing situation, rather than the monotonous statement "Policies are uniform: If a person does not operate according to newspaper editorials there will be not punishment for this and it is not considered to be an error. To operate through administrative fiat is to be in opposition to party policy and the responsibility for this will not fall upon anyone. This is the logic of the matter...." Just imagine, if this logic and "official ways" continue to exist, our four modernizations will never be implemented and the party reputation will suffer great damage!

However, good works such as these which represented new ideas of hope were distorted and trod upon by people, saying that they "overturned right and wrong, confused the enemy and ourselves and plotted to lead literature and art onto a path opposing the people." According to countless similar explanations of that time the so-called "overturning of right and wrong" was to "constantly take the correct, positive matters in life as bad and conversely take negative things as good," "thought reform was bad but a firm grasp of bourgeois ideology was good while subordinating the individual to the collective was bad but developing individualism was good," "people who positively and loyally worked for the party were 'backwards' or 'mediocre and unambitious' while egotistical people who lacked organizational discipline were 'fresh' and talented.'" How can it be said that Huang Jiayang [7806 0163 5391] could be just like Zhang Ye [1728 6851] in "getting into the party yet not supporting party interests and getting into the party by concealing her own opinions" yet not be an "individualist"? Is it right to ask people to praise the individualist Zhang Ye for not being an "individualist" and blame the individualist Huang Jiaying for not being an "individualist"? We say that this is really overturning right and wrong!

It is precisely because right and wrong and men and devils are overturned that the true critics are criticized while the criticizers make a clean escape during the great historical changes. Real life originally has both its light and dark sides and the acccomplishments of socialism are dependent upon the existence of those same faults. The true dialectical materialist must accept these contradictions of real life, analyse the complex, profound historical and actual factors that gave rise to them, expose their contradictions in a realistic and appropriate manner,and, moreover, lead the people in correctly resolving these contradictions. If the existence of these two aspects of life are not recognized, then no matter how well you utter Marxist phrases and no matter how skillful you are at using the conclusions of Marxism like a magical weapon to startle people, you basically are still an idealist.

Following the appearance of some works which smashed traditional forces and were "involved with life" there were developments in research on literary theory as well as studies of creative techniques. Around this time Comrade Qin Zhaoyang [4440 0340 7122] wrote XIANSHI ZHUYI-- GUANGKUODE DAOLU [REALISM -- THE BROAD PATH] and Zhong Dianfei wrote DIANYINGDE LUOGU [SIGNALS FROM THE CINEMA] which offered the people a problem awaiting solution, that is, how art and literature are to reflect the true problems of society.

Even today there still are differences over the right and wrong of Comrade Qin Zhaoyang's article, but it in no way is true as some comrades have claimed that he hated and loathed the "spirit of socialism." The fundamental meaning of Qin's article is perfectly clear. What he opposes is starting from "socialist realism" in singing empty praises of socialism and starting from a theory and reduce the abundance and complexity of real life to a simple line drawing. And are not the things which Qin Zhaoyang opposes exactly the so-called "three paramount" creative principles advocated by the "standard bearer" Jiang Qing? Was not the decline of Chinese literature and arts in the 1970s the consequence of a few comrades' advocacy of the very things opposed by Comrade Qin Zhaoyang? The dialectical method informs people that any tendency toward hasty appraisals will only lead toward a tendency to change.

The questions that Comrade Zhong Dianfei posed in his article DIANYINGDE LOUGU are that there can be no apposition between a "movie's social and artistic value" and the "box-office value," the problems found in "cinematic traditions" and "slanted materials," and the problem of the "approval system." These are important questions for the correct operation of socialist cinematic ventures. There must be consideration of the movie's social impact and consideration of box office value. It must be asked if a movie lacks box office value but consumes capital and uses the labors of the people to make restitution then all fields and industries will follow this bad example then how will the nation ever make any progress? Even today it appears that the question regarding "respect for cinematic artistic traditions" and "slanted materials" is still in apposition, as this is a question of artistic creation which must be solved. The process of getting approval of a movie is exceedingly complex as there are too many offices involved. This is still one of the greatest problems in making a movie. The article DIANYINGDE LUOGU is right to the point. If these questions had been resolved at that time our cinematic ventures would not be in their present state.

Starting in the latter half of 1956 when Comrade Wang Zhong [3769 0022] was teaching classes on the throry of journalism at Fudan University and reporting for some news units, he made a valuable study of the major questions in journalism based on the actual problems of journalism and newspaper work. For example, his conclusion that "journalism is a social product and not a product of class struggle" is very scientific. In a socialist society the class nature of journalism is not the same as journalism as a product of class struggle. Furthermore, one cannot apply the "status quo" as it is presented in the newspapers as a weapon of class struggle to explain the historical laws of the totality of journalistic ventures. Therefore, Comrade Wang Zhong did not approve of the simplistic explanation of journalism as a product of class struggle. However, he has never opposed the scientific conclusion that newspapers function as a device in the class struggles. For another example, the basic ideas he expressed about the "dual nature of newspapers" are also correct. This is because newspapers are propaganda and public opinion tools of class struggle and also are a commodity. The party newspapers belong to the party but also belong to the people, so they have both a party nature and a popular nature. Therefore there is a contradiction between "making newspapers to sell" and "buying newspapers to read." Newspapers are printed for people to read and people use money to buy newspapers so if the pages are filled with slogans and directives such as "vigorously develop," "firmly implement," and "respond positively" and are devoid of news concerning the masses, their livelihood, needs and views and if heated struggles and the vigorous new life are treated with dry figures and percentages then who will want to read the papers? This brings up the "theory of readership needs" in opposition to managing the paper through "bureaucratic fiat" as well as opposition to dogmatic and subjective thought and work styles. This is beneficial in strengthening party leadership of the newspapers. It is true that some of Comrade Wang Zhong's views on journalism need to be made more scientific while others are not yet developed and are not expressed with sufficient skill and detail. Nonetheless, these views are fundamentally accurate and made a positive effort in the establishment of a Marxist system of journalism in China. How could people avoid feeling sorrow at seeing it smothered?

The real or predicted appearance of problems in the process of the development of socialism elicits the worries of all people of patriotic mind and they wish to tell the party and the people of the conditions they have discovered or foresee. This is what Mr Ma Yinchu [7456 1377 0443] did. In 1955 he made the first speech regarding the problem of population control to the Zhejiang group of the People's Congress, but it did not pass. He did not give up but instead at the February 1956 meeting of the State Council made a speech on population control in which he attacked the mystique of the slogan "the more people the greater our strength" and made a more detailed exposition of the matter. Later, at the first session of the Fourth Congress, he wrote up his speech on population control as a proposal (this was published in that year's July 5th issue of the RENMIN RIBAO under the title XIN RENKOU LUN [A NEW POPULATION THEORY]. Ma Yinchu's views were based on research materials and on scientific Marxist analysis. He was opposed to the claim that continual rapid population increase was a doctrine of socialist population laws. He vigorously campaigned for late marriages, the benefits of planned parenthood and criticized feudal thought and feudal concepts of human relationships such as, "a succession of heirs," "early birth of a son," and "five generations living in prosperity." He pointed out that an excessively large population would be a great and difficult burden for socialist construction. However, Ma Yinchu's farsighted, sagacious theory to help the state and the people came under vicious attack from many sides. Consequently, "erroneous criticism of one person mistakenly produced another 300 million persons" and over 20 years of practice have proven that the truth favors Ma Yinchu.

With the first stirrings of spring the seeds begin to sprout and when one sprout shows a myriad follow it. Under the influence of new breakthroughs in philosophy, economics, history, literary creation and literary theory and journalism a great many communist party members, intellectuals and young students broke the bonds of traditional thought and like a hundred barges fighting the current bravely undertook a thought liberation movement. Their goals were to continue to spread and develop Marx-Leninism in China, to maintain the purity of the party ranks and ideology, to complete socialist democracy and build a legal system, to cause the homeland's economics, culture, science, education, journalism and health endeavors to flourish. Their methods were to operate under the great party slogans and use the weapon of criticism at conferences and viewpoint meetings and to put articles, essays, anecdotes, poetry, fiction and cartoons in the various publications. They made studies of a number of major problems and moreover carried out a fierce attack on all the poisons such as careerism, bureaucratism and factionalism which are not concerned about the well-being of the people and which destroy socialist construction. They made sympathetic and reasonable though unavoidably harsh criticisms of the errors which occured in the process of carrying out party policies. They made constructive criticisms of many work projects. Truly: Freely express one's views in seeking the truth, fully speak one's mind in recompensing the people.

Just when the thought liberation movement was most flourishing an event of everlasting shame occured and the new sprouts were destroyed by a "violent freezing wind." Many views of true wisdom were labeled as "rightist disputations," and some brave seekers of truth were attacked as "rightist elements" and suffered abuse.

The lessons of history tell us that when the flood waters arrive mud walls collapse and fish and dragons mingle together. In the springtime hundreds of young sprouts emerge but there certainly are poisonous weeds among them. It is by no means strange that in the sprouting stage and in its progress this great thought liberation movement should be muddied by other things. Furthermore, all thought liberation movements in human history existed side-by-side with other viewpoints. These other viewpoints can be contended with, studied or criticized, but how could the fragrant flowers be uprooted along with the poisonous weeds? As for the great problems of the people's interests and the success or failure of socialism the people were forthright and spoke their minds with the result that they received severe beatings and could not seek redress. As sick people fear the cure so the avenues of expression were blocked and they sank ever deeper into the bottomless pit of errors. During the 1950s, these sprouts of the third thought liberation revolution in China were smothered and thus reached their historical conclusion.

Although the effect of this historical deteoriation on the sprouts of the third thought liberation movement was just like the pinning of Prometheus to the mountaintop for giving mankind fire, nonetheless the search for the truth was like a concealed gemstone the gleam of which still shone in men's minds.

The Resurgence of the Third Thought Liberation Movement

Mankind's consciousness is neither a collection of fragments nor is it an unbroken flow. The broad "anti-rightist" campaign of 1957 did not frighten the people and none of the true and revolutionary-minded members of the communist party turned a blind eye toward the strange happenings around them. In 1957 Comrade Peng Dehuai painfully recognized the evil consequences caused by the neglect of objective laws and out of concern for the fate of the broad people and out of worry over the future of the socialist homeland he wrote a poem, GUXIANG HANG [MY NATIVE PLACE], which expressed the people's suffering. After this, according to first hand materials, he openly circulated a "ten thousand word letter" to Chairman Mao listing all of his faults. In the early 60s the abnormal political and economic conditions made literature and art into the vehicles of "the will of the superior officials" and embellished real life with "decadent music." In 1961 Comrade Zhou Enlai made an effort to rescue proletarian endeavors in art and literature by personally attending the "Art and Literature Work Conference and the Feature Film Creation Conference." In his speech he said, "Artists must face toward the people not toward the leadership," and called upon the artists and writers to liberate their thoughts, practice democracy, dare to speak for the people and not fear beatings or being labeled. After that, in March of 1962, Comrade Chen Yi attended the "All-China Drama, Musical, and Children's Drama Writers' Conference" and in his remarks said, "If you do not constantly open people's eyes and sharpen their vision to see our shortcomings and faults then what benefits are there"? He exhorted the writers to be responsible and braver. Although the speech and views of comrades Zhou Enlai, Chen Yi and Peng Dehuai were obstructed and attacked, the truth cannot be locked up and their revolutionary spirit of searching for the truth stimulated and inspired all those who fererently love socialism and the homeland to search and climb upwards neither proud nor disheartened, bravely marching straight ahead.

During the ten years of the cultural revolution Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were a flock of devils who brought chaos to our world and turned China into a fearful living hell. The best intentions and the most superior moral traditions were trampled upon and overrun, wisdom was betrayed and loyalty was destroyed. No matter how evil the conditions or how strict the confinement there was no way to obstruct the broad people's progress toward a good future or their search for the truth. On the contrary, this only stimulated their relentless spirits to search for the true meanings of the socialist path and they toiled bitterly without rest from beginning to end to follow the path toward a "powerful socialist nation." "People in cowsheds study Marx and Lenin, through wronged they do not forget the wealth and power of the nation." When Comrade Zhang Wentian [1728 5113 1131] was in jail and near death he continued to write proletarian political and economic works. Comrade Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] was selfless and brave, and even with his life on the line he would not compromise with superstitions and prejudice but rather pursued truth with brilliant arguments, firmly held to the truth and sacrificed his life for it. All of the executioners' bloody deeds to frighten the people actually taught them an opposite lesson. They were awakened to their suffering. A fully enlightened people angrily took up the battle flags against the "gang of four" thus announcing the third thought liberation movement. After those sprouts had been smothered 20 years of repeated struggles passed before the new era began.

"Blood flows on the central plains fertilizing the sturdy grasses; across the frozen lands spring flowers burst forth." Since the smashing of the "gang of four" modern Chinese history has entered a new era of great developments. In this new era the party will implement the central tasks of the third strategic transformation of the mid-1950s that for various reasons was "aborted." Although the new era has a number of new features, from the viewpoint of the content and nature of the corresponding thought liberation movement it is a continuation and developement of those "sprouts" and so we therefore call it a "resurgence." This is in accord with the laws of the development of ideological revolution in modern Chinese society.

Right now, the thought liberation movement in China is of large scale and great scope. It not only touches upon the political system and economic structure but also touches upon all realms of social consciousness. The ranks of the thought liberation movement are growing ever larger. The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries is leading the forefront; a shock brigade which was trained through the bitter struggles now occupies the middle positions of strength; and a large group of youths highly concerned about the nation and the people has joined the ranks of this struggle. However, the obstinate maladies of the ultra-leftist line have already penetrated all aspects of society and formed a huge obstructive force. Therefore the thought liberation movement will have to pay a great price for every step forward. Spring is now returning to the land and the solid ice has already been broken. Let us raise our arms in welcome to the springtime of the third thought liberation movement!

Jingzhou, December 1979

Notes

1 Li Zhi [2621 6360] SHIGANG PINGYAO [A CRITICAL OUTLINE OF HISTORY] ZHONGHUA PUBLISHING HOUSE, 1974, pp199-200.

2. Ibid, p162

3. Mao Zedong, LUN SHI DA GUANXI [THE TEN GREAT RELATIONSHIPS]

11582
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PROGRESSIVE ROLE OF REFORM IN HISTORY EMPHASIZED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 1 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Xu Peihua [1776 1014 5478]: "The Reform Movement of 1898 Was a Reformist Movement"]

[Text] On 18 July, WEN HUI BAO carried in its "symposium" column an article by Comrade Jin Dexiang [6855 1795 4392] entitled "The Reform Movement of 1898 Was Not a Reformist Movement." In addition to emphasizing its positive effect on contemporary Chinese history and endorsing it as a progressive step in Chinese history, the article says: "The reform movement of 1898 is significant and its role in history cannot be ignored." I agree with this evaluation, but disagree with the following remark contained in the article: "It is appropriate to call the reform movement of 1898 a bourgeois political reform movement, but inappropriate to describe it as a reformist movement."

Emphasizing this point, the article says: By naming the movement of 1898 a reform movement, it symbolizes progress; by calling it a "reformist" movement, it means turning back the clock. Its writer also used a quotation from Lenin to prove his point. In order to explain this point, I want to recite that quotation from Lenin: "Unlike the anarchists, the Marxists endorse the struggle for reforms or for improvements in workers' living conditions when the political power is still under the control of the ruling class. At the same time, the Marxists resolutely repudiate the reformists for trying, directly or indirectly, to persurade the working class to pin its hopes on the existing authorities for reforms alone. Reformism has been used by the bourgeoisie to lull the workers into sleep so that they will be satisfied with individual reforms under the capitalist system which will never change their social stature as hired slaves." From this statement by Lenin, the article draws this conclusion: "Generally speaking, reform in various stages of history was a frequent and progressive measure. But any attempt to use political nostrums to head off any impending revolution in the name of reform or reformism will have the reactionary lullaby effect on the masses." True, there is semantic difference between reform and reformism. I feel that since they are different terms, their meanings are certainly not the same. This semantic difference will not be affected by any changes in historical conditions. The argument that reform will evolve into reformism when the condition is ripe for the revolution is untenable. According to Lenin, the Marxists also welcome the struggle for reforms; reformism means "an attempt to directly or indirectly persuade the working class to pin its hopes on the existing authorities for reforms alone." Clearly, whether the condition is ripe or not for the revolution will not affect the original meaning of the aforementioned two terms. Does anyone believe that the Marxists will consider it unnecessary to struggle for reforms as soon as the condition is ripe for the revolution? On an occasion of defining reformism, Lenin said: "Generally speaking, reformism means agreement with some changes conceived by those who consider it unnecessary to overthrow the political power of the existing ruling class, or changes that can be tolerated by those in power." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 479, 1972) Lenin also said: "Reformism does not mean effecting any changes that will undermine the power base of the ruling class but only some concessions it is willing to make on the condition that its existence will not be threatened." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 865, 1972) This definition of reformism is also applicable to the reform movement of 1898. A review of that movement revealed that among its participants were representatives of China's national bourgeoisie who urged their country to learn from the West. They pinned their hopes entirely on the emperor for carrying out their suggestions and programs for reforms in the social, political, economic, military and cultural fields. In other words, they had to rely on the Manchu government in implementing their reform measures and, therefore, had no intention of overthrowing the feudal rule or completely changing its power base. Bearing this in mind, we can call the reform movement of 1898 a reformist political movement. Now let us study whether reformism is a reactionary attempt to turn back the clock. True, Lenin denounced reformism as a reactionary attempt to "deceive the workers, to prevent, weaken or snuff out the revolutionary struggles, and to split and mislead the revolutionary classes." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 12, p 222) This remark was directed at reformism that once prevailed over the major European capitalist countries where capitalist free competition was giving way to monopoly, the proletarian revolutionary forces were gaining strength, and the Marxist revolutionary theory and the fundamental proletarian interests called for replacing capitalism with socialism, while reformists, who still wanted to preserve the decadent capitalist system, urged the working class to give up its struggle to overthrow the bourgeoise rule in an attempt to disintegrate the worker movement. Naturally, reformism under such historical circumstances was reactionary.

But the situation in China at that time differed in many ways from that in Europe. In 1898, the national bourgeoisie in China just began to enter the stage of history and conditions were not yet ripe for any bourgeois revolution. Under such historical circumstances, reformism could not be called a reactionary movement because it came before any revolution was deemed possible. We could not observe and evaluate China's reformism at that time in a way adopted by Lenin to evaluate reformism in Europe. Nor should anyone be discouraged from calling the reform movement of 1898 a reformist movement in China because reformism was once denounced by Lenin as being reactionary.

Another reason for Comrade Jin Dexiang to deny the reform movement of 1898 as a reformist movement is that "because the reform movement of 1898 was not tolerated by the feudal autocracy, it clearly did not belong to any category of reformism whose aim was to defend the old system." I also consider this inference untenable, because it was accepted by the feudal rulers represented by Emperor Guang Shu although it was not tolerated by the feudal force led by Empress-Dowager Ci Xi. I also believe that the reform movement of 1898 had an intention of defending the old system, because it did not direct its spearhead at the entire feudal system despite the fact that it was aimed at developing capitalism in China. If it had no intention of defending the old system, how could it expect to win the support of Emperor Guang Shu and other senior officials in the Manchu government?

When we called the reform movement of 1898 also a tool for defending the old system, we have no intention of denying its progressive role in history. In a sense, the reform movement of 1898 was an indispensable link in Chinese history, which provided its participants with an opportunity to sum up the past experiences and blaze a path to the future, a link which fell in line with the laws governing historical developments. Everything must undergo a process of first quantitative and then qualitative changes. Reformism is normally promoted before the outbreak of the revolution. Under such circumstances, the reformist movement presages a revolution to come. The reform movement of 1898 was a political crusade which covered a wide range of reforms based on the bourgeois theory of political economy and bourgeois philosophical viewpoints. Its ultimate aim was to emancipate the people's minds, enlighten them to a better economic future, and broaden their horizons of knowledge. In short, it had a significant effect on the generations to come. In the wake of the failure of the reform movement of 1898 came the bourgeois revolutionary movement led by Sun Yat-sen which gained momentum after national capitalism developed in China at the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, the focus of attention in society was being shifted to the choice between revolution and reform, and between preserving the Manchu government and using violence to overthrow it. Under such circumstances, anyone who still insisted on promoting reformism as a device to head off the revolution would be denounced as a reactionary element. Changes in the objective historical conditions will give rise to a change in the nature of reformism from the progressive to reactionary movement. Facts have led me to conclude that under specific conditions, reformism can play a progressive role in history; the reform movement of 1898 was a reformist movement.

9574
CSO: 4005

PRAGMATISM, OTHER BOURGEOIS THEORIES OF PRACTICE REPUDIATED

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 5, 25 May 80 pp 3-6

[Commentator's article: "Improve the Theoretical Study of Practice as Criterion for Testing Truth"]

[Text] I

Two years have passed since the launching of the nationwide discussion on practice being the sole criterion for testing truth. This discussion is also known as a polemic between two ideological lines and a large-scale movement to educate the people in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, a discussion highly valued by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee as a step of far-reaching historical significance in helping the comrades of the entire party and the people throughout the country emancipate their minds and rectify their ideological line. During the 2-year discussion, our main task has been to smash the "modern cult of worship" created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" which has long shackled the people's minds, to criticize those trends of thought which deny practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, and to straighten out the dialectical-materialist ideological line in accordance with the principles of seeking truth from facts, taking actual conditions into account, and integrating theory with practice. Although much has been done in explaining and propagating the basic Marxist principle of regarding practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, our efforts to systematically study many related theoretical problems remain far from enough, and therefore, need to be further strengthened.

The reasons for deepening the study of practice as criterion for testing truth follow:

First, as social practice continues, the Marxist theory of practice as criterion for testing truth needs to be constantly enriched and developed. Otherwise, it will wither and lose its fighting spirit in competition with other theories. This theory, first invented by Marx and Engels and then inherited and developed by Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, contains many meaningful and profound classical principles which need accurate connotations and expansion as well as new practical experiences to enrich and develop it.

Second, the theory of practice as criterion for testing truth is the theoretical foundation of the dialectical-materialist ideological line. If we want to further clarify this ideological line, we must define and verify it from the theoretical point of view. Furthermore, the in-depth theoretical study of practice as criterion for testing truth is also essential to the consolidation and development of this correct ideological line.

Third, with the world ushering in an era of great revolutionary changes in modern science and technology and China entering a new historical period of struggle for the realization of the four modernizations, we are urgently required to apply the theory of practice as criterion for testing truth to study the new situation, and new problems resulting from the wide-ranging development of social practice and modern science and technology. Only in this way can we come up with conclusions on many new scientific achievements.

Fourth, there are many theories of practice as criterion for testing truth, created by modern bourgeois philosophers, that need to be studied and criticized. This being the case, we must study harder than ever the Marxist theory of practice as criterion for testing truth in order to rebuff its bourgeois counterparts.

Fifth, during the 2-year debate on practice as criterion for testing truth, many theorists and practical workers have brought up for discussion many theoretical problems and new ideas that need to be thoroughly and carefully studied. In short, as philosophers, we now face an important problem of how to deepen our understanding of the theory of practice as criterion for testing truth.

II

A deep understandiing of practice as the sole criterion for testing truth calls for a study of practice as an important aspect of philosophy. Marxism tells us that as a purposeful activity, practice reflects not only a special relationship between man and the material world, but also a way of his existence in the objective world. It is a systematic activity consisting of a goal and ways to reach that goal or given targets, a procedure designed to achieve intended results and other related steps. Without taking these steps, man cannot accomplish his practical activities. Marx said: "As a natural element, man always has to struggle against other natural elements. In order to take possession of the natural property useful to him, he may have to use the power endowed by nature and set in motion his arms, legs, brain and hands. When he moves to change his environment, he may also end up changing his intrinsic nature. While doing so, he reshapes the objective world to meet his demands in accordance with the laws governing his activities." ("Collection of Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 202) This means that man can take measures or use tools to change the objective world, to convert what he conceives into objective reality with the intended results. In other words, his knowledge is verified only when he achieves the intended results in the process of social practice. Although Marx's "Das Kapital" and Lenin's "Manuscript on Philosophy" and many other classical works contain passages about various forms of practice, efforts remain to be made to study them. For example, what role do these forms of practice play in human productive activities? What are their relations? How can the truth of human knowledge be verified through practice? It must be noted that some comrades have come to regard practice as only a device or tool rather than a criterion for testing truth. I feel that this viewpoint stems from their inadequate understanding of practice as a comprehensive system of human activity.

The theory of practice as the sole criterion for testing truth contains many points. Our study must focus on the question of why only social practice can be the criterion of truth. Lenin pointed out: the process of verifying knowledge through practice is the "only road toward knowing truth," adding that Marx held that theory that corresponds with reality is the sole criterion for testing other theories. ("Selected Works of Lenin,"Vol 1, p 30) We must thoroughly study and clearly interpret why practice is the "sole criterion for testing truth." Today, at issue are two related problems that need to be studied: the problem of the relationship between practice as criterion for testing truth and logical verification of human knowledge, and the problem of whether the objective matter can be used as a criterion for testing truth.

Some people contend that although there is no doubt in their minds that practice is criterion for testing truth, is it the sole criterion for testing truth? Can the logical verification of human knowledge be considered an appendant and secondary, if not an independent and principal, criterion for testing truth under specific conditions? We know that logical verification of human knowledge is a theoretical measure to prove truth by means of correct judgments and inference and a process of philosophical thinking which plays an important and indispensable role in measuring the truht of an idea. For example, logical verification of scientific theorems can contribute to the search for the truth; logical positivism can also play a significant role in systematizing a proven truth. Can the logical process of verifying knowledge take the place of practice as criterion for testing truth? Can we confuse the process of verifying the truth with criterion for testing it out? In short, further efforts must be made to study and explain the role of logics in verifying knowledge and the relationship between the logical process of verifying knowledge and practice as criterion for testing truth.

Some people who believe in practice as only a device or tool to test truth hold that since truth is a correct reflection of objective reality and the laws governing its development, whether it is correct or not should be verified by using objective reality itself as criterion. This viewpoint identifying the truth of knowledge with objective reality seems correct. But in the final analysis, using the objective reality as criterion for testing truth means using intuitive perceptions as criterion. Using objective reality as criterion actually means using sense organs to determine whether subjective feelings correspond with objective reality. This is in effect an intuitive materialist viewpoint criticized by Marx long ago. Furthermore, truth also means an accurate understanding of the objective world and laws governing its development. This process of improving rational knowledge is highly abstract in nature. Although man can translate what he sensible perceives into an abstract impression, how can he interpret abstract knowledge in specific material terms? For example, the Marxist theory of value is undoubtedly a truth except for the fact that "it cannot be perceived." ("Collection of Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 183) How can man use his sense organs to perceive it? How can he directly apply objective examples to verify it? Its correctness can be verified by the practical process of commodity production and commodity exchange. All other theories can also be verified by similar processes. Dialectical-materialism also holds that truth is not just a negative mirror of objective realities, but a form of scientific knowledge that can be used as a guide to purposefully and systematically change the objective world. Whether this knowledge is correct or not cannot be proved by the existing objective realities. Nor can it be verified until it materializes through practice and its objective is realized. Is this logic correct? Are there any other logics in this respect? These are questions that need to be further studied.

Another problem that deserves our attention during the in-depth study of the theory of practice as criterion for testing truth is formulas for verifying truth through practice. Truth can be explained in concrete terms, and therefore the forms of practice as criterion for testing it should be diversified. For example, theories and theorems of astronomy, and medicine are verified by active observations and experimentation. Theories of archaeology and paleontology can be proved by comparing newly unearthed relics (such as long buried artifacts, fossils, official documents and records of different stages of history). Social scientific theories can be verified by the masses of people through their struggle for production and class struggle from which they can draw conclusions which correspond with the laws governing the development of history. There are many forms of practice which guide the people to deal with and control the objective bodies. As the productive forces and science develop, so does man's ability to control the objective bodies. As a result of the large-scale revolutionization of modern science and technology, the dimensions and forms of practice have expanded and diversified along with the ways of verifying truth. The modern scientific researchers have adopted methods for conducting large-scale scientific experiments. Among them are simulation, quality-control, quantity-determining, and factor-analytical experiments, using a variety of scientific techniques and highly sophisticated equipment. It must also be noted that more and more scientific experimental methods have been adopted by researchers in the branch of social sciences, thus giving philosophers new subjects of study. For example, are there any specific characteristics that are unique to specific forms of scientific practice? What is their relations? How can truth be verified by each branch of science? We must conscientiously analyze and study these questions in order to enrich the theory of practice as criterion for testing truth as a guide to all practical productive activities.

An in-depth study of the Marxist theory of practice as criterion for testing truth must be accompanied by an analysis, study and criticism of its modern bourgeois counterparts. In this connection, views voiced by two bourgeois groups of philosophers deserve our special attention: First, pragmatists who have developed "a doctrine of practice" emphasizing "practice as the sole criterion for testing the truth of an idea." Because they generally use the same terms and phrases as the Marxists, the people can hardly distinguish one from the other. Even bourgeois philosophers as smart as Bertrand Arthur William Russell could not distinguish between the two, saying that "pragmatism bears a striking resemblance to the doctrine of Karl Marx." Today, the influence of this deceptive fallacy that "what works is true" is so deep internationally that it still holds sway over some people in our country who thus far remain unable to draw a distinction between pragmatism and Marxism. This being the case, our present militant task should focus on helping the people draw a clear distinction between the Marxist and prgmatist principles of practice as criterion for testing truth and thoroughly criticizing pragmatism and its subjective idealist concepts of truth. Another group of philosophers that deserves our special attention is represented by a western scientist-philosopher named Pope, who proposed that all theorems can be verified by observations and facts based on experiments; theories that are proved true should be retained and others that are judged false should be discarded; proven truth some day may be disproved by new discoveries and replaced by new ones. His philosophy can boil down to this point: Established theories sooner or later can be disproved and replaced by other systems of knowledge. Such laws theorizing progress in science deserve our careful analysis and study, and their errors in judgment should be scrutinized and criticized. Thus far, much remains to be done in this field. In short, we must comprehend, study and analyze all bourgeois theories of practice as criterion for testing truth so that we can teach the people to distinguish between Marxism and pragmatism and defend and develop the Marxist theory.

III

In order to deepen the study of the Marxist theory of practice as criterion for testing truth, we must resolutely implement the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," and encourage the people to express their different views and discuss them in a creative way. But some people who regard the discussion on the criterion of truth as a political issue said: "We prefer to hold our different opinions on this complicated issue for ourselves and shut our mouths." We feel that since the Party Central Committee has issued a call for emancipating the mind along with a warning against any related restrictions, the worry that the discussion on the criterion of truth may get its participants into trouble is not justified; although some theoretical problems are closely related to politics, they are not political problems in any sense; dissenting voices triggered by the discussion on how to develop and study theories are absolutely normal, and otherwise, our nation will be in trouble. Based on this reason, we must encourage the free expression of different opinions on all occasions of academic discussions. We must distinguish our party's traditional workstyle from the cultural autocracy promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with the aim of humiliating, punishing and even sentencing dissenters to death. During the press discussion on the criterion of truth in the 1960's, many comrades at that time viewed materialist-dialectics as "an indirect measure for testing truth." Many different opinions have been expressed on this matter during the current discussion. For example, some comrades consider the objective bodies as criterion for testing truth rather than practice, which in their opinion, is only a tool or method for that purpose. Another opinion holds that both the logical verification of human knowledge and accurate theory can also play a role as criteria for testing truth. In the final analysis, they do not, in any slightest sense, deny practice as criterion for testing truth. We feel that these opinions deserve our further discussion. In discussing different opinions, we must place facts on the table, reason them out, enlighten ourselves to different ideas, and help one another think them over carefully, in order to deepen our understanding of some theoretical problems. Only in this way can we finally achieve a consensus on the basis of the basic Marxist principle of seeking truth from facts.

Marx said: "Only convincing theory can win the hearts of the masses; only thorough theory can we convince the people. The so-called thoroughness means firmly grasping the fundamentals." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 9) We must redouble our efforts to thoroughly study the theory of practice as criterion for testing truth. The more thoroughly we study it, the more powerful and more convincing it will become to the masses, and the more effective it will grow as a guide to our practical activities. Consequently, it will be unlikely that it will be distorted, adulterated and vulgarized. Our task in this field is difficult but meaningful. We firmly believe that as long as we work hard to explore new ideas with courage under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we can certainly raise our study of the theory of practice as criterion for testing truth to a new level where we can play a role in accomplishing the four modernizations with faster results.

9574
CSO: 4005

STRUGGLE AGAINST 'LONGING FOR EMPEROR' MENTALITY

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 7 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Shao Yanxiang [6730 3601 4382]: "One Should Never Look Forward to a 'Good Emperor'"]

[Text] Some people recently have asked: Can't we expect to have a modern monarch similar to Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty, who made his kingdom strong and prosperous and his subjects feel happy and secure?

The answer is repeatedly no.

History shows that Tang Dynasty Emperor Taizong, named Li Shimin, was known for his policy of "promoting able officials of political integrity and welcoming their frank and sincere criticism." Typical of the officials associated with Emperor Taizong was his senior official, Wei Zheng, who had a reputation for his straightforward attitude in admonishing His Majesty. Recorded history tells us that Wei Zheng admonished His Majesty on several hundred occasions in a spirit of fearing neither reprisals nor death. Nevertheless, it is also true that after listening to his admonitions, His Majesty often flew into a rage behind Wei Zheng's back or confided to those near and dear to him his pent-up dissatisfaction with Wei Zheng. On many occasions, he even thought of getting rid of Wei Zheng. As early as the first year of Zhenguan reign, or the year of his coronation, Taizong received a report from someone accusing Wei Zheng of practicing "favoritism and nepotism." But this case was shelved following a fruitless investigation. Wei Zheng died in the 17th year of Zhenguan reign. Shortly after his death, another relevant incident occurred, leading Emperor Taizong to suspect that Wei Zheng might have been behind a conspiracy to form a clique to serve his private interests. Later, Emperor Taizong posthumously criticized Wei Zheng for compiling records of "his imperial admonitions" for distribution to historiographers before his death without His Majesty's knowledge. Emperor Taizong was so mad at Wei Zheng that he retaliated by canceling the marriage between Princess Heng Shan and Wei Zheng's oldest son and overturning Wei Zheng's tombstone, which had an inscription in Emperor Taizong's handwriting. If Wei Zheng had not died in the 17th year of Zhenguan reign but a year later, what would have happened to him? Nobody could venture a guess.

It seemed that relations between Wei Zheng and His Majesty were not too sweet, because they were virtually at odds. It can be said that under the feudal system, "living with an emperor is very much like living with a tiger." Facts show that Emperor Taizong was literally not so lovely or kind as he was supposed to be. One must understand that "democracy" practiced by an emperor under the feudal system was hopeless.

Nevertheless, in Chinese history, Emperor Taizong still deserves to be called "a good monarch." But the question remains: Do we still need a modern monarch similar to Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty? I am afraid that if a monarch completely resembling Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty really comes to power, a system completely resembling feudalism will come into being; the de facto system of cadres serving for life, the hereditary system, privileges for officials at various levels, slavery, the division of the country into various autonomous states, groups of private interests, patriarchism, and nepotism will all be legalized.

For that reason, we don't need emperors, or even good emperors. During the past several years, the trouble we were in did not stem from a lack of emperors or good emperors like "Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty," but from our failure to eliminate the remnant influence of feudalism, to improve the socialist political system, and to protect the people's democracy and inner-party democracy from being undermined by feudal fascist elements. I must say that ours is a choice between genuine socialism and feudalism, between democracy and autocracy, and between rule by law and rule by man, rather than a choice between good and bad emperors.

This mentality of longing for a "good monarch to emerge" similar to "Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty" reminds us of the feudal society in which slaves who had not found masters of their choice always envied slaves who had. This mentality can be anticipated at a time when the people aspire to return order to society in the wake of that catastrophe that lasted 10 years. But if no efforts are made to overcome it, it may induce us to lower our guard against the remnant influence of feudalism and to forget the grave dangers ahead.

Does this sound too sensational? When we live in peace, we must guard against dangers. Only in this way can we look to the future with confidence.

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LI HONGZHANG'S ROLE IN SINO-JAPANESE WAR RECALLED

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Ye Zuxing [5509 4371 5281]: "The Tragedy of Li Hongzhang"]

[Text] For years, Li Hongzhang [2621 7703 4545] has been portrayed in Chinese history, dramas, and movies as a traitor.

True, during his lifetime Li Hongzhang performed many disservices and made many mistakes. Nonetheless, as a noted leader in charge of foreign affairs, he still deserves to be called a relatively far-sighted figure in the ruling circles of the Qing Dynasty.

The decades from the 1870's to the 1890's were a period of transition from capitalism to imperialism in many major Western countries. During this period, Africa and Latin America were carved up into spheres of influence, while in Asia, India, Indochina, Burma, and Thailand were reduced to colonies. China was also in danger of being chopped up by Western powers after it was forced to open its doors to foreign influence under the threat of guns, to yield territorial concessions, and to pay indemnities. In this way, it was totally humiliated. In this situation, two diametrically opposed groups emerged in the Manchu government--namely, a diehard conservative group, and a group that welcomed foreign contacts.

The first was a purely feudal political faction which was irreconcilably antagonistic to foreign influence, dreaming of "a country in total isolation from the rest of the world." It rejected all new ideas and indulged in talk about how to "protect a kingdom from the intrusion of foreign influence." It adopted a belligerent attitude toward foreign countries, thus risking war and knuckling under to foreign pressure.

The other was a political faction associated with the feudal warlords. It strongly supported a program to import Western technology in order to make China economically and militarily strong. Li Hongzhang belonged to this group. He said that importing Western technology could help build China into a strong and independent country. On one occasion, in which he criticized the diehard conservative group for chanting empty slogans, he said: "Foreigners respect only military power instead of plausible speeches. We cannot talk them into withdrawing their troops if they want to threaten us with the use of military force." ("Proposal for Strengthening Coastal Defense") He told his colleagues: "The time has come for us to talk about things foreign. I know you all hate to talk about that. If I shut my mouth as you do, will it place our kingdom in danger of subjugation? With China growing weaker and weaker with each passing day, the foreigners are becoming more arrogant than ever. Who should be blamed for this? It is still not too late to do something to turn the tide by building the kingdom into a strong and independent power respected by others. If we refuse to do so, we will face an uncertain future."

From 1862 to 1894, Li Hongzhang frequently drew fire for doing just that, as a man at the helm of China's foreign affairs. When Empress Dowager Ci Xi, who did not trust Li Hongzhang much, tried to pit the diehard conservative group against his group, he angrily said: "You are all shortsighted, because you discuss affairs of state without perspective. Just to go on talking glibly without any action will only do our country harm. Your behavior reminds me of the downfall of the previous Ming Dynasty. Who would really pay attention to your ineffectual talk?"

After becoming disenchanted with the Dowager, Li Hongzhang hoped that Emperor Guang Shu, as soon as he became old enough to take control of the throne, would be able to support his proposal to increase contact with foreign countries. Unexpectedly, the emperor's Chinese-language teacher, Weng Tonghe [5040 0681 0735], was an ossified scholar interested only in keeping foreign influence out of China and therefore was unwilling to support Li Hongzhang's movement for improving foreign relations. The dispute between Weng Tonghe and Li Hongzhang surfaced in 1890 when the former urged the Manchu government to cancel the contract for the purchase of weapons from abroad for the North China Fleet and South China Fleet.

In the face of Japan's military provocations in 1894, the Manchu government was divided into the hawk and dove groups. The hawk group, led by Emperor Guang Shu, was not basked by any of the armed forces, and therefore it pinned its hopes solely on Li Hongzhang for support. Believing that he could use his crafty skills to turn the contradictions among the imperialist countries to China's advantage, he eventually shifted his position over to the side of the Dowager, trying to induce foreign powers to intervene in the dispute between China and Japan so as to avoid an armed confrontation in the Asian continent. Finally, Li Hongzhang was sent to sign the Shimonoseki Treaty by the then corrupt and divided Manchu government after China was defeated in the war with Japan. During that war, Japan, with the connivance of other imperialist countries, sank all the warships under the command of the North China Fleet. Li Hongzhang began as the founder of the modernization movement for national salvation, but he ended up being accused of being a traitor to his country.

As far as Li Hongzhang was concerned, this was a tragedy. The signing of the aforementioned treaty, a disgrace and humiliation to China, put an end to the modernization movement. This was another tragedy in the history of the feudal system under the threat of foreign powers to carve China up into colonies. This fact proves that the modernization movement was bound to collapse under the strong pressure of the influential feudal forces under the control of the Manchu government.

9574
CSO: 4005

RIGHT TO 'DISCUSS EMPEROR' SHOULD BE RESPECTED

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Liao Mosha [1675 3106 3097]: "It Is Good To Talk About the Emperor"]

[Text] I regard BEIJING WANBAO's decision 2 months ago to open its "Hundred Schools of Thought" column to a discussion on the "emperor" as a big event that deserves our great attention. Were this openly discussed by anyone some years ago, everyone could imagine what misfortune he could expect.

Opening the "emperor" to public discussion signals real changes in our country and good days ahead. It can be said that we are now ushering in a splendid new era marked by stability and unity. Should and can we subject the emperor to discussion?

Is the emperor worthy of discussion long after he was overthrown by us? Does anything that has ceased to exist in our country still merit discussion?

As a matter of fact, the monarchy as a system was abolished 69 years ago. Despite this fact, its specter in the form of "patriarchy," "system of grades," "rule by the voice of one man alone," "feudal privileges," "arbitrary dictation," and "bureaucracy" still haunt us today. Although they are not necessarily visible, nor can they be touched by us, their influence among the people remains evident. Since the specter of the "emperor" still haunts us, it really merits our thorough discussion.

Yet, whether or not we can subject the emperor to discussion is another matter.

When I was born, the country was still under the control of the Manchu emperor. As far as I know, during the long period from the Qing Dynasty to the "Nationalist government," no one dared to openly discuss the emperor (although the people might talk about him in private). If anyone dared to do so, he might risk being executed or jailed. It goes without saying that people were prohibited from discussing the emperor during the Qing Dynasty. Although the title of emperor no longer existed during the days of the Nationalist government, the ban against discussing him was not lifted. Anyone who wanted to discuss him often ended in disgrace. I can still remember a case of literary persecution that occurred in the 1930's, on the eve of the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan. This case arose from the publication of an article entitled "A Talk About the Emperor" in the XINSHENG weekly whose chief editor was Du Zhongyuan [2629 6850 6678]. After this article was published, Du Zhongyuan was sentenced to prison and his weekly was forced to close down. What was funny was that that article dealt with only foreign instead of domestic emperors. In other words, even a discussion of foreign monarchs was taboo these days. Have the people subjected the emperor to public discussion since nationwide liberation and the completion of the land reform which spells an end to the feudal system?

Since liberation, criticism of emperors seems justified. During the 1950's, this ancient proverb: "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor" suddenly became widespread in our country, thus emboldening the people not only to criticize but also to unhorse the emperor. In other words, the ban against discussing the emperor was lifted. But what was the consequence of lifting this ban?

During the 1960's, an article by Comrade Wu Han [0702 2498] entitled "Hai Rui Admonishes the Emperor" cost him not only his job but also his life. This memory remains fresh to us today.

In the 1970's there were also storms caused by the debate over the emperor. During the days of evaluating the Legalists and criticizing Confusius, Qin Shihuang, founding emperor of the Qin Dynasty, who lived only 2,000 years ago, was praised as the "representative of the Legalists." An old historian was severely repudiated for criticizing Qin Shihuang several decades ago. He also received a warning against criticizing that emperor again in the future. In the 1970's, the self-styled "heavenly sacred empress" Wu Zetian, who was the concubine of two successive emperors of the Tang Dynasty before usurping the throne, was venerated as "a great Legalist" in Chinese history. At that time, no one dared to touch her story. If anyone did, he would be condemned.

This fact has led me to conclude that in the past, any debate over the merits of the emperor was a taboo that might cost its participants their lives. Emperors, no matter whether living or dead, ancient or modern, could not be freely discussed. If anyone insisted on doing so, he might risk angering heaven.

Now gone are the days in which the emperor could not be a subject for discussion. Although some time ago there was a polemic caused by an article entitled "'Chant the Virtue' and 'Lack the Virtue,'" that was only "a wave in a small lake" (from Lu Xun's poem). Gone forever is the emperor's original awesome prestige in the people's minds.

Now the following two remaining questions should be answered: How should we evaluate the emperor? Can we subject emperors to discussion, no matter whether they are living or dead, good or bad, ancient or modern, and domestic or foreign? In my opinion, everyone should feel free to discuss them, no matter whether they are living or dead, good or bad, ancient or modern, domestic or foreign, and great or small. No restrictions are necessary in this field. Those who participate in such discussions are urged not to act like emperors and not to prevent others from discussing their merits and demerits. Everyone should have the right to freedom of speech in this field. Democracy should be regarded as a free-for-all practice.

9574
CSO: 4005

OFFICIALS CAUTIONED NOT TO OPPOSE CRITICISM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 80 p 8

[Article by Jie Si [6043 1835]: "Do Not Use Only One of Your Two Ears"]

[Text] There were such incidents: In any office, if somebody made complaints or suggestions to the leadership by pointing out the shortcomings of the leadership, it would be taken as a serious case of disrepsect, bringing shame on the leadership. Then some people would become indignant on behalf of the leadership and would ask the leadership "to teach him a lesson."

However, there was another regular pattern of events: When the staff members of an office had the courage to make suggestions and complaints, and the leadership accepted them and paid serious attention to them, unquestionably all the comrades of this office were easy in their minds and full of vitality, worked with one heart, and achieved outstanding results.

Fundamentally this is elementary commonsense; however, after the 10 years of turmoil, it becomes vague and confused. It goes without saying that when somebody in an office makes complaints and suggestions, it should be an honor for the leadership of this office, and a very good thing which the leadership could wish for. There is no need "to teach him a lesson." On the contrary, such a thing should be encouraged.

In history, all capable statemen understood the importance of "pooling the wisdom of the masses" and collecting a "brain trust," and they understood the truth that "it is more difficult to silence people's voices than to dam a river." In the past, those feudal emperors and kings who tried to make some achievements for their cause and consolidate their rule, and who also actually played a progressive role, always received outspoken persons as the honorable guests. They not only never taught these persons "a lesson," but instead gave them due respect and favors. For instance, the founder and first Emperor Gao Zu and emperors Wen and Guangwu of the Han Dynasty and Emperor Tai Zong of the Tang Dynasty all knew very well the truth that "when the monarch is just and virtuous, his ministers will be honest." They truly listened to others' opinions, adapted themselves to historical trends, and achieved "peace and order over long periods."

Of course, a simple analogy will always unavoidably have its shortcomings. However, whatever one may say, some of our comrades who hold leading posts are members of the Communist Party and cannot be compared with the feudal emperors and kings. Nevertheless, some of them will imediately knit their brows on hearing complaints and will immediately flare up when people lodge complaints against them with their superiors. True, it is more than "bringing shame" on themselves. The emperors and kings stood for the landlords, naturally sucked the blood of the peasants, and held the people completely in their power. It was of no concern to them whether or not they would like to be "virtuous monarchs." We are the public servants of the working people. Is there anything more normal than listening to the voices of the masters? It is said repeatedly that the people are the masters of the nation; however, when the masters have made some comments and complaints, the public servants have tried to teach them a lesson. I am afraid that people cannot help but think that these public servants have the old ideas of feudal officials and try to make themselves the "parents of the people."

While writing my article, I recalled a story in this connection: In 1942, when a rectificcation campaign was launched in Yan'an, the so-called "theorist" Kang Sheng, a member of the Central Study Committee, ran counter to the spirit of rectification launched by the central authorities, carried out a "rescue movement," labeled young people who came to Yan'an from areas under the control of the Nationalists and areas occupied by the Japanese as "spies" and "members of the Red Flag Party" and attacked them and put them in prison. In spite of the fact that the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao very quickly found out and corrected this mistake, many comrades still suffered mentally. During the Spring Festival in 1945, comrades of the Third Bureau of the Central Military Commission came to Zaoyuan to wish Chairman Mao a Happy New Year. Chairman Mao told them: "Comrades, we are here to greet those comrades who have been wronged and to offer them our apoligies." This incident touched all of them deeply. However, our comrades in some officies have always considered themselves the "head" of their office, anyhow. When somebody would point out their mistakes, which might be of little significance, they were very pleased with the suggestion "to teach him a lesson," and intended to take some action. By doing this, they have truly brought shame on themselves and have done harm to our cause. Some people criticized those comrades who could not accept criticism and had no courage to admit their mistakes, saying they were using "only one of their two ears." In my opinion, it is better to use "both of one's ears."

9039
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

JEALOUSY AMONG CADRES CALLED DESPICABLE TRAIT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 80 p 8

[Article by Mi Bohua [4717 0590 5478]: "A Word of Advice to the 'Hatchetmen'"]

[Text] Recently, Hua Junwu [5478 0689 2976] drew a cartoon, "Cut Down the Pick of the Bunch," which was pregnant with meaning. You can see how detestable is the image of that guy holding a sharp sword in his hand in search of victims, and how many new sprouts just emerging out of the ground have been cut down by such hatchetmen. In ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO [CHINA YOUTH NEWS], a report "Why the Two Nice Girls Took the Road to Ruin" probably also deals with such a case. There might be many reasons for the two girls to have committed suicide; however, in the final analysis, the most important reason was that they were chosen as exemplary persons, rising head and shoulders above others, and standing out among their fellows. Therefore, they became victims of nitpicks and pressure from those surrounding them.

In our country, it has been always the habit to worship the "golden mean" and to hope to find the "state of no difference." Causing no offense to anybody is, of course, not entirely a bad thing. Unfortunately, it is exceedingly sad that this kind of mentality has become a rigid way of thinking. If somebody is keen in innovation and begins to show ability or talent, immediately he will incur the meticulous scrutiny of acrimonious critics. One question after another, countless nitpicks, and more countless accusations will force you to willingly withdraw and live in seclusion, feeling crestfallen, before they finally give up. Picking holes in one's pocket may be a very satisfying and relaxing job. Without mentioning the common people, even for such a "sage" as Confucius, his pupil Yan Hui could still find a few faults with him! Let alone the "small persons," indeed it is difficult for them to survive this "operation." I think that in the present world, the fewer critics to cut down sprouts the better. What worries me is that there can't be thousands of top talents like sprouts breaking through the soil.

In all fairness, though these superficial critics are lamentable, they still do not belong to the vicious kind. The vicious ones are those hatchetmen who are addicted to cutting down the pick of the bunch. By "being addicted" I mean a kind of low and mean feeling--jealousy. One shows a kind and pleasant countenance toward people below but cannot help feeling aching in the head and knitting one's brows toward people above. There is nothing for it but to brandish and axe and chop right and left. In Tianjin, a worker who is a sparetime writer wrote a few stories and won praise from his readers. Then, some people began to raise objections. They tried to trace the background of his stories and made unwarranted accusations, as if they could not wait to vent their hatred until this new talent was destroyed. As regards qualifications, these sprout-killers truly have no talent nor any ability. Because they have no ability and watch others frequently achieve success, they somehow are enraged. At this point of my explanation, I must call to mind the historical figure Cao Mengde. According to history, he cherished talent and yearned for able and virtuous persons. However, when he found that Yang Xiu was more talented than he was, he could not help thinking about killing this man. In this respect, Kong Ming was of a higher caliber. Together with Pang Tong, they were like "a sleeping dragon and a young phoenix" with equal virtues. Kong Ming received Pang Tong with great respect and worked together for the same cuase. Such magnanimity was truly rare and precious. Therefore, I truly wish to give a word of advice to the hatchetmen who, out of their jealous nature, are addicted to cutting down sprouts: it is better to widen your field of vision and, for the sake of the four modernizations, do as much good work as possible; otherwise: "When you have frequently done injustice to others, you'll end up killing yourself!" If you don't believe me, you just try it and see!

At present, the work of the four modernizations has just begun. How eagerly the fronts of culture, education, and science need a large number of top talents! "It takes 10 years to grow trees, but 100 years to train people." It's easy to destroy the forests, but difficult to build them! For the same reason, top talented persons are all the more precious, and hatchetmen are all the more despicable.

9039
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

NPC'S CALL FOR REFORMS ENTHUSIASTICALLY RECEIVED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 80 p 1

[Article by Commentator: "Implemert the Guidelines of the NPC and Be Promoters of Reform"]

[Text] The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, victoriously closed recently, was an important meeting of decisive nature in our history. At the meeting, some reforms were carried out, some major decisions were made, several important laws were promulgated, and major tasks were proposed to governments at all levels and to the people of the whole nation. The guidelines of this meeting will have a tremendous impact on political and economic life in our nation for quite a while.

Reviewed and approved by the meeting, Comrade Hua Kuofeng's important speech proposed a series of tasks and requirements for reform of national systems and economic management organizations, in which, he profoundly pointed out, there are serious shortcomings and irregularities. These include rigidly controlling the workers' enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity, affecting the development of the superiority of the socialist system, accelerating the growth of bureaucratism, and obstructing the progress of construction of the four modernizations. This reminds us that for a certain period of time, the reform tasks we are confronted with are relatively heavy and very urgent. In order to implement the guidelines of the National People's Congress, it is necessary to carry out thoroughly the party's political line and to execute smoothly the construction of the four modernizations, so as to recognize the necessity for reform, to establish a sense of urgency about reform, and to act self-consciously as promoters of reform.

In discussing cultural reform, [the famous writer] Lu Xun said: It "is the same as the flow of the Changjiang and other big rivers that cannot be stopped. If it is stopped, it will become dead water. It will deteriorate and may even dry up." The reform of our nation's management systems and economic management organizations is also a matter of general trends and of public attitude. In going with the trends, this National People's Congress has moved a joyful step forward in reform. The leading members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and of the State Council have made some readjustments, thus taking the lead and setting personal examples in washing away the cadres' life [service] system, which has the quality of feudalism. Also, there were a series of reforms in the style of the congress. This showed that the nation's leading institutions are determined to stand on solid ground to make reforms so as to lead the people of the whole nation to attain a new situation in which there is a booming growth in socialist modernization construction. The people of our province [Shandong] enthusiastically support this strategic decision.

At previous times, reforms in our province's economic management organizations made progress at first, and the work of various levels of government also was improved and strengthened. As seen from the actual conditions at various levels and various fronts in our province, however, it has to be pointed out that the shortcomings and irregularities in our economic management organizations and national management system and the necessity for reform are not recognized by all cadres. We should say that there are many comrades who are accustomed to certain shortcomings and irregularities in the economic and political sectors, and that many of those are still sticklers for ancient ways and things and are not interested in reform. For instance, some bureaucratic phenomena still seriously exist among leading personnel at all levels. Some people still consider themselves to be higher-ups, abuse their authority, are divorced from reality, are separated from the masses, are rigid in their thinking, and follow stereotyped routines. In many institutions, it is readily found that the organizations are swollen, that there are too many people with little to do, that people pull and drag in doing their work, and that there is no efficiency at all. In our economic sector, it is more readily found that there is too much command or too rigid command, there is exclusive dealership, people draw boundaries to separate themselves from others, people undertake to boycott one another, etc. Certainly, the formation of these troubles is mainly because of the system, but there are also complicated historical and social causes. There is no covering up the fact that either in the nation's leading system or in economic management organizations, there still exist to varying degrees the residual effects of Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and the feudalism of the past several thousand years. In our economic management, for instance, we have the problems of self-sufficiency, self-made organizations, large and complete and small and complete, and also the remnants of the Soviet economic model of the 1950's. We have both the evil effects of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who pushed to the extreme left, and the influence of such distribution relationships as the "ration system," "eating out of the big common pot," etc., of the military communism during the war years. No correct reform suitable to actual needs has been made in certain systems and measures formed from these two aspects, with the result that many systems and measures with obvious shortcomings and irregularities are considered by some comrades to be legal or even to be maxims that cannot be touched. Therefore, whenever reform is suggested, these comrades will try to hamper things by trotting out old traditions and rules. Even certain reforms which are permitted by the guiding principles and policies of the central government and are within their own authority have not been carried out enthusiastically. Certain policies and stipulations which might be modified have also been kept within the utmost limit one can go according to the old traditions. In case something happens whenever a reform is made, they will be readily astonished and apply the brakes quickly. Just as Lu Xian pointed out: "They will have nothing to do with what has already been proven a mistake; they have no intention of reforming, but take steps only to prevent trouble from happening. 'New mistakes' are not allowed, but 'old mistakes' are protected. How ridiculous it is!" Such comrades might go along with this type of rigid thinking, but we hope that they will readily understand dialectical materialism. All things in the world are growing and changing, and there is nothing at all that does not change a bit. In order that our recognition can correctly reflect objective matters, it is necessary to change with changing conditions. Now that history has developed, now that objective things have been improving, and now that we are going in for the four modernizations, how could the old organizations, systems, and measures inherited from the 1950's not be reformed?

In his speech at the Third Session of the National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Kuofeng requested: "Working personnel of governments at all levels, and especially leadership personnel, must further liberate their thinking, earnestly work together with the majority of the masses of people, and both be ever ready for innovation and be discreet in doing things on the basis of investigation and study and of mutual fruitful discussion, thus continuing to advance the reform of economic organizations and attaining a new situation in which there is a booming growth in socialist modernization construction." He also pointed out that the shortcoming of bureaucratism is not an incurable sickness. Only if we uphold the basic theory of Marxism and rely on the vast majority of the masses will it be possible for us to overcome bureaucratic shortcomings and make socialism really a system full of vitality. Our immediate concern at present is to study the documents of the National People's Congress in earnest and not in form, to understand intensively the spirit of reform realized by the documents and by the congress itself, not to be afraid of difficulties, to be ever ready for innovations, to stand on solid ground, and to be discreet in doing things, thereby striving for the new victory of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation, and improvement.

9503
CSO: 4005

SHEYANG COMMUNE MAKES PROPER ARRANGEMENTS FOR LIVELIHOOD OF VETERAN CADRES

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 80 p 4

["Party Life" page article by Jin Xikui [6855 1585 1145]: "Sheyang Commune Makes Proper Arrangements for Livelihood of Basic Level Veteran Cadres"]

[Text] The Sheyang Commune in Jinhua County has taken some weak and elderly veteran cadres who are still fit for leadership work and arranged for them either to work in different commune-run enterprises or to be paid supplemental living expenses. This has brought about a guaranteed basic livelihood for these basic level veteran cadres, and created conditions for realization of a younger age group among basic level leadership teams.

Sheyang Commune, located in the mountainous region, originally had production brigade first-class leading backbone cadres whose ages were fairly advanced. Some were weak and elderly and were no longer up to doing construction work in the mountains. But if these veteran backbone cadres were allowed to step down from their leadership posts, they would lose the subsidiary work points that they once had, and would have trouble at home with regard to their livelihood. The commune party committee found that when four basic level veteran cadres were assigned to commune-run enterprises, they gave their all in their labors. Another three who were over age 60 were given 10 yuan in living allowance each month by the production brigade commander; these expenses were paid from welfare funds extracted from profits made by commune-run enterprises for handing over to higher authorities. After these measures were put into effect, the veteran cadres willingly "gave up their posts," thus creating a condition for young and middle-aged cadres to give full play to their talents.

9420
CSO: 4005

THOUGHTS EXPRESSED ON 'CLEAN-WATER RULING OFFICE'

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 80 p 4

["Party Life" page article by Zhi Fang [1807 5364]: "Thoughts on a Clean-water Executive Office"]

[Text] Recently, a friend brought up this matter: not long ago, he was transferred to work at the party's discipline inspection department. This subsequently elicited comments from several comrades who said that that (department)'s just a "clean-water executive office"--there are no "profits" there. They only grow "thorns" and don't cultivate any "flowers." Furthermore, even his wife said that this is singing the role of "redface," and people will be easily offended [in Beijing opera, redface denotes heroism and honesty; here it is extended to mean "holier-than-thou" or "goody-goody"]. Hearing this, I became quite uneasy and decided that there was a necessity for me to join in this ongoing discussion.

The party's discipline inspection committees at all levels were re-formed as a result of a decision made by the party's Third Plenary Session subsequent to the smashing of the "gang of four." It is a major department in the building of the party; it will rectify the party style, and was eagerly awaited by everyone. Obviously, to work in this type of department one has to keep oneself upright within the law, be strictly disciplined, not be in pursuit of any personal gain whatever, and there are no "profits" to be had. If the comrades who take care of discipline inspection affairs are not personally honest and law-abiding, how can they go educate other party members and cadres in improving the party style? If discipline committees at all levels rectify their own style of work and furthermore actively help the party committees in rectifying the party style, I ask you: what harm can there be in such a "clean-water executive office"? Isn't this precisely what the party and the people ardently desired? If our party and government organs at all levels would be turned into "clean-water executive offices" which are honest in performance of official duties, then the prestige of our party would without a doubt be heightened, and there would be great hope for the four modernizations.

Do the discipline inspection departments "only grow thorns and not cultivate flowers"? Not necessarily. The party's Central Committee ruled that the mission of the discipline committees at all levels is: to protect party regulations and laws, to protect the rights of party members, to bring into play the revolutionary enthusiasm and work initiative of the party membership, to struggle against all adverse tendencies which violate party discipline or damage the fine traditions of the party, to help party committees at all levels to improve the party style in earnest, and to guarantee the implementation and carrying out of the party's political and ideological lines. How can protecting the rights of the party membership and bringing into play the zeal of the party membership be "growing thorns"? How can improving the party style, and curing the wounds inflicted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the body of the party be "growing thorns"? To be sure, the discipline inspection departments wish to investigate and make disposition of violations of party rules and laws and a small number of party members and cadres who damage the interests of the people, however, to make disposition is to be exact, to educate and to save those comrades who make mistakes. It is just like doctors and nurses treating their patients. Who could say that the work of a doctor or nurse was "growing thorns"? Isn't it "cultivating flowers"? If discipline committees at all levels didn't intervene in the case of violations of laws and discipline and unhealthy tendencies, and didn't straighten up and "exorcise the demons," but adopt an excessively lenient attitude, then inevitably many who commit offenses against law and discipline would be indulged, evil winds and noxious influences would be encouraged, and the building of the party and projects for the four modernizations would be damaged. If the phrase "growing thorns" is to be uttered, then, as they pertain to the cause of socialism, these are truly cases of "growing thorns."

As for "singing the redface role, it is easy to offend people": this depends on your particular understanding. The discipline inspection program defined by the central discipline committee puts prevention first, with emphasis on education. Only if a party member or cadre violates party rules or laws, fails to reform after education, and conceals his faults for fear of criticism, is party discipline enforced. However, discipline inspection work is that which persuades people to be better and teaches people to observe discipline and abide by the law. At the same time, specific analysis should be made of "singing the redface role." With regard to behavior which violates law and discipline and harms the interests of the party and the people, we must not practice favoritism, must be upright and never stoop to flattery, and must dare to "unmask their faces" and energetically launch the struggle. If because of fear of offending people one doesn't "sing the redface role," even if the "faces" of a small number of people are temporarily saved, the interests of the great majority of the people could nevertheless be harmed; moreover, as a result of this, evil winds and noxious influences could prevail unhampered, become widespread and adversely affect the cause of our party. As regards the discipline inspection departments, this without a doubt would be dereliction of duty, and would be a crime against the party and the people.

9420
CSO: 4005

YOUNG PEOPLE NEED UNDERSTANDING, GUIDANCE

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Tan Taotao [6223 3325 3325]: "Let's Take the Survey of the Thinking of Young Workers in a Factory as a Talking Point"]

[Text] How should we treat and evaluate the younger generation of today? How should we go about educating them? These are pressing and acute problems with which we have to deal in a scientific manner in our work of shaping their political thought. A report carried today by GUANGMING RIBAO about a survey on the thinking of the young workers in a factory in Beijing furnishes a valuable reference point. It is most enlightening, insofar as our work in shaping the political thought of the young in the present-day situation is concerned.

At the mention of young people, some comrades tend to develop a headache and to throw up their hands in despair. Although some comrades pay lipservice to the mainstream of members of the younger generation, the subject conjures up in their minds pictures of unruliness, grotesquerie, bravado, and rowdyism. Others come right out and equate the younger generation with "the lost generation" or "the disappointing generation." In our opinion, that point of view is a gross distortion of the true picture of the younger generation of today. The survey conducted in a factory in Beijing offers irrefutable proof that the majority of young people are deeply concerned about the future of the nation. They are impatient for progress, dedicated to the study of science and culture, and filled with confidence in and hope for the implementation of the four modernizations. In the yearend competitive evaluation of workers last year, young progressive workers constituted almost half of the entire number of progressive workers in the factory! It is safe to assume that this also holds true for the entire nation. In the past few years, the majority of young people throughout the nation took an active role in the rectification campaign against Lin Biao and "the gang of four" and enlisted in the construction projects of the four modernizations. More and more young people have been named progressive workers, commandos in the new long march, and "8 March" Red Flag carriers. They have exerted an increasing influence in the various campaigns. If, instead of closing our eyes and indulging in generalizations, we would only make a serious study of the overall situation, we could not help coming to the conclusion that the mainstream of the young is headed in the right direction, that it is positive and progressive, and that instead of being a "lost generation" or a "disappointing generation," it is a thinking generation and a most promising generation!

It cannot be denied that there are those among the young who are dispirited and whose behavior leaves a lot to be desired. Their crime rate is a cause for alarm. However, we should ask what makes these young people take the wrong turn. Our opinion is that, aside from their own immaturity and the effects of the class struggle that still continues in society, the 10-year period of unrest caused them to take the wrong turn by pointing the wrong way and destroyed the beautiful vision in their minds. It would help us to better understand this younger generation if we would look back on what they went through physically and emotionally. Without giving the matter much thought, they answered the call from above to participate in the "Great Cultural Revolution," in the mistaken belief that they could create a brave new world colored in red with one stroke. What resulted, instead, was one havoc after another. The national economy was pushed to the brink of disaster, and spiritual life was left in a state of acute starvation! Harking to orders from the authorities, they put on their backpacks and marched forward at full speed to take on "the whole wide world," fully determined to bring about a miracle here on Earth. What they learned instead was the harsh fact that, in order to survive, they had to ask their parents in the city to send them money to buy food and clothes! It had originally been their belief that whatever the designated heir-apparent had put into the Party Constitution would be a foolproof guarantee that it would assuredly usher in a new era of happiness. How were they to know that, with the outbreak of the "13 September" incident, the "ever-hale deputy commander in chief" would expose himself as a traitor for whom death was too good a retribution? It had been their hope that with the heralded passage of the "jurisdiction limiting the privileges of the bourgeoisie," there would be unprecedented equality and harmony among the people. The stark reality was that, in order to get anything done, one had to latch onto a sponsor and pull strings. During the 10-year period, when the air was filled with "big talk" never previously heard, one would see, whichever direction one turned, intrigue, chiseling, degradation, affliction, and indiscriminate slaughter. Because of that, many innocent young people, who had so little knowledge of the ways of the world, were so shaken by the assault on their ideals, and the future looked so grim, that, spiritually depleted, they became cynical and took the wrong path. Except for the incorrigible habitual criminal elements (adults not excepted), young people who lost their footing were all victims of that historical period, and we would be wrong to judge them too harshly. If even veteran cadres are permitted to make amends for their errors, how can we withhold pardon from those young people who have inadvertently taken the wrong turn? They knew they had gone wrong before they had gone very far, and they know now what they had not known before. There is ample evidence that they are ready to atone for their wrongdoings, that they are full of promise, and that they are members of an endearing generation.

Needless to say, the mental attitude of the present-day younger generation is, generally speaking, very much different from that of the young people in the early period of the establishment of the republic. That is because of the great differences in their environment, in their upbringing, and in the problems with which they have to deal. For example, unlike the younger generation today, the young people at the time of the establishment of the republic were keenly aware of the contrast between the new and the old social order. What the young people at the time of the establishment of the republic saw was unprecedented social stability and prosperity, whereas all that members of the present-day younger generation have seen since their early years were unrest and devastation. Members of the younger generation at the time of the establishment of the republic had an easier adulthood. They derived greater satisfaction from their jobs and their lives, whereas most members of the younger generation today have been through one ordeal after another. Even today, they are faced with many problems in getting into a school, finding a job, starting a family, and making ends meet. At the same time, with the development of science and technology and an end to the period of isolation, their eyes are open wide and their spiritual and material needs have escalated. That being the case, members of the younger generation today have to occupy their minds with problems that did not enter into the minds of young people in the 1950's. Unless we bear in mind the actual existing circumstances in analyzing the thinking process of young people today, and desist from telling them "that's the way we went about doing things in the good old days," we cannot hope to become their mentors and friends.

The discussion on "What is the meaning of life?" sponsored by ZHONGGUO QINGNIEN created a big stir because, from a certain standpoint, it was able to touch upon a number of common searching problems in the minds of the young and because it dealt with facts and straight talk. What best characterizes the younger generation today is their continual mulling over of problems and ceaseless searching for answers with an admixture of agony and elation and composure and heatedness. That, in short, is their fortune and misfortune, their trial and their special glory, the result of the wounds they sustained and the prelude to their emergence in a new era. If we cannot understand this, then we cannot understand the younger generation of today and their way of thinking, and there can be no common language between us.

On the basis of the above analysis, it is not difficult to see that, to greatly heighten the will of the young people to engage in the struggle for the socialist cause of the nation, it is no longer sufficient to resort to leftist methods in shaping their political thought (that would only have the opposite effect). It is, likewise, inadvisable to revert to practices that prevailed in the initial period following the establishment of the republic. The new situation calls for new measures and creative efforts. Otherwise, we will be out of tune with the objective circumstances and we will have no claim to being scientific.

First of all, in shaping the political thought of the young, we should no longer resort to the method of launching campaigns and "philosophical struggles." Rather, we should correctly grasp the main trend of young people and use every means to inspire in them a sense of self-respect and a desire for self-betterment so as to boost their capacity for positive action and to release their latent potential. We must put ourselves in their place and show concern over their personal interests and ideals. We should act as one in helping to solve their problems in production, in their work, in their education, and in their personal lives. We should, with patience and with an eye to the smallest details, offer them inspiration and guidance, widen their outlook in the area of thought, and heighten their confidence in the future.

We should offer young people today education in the history of social development, the inevitable global victory of socialism and communism, the basic theories of Marxism, and the line, principles, and policies of the party. We would be remiss in our duties if we failed to take on this task in a courageous manner. However, the temper of the present-day younger generation is such that, in shaping their political thought, we cannot simply foist upon them abstract, readymade, cut-and-dried dictums. On certain major issues, including that involving the four basic principles, it does not serve any useful purpose to cite what has been written in books or to quote from lecture notes. Rather, we must keep close touch with reality and offer new proofs and explanations on the basis of new practices. For example, in making young people understand the basic nature of capitalism and socialism, it carries little conviction if we merely cite materials produced in the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century without analyzing the present state of the capitalist world. In extolling the virtues of socialism, if we confine ourselves to mouthing the words "socialism is good, socialism is good" instead of analyzing correctly and in depth the many new problems that have arisen, we are not likely to be listened to with interest. We should encourage the young people to show initiative in posing questions and in studying new problems. We should help them to arrive at the truth through their own thinking and personal experience. We must not panic and try to head them off the moment they raise a new problem. (Reison), the well-known German drama critic of the 19th century, said it well when he said that if God presented him truth as a gift, he would not accept it, as he would rather rely on his own efforts to find it. It is only when we arrive at the truth through our own efforts that we can stand firm in our conviction and summon forth the desire and determination to struggle for the truth.

In view of the kind of adulthood that members of the younger generation passed through, and the afflictions visited upon them during the 10-year period of unrest, we must temper our instructions with a degree of tolerance when we go about shaping their political thought, especially when we are dealing with young people who have gone astray or who have made a slip. It makes a great deal of difference in our efforts to shape their political thought whether we show them love or repugnance and whether we think of them as a heartache or a headache. Our efforts will come to nought if we discriminate against them and take on the role of a schoolmaster in censuring them. That will only serve to deprive them of their self-respect and to goad them to further wrongdoing. It is only when we emulate Wang Shengchuan [3769 0524 1557], principal of the school for worker-students in the western district of Beijing, who tried to make the younger generation see the light and to motivate them with understanding by showering upon them profound love and affection, that we can help them summon up the courage to make a fresh start, shore up their confidence in the future, and turn their melancholy into hopeful expectancy and their negative attitude into a feeling of pride.

How one copes in society depends on the way one looks at society. That is especially true insofar as the younger generation is concerned. There is a close interrelationship between pattern of thought and realities of life in society. A mental edifice must be shored up by something tangible. In other words, in order to remove their doubts completely and to set their minds at ease, and thus to greatly bolster their determination to engage in the struggle for the socialist cause of the nation, we must hunker down and proceed with the actual work that needs to be done on the various battlefronts and achieve better and better results in the many socialist projects. For this reason, it is not sufficient that we seek to eradicate speedily the poisonous vestiges left behind by Lin Biao and "the gang of four" and to correct the ills of the aftermath of the rampage by the ultraleftists. We must also eradicate all feudalistic ways of thinking and their lingering effects, continue to rectify all capitalistic thought, upgrade the party style and social practices, and make a quantum jump in the rate of efficiency in whatever we do, so as to provide an impetus to the younger generation in all their everyday endeavors and make them aware of the powerful life force of the socialist system and its immense superiority. We must not issue rubber checks or make blanket promises. Rather, we must honor our words and put our plans into action in order to shore up the confidence of the young in the advent of a bright tomorrow. From this standpoint, the best we can do in shaping the political thought of the young is to do a good job of the four modernizations.

If we firmly adhere to the ideological, political, and organizational lines set by the party, dispense rewards and punishments impartially, pursue the task of the nation with determination and dedication, fearlessly remove all impediments and obstacles just the way the State Council sternly dealt with the "Bohai 2" incident, and lend impetus to the progress of the four modernizations, there is not the slightest doubt that we can effectively motivate the younger generation to forge ahead and raise their positive attitude to unprecedented heights in the struggle for the future of socialism in China.

9621
CSO: 4005

SOFTNESS TOWARD VIOLATORS OF LAW, DISCIPLINE DEPLORED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 80 p 4

["Party Life" page article by Mao Bangzi [3029 6721 2737], Mao Shaoqin [3029 4801 2953] and Chai Changcang [2693 2490 0221]: "Elements Violating Law and Discipline Cannot Be Shown Softheartedness"]

[Text] With regard to us comrades who carry out discipline inspection work, if the "norms" are to be implemented and carried through successfully, a very important item is the adherence to the principles of party spirit while enforcing party discipline and handling cases impartially. When a person or act in violation of the "norms" is encountered, we definitely must "dare to struggle" and absolutely must not dodge conflict or be ambiguous. Otherwise, if their is ambiguity above, there will be carelessness below, and not only will a person who violates party discipline not receive timely education and disposition, but a case of "rotten sweet potatoes stinking up the kiln" could occur and foul the whole general mood. We have profound knowledge of this point. It is remembered that in July of last year, when our committee had not been established very long, a letter was received from the masses which exposed a commune party committee member who had infringed on human rights, violated law and discipline, wantonly conducted searches of commune members' residences, and through abominable means had injured a female commune member of the village. At that time, our committee paid utmost attention to this case, immediately dispatching a person to investigate and verify the facts and to convene a succession of various kinds of meetings on the spot to acquire conclusive proof pertinent to any errors committed by this party committee member. However, just as we were about to deliberate disposition of the case, we received in succession several so-called "letters from the people" speaking in defense of this party committee member. Several people also came forth from among the cadres to speak in his behalf, and this all caused us some difficulty.

The barriers against adhering to principle in meting out disposition were fairly great, and several people would be offended; if disposition was not made, party discipline would not allow it and the masses would not stand for it.

We deliberated it from every angle, and withheld a decision over a period of time which stretched out to a year. When this party committee member noted that people were speaking on his behalf, and that the attitude up above was ambiguous, his nerve grew stronger and stronger, and not only did he fail to perform a serious investigation into all of the mistakes he had committed, but he also threatened those who knew the facts of the case, and prevented them from reporting on the situation, to the extent that he incited the masses, who were ignorant of the facts, to besiege the investigative personnel. The masses had many opinions regarding this matter, and said that we were "hard in our talk and soft in the heart."

Along with our going deep into the study of the "norms" movement, we seriously reviewed our previous work and summarized experiences and lessons learned, and became aware of the fact that our discipline inspection departments perform health care work for the body of the party, and speak out in support of party members and the masses. Our responsibility is to protect the interests of the party and the masses from incurring any damage and protect the body of the party from erosion. If we are softhearted in the face of behavior which violates discipline, and ambiguous about right and wrong, how can we enforce party discipline and assist the party committees in correcting the party style? Once we came to a unified understanding within the discipline committee, our work also grew greatly in boldness and decisiveness.

In July of this year, solemn disposition of this case was made as follows: this commune party committee member was dismissed from all posts held both in and out of the party and was retained in the party under close observation for 2 years. At the same time, we undertook strict inspection of all individuals and acts which constituted violations of various types against party regulations or party discipline, while seeking approval from the committee and making disposition of cases in a timely manner.

For example, not long ago we received a letter from the masses bringing a matter to light; it reported that a cadre in the county public security bureau had constructed a house for himself and, using the powers of his office, had affixed the official seal of the public security bureau's advance inspection section. He went into the hills to purchase more than 5 cubic meters of lumber and moreover used improper methods, occupying a good deal of collective property, infringing on the rights of the masses and arousing public indignation at that location. Based on this report made by the masses, we immediately handled the affair jointly with the public security bureau, visiting their office to conduct an investigation to confirm that facts of the problem as reported by the masses were completely accurate. During the course of the investigation, even though we encountered censure and resistance, we nevertheless avoided using the method of merely smoothing things out and casually letting the affair melt away. A timely report was made to the county committee leaders, whereupon, together with the public security bureau we quickly prepared an appropriate disposition based on the errors committed by this good comrade. Because we acted in this way, the masses were pleased, the leaders satisfied, and this became an instance of very beneficial education for the good cadre himself.

We have not been carrying out discipline inspection work for very long, and our experience is lacking, but we are resolved to conscientiously discharge our responsibilities in doing our work as discipline inspection cadres, so as to improve and strengthen the leadership of the party, and strive to guarantee that the building of the four modernizations will go forward smoothly.

9420
CSO: 4005

WORKERS' CONGRESS HAILED AS KEY INSTITUTION IN ECONOMIC REFORM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 80 p 1

[Report: "To Whom Should the Increased Power of Autonomy for Enterprises Be Entrusted? The Answer Given by Xinhua Paper Mill in Hangzhou Is: Power Should Be Held by Workers' 'Congresses' So That Workers Will Exercise Control as Masters of Their Enterprises."]

[Text] According to a report in ZHEJIANG RIBAO with the reform of economic management, the autonomy of enterprises will be increasing. To whom should this power be entrusted? The practice at the Xinhua Paper Mill in Hangzhou gives a very good answer: Only when the power is given to workers' congresses can the increased autonomy for enterprises be used to promote economic reform, to strengthen democratic managment, and to improve socialist enterprises.

Worker's congresses must be held. The worker's congress for this mill was reestablished in July 1978 and has been held on 10 occasions up to now. In the past 2 years, the workers' congress did a number of important things. It passed a resolution to elect supervisors for the machine shop; thus, to the satisfaction of leaders, masses, and candidates themselves, eight supervisors and deputy supervisors for the machine shop were elected. It conducted a serious review of the production plans for the mill, and thus ensured the fulfillment of the plan for increased production and saving, a well as the profit goal. It exercised its power in allocating part of the enterprise fund to the construction of housing for staff and workers. The implementation of these important decisions brought new life to the Xinhua Paper Mill, and the function of workers' congress as a powerful organ was brought into full play. Therefore, in the minds of the leading cadres at the mill, the workers; congress is not something optional but something indispensable.

The workers' congress is an organ of authority. There is a clear guiding thought for the workers' congress. Only important problems for the enterprises will be discussed in the congress; especially those [matters] which in the past were rarely put on the "table" must now be presented to, discussed at, and decided upon by the congress. For example, the guidelines for staff replacement used to be "internally controlled" by several leading cadres at the mill. Because some retiring workers had no descendants to replace them, these vacancies were handled by leaders at the mill. Therefore, this practice made some cadres prone to favoritism and created many loopholes in the arrangement. The masses had strong opinions against it. In August of this year, leaders at the mill, following the suggestion of the workers' congress, turned the power to make decisions on replacement guidelines over to the workers' congress. Thereafter, following a resolution of the workers' congress, representatives from various departments held a discussion on the directives of fulfilling the five vacancies resulting from retirement in the first half of this year. Through serious discussion, the representatives decided to take in four indirect descendants of the workers in order to solve their problems. Workers said, "When this kind of power is given to us by leaders of the mill, they indeed are treating us like owners of the enterprise."

Leading cadres at the mill consider that delegating those "real powers" to the workers' congress not only demonstrates full confidence in the workers' congress but also serves as a good way of supervising and caring for leading cadres. Therefore, a brandnew democratic atmosphere prevails in this mill. Last year the allocation of new housing was decided on by the workers' congress. This year a six-story building covering more than 2,000 square meters will be finished and the workers' congress has decided that a committee consisting of delegates elected by the masses is to make a rational allocation.

A decision is made on every motion of the workers' congress. The congress held by this mill has brought forth a number of motions. Handling those motions seriously, leaders of the mill have made decisions on each one of them. In the 10 congresses held since 1978, over 96 percent of the motions, or 434 out of 450, have been decided upon.

Handling those motions, the mill adopts the following method:

1. Whatever can be done is done immediately.

2. For those things that are in need of ratification and are time-consuming, a plan is drafted and a deadline is set. The material-cutting room of this mill was delapidated, with a low ceiling, bad illumination and ventiliation, and a great deal of dust. For years the workers had made a case out of it, but of no avail. The seventh congress decided to rebuild it. A plan was promptly drafted by the departments concerned. The party secretary, mill head, cadres in different departments, and workers, all participated in the rebuilding effort. In only 25 days, a 5-meter-high structure with windows on three sides was erected, and working conditions vastly improved.

3. For problems which cannot be solved immediately, careful ideological work helps to clarify the situation.

4. A meeting of workers and staff representatives is held every month by the union of the mill. It gives them an opportunity to voice their opinions and enables them to supervise and assist the administration in reform and improvement.

Leaders at the mill handle seriously the motions made by the representatives of workers and staff, and make the broad staff and workers feel that they indeed exercise control as masters of their enterprises.

9507
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

LETTER TO THE EDITOR--Comrade Editor: On 1 July, the Wuxing County Committee Standing Committee's Comrade Zhao Wanqing used a public vehicle to go to Shanghai and take care of private business. On his return, he didn't even pay for the gasoline he had used. After the county committee's leading comrades learned of this matter, they failed to deal with it strictly in accordance with concerned regulations. The masses have many opinions about this affair. To see this type of activity when people are being mobilized to study the "norms," to have someone say one thing but do another is truly unbelievable. So that the solemnity of party regulations and laws might be protected, we believe that Zhao Wanqing should make a self-criticism and provide reimbursement for mileage expense. [Text] [Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 80 p 4] 9420

CSO: 4005

FIRE HITS COMMUNICATIONS STATION OF 7TH MINISTRY OF MACHINE BUILDING

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 80 p 1

[Article: "Raging Fire Strikes Communications Station of the 7th Ministry of Machine Building"]

[Text] At approximately 0905 hours on 15 October a raging fire broke out in a communications station's office of the 7th Ministry of Machine Building. Four staff members and workers were killed in the fire and two suffered third degree burns on 95 percent of their bodies. One of them died the following day and the other remains in critical condition. Economic loss as a direct result of the fire has reached over 140,000 yuan.

According to preliminary investigation, 6 comrades of the office arrived at work on the 15th at 0800 hours. To polish the floor, they first placed two cans of approximately 10 kilograms of gasoline in the room and then used it as cleaning agent to scrub the floor. Having spread the gasoline on the floorboards, they proceeded to do the cleaning with a polisher. At that time, the room became filled with combustible fumes. Moreover, there had been no precautionary measures taken to seal the four newly installed sockets on a wiring panel used for the office machinery and equipment to prevent them from exploding. Preliminary findings show that sparks from a broken circuit caused the fire. At present, the 7th Ministry of Machine Building and the Municipal Public Security Department have formed a joint investigation team to investigate and examine the fire accident.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

VARIOUS ASPECTS OF NATIONALITY QUESTION, SITUATION DISCUSSED

Beijing MINZU YANJIU [NATIONALITY RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 20 May 80
pp 1-6, 11

[Article by Ma Weiliang [7456 4850 5328]: "The Relationship Between the Nationality Problem and Class Struggle"]

[Text] The nationality problem is a part of the whole problem of revolution. In different stages of the development of revolution, the nationality problem also has different content. During the new period of socialist construction, the task of national work is, in the course of building our country into a modern socialist power, to vigorously help the minority nationalities achieve quick advancement in economy and culture, vigorously train cadres and various vocational technical personnel of minority nationalities with communist consciousness, and eliminate gradually actual inequalities left over by history, so that various minority nationalities can catch up with or approach the level of advancement of the Han nationality. To fulfill this honorable and arduous task, our present urgent task in national work is to conduct further education on the policy towards the minority nationalities among all people in the country, and to combine this education with the propagation of the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the nationality problem. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" deliberately distorted Chairman Mao's related instructions, did their best to exaggerate the aspect of class struggle on the nationality problem, described the nationality problem as a class problem, and substituted national work with "class struggle." We must set to right things which have been thrown into disorder, wipe out their evil influence, understand correctly the relationship between the nationality problem and class struggle [illegible] ndle properly the nationality problem in the period of socialism.

(1) Nationality and Class

Both nationality and class are categories of social history which did not come into being right from the beginning of human society, nor are they the perpetual phenomena of history, but they are subject to the laws of society and go through the course of birth, growth and death. Nationality and class are two different historical categories, and are different in conception and in the form of expression. Nationality has taken shape historically, has its common region, common economic life and common language, and expresses itself in a stable community of people with common psychological diathesis in a common culture. However, the most basic indication of class distinction is the demarcation between the exploiters and the exploited and between the rulers and the ruled according to the ownership of the means of production among various social groups.

In a society within which there is exploitation, the nationality consists of different classes. Just as Chairman Mao said, a nation includes two sectors of people--one is the upper level, the exploiting class and the minority; more than 90 percent of the people are workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, and there will be no nation without these people. Class antagonism and struggle within a nation is the source of national oppression and antagonism between nations. Within each nation, there are also unity and common language and customs and habits of life so that people of different classes and different social groups can also maintain certain common cultural characteristics and common national feelings to a certain extent. When they suffer national oppression and aggression from outside, such national feelings and national consciousness will be manifested all the more strongly. In a society of class antagonism, nationality and class are not only differentiated one from the other, but also linked with each other. The national common traits are expressions distinguishing one nationality from another; class antagonism within a nation is the inherent substance of the nation. A nation takes class as its foundation, classes exist in a nation. Neither are there classes isolated from a nation, nor is there any nation transcending classes. Every person belongs to a certain nationality, and at the same time also belongs to a certain class. When we see a person, we first see that he belongs to a certain nationality of different costume and language; then we go further to find out to which class be belongs. Within a nation, not only is there acute and antagonistic class struggle, but also they maintain common national traits. The common traits of a nationality will not change because of acute class struggles, and class struggles also will not relax because of the common traits of a nationality. Summing up, the militancy and unity between two classes in a nation constitute the distinction and link between the nationality problem and the class problem.

The class antagonism and struggle in a nation constitute the direct motive force which gives impetus to national development. It is the concrete expression of contradictions between production relations and productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base, and is also the direct function of the law of development of human society in the society of class antagonism. Therefore, class and class struggle exercise decisive influences on the development of all nationalities. Lenin said: "Class relationship--this is a basic main thing, without which there will be no Marxism." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 240.) Revolutionary teachers Marx and Engels proceeded from the viewpoint of class and class struggle, anatomized nationality and the nationality problem which are most complex in this world and have been mystified by the bourgeoisie, gave a true scientific explanation to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and thus founded the Marxist theory of nationality. Authors of classical works of Marxism proceeded from this theory of class and class struggle, and expounded fully on the theme that among various nationalities, due to the difference in class status and the basic antagonism of class interests, there are different national views representing different class interests on the observation and handling of the nationality problem. The national view of all exploiting classes and the bourgeoisie is nationalism, which naturally brings about its reactionary national policy of national oppression, exploitation and enslavement. The national view of the proletariat and working people is proletarian internationalism, which naturally brings about a national policy of national equality, solidarity and common development and prosperity. Marxism also expounded on the role played by the rising classes in the formation of nationalities of different nature, and the fact that during the period of the rising of capitalism, national movements are always represented by certain classes and always have certain class substances, and class struggles are always inspired and carried out by certain classes. Lenin said: In a society of class antagonism, "when any really serious and important political movement takes place, all groups are divided according to classes, not according to nationalities." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 20, p 19.) With this significance, we say that the viewpoint of class and class struggle and the method of class analysis are our key to understanding correctly and unfolding the nationality and nationality problem of the class society. The division of opposing classes in each nationality is a more profound and basic division than the division of people into different nationalities.

(2) The Nationality Problem and Class Struggle

Since the emergence of nationalities and classes in human society, and with the formation of nationalities and the development of class antagonism within nationalities, there have been national problems and class struggles.

The nationality problem means a series of problems arising among the nationalities after the emergence of nationalities. From the emergence of nationalities, and before they wither away, there is always the nationality problem. However, in different periods the nature and substance of the nationality problem are not entirely the same. Stalin said: "Everything is changing....social life is changing, the 'nationality problem' is also changing accordingly. In each different period, there is each different class appearing on the stage of struggle; moreover, each class understands the 'nationality problem' according to its own viewpoint. Therefore, in each different period, the 'nationality problem' serves various different interests, and shows various different colors, depending upon by which class and at what time it is put forward." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 1, p 27.) In a society of class antagonism, the nationality problem is always closely linked with the problem of class struggle, and is always restricted by the law of class struggle. Marx pointed out: "The existing relations of ownership are the cause of the exploitation of some nationalities by some other nationalities." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 287). In a society ruled by the exploiting class, all exploiting classes are, by their economic status and the nature of an exploiting class, always bent solely on profit and insatiably avaricious. They not only oppress and exploit the working people of their own nationalities but also, if possible, will always oppress and exploit the working people of other nationalities. When the people of different nationalities can no longer endure their oppression and exploitation, they will rise in opposition, and then the nationality problem and national struggle will emerge. This struggle is waged by the people of various nationalities to strive for national liberation, and to achieve national equality and national development and prosperity. The nationality problem of slave society and feudal society is mainly the problem of opposing national oppression and national exploitation carried out by the slave owners, feudal lords and the landlord class. The nationality problem in the period of the rise of capitalism is mainly a problem of a multi-nationality country, in which the newly emerging bourgeoisie of the ruled nationalities tries to free itself from the rule of the ruling nationality in order to cope with the development of capitalism. In the period of imperialism, the nationality problem and the colonial problem are combined into a national-colonial problem which is the problem of the proletariat and working people among oppressed nationalities, who join forces with the national bourgeoisie to strive for national liberation and social emancipation, and to advance towards socialism.

From the above we can make our conclusion that in a society of exploitation, the nationality problem is essentially a class problem, and national struggle is essentially class struggle. While studying the general law of development of human society, Marx and Engels discovered the law of the birth and growth of nationalities. Moreover, they also studied the special law of the capitalist society, and discovered the roots of the occurrence of the nationality problem and the law of development of the nationality problem. Thus, they pointed out: "Once the exploitation of men by men is eliminated, the exploitation of nationalities by nationalities will be eliminated accordingly." "Once the internal class antagonism of the nationalities is eliminated, the antagonistic relationship among the nationalities will be eliminated accordingly." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 270.) These statements brought to light the class substance of national oppression, national exploitation and national struggle, revealed the unity between national liberation and class emancipation, and explained the fact that the solution of the nationality problem is always closely linked with the emancipation of classes. Therefore, the authors of Marxist classics always linked the nationality problem with overthrowing capitalist political power and eradicating capitalism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation. Our party followed this principle precisely, and laid down the program and talk of solving the nationality problem in the new democratic period of our country, that is, externally to overthrow the rule of imperialism in China so that the entire Chinese nation would gain liberation, and internally to abolish national oppression and treat all nationalities as equal. After the liberation, to eradicate thoroughly the roots of national oppressions exploitation and private ownership in every nationality, we carried out democratic reform and socialist transformation. In 1963, Chairman Mao declared that "national struggle is, in the final analysis, a problem of class struggle," in support of the black people of the United States. He made his statement by aiming at the capitalist exploitation and national oppression in the United States. National oppression will certainly stir up antagonistic national struggle, the essence of which is class struggle. Only by relying on the highest form of class struggle--armed struggle--to completely overthrow capitalist exploitation and national oppression can we help the oppressed nationalities gain their liberation. This argument of Chairman Mao's is still of practical guiding significance to countries and nationalities which today remain under exploitation and practice national oppression.

When we say that the essence of the nationality problem is a class problem, we mean societies of exploitation. Moreover, "essence" means the most basic, most crucial and most important aspect of the nationality problem, which decides the innate character. This is to say that "essence" is not equal to the whole nationality problem, which is not entirely equal to the problems of class and class struggle. The nationality problem is far wider in scope and more complex than the class problem, and also lasts much longer.

First, among various nationalities, both spoken and written languages, ways of life (such as housing, costumes, hair styles, material life habits, etc.), and literary and artistic expressions are different, and even certain moral and aesthetic standards are also different. These differences also belong to the nationality problem; however, they themselves do not constitute problems of class and class struggle. Stalin pointed out: "Language was not created by a certain class, but by the efforts of hundreds of generations of the whole society and all classes of the society. Language was created not for the satisfaction of the needs of a certain class, but for the satisfaction of the needs of the whole society, and for the satisfaction of the needs of all classes of the society." (Stalin, "Marxism and the Language Problem," pp 3-4.) "Marxists say that the lingual identity is one of the most important symbols of a nationality, and at the same time it is clearly known that there are class contradictions within a nationality." (Stalin, "Marxism and the Language Problem," p 13.) The spoken and written languages of a nationality, the ways of material life and the national forms of literature and art are far broader than the class problem, which cannot embrace them.

Secondly, the working people in an oppressed nationality suffer twofold oppression; national oppression is broader in scope than class oppression. Stalin said: "In every oppressed nationality, 9 out of 10 are peasants and small urban workers. However, this does not explain entirely the conception of 'oppressed nationalities.' Oppressed nationalities generally not only constitute peasants and urban workers under oppression, but also constitute nationalities, that is, workers under oppression belonging to certain nationalities and with certain languages, cultures, ways of life and customs and habits. The pressure of twofold oppression cannot but make the working masses of oppressed nationalities revolutionary, and cannot but motivate them to wage struggle against the basic force of oppression, to wage struggle against capital." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 5, p 281.) When there is national oppression, not only are the workers in oppressed nationalities under oppression, but the exploiting classes in oppressed nationalities are also under the oppression of rulers of other nationalities. This explains why national oppression is broader in scope than class oppression.

Thirdly, the national problem is more complex than the class problem. The ruling classes of national oppression, either from their class nature or, at the time class contradiction becomes acute in their own nationalities, to mitigate class contradiction and shift the direction of struggle, will not hesitate to create national contradictions, sow discord among the nationalities and stir up national hatred. When they commit aggression against and enslave other nationalities, they always wave the banner of "nationality," cover up their nature of exploitation with "national interests," deceive the working people of their own nationalities, and make the working people act as their tools in pulling their chestnuts out of the fire. As the working people have long been under the influence of nationalism and national traditions, they are always taken in and take part in the war of aggression. At that time, a struggle in the form of "whole nationality" will appear. The essence of this struggle still remains a class struggle. It is class struggle of a special form, ingenious and undercover. It shows the disunity between its national appearance and class substance. Such a kind of struggle, which carries a national signboard and appears in the form of a "nationality," but in essence represents the interests of exploiting classes, is a trick employed consistently by the ruling classes of past generations. Just as Stalin said: "Among all present forms of oppression, national oppression is a most ingenious and most dangerous form. It is ingenious because it is easy to cover up the gangster features of the bourgeoisie. It is dangerous because it incites national conflict to ingeniously help the bourgeoisie escape attacks." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 4, p 84.) This is the reason why the national problem and national struggle are more complex than the class problem and class struggle under ordinary circumstances. This is also the reason why only "nationality" but not "class" is visible, and why the people have always been hoodwinked.

Fourthly, the nationality problem is of a more protracted nature than the class problem. Having studied the nationality problem and class problem, Chairman Mao made his scientific conclusion. He said: "First the classes, then the nations and finally the nationalities will wither away. It is so throughout the world." His conclusion enriches and expands the Marxist-Leninist theory of nationality. Stalin also pointed out: "When the world socialist economic system has been fully consolidated, socialism has penetrated into the daily life of people of all nationalities, and all nationalities are deeply convinced in practice that the common language is superior to national languages, national differences and national languages will then begin to wither away and give way to the world language which is common to all people." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 11, p 300.) This explains fully why nationality and the nationality problem are of a more protracted nature than class and class struggle.

In fine, in a society of class antagonism, the nationality problem and the class problem are closely linked. The essence of the nationality problem is class problem. In essence, national struggle is class struggle, and national oppression is class oppression. If we ignore the class nature of nationality and the nationality problem, and cover up class contradiction with national contradiction, we shall fall into the quagmire of bourgeois nationalism, betray proletarian internationalism and commit the mistake of Right deviation. If we exaggerate the class aspect of the nationality problem, stress only the class nature of nationality and the nationality problem, and even equate the nationality problem with the class problem, then we shall head for national nihilism, and deny the existence of the nationality problem and the importance of the party's policy towards the minority nationalities. Likewise, we shall depart from proletarian internationalism and commit the mistake of "left" deviation.

(3) The Nationality Problem and Class Struggle in the Socialist Period

After the liberation, we abolished entirely the system of national oppression and established the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the country (except Taiwan Province). In regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities, we have established regional autonomy of minority nationalities, trained a large number of cadres of minority nationalities, and realized equality in politics among all the nationalities. Economically, through democratic reform and socialist transformation, such exploitation systems among all minority nationalities as the remnants of primitive communes, slave ownership, feudal lordship and landlordship have been eliminated, productive forces have been liberated, and all minority nationalities have successively taken the socialist road of common prosperity and development. Among the minority nationalities, the great majority of exploiters, including former slave owners, serf owners, feudal lords, mountain officials, headmen and princes have, through a long period of self-reform, become self-supporting workers. Therefore, there is no more exploiting class in its complete sense. The class structure, the situation of class struggle, the national character and national relations within all nationalities have also undergone basic changes. After socialist revolution and construction through 30 years, all nationalities have firmly established their socialist political and economic systems, and started to change themselves into socialist nationalities. The relationship among all nationalities has become basically the relationship among the working people of socialist nationalities. The antagonism among the nationalities and the old national relations are basically nonexisting. Just as Comrade Ye Jianying said in his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the National Day: "The more than 50 fraternal nationalities in our country have formed a new, socialist relationship based on the identity of their fundamental interests and characterized by unity, fraternity, equality and mutual assistance. They are working for the gradual elimination of the inequalities that still exist as survivals from history."

As both class relationship and national relationship have undergone basic changes, the nationality problem has also basically changed its nature and substance accordingly. The crux of the nationality problem means the actual inequalities which have survived from history. This is also a basic problem still existing in relations among the nationalities. Stalin pointed out: "In the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the crux of the nationality problem is to eliminate the actual backwardness (economic, political and cultural) of some nationalities left over by history, so that it will be possible for all backward nationalities to catch up with the central part of Russia in politics, culture and economy." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 5, p 31.) Early in 1953, when our party's Central Committee laid down the general line of the transitional period, it also laid down the following task in the work among minority nationalities during the transitional period: For the common cause of the reconstruction of our motherland, we must promote gradually political, economic and cultural affairs among all minority nationalities, eliminate gradually actual inequalities left over by history among these nationalities, and help the backward nationalities stride into the ranks of advanced nationalities and gradually go through the transition to socialism. In 1963, in his six instructions on the work in Xinjiang, Chairman Mao said with special emphasis: "First of all, we must do well in economic work, make more progress year by year in agriculture, animal husbandry and industry, gain more prosperity in economy year by year, and achieve greater improvement in people's living year by year." Chairman Mao placed the economic construction of minority nationality regions in the forefront in solving the nationality problem. However, due to the interference of the "left," the nationality problem was aggravated in the aspect of class struggle, and was ignored in the aspect of economic and cultural construction. After the completion of democratic reform and socialist transformation, we failed to see that the situation of class struggle in minority nationality regions, and the nature and substance of national relationship and the nationality problem, had undergone new changes, failed to see that contradictions of inequalities left over by history had already come forward, failed to grasp firmly the principal contradiction and fundamental task of promoting quickly the economic and cultural construction of minority nationality regions and eliminating the actually existing backwardness in various respects and, while dealing with the nationality problem in revolution and construction, exaggerated the class essence of the nationality problem and confused the two categories of contradictions of different nature. For instance, in our struggle against local nationalism in 1957, we magnified class struggle, accused some minority national cadres of attacking the party because they explained the true conditions in their regions and expressed the complaints and wishes of their people, and labeled them as local nationalists. We criticized proper national feelings, national desires and demands as bourgeois nationalism. In 1958, we again departed from the reality of minority nationality regions, ran counter to objective laws, advocated the so-called "reaching the sky in a single bound," stirred up the "five winds," such as the "wind of communism" and the "wind of exaggeration," undermined the economy of the minority nationality regions, and created tension among the minority nationality regions. In 1962, the national conference on the work among the minority nationalities correctly summed up our experience and lessons drawn, and pointed out profoundly that one of our important experiences in these years was that we must pay serious attention to and handle properly the nationality problem in the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction; understand fully many inherent features of minority nationalities in the socialist period and the protracted nature of the existing national differences, and the fact that the key to implementing the party's policy towards the minority nationalities and making a success of the work among the minority nationalities was to proceed from the reality of the minority nationality regions; and fully arouse and bring into play the enthusiasm of all minority national people, and concentrate forces to promote production in agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry in the minority nationality regions, and improve the people's livelihood. Our work in all fields must revolve around this general goal. But later in 1964, under the domination of "left" deviation, we again vigorously criticized the so-called "Right capitulationism" and "revisionism" in the national united front work, and refuted many of our good experiences. In praticular, some comrades arbitrarily emphasized the viewpoint that national struggle was class struggle in essence, either in foreign countries or in China, either before or after the liberation, and either in the democratic revolutionary period or in the socialist period, and that it was a universal principle of Marxism for observing and handling the nationality problem. They denied the fact that after the completion of socialist transformation, a large number of cases concerning the minority nationalities were brought about by national differences, different national features and inequalities left over by history, asserted categorically that the basic reason for the occurrence of the nationality problem in the socialist period was the fact that among the minority nationalities there were still classes, class contradictions and class struggles, and there was still the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, and ignored and relaxed the economic and cultural reconstruction in the minority nationality regions. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" even confused national struggles in foreign countries with our domestic problem of minority nationalities, equated the nationality problem with the class problem, exaggerated the aspect of class struggle, artifically created large numbers of horrible, unjust, false and wrong cases, and used the big stick of class struggle to attack and persecute many minority national cadres and the masses. They slandered minority national customs and habits and spoken and written languages as "four old things," replaced our work among the minority nationalities with class struggle, undermined very seriously the party's policy towards the minority nationalities and the economic and cultural reconstruction in their regions, and caused serious calamities. This is an extremely bitter experience from which we learned a lesson.

After the shattering of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee brought order out of chaos and, according to the wishes of people of all nationalities of our country, took the realization of the four modernizations as the general line and general task in the new period of socialism. In the field of the work among minority nationalities, it was laid down that best efforts should be made to help all minority nationalities to develop quickly their economic and cultural enterprises, eliminate gradually inequalities left over by history, and enable themselves to catch up with or approach the level of development of the Han nationality. This is the basic substance of the nationality problem as well as the basic task of our work among the minority nationalities in this new period. The realization of the four modernizations and the elimination of inequalities left over by history are urgent desires of the people of minority nationalities, are in their fundamental interests, and also are the material foundation for strengthening national unity, eliminating estrangement among our nationalities, and consolidating the unification of our motherland. Just as some comrades summarized incisively: "Modernization needs minority nationalities very badly, and the minority nationalities need modernization very badly."

When we say that after the completion of socialist transformation, the crux of the nationality problem as well as the basic task of our work among the minority nationalities is to carry out the four modernizations and eliminate gradually inequalities left over by history, we do not deny that there are still class struggles among various nationalities. In China there are still all kinds of class enemies, and outside our country there still exist imperialism and social-imperialism, which will still sow dissension among the various nationalities and sabotage national solidarity. Class struggle will inevitably find expression in the nationality problem so that some nationality issues will still carry the nature of class struggle. However, class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction among the minority nationalities and in minority national regions. The principal contradiction is actual inequalities left over by history. At the present stage, and in practical life, the nationality issues which had arisen constantly and in large numbers were some problems touched off among the working people of various nationalities, and between the state organs and enterprises on one side and the working people of minority nationalities on the other. Basically speaking, these problems were not fundamental antagonism of class interests, but temporary contradictions in economic interests among the working people, or contradictions among the people brought about by our inadequate care and improper handling of these cases in policies and measures taken. Fundamentally, they did not carry the nature of class struggle. Therefore, we cannot say that the crux of the nationality problem is still a class problem. As regards the mentality of Han chauvinism and local nationalism, as well as the evil influence of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the nationality problem, they are still aspects of the nationality problem and national relations not to be ignored, and belong to the realm of class struggle. However, this is a problem of the ideological influence of the exploiting class, which is a contradiction among the people, to be solved only by education, study, criticism and self-criticism, and continuously enhancing one's consciousness.

Does national struggle exist in the period of socialism? Generally speaking, there is no national struggle in a country, because it means the struggle between the oppressing nationality and the oppressed nationality. In essence, it is the struggle between the exploiting class minority in the oppressing nationality and the working people as the majority of the oppressed nationality, two antagonistic classes of oppression and against oppression, of exploitation and against exploitation. In our country, exploitation and exploiting classes have been eliminated, and under the situation in which the proletariat and the working people are holding political power, it is impossible for this kind of struggle to occur. It will be possible only when foreign imperialism or social-imperialism invades our country. Will national oppression arise in the socialist period? Under the circumstance of the proletariat and the working people holding power, it is generally not possible. Even when national oppression arises, it will be only a local and transient phenomenon which can be corrected easily. Under unusual conditions, if reactionaries like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" emerge on the political stage to promote bourgeois nationalism and carry out reactionary policies toward the minority nationalities, it will be possible for national oppression to arise; however, this will be opposed resolutely by people of all nationalities.

In one word, during the period of socialism, it is shown in real life that only a very few nationality issues of local nature were geared to contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and bearing the character of class struggle, and a large number of nationality issues were contradictions among the people. The main roots of these issues were national characteristics, national differences and actual inequalities left over by history, which led to their occurrences. Just as Stalin said: "Inequalities in reality are still the source of all dissatisfaction and friction." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 5, p 201.) The fundamental way to solve the nationality problem in the socialist period can only be to fully mobilize all positive factors, give play fully to the enthusiasm of the masses and cadres of all minority nationalities, go all out, be of one heart and one mind, carry out the four modernizations quickly, and eliminate the inequalities left over by history, so that all nationalities join forces to achieve prosperity and advancement, and the minority nationalities can catch up with and approach the standards of the Han nationality, and stride into the ranks of advanced nationalities. Speaking in this sense, the crux of the nationality problem is, in essence, to achieve the four modernizations, and to eliminate the actual inequalities left over by history. At present, in many minority national regions, we are carrying out reeducation on the policies toward the minority nationalities. Our experience in the implementation of these policies shows that to carry out the party's policy towards the minority nationalities, we must first make an effort to carry out our economic policy in these regions. With the enforcement of the economic policy, we will have a reliable material guarantee for the implementation of other policies toward the minority nationalities. Along with the progress of the work of the four modernizations in minority national regions, the class enemies in and outside China will undoubtedly use existing inequalities in these regions to make a big issue of them, and carry out sabotage activities. Against such activities, we will rely mainly upon our weapon of proletarian dictatorship and the socialist legal system to launch a counter-attack. There will be no need to wage a large-scale class struggle like a hurricane. In fine, we cannot either exaggerate or minimize class struggles which may emerge from the nationality problem. We should solve them by revolving closely around this general goal of carrying out the four modernizations and eliminating the actual inequalities left over by history.

9039
CSO: 4005

PROBLEM OF NATIONALITIES IN CHINA EXAMINED

Beijing MINZU YANJIU [NATIONALITY RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 20 May 80 pp 7-10

[Article by Mao Aohai [5399 2407 3189]: "On the True Nature of Nationality Problems in the Period of Socialism"]

[Text] Today we are faced with the urgent need to examine and study certain theoretical issues concerning the nationalities. If we can understand better and see eye to eye on these issues, we can do more for the four modernizations. The nature of the problem regarding nationalities is one of the issues that we should look into and find a solution for.

The nationality problem is part and parcel of the social problem and part and parcel of the overall problem of the proletarian revolution. Its character evolves and changes with the social development and the change in revolutionary goals. Therefore, we cannot tackle this problem from a purely theoretical approach, but must do so from a practical approach. In other words, we cannot analyze it from a fixed metaphysical perspective.

This nationality problem has already gone through three stages in its evolution--namely, the early capitalist stage, the imperialist stage, and the socialist stage. It had one common feature in the first two stages: many ethnic groups suffered oppression and racial struggle was raging. In the third stage, all nationalities achieved the equal right to grow. In practice, however, some inequalities have remained. These are the inequities in political, economic, and cultural developments inherited from the past. Stalin once said: "The nationality problem of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic boils down to the need to wipe out certain nationalities' actual backwardness (political, economic, and cultural) inherited from the past and to help them catch up with the rest of Russia politically, economically, and culturally." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 5, p 31) This statement interprets correctly,,and in a nutshell, not only the nationality problem that existed in Russia in Stalin's days but also the same problem as it exists in China today. Though racial oppression disappeared after the completion of socialist reform of the ownership of the means of production in China, certain inequalities have persisted among ethnic groups. The Chinese population consists of the Han nationality and more than 50 national minorities. By an accident of history, the Han have reached a higher level of political, economic, and cultural development, and this contributes to certain inequalities among the nationalities. These inequalities will not disappear in a short period of time. They will do so only if the minorities are helped over a long period of time to develop their productivity and to improve their economic, cultural, and political standards. As early as 1954, our party proposed an interim program of "one change and three reforms," stating that "in the course of our national construction, we must help the minority nationalities to develop politically, economically, and culturally. We must gradually do away with the inequalities that do exist among them and help the backward nationalities catch up with advanced nationalities and then slowly graduate to a socialist society." (PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial of 17 April 1954, entitled: "How To Publicize our Party's Objectives With Regard to the Nationality Problem During the Transitional Period.") In 1957, as socialist reform was more or less accomplished in our country, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Our basic task has now changed from the liberation of productive forces to the safeguarding and development of productive forces under the newly established relations of production." After that, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly stressed the need for wholehearted assistance to the minorities for the development of their economy and culture. In his Report on the Government's Work, delivered before the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng reiterated: "We must do everything possible to quickly revive and develop the economy and culture in areas inhabited by minority nationalities." All this is proof that our party's major task concerning the nationality problem is to help the minorities, through the all-out development of the productive forces, to develop their respective economy and culture as a means of eliminating inequalities among the nationalities. This is also where the heart of the nationality problem lies during the period of socialism. A correct understanding on our part of our party's nationality program and of the nature of the nationality problem is very important.

There are people who hold to the belief that "the nationality problem is actually a class problem," even during the period of socialism. The theory received wide publicity in the press during the 1960's and became a household word. In my personal opinion, this theory was and still is debatable. Then Lin Biao and the "gang of four" gave this theory a twist and a blowup and equated the nationality problem with racial struggle and the racial problem with class struggle. They went all out to promote their pet theory that once we get a firm grip on class struggle, the nationality problem will work itself out automatically. They refused to recognize the nationality problem and abolished our party's established policies toward the nationalities. If you had mentioned the nationality problem and said that it did exist, they would accuse you of neglecting class struggle, working for feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, and being a "nationalist"--if they decided to let you go lightly. If they decided to give you more trouble, they would accuse you of "nationalist splittism." For instance, Mongolians like to put milk in their tea and eat fried rice. They have developed this eating habit, in the course of their history, as becoming their nomadic lifestyle. But Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and their ilk described it as a "bourgeois lifestyle" and a "nationalist eating habit." For another example, Moslems do not eat pork. It is their custom, different from that of other nationalities. Our party's ethnic policies clearly stipulated that hogs are not to be raised in areas inhabited by ethnic groups believing in Islam. Lin Biao and the "gang of four," however, claimed that this custom belonged in the "four olds" and indicated a "new stirring in class struggle." Granting autonomy to ethnic areas was one of the basic policies designed to resolve the nationality problem under socialism, as provided in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The autonomous regions of minority nationalities are provincial-level governments under the direct leadership of the CCP Central Committee and form an integral part of China. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" called such autonomy "artificial divisiveness," willfully abolished some, and redivided others. In short, they regarded the party's principles and policies of granting equality and autonomy to the ethnic minorities to be inexcusable crimes. Under the false pretense of pursuing class struggle, they made up false evidence, laid traps, and set up frameups as a means of persecuting minority cadres and masses, subjecting them to ruthless struggle and cruelty.

The smashing of the "gang of four" brought an end to their feudal fascist policy of oppression of minority peoples. Thereupon, the CCP Central Committee reiterated its long-cherished principle of equality and autonomy for the minorities. This principle won warm support from the people of all nationalities. In this sense, the 50 million minority people were liberated a second time.

Nevertheless, we still must not underestimate the pernicious influence left by the "gang of four" and their ilk on the nationality issue. Neither must we underestimate the extensiveness and durability of the impact of the theory that "the nationality problem is in essence a class problem" during the period of socialism. On this point, it is not enough for us just to bring to public attention and then criticize the fallacies of Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and their ilk. We must discuss the matter thoroughly and reach a consensus on what is right and what is wrong. On 8 August 1963, Comrade Mao Zedong declared, in his "Declaration in Support of the Just Struggle of Black Americans Against the Racial Discrimination of U.S. Imperialism:" "In the final analysis, racial struggle is a form of class struggle." Comrade Mao Zedong said racial struggle, not racial problem. Some comrades used these words to support the claim that "the racial problem is in essence a class problem during the period of socialism." They were wrong. No doubt racial struggle is a racial problem. However, racial struggle and racial problem are two different things. This is because racial struggle is but one racial problem and not the sum of all racial problems. How could we lift a few words out of context, interpret them to suit our purposes, and then conclude that the racial problem is in essence a class problem? If such a conclusion did not mean an intentional misinterpretation of Comrade Mao Zedong's words, it meant at least a lack of understanding. Comrade Mao Zedong was talking about the racial discrimination of the U.S. imperialists. The blacks are a minority in America. The struggle of the blacks against the whites because of racial injustice amounted to a racial struggle. In the United States, the reactionary rule of the exploiting class gave rise to racial oppression, and racial struggle emerged as the major contradiction in racial relations. That was why, in summing up the nature of racial struggle in the United States, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In the final analysis, racial struggle is a form of class struggle." These words hold true for the capitalist world. However, it is wrong to use these words to support the claim that the racial problem is a class problem during the period of socialism.

Lenin said: "When we refer to a certain country (such as referring to the racial policies of that country), we must consider the qualities that set it apart from other countries during the same period in history." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 512) These words remind us that we must make a realistic assessment of the conditions as they exist. Our country is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The class divisions and racial relations in modern China differ from those in capitalist countries such as the United States. They are also different from those that existed in old China. Marx and Engels pointed out in the "Communist Manifesto" that "as soon as man's exploitation of man ceases to exist,

exist, the exploitation of one race by another disappears." They added: "As soon as the class antagonism within a race ceases to exist, the antagonism between races disappears." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 270) When we completed the socialist reform of the system of ownership of the means of production, we put and end to man's exploitation of man as well as the exploitation and oppression of one race by another. This is because the exploiting class was toppled once the private ownership of the means of production was replaced by public ownership. Also removed at the same time were the state of antagonism and opposition between members of the exploiting class and the working people of the proletarian class, as well as all racial antagonisms in our country. Thereupon our country evolved into a socialist big family, in which all peoples are united by the bond of friendship and love and by the security of socialist racial relationships. If we say that in the period when the system of ownership of the means of production was undergoing socialist reform, the struggle between the two classes, namely the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, namely socialism and capitalism, was the major contradiction in society, we can say that the completion of such reform made secure the triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. If the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads still had run its course by then, it would have spent its fury as the major contradiction of society and been downgraded as a residual problem. In its spent state, it could no longer set off major racial strife. Granted that in the period of socialism there are still counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, and other class enemies in our midst; though few in number, they can still stir up trouble from time to time and set off and stir up racial struggle to the detriment of existing racial relationships. For example, a few separationist traitors among the minorities have plotted counterrevolutionary activities in an attempt to break away from the motherland. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" imposed a feudal fascist policy of racial oppression. These are indeed cases of racial struggle that fall under the category of class struggle. However, they are also isolated events spawned by certain historical conditions. They by no means reflect the common character of racial problems during the period of socialism.

The most common problems of race that have brewed for years and will affect the racial relationships in China during the period of socialism are the following:

1. Different nationalities have different spoken and written languages, customs and religious beliefs;

2. Different historical conditions have brought different nationalities to different levels of economic, cultural and political achievement and have created certain inequalities between races;

3. Racial misunderstandings inherited from the past, chauvinistic nationalism, and local racism still have not given up their ghosts.

Although some of these problems are class-oriented, they amount to nothing more than a problem of attitudes and a contradiction between advanced and backward nationalities. They boil down to a contradiction among the people that can be entirely resolved under the socialist system in China. One problem, the opposition to Han chauvinism and local nationality chauvinism, may be considered a kind of class struggle on the ideological level; yet it is still not a contradiction between the enemy and us. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Both Han chauvinism and local nationality chauvinism are harmful to the unity of the nationalities. They represent one kind of contradiction among the people which should be resolved." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 386) It is clear that under socialism, the animosity toward the Han or toward minorities can be resolved through education and through the formula of unity-criticism-unity, but not by means of class struggle and similar political campaigns. Facts have proved that educational and unity-criticism-unity tactics are more effective than class struggle. For example, Han chauvinism was getting out of hand in the early 1950's. The above tactics were used, instead of political campaigns and class struggle methods. They proved very effective in bringing the situation under control. Then in the late 1950's, local racism loomed as a problem. The above tactics were cast aside. Instead, an antirightist political campaign was mounted and class struggle methods were employed as means of resolving this problem, but to little avail. In fact, the excesses of the campaign even made racial mistrust and racial schisms worse than ever in some localities. We must not forget this lesson. Nor must we forget that the theory that "the nationality problem is actually a class problem during the period of socialism" was directly responsible for this mistake.

In addition, the advocates of the theory that "the nationality problem is actually a class problem" also maintain that problems associated with differences of heritage and culture do not even count as nationality problems or contradictions. They will count as nationality problems and contradictions only if they grow into class struggle proportions or evolve into contradictions between the enemy and us. To say the least, this is an ill-defined concept. It does not make sense in theory or in practice. In his work "On Contradictions," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "There is contradiction in everything. If it were not for contradictions, our world would not exist." He added: "They do not realize that each and every difference already contains contradictions. A difference is itself a contradiction." These words make it clear that racial differences constitute racial contradictions. When these differences affect racial relationships, they become racial problems. Let us stop and think. The Chinese Constitution sanctions the native languages, customs, and beliefs of ethnic minorities, safeguards equal rights and the right to autonomy of minorities, and encourages their economic and cultural development. All these constitutional considerations address themselves to differences in heritage and culture. In my opinion, it was the differences in heritage and culture that created nationality problems, and these problems, in turn, dictated constitutional recognition of the differences in heritage and culture. Lenin said: "The objective of socialism is not only to do away with the division of humanity into small nations, not only to end racial isolation, not only to bring the races of the world closer together, but also to forge all the races into one big race." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 719) It is clear that the long-term goal of our party during the period of socialism is to do everything possible to strengthen racial unity, to do away with racial inequalities, to gradually remove racial misunderstandings, to eventually iron out all racial differences, and to forge all races into one big race. The problem of racial differences is, and will be, the major nationality problem during the period of socialism and for a long time to come. In this context, if anyone should say that the problem of nationalities is not a problem until it reaches the gravity of class struggle, and that a racial contradiction is not a contradiction until it assumes the proportions of a contradiction between the enemy and us, or if anyone should say that the racial contradiction stemming from differences of heritage and culture is not a nationality problem, he would be out of touch with reality and contradicting with the Marxist-Leninist concepts of nationality problems.

Besides, some people say that the overthrown exploiting classes are always playing down class struggle in order to stir up racial strife, thus seeking to complicate matters. What these people leave unsaid is that they also believe nationality problems are in essence class problems. In my opinion, these people are not hitting the nail on the head either. The fact of the matter is that the exploiting classes are not playing down class struggle in order to stir up racial strife. On the contrary, they pay greater lipservice to class struggle than anybody else in order to intensify class struggle, fan up racial strife, and destroy racial unity. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did just that. The complexity of the nationality problem is determined by its very nature. It has nothing to do with the attempt of the exploiting classes to stir up racial strife and to complicate matters. It is true that the exploiting classes occasionally use the complexity of nationality problems to their advantage in stirring up racial strife, thereby further complicating nationality problems. This only goes to prove that there are certain class elements in nationality problems. It does not mean that all nationality problems during the period of socialism are in essence class problems.

To sum up, the argument that nationality problems are in essence class problems during the period of socialism does not have a leg to stand on, either in theory or in practice.

On the other hand, there are comrades who recognize the fact that nationality problems during the period of socialism amount, in essence, to a matter of how to resolve the inequalities that exist between races. However, they firmly refuse to accept the fact that nationality problems contain certain class elements. Their viewpoint is again questionable.

Nationality problems are related to class problems. As class problems are expected to crop up from time to time during the period of socialism, nationality problems cannot help having a certain association with class problems. If someone should accept the fact that nationality problems during the period of socialism amount, in essence, to an effort to end the inequalities that exist between the races, but still would not accept the fact that nationality problems are class oriented, his viewpoint would be onesided. Here we must have a clear picture of what is the class essence of nationality problems. Stalin once said: "What is the class essence of the national question? Under the Soviet conditions of present development, it lies in the formation of a proper alliance between the proletariat in the former ruling nationality and the peasants among the formerly oppressed nationalities." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 5, p 195) This conclusion is still applicable to our country in its present conditions. Working people account for more than 90 percent of the ethnic population. With the successful completion of the democratic transformation and socialist reform, the landlord class, the rich peasant class, and the capitalist class have ceased to exist. Under these circumstances, so-called racial relationships are the ties that exist among the working people of fraternal nationalities. Such being the case, class struggle cannot become an issue in racial relationships. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that there are certain class factors in racial relationships. For example, there is a very small industrial proletariat in the Chinese minority groups. Working people engaged in agriculture and husbandry make up the bulk of the minority population. In this context, the class essence of minority problems is a peasant problem. The class essence in the relationship between the Han and the tribal peoples is an alliance between workers and peasants. Thus the essence of nationality problems during the period of socialism also involves the effort to narrow the gap between workers and peasants as two classes. If we fail to see this, we are not getting the whole picture. There is no fundamental conflict of interest between industrial working people and agricultural working people. Why then are there problems in racial relationships? In my opinion, the problems are caused by the differences between workers and peasants, the differences between races, and racial mistrust and schisms inherited from the past.

If we hope to end the inequalities that exist between the nationalities, to foster greater similarity between the nationalities, to wipe out racial schisms inherited from the past, and to overcome various erroneous nationalistic ideas, we must work hard to achieve the four modernizations and greatly expand productivity. If we hope to close the gaps between workers and peasants and between the nationalities, we must do away with all inequalities between the nationalities. Marxism tells us that the forces of production dictate the relations of production and, eventually, all relations in society. This is an undeniable law of society. If we can develop the forces of production, help the minorities to improve their economic, cultural, and political levels, and break down all inequalities that exist between the nationalities, the racial schisms and racist ideas that are affecting the racial relationships as part and parcel of our social relationships will shrink and then die out. Things work out like this. If the forces of production are developed, material wealth will grow and, on that basis, economic equality between the nationalities can be achieved. If the economy is booming, cultural and educational level will improve and, on that basis, cultural equality between the nationalities can be achieved. When all nationalities enjoy a richness in their cultural life, they will appreciate socialist democracy and, on that basis, can achieve true political equality. This is, of course, a lofty and glorious goal. To achieve this goal is no easy task. We Chinese peoples are great peoples. We are equal to all challenges. Let us work under the leadership of our party, give free rein to our imagination, forge ahead at full throttle, have a pragmatic approach to problems, have perseverance and endurance, and work hand in hand to achieve the four modernizations. We can certainly achieve this goal. We can certainly disolve all the inequalities that exist between the nationalities.

9055
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDUCATORS SOUND CLARION CALL FOR REFORMS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 15 Sep 80 p 3

[XINHUA Report: "Education Circles Urge More Funds, Better Salaries for Teachers and 12-Year School System"]

[Text] "Understand fully the important strategic role which education plays in the four modernizations. Increase teachers' salaries. Reform the existing middle and primary school education system. Appropriate more funds for education. Strengthen education legislation. Direct efforts toward putting education on a sound basis." These were the views and demands of over 70 representatives of the People's National Congress and members of the Political Consultative Conference in the field of education who were invited by the Ministry of Education to participate in a recently held meeting to discuss matters relating to primary and higher education.

At the meeting, they pointed out that while teachers are entrusted with the glorious and heavy responsibility of developing talent for the four modernizations, and that their work is both hectic and laborious, the political and material treatment accorded them is far from adequate. Stating that that is especially true for teachers of privately operated schools, they expressed the hope that the government will take a serious view of the situation and seek to improve the treatment of teachers so that large numbers of teachers may find it possible to fully devote themselves to the education projects of their mother country.

At the discussion meeting, the representatives and members drew attention to the fact that the present 5-year primary school and 5-year middle school educational system places an unduly heavy load on the students, with the result that there has been a general decline in their physical well-being. They proposed that a 12-year educational system--6 years for middle schools and 6 years for primary schools--be instituted as soon as possible to replace the present system, in order to promote the healthy growth and general development of the young and to ease the conflict created by the need of the students to find employment. Some representatives and members further pointed out that the present educational system is too restrictive and inclusive, and that it is inimical to the development of talent and to the elevation of educational standards qualitatively and quantitatively. They proposed that measures be taken to eliminate the state of isolation presently existing between the scientific research institutions and the insitituions of higher learning and among institutions of higher learning themselves, that greater emphasis be placed on strengthening the work of shaping political thought in the schools, that classroom teachers of middle and primary schools as well as counselors of youth brigades be properly treated and evaluated, that their important role in the development of talented persons for the four modernizations be affirmed and recognized, and that a certain degree of autonomy be accorded to institutions of higher learning.

Si Xia [2448 7209], representative of the People's National Congress and special class teacher at the primary school affiliated with the Nanking Normal College, Yan Huizhen [0917 1920 3791], teacher at the First Middle School in Chongqing, Wang Li [3769 0500], member of the Political Consultative Conference and noted professor at Beijing University, and Yang Haibo [2799 3189 3134], secretary of the party committee at the China Scientific and Technological University, pointed out that the biggest problem confronting our work in education is the shortage of funds, that the funds allocated to education this year amounts to only 11.27 percent of the national budget, and that although the budget for education for this year and the next has shown a slight increase, it is still far from being adequate, in view of the large deficits accumulated over a period of years. They expressed the view that unless there is an increase of funds for education, it will be impossible to do what needs to be done. At the present time there is an acute shortage of university premises, and this precludes the admission of a larger number of new students. The wornout equipment and substandard instruments have had an adverse effect on the quality and quantity of teaching. Many of the middle and primary schools are in a dilapidated state. There is no money even to buy chalk, basketballs, or stationery supplies. Not a few of the teachers and students have to sit on the dirt floor in ill-lit and unsafe buildings. The lack of basic requirements for the operation of schools has had a dire effect on the physical and mental health of the students. Sounding a clarion call for the government to heed the needs of education and to increase allocations for education, the representatives and members pointed out that there is a frightful amount of waste in certain departments, and that the basic needs of education could be met if part of the funds conserved by such departments were diverted to education. Emphasizing in strong terms the need for education legislation, they proposed that a ratio be set for educational projects in the overall investment by the government in the various projects of economic reconstruction, and that measures be promptly taken to correct the present anomaly of the lack of a ratio or a lopsided ratio between allocations for education and allocations for other projects of national economic reconstruction. They expressed the hope that, under the present circumstances, the government will accept their well-considered proposal that, starting next year, 15 percent of the national budget be allocated to education and that 6 percent of the total investment funds for basic reconstruction be allocated to educational reconstruction. They added that this is a low ratio and that it should be raised by stages with the development of the national economy.

Minister of Education Jiang Nanxiang, who presided at the meeting, stated that education needs legislation no less than the economy, and that educational reforms should follow reforms in the economic system now in progress. He said that after educational reforms have been put into effect, the main emphasis of the Ministry of Education will be on the implementation of the principles and policies of the central government, the institution of a system of basic rules and regulations, the formulation of plans for development, the conducting of in-depth surveys and research, and the exchange of typical common experiences, etc. He further emphasized that the localities and the institutions of higher learning should be given a larger measure of autonomy so that they may capitalize on their strongpoints, that teachers should be allowed to exercise a larger measures of initiative so that their special skills may be brought into full play, and that students should be made to learn to take the initiative in meeting certain situations so that they may grow and develop healthily and vigorously.

Vice Ministers of Education Zhang Chengxian [1728 2110 0341], Gao Yi [7559 3065], Huang Xinhai [7806 6580 4101], and Zhou Lin (0719 2651] were also presented at the discussion meeting to hear the exchange of views.

9621
CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76910

1 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 142

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76910

1 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 142

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR Condemned for Afghan Invasion
(XINHUA, 18 Nov 80) 1

USSR Intensifies Suppression of Afghan Rebels
(XINHUA, 16 Nov 80) 2

U.S. State Department Reports on Fighting in Afghanistan
(XINHUA, 18 Nov 80) 3

NATO Admiral Views Soviet Naval Buildup
(XINHUA, 13 Nov 80) 4

'XINHUA' on Opening of European Security Conference
(XINHUA, 12 Nov 80) 5

Italian, Yugoslav Leaders on Boundary Treaty Anniversary
(XINHUA, 11 Nov 80) 6

European Trade Association Concludes Meeting
(XINHUA, 11 Nov 80) 7

French, West German Leaders Hold Talks
(XINHUA, 11 Nov 80) 8

USSR, Italian Foreign Ministers Meet in Moscow
(XINHUA, 11 Nov 80) 9

Islamic-Arab Peoples' League Assembly Meets in Cairo
(XINHUA, 10 Nov 80) 10

Democratic Kampuchea Urges SRV To Withdraw Troops
(XINHUA, 11 Nov 80) 11

Poland's Politburo Welcomes Supreme Court Ruling (XINHUA, 12 Nov 80) 12

Poland's Kania Affirms Party Role in Trade Unions (XINHUA, 8 Nov 80) 13

Briefs

Phnom Penh Relief 14
Thai Talks Comments 14
Refugees Flee Vietnam, Laos 14
New Strategy Suggested 15
Security Danger 15
Yugoslavia Visit Ended 15
Guerrillas Seize Vietnamese Stronghold 16
Warning of SRV Intentions 16
Malaria Control Conference 16
Foreign Intervention 17
National Consultative Council Dissolved 17
Call To Overcome Problems 18
North-South Dialogue Meeting 18
UNHCR Official Interviewed 18
Regime Aid Should Be Stopped 19
Unity of Servicemen 19
Turkish Domestic Situation 19
Guerrilla Forces Clash 19
Bangladesh Paper Comment 20
Labor Party Selects Leader 20
Thatcher Warns USSR 21
UNGA Urges Improvement 21
Democratic Kampuchean Forces Victories 21
Troupe Concludes Tour 22
Zimbabwe Situation Normal 22
France's Armistice Day 22
Carrington Stays in EEC 23
Minister on Kampuchean Situation 23
U.S. Middle East Role 23
UN Action Urged 24
Iraqi Official Visits Moscow 24
Kabul Provocations 24
Husayn Views Iranian War 24
Iranian on U.S. Relations 25
Bani-Sadr Supports Free Speech 25
U.S. Mideast Role 25
Iran Accepts UN Representative 26
Iranian Talks With Iraq 26
Iranian on U.S. Hostages 26
Indian Official Meets 'Arafat 27
Afghani Diplomat Seeks Asylum 27
Afghan Officials Leaving 27
Indian Official on USSR 27
USSR Afghan Annexation Plan 28
Qotbzadeh Released 28

PARTY AND STATE

PRC's Slogans of Past 30 Years Reviewed
(Hong Shi; QISHI NIANDAI, 1 Sep 80) 29

Hua Guofeng's Accomplishments as Premier Appraised
(Guan Ping; DONGXIANG, 16 Sep 80) 33

Purge Feudal Influence To Rectify the Ideological Line
(Feng Qishun, Qiu Shaoquan; JIEFANG RIBAO, 31 Aug 80)..... 36

Labels 'Proletarian Dictatorship,' 'People's Democracy' Discussed
(ZHENGMING, No 35, 1980) 40

Editorial Defended, by Niu Meng
Contention With Editorial, by Shi Huizhi
'Proletarian Dictatorship' Label Disliked, by Li Chenghui

Lenin's Teaching on Military Materialism Praised
(ZHEXUE YANJIU, 25 Apr 80) 49

Party Secretariat's Three New Measures Praised
(Li Jiang; DONGXIANG, 16 Sep 80) 55

Constitutional Articles Suitable for Revision Pinpointed
(Bi Ming; DONGXIANG, 16 Sep 80) 62

Significance of the Lawyer System Expounded
(Yu Xiangyang; DAZHONG RIBAO, 3 Sep 80) 65

Abolish Life Tenure System of Cadres
(Jiao Yuke; DAZHONG RIBAO, 3 Sep 80) 67

Intellectuals Urged To Apply for Official Positions
(Xiao Lin; JIEFANG RIBAO, 11 Aug 80) 70

Beijing Warns Xinjiang Troublemakers
(Alain Jacob; LE MONDE, 28 Oct 80) 73

Measures To Rehabilitate 'Stifled Talent' Reported
(Lin Xi; DONGXIANG, 16 Sep 80) 75

Young Cadres Encounter Resistance in Moving Upward
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 3 Sep 80) 78

Liaoning Cadres Promoted, by Sun Jun
Changzhi Promotes Educated Youths, by Lu Jiasheng

Briefs
Shanghai Fire, Explosion Accidents 81
Shandong Marriage Law 81
Study of Paris Commune 81

Guangdong Cadre Arrested 82
Liaoning Nationality Work Session 82
Jiangsu CYL Conference 82
Hubei Mediation Work 82
Anhui TU Council Meeting 83
Anhui Judicial Administration Forum 83
Hubei Prefectural Regulations 83

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

China Would Like U.S. Aid To Modernize Air Force
(Alain Jacob; LE MONDE, 14 Oct 80) 84

Indictment Against PLA Leaders Criticized
(Ba Yi Radio, 17 Nov 80) 86

CLARIFICATION: 'BA YI RADIO' SAYS U.S. GIVES PRC MILITARY SECRETS TO TAIWAN 88

Briefs

Shanghai Criminal Cases 89
Liaoning Luda Garrison Command 89
Sichuan Military Skills Contest 89
Sichuan National Defense Industries 89
Shanghai Waterfront Security Improvement 90
Jiangsu Air Defense Works 90
Jiangsu Militia Meetings 90
Ordnance Cadre Training Unit 90

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Reinterpretation of Relationship Between Literature, Politics
(Liu Guangyao; ANHUI WENXUE, No 4, 1980) 91

Educator Lists Ways To Reform Middle School Education
(Shao Ailing; WEN HUI BAO, 23 Aug 80) 98

Hainan Education Bureau Calls Meeting To Exchange Views
(HAINAN RIBAO, 30 Aug 80) 101

Zhengzhou University Upgrades Teaching of Basic Courses
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 2 Oct 80) 103

Mongolian, Writers, Artists Urged To Serve Modernization
(Yan Xinsheng; HONGYAN, Jul 80) 105

China Scores Succes in Settling Feuds Beyond Court
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 7 Sep 80) 110

Shaanxi Country Combats Superstitious Activities
(Shaanxi Provincial Service, 8 Nov 80) 112

Newsletter Describes Sun Yat-sen's Life in Honolulu
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 10 Nov 80) 113

PRC, BBC To Coproduce Animated Film
(XINHUA, 5 Nov 80) 115

Report on Students' Indifference to Marxism
(AFP, 3 Nov 80) 116

Hebei People's Commune Expands Cultural Facilities
(XINHUA, 15 Nov 80) 117

Briefs

Chinese Language Association Meeting 119
Anhui Secondary Vocational Schools 119
Qinghai Tibetan Publications 119
Liaoning Colleges 119
Liaoning New Drama 120
Yunnan Teachers' Gathering 120
Shanghai Journalist's Birth Anniversary 120
Shanghai Book Series 120
Jiangsu Library Supplies 120
Taiwan Mountaineers 120
Smuggling in Opera Troupe 121
Sports Delegation Visits Europe 121

USSR CONDEMNED FOR AFGHAN INVASION

OW180710 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] United Nations, November 17 (XINHUA)--Pakistan, Paraguay and Oman today condemned the Soviet Union for its invasion of Afghanistan and demanded an immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of its troops from that country.

Addressing the General Assembly, Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi said, the Afghanistan question "concerns the fundamental principles of non-use of force, non-intervention and non-interference, all of which have been violated in the case of the non-aligned Islamic State of Afghanistan."

Shahi pointed out that "the situation in Afghanistan has been further aggravated" as the number of Soviet troops there was heavily augmented, repressive measures against the Afghan population continued unabated and tens of thousands of refugees were forced to seek shelter in Pakistan every month.

He said, "The crux of the political solution is the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from the territory of Afghanistan."

He emphasized the necessity of the participation of the Afghan resistance organization in political negotiations, and reaffirmed his country's non-recognition of the present regime in Kabul.

Representatives of Paraguay and Oman charged in their addresses that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had violated international law and the United Nations Charter. They demanded an immediate cessation of the Soviet aggression and occupation of Afghanistan.

CSO: 4020

USSR INTENSIFIES SUPPRESSION OF AFGHAN REBELS

OW161222 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 16 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, November 16 (XINHUA)--The Afghan Government army and air force began to hold military exercises today in what guerrilla fighters believe would signalize "wider offensives" against them in the four provinces of Parwan, Gyazni, Nangarhar and Kabul.

According to New Delhi reports quoting Afghan information, the manoeuvres were preceded by fierce Soviet bombardments of Afghanistan's second and third largest cities, Kandahar and Herat, in recent days. Thousands of people were killed and hundreds of homes destroyed.

The Soviet attack on Herat, in west central Afghanistan about 96 kms from the border with Iran, began on November 3. Many homes in the old part of the city of 150,000 people and in the suburbs were demolished and dozens of small villages near the city were completely destroyed as a result, said an AP report from New Delhi.

The Soviet occupation forces began bombing and shelling the city of Kandahar with a population of over 200,000 and its suburbs on November 8.

According to a REUTER report, Soviet troops have moved into a strategic corridor in northeast Afghanistan, Wakhan. "The Soviet troops have occupied the largely-unhabitated 300 square km (115 square miles) Wakhan corridor astride the Pamir Mountains, one of the world's most rugged and inaccessible regions, effectively sealing it off from all access except from the Soviet central Asian republic of Tadzhikistan to the north."

"The Wakhan corridor lies 80 km west of Khunjurab Pass between Pakistan and China through which the Karakoram Highway, the only all weather road linking the two countries, runs," added the report.

CSO: 4020

U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT REPORTS ON FIGHTING IN AFGHANISTAN

OW180308 Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Washington, November 17 (XINHUA)--Fighting in Afghanistan, now nearly a year old, continues widespread throughout the country despite the approaching winter and there is no indication that the level of fighting in Afghanistan has slowed, the State Department said today.

A situation report issued by the department today said that in the past few weeks the nationalists have been particularly effective in ambushes against Soviet convoys and there is currently heavy fighting in Kandahar.

The resistance fighters continue to deny the Kabul regime control over most of the countryside; the Soviet and Babrak forces hold only the major towns. The Afghan army continues to disintegrate, and the Soviet military does almost all the fighting now, the report said.

"The current aggressive posture of the resistance movement reflects self-confidence, vitality, and high morale," it noted.

Kabul currently suffers from shortages of medicines, some staple food items, heating oil, charcoal, firewood and electricity. These shortages are undoubtedly worse outside the capital, the report said. There may be food shortages in Afghanistan this winter, partially because of the destruction brought about by the Soviets and the war, and partially because in many cases farmers have concentrated on fighting rather than farming this year. However, the nationalists "have been preparing for the winter for some time and undoubtedly have stored food supplies," the report said.

An article by Drew Middleton carried in the NEW YORK TIMES today said that in suppressing the resistance forces in Afghanistan, the Soviet military objective at present is to hold the cities, and deny the insurgents safe haven in villages by bombing any village where there is evidence of their presence.

Thousands of acres of crops have been destroyed in the fighting, particularly in the fertile Koh-i-daman area north of Kabul, the article said, "Soviet tactics are leading to a further reduction in the food supply as winter approaches. The Russians are hitting heavily at areas close to major towns, customarily the most heavily cultivated. The Russian objective seems to be to create 'safe zones' around the towns."

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATO ADMIRAL VIEWS SOVIET NAVAL BUILDUP

OW130728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 13 Nov 80

[Text] Brussels, November 12 (XINHUA)--Admiral Harry D. Train, supreme allied commander Atlantic of NATO said here today that the Soviet build-up of an impressive force of submarine, surface, and air units presents a formidable challenge to NATO's maritime capability and demands an increase in NATO's maritime responsibility.

Giving a lecture at a meeting under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Relations here this evening, he said that "in the past fifteen years, the Soviet surface navy has steadily grown from a coastal defense force into a blue water navy, powerful enough to challenge the U.S. and NATO navies in most major ocean areas of the world. It has continually evolved toward broader missions, with a growing ability to exercise effective command and control on a worldwide basis, and as we have seen recently in the Indian Ocean, the capability to shift forces rapidly from one ocean to another and operate them effectively." Today the Soviet political leadership is sensitive to the use of naval presence to influence events in their favor and to further the political and diplomatic aims of the Soviet Union, he added.

"But most important, perhaps," he pointed out, "is the recent projection of Soviet naval power far from Soviet home waters. It is this capability, the projection of naval power far from one's geographic boundaries, which perhaps more than any other, necessitates NATO to look beyond their national and Atlantic interests and embrace a fundamental philosophy of worldwide maritime commitment." He called on West European allies to strive not only for higher priority in the North Atlantic area, but to deter the Soviets from initiating military action elsewhere.

"At the moment, NATO has maritime superiority but that superiority is diminishing. NATO needs to invest more money in her maritime forces," he concluded.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' ON OPENING OF EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE

OW121946 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 12 Nov 80

[Text] Madrid, November 11 (XINHUA)--The formal meeting of the followup conference on European security and cooperation managed to open here at 11:50 late this evening inspite of the failure of a nine-week preparatory session to reach an agreement on an agenda.

Today's opening session lasted only two minutes. After the welcoming address was delivered by Spanish Foreign Minister Perez-Llorca, the delegates took leave one after another. Then at mid-night the working group meeting of the conference convened.

The Madrid conference is a European security conference called in accordance with the final documents signed by heads of governments attending the Helsinki Conference in 1975. One other followup conference was held in Belgrade in 1977. Delegates hailing from 35 countries including all European nations with the exception of Albania, the United States and Canada attended the conference. Its purpose is to review the progress on signatories' implementation of the Helsinki accords over the past five years, and the past three years in particular, and present new proposals on European security and cooperation.

The opposing east and west blocs have been deadlocked on the agenda and time table for the conference since the beginning of its preparatory session on September 9. The focus of the controversy hinges on how much time to devote to the review of the implementation of the final documents of the Helsinki accords dealing with human rights. The United States and its Western allies have been pressing for an extensive review of implementation of the accords so as to condemn the Soviet Union for its armed invasion of Afghanistan and its repression of human rights at home. The Soviet Union and some East European countries tried by every means to curtail the review in a bid to extricate the Soviet Union from denunciation. The two sides, therefore, failed to achieve any sort of unanimity of views on the scheduled conference.

Early this morning, Foreign Minister Perez-Llorca of Spain, the host country, met with the delegates from the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and other countries in order to bring about a mediation. But the Soviet Union, adhering to its original stand, wanted to continue to keep the preparatory session open and threatened to turn down the agreement already reached on the continuity of the security conference. As a result, the conference scheduled to open at 11 a.m. this morning was postponed time and again. The U.S. and some of its allies strongly demanded that the conference should either be officially opened as scheduled or called off. After going through hard bargaining, the Soviet Union and the United States finally decided to convene the conference without an agenda for both were reluctant to take responsibility for the abortion of the conference.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ITALIAN, YUGOSLAV LEADERS ON BOUNDARY TREATY ANNIVERSARY

OW111658 Beijing XINHUA in English 1634 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] Rome, November 10 (XINHUA)--Foreign ministers of Italy and Yugoslavia have stressed the importance of solving problems through peaceful means, the Italian news agency ANSA reported today. They were interviewed by television newsmen on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Osimo boundary treaty signed between the two countries.

During the interview, which was broadcast this evening in Capodistria, a small city on Yugoslavia's border with Italy, the Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo said that "the relations between Italy and Yugoslavia is essential not only to the common interests of the two countries but also to the rest of the world."

He continued to say that "after the (Second World) War, Italy and Yugoslavia have chosen their political systems based on different doctrines, but this did not prevent them from solving their delicate and difficult problems peacefully."

He also said that "as two big countries, Italy and Yugoslavia cannot refuse responsibility towards peaceful co-existence in the Mediterranean region. I think this responsibility should urge us to strengthen the good relations we have maintained so well to this day."

In the interview, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Josip Vrhovec said that "the Osimo (boundary) treaty represents one of the most significant and durable treaties signed in Europe after the war. Its importance lies not only in the fact that it has solved thoroughly the contradictions which had existed between the two countries for many years, but has also opened up effectively new prospects for cooperation. It also testified that there are no insolvable contradictions."

Italy and Yugoslavia signed the boundary treaty on November 10, 1975 after holding negotiations and consultations, resolving whereby all the border problems left over by history in the Trieste region.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EUROPEAN TRADE ASSOCIATION CONCLUDES MEETING

OW111948 Beijing XINHUA in English 1935 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] Geneva, November 11 (XINHUA)--The rate of economic growth and the level of employment had been relatively satisfactory in most countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), but the international economic prospects, with continuing inflation and rising unemployment, gave the cause of serious concern, noted the ministers of the EFTA countries.

The EFTA countries met at ministerial level here on November 10 and 11 under the chairmanship of Rue de Almida Mendes, Portuguese secretary of state for European integration.

The meeting estimated a 3.5 percent average growth of gross national product in the EFTA countries this year, more than two percentage points higher than the average expected for other countries in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

However, the meeting conceded, the present economic downturn in major OECD countries was already leading to stagnation or an outright decline in the volume of exports from EFTA countries.

The ministers were concerned that the EFTA countries with their comparatively small economies might have to carry a relatively high share of current account deficit. Accordingly, and with the aim of improving the general economic situation, they stressed that, as inflation is brought under control in the OECD area, monetary and fiscal policies should, where necessary, be re-assessed.

They reaffirmed their commitment to liberal trade policies and the preservation of an open world trading system and urged all trading partners to use fully the existing multilateral framework to solve trade problems.

They emphasized the importance of further developing economic cooperation between the EFTA countries and the European community and discussed the temporary measures being taken with the community to cope with the present difficult situation in the steel sector.

CSO: 4020

FRENCH, WEST GERMAN LEADERS HOLD TALKS

OW111606 Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] Paris, November 10 (XINHUA)--French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt told pressmen this evening that they shared an identical view on current international issues.

Schmidt came here this evening for a regular informal summit meeting with Giscard d'Estaing--their first meeting since Schmidt's re-election. Immediately after his arrival, the two had a four-hour private talk.

It was reported that the two leaders had an exchange of viewpoints on the current international situation, especially the result of the U.S. presidential election, the policies of the Soviet Union and the United States, the relations between East and West, European politics and economy as well as the situation in Southeast Asia and the Gulf area.

At the end of their talks, Giscard d'Estaing told journalists that "our analysis is similar and we shall make joint efforts for security and peace."

"France will continue to contribute to the organization of Europe and to tighten political cooperation with all its partners, and obviously with West Germany, which is and will remain our first partner," the French president added.

Giscard d'Estaing said that France could only be pleased "to see a strong America fully determined to take up its international responsibilities." "Between a strong America and a Europe assured of its strength and its role, there can develop the friendly dialogue which is natural between them, and a cooperation which will help keep the peace and defend freedom in the world," he said.

Speaking to pressmen, Schmidt emphasized the importance of cooperation between France and West Germany, within Europe and between Europe and the United States. "Conscious of the fact that at this end of 1980 and in the beginning of 1981, the world faces numerous threats." He added that "these past years have shown that, united, we can surmount great difficulties. We think that we will succeed in 1981."

CSO: 4020

USSR, ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET IN MOSCOW

OW110904 Beijing XINHUA in English 0852 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] Moscow, November 10 (XINHUA)--Visiting Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo and his Soviet counterpart Andrey Gromyko held talks here today on bilateral relations and pressing international issues.

At a banquet in Colombo's honour, the two foreign ministers discussed the Madrid conference scheduled to open tomorrow.

A TASS report quoted Gromyko as saying, "Will it become a businesslike exercise based on the Helsinki final act or will it be reduced to a confrontation and futile polemics?

"To listen to some of the participants, one would get the impression they are going to Madrid only to organize there a kind of a verbal corrida."

He reaffirmed the Soviet stand, hoping that an agreement would be reached at Madrid to hold a conference on "military detente and disarmament in Europe."

Gromyko made the remarks evidently having in mind the fact that many delegates to the Madrid meeting had made clear their intention to discuss the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the light of the Helsinki final act.

Colombo said in his toast, "The cause of European peace and security is closely connected with that of world peace and security." He pointed out that for the statesmen of various countries, their very understanding of the gravity of the current international situation should once more drive them to analyse the present difficulties with a keen sense of responsibility and devote their efforts to the elimination of the hot-beds of conflicts.

The Italian foreign minister arrived here yesterday for an official visit to the country. A TASS dispatch from Rome on the eve of his visit said that "the bilateral relations between the two countries have been cold recently in the political as well as economic fields."

Informed sources said that the two ministers' talks were mainly related to economic and trade relations between the two countries. Their volume of trade is expected to reach three billion rubles this year.

CSO: 4020

ISLAMIC-ARAB PEOPLES' LEAGUE ASSEMBLY MEETS IN CAIRO

OW101901 Beijing XINHUA in English 1851 GMT 10 Nov 80

[Text] Cairo, November 10 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat opened here today the first session of the constituent assembly of the League of Islamic and Arab Peoples. The assembly undertakes the preparatory work for the league which was proclaimed to be established next December.

In his address to the assembly, Al-Sadat said that the aim of the League of Islamic and Arab Peoples is "to end rows in the Arab and Islamic world" and "to establish Islamic and Arab solidarity, particularly in the economic and social fields." "Popular cooperation does not exclude official cooperation," he added.

Al-Sadat said that Egypt was extending military, material and political assistance to Afghan fighters resisting the Soviet invasion of their country. He asserted Egypt's readiness to help any Arab or Islamic country subject to aggression.

It was announced that the league will inaugurate an office for the affairs of Afghanistan. It will also establish an office for Arab and Moslem expatriates in Egypt.

After Camp David accords, the Arab countries excluding Egypt decided to transfer the headquarters of the Arab league from Cairo to Tunis. But since then Egypt has maintained the organs of the Arab league here. Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali has proclaimed that the Arab league here will continue to function and that Sayed Nofal will supervise the league as secretary general in addition to his work as secretary general of the constituent assembly of the League of Islamic and Arab Peoples.

The president of the constituent assembly of the League of Islamic and Arab Peoples is Egyptian President Al-Sadat, as it was announced here earlier.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA URGES SRV TO WITHDRAW TROOPS

OW110848 Beijing XINHUA in English 0836 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, November 11 (XINHUA)--"The key to a solution of the Kampuchean problem is for Hanoi to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea," said a statement issued by the Foreign Ministry of Democratic Kampuchea on November 8, Radio Democratic Kampuchea broadcast today.

The statement says that Vietnam must withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea in the interest of the survival of the Kampuchean nation, the independence of Kampuchea, the preservation of peace, stability and tranquility in Southeast Asia and the founding of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region.

It says that the 35th U.N. General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority, a resolution drafted by ASEAN and other states, urging Vietnam to implement the resolution of the 34th U.N. General Assembly to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea and proposing an international conference to discuss a solution to the Kampuchean problem. This is the common aspiration of countries in the world who love peace and uphold justice.

However, the statement adds, the Hanoi authorities have obdurately refused to carry out the U.N. resolution in defiance of the strong demand of the international community. Militarily, Vietnam has continued sending troops to Kampuchea. And the Soviet Union has been supplying weapons and equipment to it to continue the war of aggression against Kampuchea, posing a threat to Thailand and other ASEAN countries. Politically, Vietnam is attempting to hold an "election" under the bayonets of 250,000 Vietnamese troops so as to legalize its rule in Phnom Penh. Diplomatically, Vietnam has been manoeuvring to have the international community recognize its occupation of Kampuchea, as an accomplished fact.

The statement says the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the patriotic and democratic front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea are convinced that the peace loving and justice upholding countries and people of the world will continue to give political, diplomatic, moral and material support for the Kampuchean people's just cause. The Kampuchean people will surmount difficulties at any cost and continue to fight for the salvation of the motherland and for thwarting the Vietnamese-Soviet aggression and expansion in the region.

CSO: 4020

POLAND'S POLITBURO WELCOMES SUPREME COURT RULING

OW120818 Beijing XINHUA in English 0806 GMT 12 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, November 11 (XINHUA)--The ruling of the supreme court on an appeal by the "Solidarity" Trade Union against the amendment of its charter imposed by a lower court is "a victory of common sense, a victory of the spirit of agreement." This was declared by Andrzej Werblan, politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, when he briefed newsmen about today's politburo meeting which was devoted to a discussion of the domestic situation.

Verblan added that "this (the ruling) shows that the government is willing to put into effect all the social agreements it has signed."

The meeting noted, he said, that the ruling has ended the dispute over the role and status of the new trade unions in a socialist state. Thereafter the independent "Solidarity" Trade Unions will "smoothly join in seeking a constructive solution to the difficult problems facing the country."

The politburo also stressed, he said, "The need to cooperate with the new unions, and asks the party organs and branches as well as government organs to help the new trade unions in their activities."

On the same day, Vice-Premier Aleksander Kopec said at a press conference that what was most needed today was for every one to do his duty. "We can no longer allow further decline in production, or any extra wage increases," he said.

He hoped that the final solution of the "Solidarity" problem should have some effect on the relaxation of social tension and the creation of a peaceful working atmosphere.

After talking about the country's economic difficulties, he said that at present the government should focus its attention on three points: one, negotiate with the workers at places where tension and conflicts still exist; two, readjust the present economic tasks; three, draw up principles guiding the functioning of the economy in the future. He said that the government deems it important to improve market supply by cutting down investments by 100 billion zlotys.

CSO: 4020

POLAND'S KANIA AFFIRMS PARTY ROLE IN TRADE UNIONS

OW081634 Beijing XINHUA in English 1611 GMT 8 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, November 8 (XINHUA)--"Today one has to say--there are borders which no one can cross. Everybody who hits at socialism hits at the independent existence of the nation," said Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee of Polish United Workers' Party, in his speech to local party secretaries of plants and workshops in Krakow on November 5.

In his speech telecast nation-wide on November 6, Kania said there are some elements who seek permanent political tension and even destruction of the national economic system. "The whole world could see that we have acted peacefully and that only political methods were used, but one should say loudly today that nowadays there are boundaries that cannot be crossed," he stressed.

"Everyone who strikes at socialism strikes at the independent existence of the nation," Kania said. "That is why we shall defend socialism in the same way as it is necessary to defend the independence of the country."

Affirming the leading role of the party, Kania said neither the workers nor the government wanted to create an organization "which would have ambiguous relations toward the system in our country."

Kania said the Polish United Workers' Party and government agreed to allow creation of Solidarnosc (Solidarity), an independent trade union coalition, because a "major part of the working class wanted it and secondly because already when the demand was put forward the socialist character of the organization was unambiguously determined." "These are two inseparable prerequisites and one cannot function without the other," he added.

He said to "outdistance" itself from the socialist character of the union would be harmful to Solidarnosc.

The independent trade union "Solidarity" will launch a new, phased nation-wide strike next week, if their demand that the key phrase reaffirming the role of the party in the trade union is not removed from their charter.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

PHNOM PENH RELIEF--Bangkok, Nov 6 (XINHUA)--Air and sea transport of supplies to Vietnam-occupied Phnom Penh and Kompong Som via Bangkok by international relief organizations will be placed under stricter control of the Thai authorities, according to today's "BANGKOK POST" quoting Prasong Sunsiri, secretary-general of the National Security Council of Thailand, yesterday. He said the new measures were announced to the representatives of the UNICEF, the International Committee of Red Cross, World Food Programme, UNHCR and the Food and Agriculture Organization at a special meeting at Government House. The secretary general said any international agency which henceforth wants to carry out an air or sea lift from Bangkok to Phnom Penh or Kompong Som must notify the Thai authorities two weeks in advance of the transport date. Often in the past, Thai officials were informed only a day or two in advance and the relief supplies transported to Kampuchea were not properly checked due to the time limit. Outsiders who are not staff members of the relief agencies would not be allowed on trips to Kampuchea. All aid materials must be clearly declared, Prasong added. [Text] [OW060748 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 6 Nov 80]

THAI TALKS COMMENTS--Bangkok, Nov 7 (XINHUA)--"The next step of ASEAN after its victory in the United Nations is, I think, to carry into practice the guidelines we have achieved in the U.N. resolution. We must abide by them," Malaysian Foreign Minister Tengku Rithauddeen told XINHUA at the airport here this afternoon before his departure for home. The Malaysian foreign minister arrived here yesterday afternoon. He held talks with Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon and Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila on the results of Prem's visit to China and some international problems, the Kampuchean problem in particular. In reply to a question, he said at the press conference this afternoon: "The presence of a Soviet aircraft-carrier and other warships in the Gulf of Thailand has caused some concern to the countries in the region. As for the cruising of the Soviet fleet through the Straits of Malacca, as you know, we are always concerned about this." He briefed the conference: "My discussions with the Thai prime minister and foreign minister are very good and fruitful. Their perceptions of the international situation, especially the situation in the region and the Kampuchean problem, are very important." "The Thai prime minister has renewed his invitation to my prime minister to visit Thailand. My prime minister has accepted his invitation. We hoped that the two prime ministers will meet here next month," Rithauddeen stated. [Text] [OW071310 Beijing XINHUA in English 1230 GMT 7 Nov 80]

REFUGEES FLEE VIETNAM, LAOS--Beijing, Nov 7 (XINHUA)--The number of Vietnamese refugees who have arrived in other Asian nations has been tripled from 2,557 in

September to 8,180 in October, according to an AFP report today. A spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Bangkok was quoted as saying that the influx last month affected many countries and regions in Asia with Indonesia holding 2,088 new arrivals, followed by Malaysia with 2,046. A total of 1,583 boat refugees have arrived in Thailand, 978 in Singapore and 963 in the Philippines. Meanwhile, according to the reports, the number of Lao refugees crossing over Thailand's northern border also increased from 1,708 in September to 3,178 last month. The upsurge in Laotians fleeing their country followed in the wake of a wave of arrests early last month involving some 500 officials and students suspected of being opposed to the pro-Vietnamese regime in Vientiane. [Text] [OW071734 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 7 Nov 80]

NEW STRATEGY SUGGESTED--Ottawa, Nov 7 (XINHUA)--The chairman of NATO's military committee suggested in Toronto yesterday that the existing strategy of flexible response to an enemy attack be substituted by a new strategy of "equivalent response." Speaking at the Empire Club of Canada, Admiral Robert Falls pointed out that NATO's defense strategy was oriented towards a flexible response to an attack. It requires the use of conventional forces before the use of nuclear weapons. He said he thought that this might be abandoned in favor of a new "equivalent response" strategy. "I believe it would be criminal, indeed, to put the heritage of generations of Europeans and North Americans in danger of destruction because we don't like the thought of war or because nuclear weapons, quite naturally, frighten us, or purely and simply because we want to gamble the pleasures of current consumption against the risk of war," he emphasized. He voiced his concern at the continued Soviet military buildup. "The Soviet leadership," he said, "seems to be ready to spend as much as they think necessary to improve every facet of their ability to wage a war. As a result, we can no longer rely upon our historic, almost taken-for-granted ability to remain qualitatively ahead of a numerically superior opponent." He told his audience, "We have something worth defending and we have the means to do it. It seems to me that it would be criminally short-sighted to risk the survival of the Western world for the relatively marginal cost of the defense insurance premium." [Text] [OW080114 Beijing XINHUA in English 0102 GMT 8 Nov 80]

SECURITY DANGER--Bangkok, Nov 7 (XINHUA)--Soem An Nakhon, deputy prime minister and supreme commander of the armed forces of Thailand, warned the nation today that the situation along the eastern border endangered the security and stability of the country. Speaking at a ceremony of issuing insignia to the full colonels of the three services here this afternoon, he urged the armed force to follow the developments of this situation closely and close their ranks, increase the unity among themselves and their cooperation with government departments and the entire people. Answering a question put to him by newsmen after the ceremony, he said that the Kampuchean problem can be solved properly "only when all foreign troops have been withdrawn from that country." [Text] [OW080117 Beijing XINHUA in English 0107 GMT 8 Nov 80]

YUGOSLAVIA VISIT ENDED--Belgrade, Nov 7 (XINHUA)--Resort to force in international relations and interference in various forms in the internal affairs of other countries are threatening the process of detente, peace and security throughout the world, states a joint communique made public at the end of Greek President Konstandinos Karamanlis' three-day official visit to this country here today. The two sides expressed their hope that the Madrid Conference would be held in a constructive spirit and achieve positive results, so as to help strengthen detente in Europe, it says. Referring to the situation in the Balkan region and the promotion of cooperation among the Balkan states, they believed that good-neighbourly relations, mutual understanding and friendly relations were in the interest of the people in this region and helpful to the establishment of security and cooperation in Europe according to the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, the communique notes. The presidents of the two countries also expressed their apprehension over the Iraq-Iran armed conflict. They urged the two countries to end and settle the conflict in keeping with the U.N. charter and through peaceful means. They held that the non-aligned movement has played an important role in international relations and made contribution in solving international problems, it points out. The two presidents reiterated their readiness to strive for cooperation in all fields, the communique declares. [Text] [OW080715 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 8 Nov 80]

GUERRILLAS SEIZE VIETNAMESE STRONGHOLD--Beijing, Nov 8 (XINHUA)--A Vietnamese stronghold in Ta Sanh, east of Samlot District, Batdambang Province, was captured on November 3 by the Kampuchean national army and guerrillas, according to a broadcast of Radio Democratic Kampuchea monitored here today. Since October 21, it said, the national army and guerrillas had invested the stronghold which was guarded by a Vietnamese battalion and seized it after bombarding the enemy with rockets and mortars. They killed 42 Vietnamese troops, wounded many others, destroyed a number of guns and other military materials. The remainders fled to the town of Samlot. Vietnamese troops in Samlot were panic-stricken, after the fall of the Ta Sanh stronghold. Earlier, the radio reported that the Kampucheans attacked a Vietnamese camp site south of Highway Number Five in Sisophon District of Batdambang Province on the morning of October 25, killing or wounding about 100 enemy men and destroying five military installations and a barracks. The following day they ambushed a Vietnamese transport company near Chathnaol River, north of Kirivongs Village in Kaoh Kong Province, killing 45 Vietnamese troops, including a company officer. On October 24, the Kampucheans assaulted an enemy stronghold in Choam Khsant District of Preah Vihear Province, killing or wounding 34 enemy men and destroying an ammunition depot. [Text] [OW080800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 8 Nov 80]

WARNING OF SRV INTENTIONS--Bangkok, Nov 8 (XINHUA)--Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea have been sending reinforcements to the Kampuchean-Thai border area from Ubon to Trat Province and moving their heavy artillery pieces to positions nearer to Thai territory, said Lt. General Som Kataphan, director of the information office of the supreme command of the Thai armed forces yesterday. Briefing a reporter of the THAI FRONTLINE DAILY on the situation in the Thai-Kampuchean border area, Som Kataphan said the Thai military quarters learnt that the Heng Samrin Regime had posted a notice calling upon the Kampuchean residents in Siemreap, Sisophon and Nimit areas to dig shelters against the so-called Khmer Rouge air raids. This is incredible because the armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea have no aircraft. It is a Vietnamese pretext for launching new military operations, he pointed out. "I think," he said, "it is most likely that the Vietnamese troops will renew their invasion of Thailand." "The Thai armed forces cannot afford to be off their guard and must be ready at all times to repulse the invaders." [Text] [OW081226 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 8 Nov 80]

MALARIA CONTROL CONFERENCE--Manila, Nov 8 (XINHUA)--The number of malaria cases has sharply declined from 7.296 million in 1976 to 3.192 million last year in Asia

(China excluded). This was emphasized in the 7th Asian Malaria Control Conference which closed here today. 85 people from 27 countries in the West Pacific, Southeast Asia and the East Mediterranean region attended the conference. According to data released by the conference, anti-malaria activities in India and Sri Lanka were remarkable. In India, 6.4 million malaria incidents were recorded in 1976, but 2.8 million cases reportedly took place last year after the Indian government set up drug distribution centers and fever treatment depots nationwide. In Sri Lanka, 400,000 cases of confirmed malaria were reported in 1975, but the intensified anti-malaria campaign reduced the figure to 48,000 last year. Professor Huang Senqi from China presented a report to the conference on the present status of malaria control in China. Outlining the future work in malaria control, the conference recommended the malaria-affected states to consider malaria-control activities as an important aspect in primary health care, continue to train professionals and community workers, and strengthen study and research work. [Text] [OW081726 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 8 Nov 80]

FOREIGN INTERVENTION--Dakar, Nov 7 (XINHUA)--Chadian Finance Minister Ahmat Mahamat Saleh appeals to all factions of Chad to settle their conflict by political means and prevent direct or indirect foreign intervention in Chad's affairs so as to realize unity and reconciliation among all patriotic forces for a united and prosperous Chad. Ahmat, who is on a visit to Senegal, made the appeal in an interview with the Senegalese newspaper "LE SOLEIL." The interview was published by the paper today. Ahmat, who is also commissioner of foreign relations of the Commandant Council of the Armed Forces of the North, also told a press conference here today that "3,000 Libyan regular troops have invaded Chad to occupy the country and install a puppet government there obedient to them in order to realise al-Qadhdhafi's dream of setting up a 'United States of Saheli'." He said that the Libyan invasion started on October 19. "We are fighting the Libyan occupation troops for the liberation and total independence of Chad and our struggle will continue until total victory," Ahmat stressed. Ahmat showed the press conference photos of Soviet-made surface-to-surface missiles and other weapons used by the Libyan forces and captured by the armed forces of the north on the Ndjamena battlefield on October 19, 20 and 21. [Text] [OW081720 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 8 Nov 80]

NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL DISSOLVED--Kampala, Nov 8 (XINHUA)--The ruling military commission of Uganda announced unexpectedly in a statement today that as general elections had been set for December 10 this year, it decided to dissolve the National Consultative Council which served as the legislative body of the country. The council was formed in Moshi, Tanzania on the eve of the overthrow of Idi Amin's regime in March 1979. After the liberation of the country in the following month, it was expanded and officially started to function as the country's legislative body. But it broke down last September when its members from the Democratic Party and the Uganda Patriotic Movement, two of the four political parties in the country, walked out of its sessions in protest of the arbitrary takeover of the council's chairmanship by another political party, the Uganda People's Congress led by former President Obote. As the elections drew near and a number of important questions remained unsolved, the council was urged to resume its sessions as soon as possible. Two days ago, it was officially announced that the council would do so next week. Today's announcement of the dissolution of the council came as a surprise. Observers here believe that the military commission itself may take on the responsibilities of the council before the general elections. [Text] [OW081912 Beijing XINHUA in English 1900 GMT 8 Nov 80]

CALL TO OVERCOME PROBLEMS--Warsaw, Nov 8 (XINHUA)--Poland's Council of State passed a resolution Friday calling on the entire Polish people to make joint efforts, work in earnest and avoid new strikes so as to overcome the present difficulties. The Polist news agency PAP reported that the Council of State made the appeal after studying the uneasy social and economic situation in the country. The resolution says that "effective work should be accomplished again in every place and every post" and "every one should fulfill his task conscientiously." It says, "The Council of State is of the opinion that any disruption or stoppage of work would lead to growing tension and undermine the economy." The resolution calls on the government to listen to "the voice of criticism from the society" and to "get rid of waste and anarchism and to take urgent measures" in the fields of production and supply. The resolution also instructs the people's councils at various levels and its executive organs to "immediately take effective actions to normalize the social and economic life" and oppose "the undermining of order, authoritarianism and ignorance of the laws" and "bureaucracy." It was also reported that the National Consultative Committee of the Polish independent and self-governing "Solidarity" trade union had decided to meet in a plenary session in Warsaw Sunday to discuss Poland's domestic situation and tasks facing the independent trade union movement. [Text] [OW091214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 9 Nov 80]

NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE MEETING--Mexico City, Nov 8 (XINHUA)--The "North-South Dialogue," an international meeting on cooperation and development at head-of-state or chief-of-government level, is scheduled to be held here in early June next year. A decision to this effect, according to a communique issued by Mexico's foreign ministry today, was made at a meeting held in Vienna from November 7 to 8 attended by foreign ministers from 11 Asian, African, European and American countries. The communique says the foreign ministers held that "the question of cooperation and development cries out for urgent attention from the highest political level. The meeting will therefore be one of a political nature." According to the communique, the meeting will also be an unofficial one aiming to achieve "greater understanding" and deeper appreciation of such questions as "interdependence among nations." Mexican Foreign Secretary Jorge Castaneda and Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky were quoted as telling the Spanish news agency EFE in Vienna that since the "North-South Dialogue" first started in Paris in 1977, there has been no satisfactory progress made. They said that their two countries hoped that the dialogue will be held in a creative and informal atmosphere and gain fresh impetus. The Mexican foreign secretary said that the transfer of capital and technology and issues concerning a new international economic order will figure at the scheduled "North-South Dialogue." [Text] [OW091252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1243 GMT 9 Nov 80]

UNHCR OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED--Lubumbashi, Nov 8 (XINHUA)--About 160,000 to 170,000 Zairians who lived in exile in Angola and Zambia since the two shaba wars have returned home since October 1978, said acting chief of the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Thierno Mumarh Bah here today. In an interview with XINHUA, Mumarh Bah pointed out that with the help of the Zairian Government, UNHCR had set up reception centres in five places of Shaba Province to provide material and medical aid for the Zairians who wished to return home. The centres also provided them with farm implements and seeds. Mumarh Bah said that the settlement work has cost UNHCR between 16 million and 17 million U.S. dollars. [Text] [OW091716 Beijing XINHUA in English 1651 GMT 9 Nov 80]

REGIME AID SHOULD BE STOPPED--Bangkok, Nov 10 (XINHUA)--"No U.N. agency should give aid provided by U.N. members to the Heng Samrin regime," said the BANGKOK POST in an editorial today. The paper urged the international aid agencies concerned to stop any aid to the Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh. Explaining the reasons for its appeal, the paper added that "international aid agencies should first and foremost be reminded of the fact that the funds donated by United Nations members in response to ASEAN requests are meant to provide relief for Kampucheans refugees" and that "it is only those Kampucheans who have come to the Thai border that can be described as refugees requiring aid." "Any assistance turned over to a regime set up by foreign forces and maintained in power by them is not assistance to refugees but political support for the regime. The Heng Samrin regime has been installed by Vietnam and kept in authority in Phnom Penh by Vietnamese forces. As such, it has not been recognized by the United Nations which continues to regard Democratic Kampuchea as the legal representative of the Kampuchean people," the paper stressed. The paper added that however, certain officials of aid agencies have been doing all they can to get aid distributed only by the Heng Samrin regime and giving all sorts of reasons for doing so. [Text] [OW101212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 10 Nov 80]

UNITY OF SERVICEMEN--Bangkok, Nov 10 (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tisulanon yesterday called on all servicemen to unite and resolutely defend the stability and security of the country, according to press reports here today. Speaking to reserves on his inspection tour of an infantry centre in Prachuab Province, south of Bangkok, where 5,000 reserves are reportedly on military training, Prem said: "A large number of foreign troops are now massed near our border line. They are superior to us in both number and equipment. In order to deal with them (their invasion), we must be prepared in both weapons and forces and never slacken our vigilance." Our servicemen and weapons are not enough, he said. From now on, we should further expand our forces, increase their equipment and intensify military training so as to raise the battle capability of the armed forces. [Text] [OW101553 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 10 Nov 80]

TURKISH DOMESTIC SITUATION--Ankara, November 10 (XINHUA)--"Those who want to divide our nation will have to contend with the armed forces," said Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu in the city of Hakkari in eastern Turkey on November 8. He said this on the occasion of the inauguration of a TV transmitter in the city, which will enable the region to receive TV programs from Ankara. He also announced that economic plans are in preparation which will direct state investments to the underdeveloped regions of Turkey, namely the eastern region. "It is the target of the Government of Turkey to render the people in this area a happier and more prosperous society," he said. Stressing the national unity, the prime minister said in the neighbouring province of Van on the previous day: "We are the children of a nation that has fought together against the enemies of its integrity and has lived together through good and bad days." Hakkari and Van Provinces border Iran and Iraq. The Soviet Union has been a strong supporter of Kurdish separatist movements in the region. [Text] [OW101637 Beijing XINHUA in English 1619 GMT 10 Nov 80]

GUERRILLA FORCES CLASH--Salisbury, Nov 10 (XINHUA)--Clashes between ZANU armed forces of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and ZAPU armed forces of Joshua Nkomo broke out again in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second biggest city, this morning, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation reported. The clashes between the guerrillas of ZANU and

ZAPU resumed at daybreak after a four-hour gun battle last night in the Bulawayo suburb of Entumbane where more than 3,000 of the former guerrillas are being accommodated on a housing estate. The clashes were stopped when guerrilla leaders and police arrived there. One man was killed and more than 30 were wounded. It is reported that as campaigning for local government elections later this month gathers momentum, a number of government ministers yesterday went to Bulawayo to attend a rally of ZANU supporters, during which clashes occured between the two factions. [Text] [OW101847 Beijing XINHUA in English 1841 GMT 10 Nov 80]

BANGLADESH PAPER COMMENT--Dacca, Nov 10 (XINHUA)--"Today, of the two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union is more ferocious, more reckless, and more treacherous. It is the most dangerous source of world war," pointed out the Bangladesh weekly "HOLIDAY" in an article yesterday. The article said that the growing expansionist and hegemonic power, social-imperialism, is sparing no effort to carry out its expansion and infiltration everywhere. She has already spread its poisonous tentacles far and wide into Kampuchea, Afghanistan and some African states, it added. The article continued: "Hanoi wants to fulfill its cause of creating an Indochina federation and domination of the Southeast Asia. Moscow for its part, plans to take advantage of Hanoi's ambitions in order to complete its own strategic deployment for hegemony over the Southeast Asia and Pacific. This is why Viet Nam has become a willing pawn of the Soviet social-imperialism and a second Cuba." It added: "The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is a major move by Moscow to reach warm waters and bring its armed forces nearer to the oil producing Gulf area. It has therefore been widely predicted that after the occupation of Afghanistan, the next objective of the Soviet Union is to expand into Pakistan and Iran as a springboard to advance on the Middle East and the Persian Gulf." The article called on the countries upholding international justice to give political, moral and material support to the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea so as to frustrate the evil schemes of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. [Text] [OW101854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1846 GMT 10 Nov 80]

LABOR PARTY SELECTS LEADER--London, Nov 10 (XINHUA)--Michael Foot became the new leader of the British Labour Party today after winning 139 votes from the party's 268 members of Parliament in the second round of a tussle for the top post of the party. His rival Denis Healey, former chancellor of the exchequer, got 129 votes. The voting brought to an end, at least for the time being, to the Labour Party's leadership crisis which erupted following the resignation of former Prime Minister James Callaghan last month. But doubts remain whether the victory of Michael Foot will help pull together the different factions of the party which have been fiercely wrangling over a number of major issues after the party lost the general election in May last year. Denis Healey was regarded as the favourite of the moderates in the party, who dislike Michael Foot's opposition to the European Economic Community and his support for unilateral nuclear disarmament. Michael Foot's election as party leader will have to be confirmed by the electoral college after the party's special conference next January finalizes its composition. But even if the left wing of the party is satisfied with this result, it is not yet clear whether the moderates will be reconciled to their defeat. Some of them have threatened to break away and form a new party if they see the change of leadership marks an end to their control on party policies. Therefore the most difficult task which lies ahead for Michael Foot is how to alleviate the increasingly sharp contradictions within the party and bring about peace and unity. [Text] [OW110246 Beijing XINHUA in English 0209 GMT 11 Nov 80]

THATCHER WARNS USSR--London, Nov 10 (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher tonight accused the Soviet Union of exploiting instability in the world to "gain influence," and warned it against "playing with fire." Speaking at the annual banquet of the lord mayor of the city of London, she said, "Day by day we are witnessing the direct use of Soviet arms to impose the puppet regime on the brave Afghan people." Referring to the international situation, Mrs. Thatcher noted: "We are now in a much more uncertain era." "There are a number of things that we can do together with our partners in the European community, in NATO and with our friends elsewhere. Together we must make a great effort to cooperate closely in dealing with the present problems. If we simply wait until things happen we shall be too late. With our allies we must be able to assist our friends when they are threatened. We must be seen as reliable partners when help is needed," she stressed. Mrs. Thatcher took the opportunity to "welcome what Governor Reagan has said about a need for a confident and powerful alliance." She said she looked forward to working with the American president-elect. On domestic issues, Mrs. Thatcher restated her determination to pursue the government's present economic policies. [Text] [OW110710 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 11 Nov 80]

UNCA URGES IMPROVEMENT--United Nations, Nov 10 (XINHUA)--The United Nations General Assembly today decided to proclaim the period 1981-1990 as the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade, during which member states will assume a commitment to bring about a substantial improvement in the standards and levels of services in drinking water supply and sanitation by the year 1990. The resolution adopted by the assembly tonight "calls upon governments, organs, organizations and bodies of the United Nations system and other intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations concerned to continue and, if possible, to increase their technical and financial cooperation to developing countries in order to enable them to attain the targets they have set, and to continue also their efforts to coordinate their activities so as to maximize the impact of their assistance to developing countries." According to a survey by the World Health Organization (WHO), three out of five people in the developing countries currently do not have access to safe drinking water and three out of four people have inadequate sanitation. The situation in the rural areas is even worse. Only 29 percent of the population in the rural area of the developing countries have some forms of safe drinking water services and only 13 percent of rural population receive adequate sanitation services. No less than 80 percent of all diseases in the developing world is related to poor water supply and inadequate sanitation. A report of the U.N. secretary general estimates that some 2.5 billion people must receive water and/or sanitation services during the next decade. [Text] [OW110740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 11 Nov 80]

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEAN FORCES VICTORIES--Beijing, Nov 11 (XINHUA)--The Kampuchean national army and guerrillas won victories when they attacked Vietnamese aggressors in Battambang and Koh Kong Province early this month, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea. The patriotic Kampuchean forces captured some Vietnamese strongholds in Samlot District of Battambang Province from late October to early this month. They wiped out more than 300 Vietnamese troops. On November 3 and 4 the Kampuchean national army and guerrillas launched attacks on Vietnamese invaders in Koh Po, Kot Russei, Ta Man Leu, Ta Man Kram and Prolean areas in Koh Kong Province. They wiped out 100 Vietnamese troops and seized a quantity of weapons. [Text] [OW111210 Beijing XINHUA in English 1202 GMT 11 Nov 80]

TROUPE CONCLUDES TOUR--Zurich, Nov 12 (XINHUA)--The "Tea House" performing troupe of the Beijing People's Art Theater left here for home this morning after giving two performances in Zurich. During their 50-day performance tour in 15 cities of West Germany, France and Switzerland, the Chinese dramatic artists presented a total of 24 performances of the play, "Tea House," a master-piece of the late famous Chinese writer Lao Shi. A spokesman of the Beijing People's Art Theater estimated that approximately 20,000 West European spectators watched the performances with keen interest. With their excellent performance, the Chinese artists introduced the modern Chinese dramatic art to the West European public for the first time since the founding of the People's China in 1949. The play "Tea House" unfolded before the West European audiences a vivid picture of the decadent semi-feudal and semi-colonial China before the birth of the People's Republic. Before his departure from Zurich for home, the director of the play "Tea House" and head of the performing troupe, Xia Chun, told XINHUA, "We have achieved unexpected successes in this performance tour of Western Europe." A famous West German actor commented that "Tea House" is a realist play rich in Chinese characters. The director of a West German theater praised the performances as of 'the first rate level in the world'." "Our performance tour to the three West European countries," Xia Chun said, "has played the way for further introduction of the Chinese dramatic art to foreign countries." [Text] [OW121804 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 12 Nov 80]

ZIMBABWE SITUATION NORMAL--Salisbury, Nov 12 (XINHUA)--The situation in Bulawayo's Township of Entumbane has returned to normal after warring ex-guerrillas loyal to Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and those loyal to Home Affairs Minister Joshua Nkomo agreed to stop their two-day gunbattles. According to the paper "HERALD" today, the fighting which started last Sunday finally ended yesterday when scores of heavily armed guerrillas went back to their bases and the township residents returned to their homes in response to the call by the authorities. Sources said that on Monday night, guerrilla camps were visited by Brigadier Mike Shute, commander of the first brigade, Dumiso Debangwa, head of the ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army) and Rex Chongo, chief of the ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army). As a result, ex-guerrillas agreed to hand over their heavy weapons. Yesterday afternoon, hundreds of police and national army men in armoured troop-carrying vehicles moved into the encampments to collect mortars, machineguns and rocket launchers handed over by former guerrillas, who are now armed with their personal arms only, the sources added. Gunbattles and rioting in Bulawayo, the second largest city in the country, have left 43 dead and around 400 injured. Most of them were civilians. [Text] [OW121743 Beijing XINHUA in English 1615 GMT 12 Nov 80]

FRANCE'S ARMISTICE DAY--Paris, Nov 11 (XINHUA)--The Armistice day which brought to an end the First World War of 1914-18 was marked in France today. Celebrations in this capital were held this morning at the Arc de Triomphe and the Champs Elysees with President Giscard d'Estaing reviewing contingents of the three armed forces and from military schools. Later, the president laid a sheaf of flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Heroes under the Arc de Triomphe. In the afternoon, the president hosted a lunch at the Hotel des Invalides for 1,500 veteran soldiers. In a speech after the lunch, he appealed for "unity of the republic and solidarity of the French" to overcome and prevail over the present economic crisis. He said, "As in our past fight, we know that we have to depend on ourselves, and ourselves only, to resolve our problems. We cannot look to others, friends or foes who are confronted with the same difficulties, for miraculous solutions." French Prime Minister Raymond Barre attended a mass at the l'Eglise de Saint-Louis des Invalides this morning in memory of those who fell in past wars. In the afternoon, the prime minister attended a celebration held at Compiegne where the 1918 Armistice Agreement was signed in a railway carriage. [Text] [OW121704 Beijing XINHUA in English 1619 GMT 12 Nov 80]

CARRINGTON STAYS IN EEC--London, Nov 12 (XINHUA)--The British Government remains "entirely steadfast" to its policy of making a success of the country's membership in the European Economic Community and staying in the EEC is the only option for Britain, Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington declared today. Speaking at a dinner of the Scotland in Europe Organization in Edinburgh tonight, Lord Carrington said that the government was mounting a "hearts and minds" campaign to convince the British people that membership in the EEC was good for them. Referring to a resolution of the Labour Party Conference last month that Britain would withdraw from the EEC when labour returned to power, Lord Carrington noted that the strength of response to the possibility of Britain's withdrawal demonstrated that Britain's place in Europe was seen "by the majority of responsible opinion in this country as a fact of life to which there exists no real alternative." It would be quite wrong to suppose that the clamour raised by the dissent reflects any wavering of purpose in the government's own policy which remains entirely steadfast, he stressed. [Text] [OW130716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 13 Nov 80]

MINISTER ON KAMPUCHEAN SITUATION--Beijing, Nov 13 (XINHUA)--Australia had no intention of recognizing the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin government in Phnom Penh, Australian Foreign Minister Anthony Street said in Kuala Lumpur yesterday, according to reports received here. Street made the remark at a press conference after concluding a three-day visit to Malaysia. He said Australia would act in consort with her friends and co-sponsors of the United Nations resolution on Kampuchea to help speed up a political solution to the Indochina conflict. Those countries that support the U.N. resolution on Kampuchea must continue their cooperation, he added. Australia, he said, like the ASEAN countries, wished to see the early implementation of the two essential elements in the resolution--withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and self-determination for the people of Kampuchea to decide their future. During his stay in Malaysia, the Australian foreign minister met Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Onn and Foreign Minister Ahmad Rithauddeen. They discussed bilateral relations, ASEAN-Australia relations, the Kampuchea problem and other matters. Street went to Jakarta last night after a brief stopover in Singapore to continue his ASEAN tour. [Text] [OW130736 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 13 Nov 80]

U.S. MIDDLE EAST ROLE--Cairo, November 5 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat said today that the peace issue in the Middle East will always need a major U.S. role to yield fruitful results. He was commenting on the results of the U.S. presidential election at a ceremony here marking the agronomists' day. President Al-Sadat pointed out that his call for a tripartite Egyptian-Israeli-American summit on the Palestinian autonomy talks still stands after Ronald Reagan won the U.S. presidency. He will ask his foreign minister to contact the U.S. to ensure that the summit will be held as scheduled, he added. [Text] [OW060230 Beijing XINHUA in English 0225 GMT 6 Nov 80]

UN ACTION URGED--Islamabad, November 16 (XINHUA)--Zabihullah Mujahid, chairman of the Islamic Freedom Front of Afghanistan yesterday urged that the U.N. General Assembly take decisive and practical steps against the Soviet Union and the Soviet-installed Kabul regime. He said in a letter addressed to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim that the representatives of Afghanistan should be expelled from the world body because the Karmal regime has no right to represent the people of that country. "The brutalities of the Russian troops in Afghanistan have exceeded all limits of international law and morality," he noted, adding that the Soviet Union has ignored the world-wide condemnation of its military intervention in Afghanistan. Although the freedom fighters have been divided into several groups, he pointed out, "we have only one cause and that is the independence of Afghanistan. We intend to rally the forces of freedom under one flag and intensify our struggle in the coming days." [Text] [OW161520 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 16 Nov 80]

IRAQI OFFICIAL VISITS MOSCOW--Moscow, November 11 (XINHUA)--Nikolayevich Ponomarev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Fedorovich Maltsev, first vice-minister of foreign affairs, today received the visiting Iraqi deputy prime minister, Tariq 'Aziz. According to TASS, the Iraqi deputy prime minister, who was paying a working visit to the Soviet Union, discussed with the Soviet leaders bilateral relations and the situation in the Middle East. This is Tariq 'Aziz' second trip to the Soviet Union since the war between Iraq and Iran broke out. His first visit was on September 22. [Text] [OW111924 Beijing XINHUA in English 1911 GMT 11 Nov 80]

KABUL PROVOCATIONS--United Nations, November 7 (XINHUA)--The Government of Pakistan today urged United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to pay attention to "the serious escalation of provocative actions from the Afghanistan side along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border." In a letter addressed to the secretary-general this morning, Niaz A. Naik, permanent Pakistani representative to the U.N., said that his government, "which has maintained a policy of restraint towards a large number of the violations of Pakistan's airspace by aircraft with Afghan markings, is constrained to take grave view" of the recent armed attacks. Citing the details of the three recent armed raids, the letter says that these unprovoked raids "constitute a serious violation of Pakistan's territory." The Government of Pakistan sincerely hopes that these aggressive acts "would cease forthwith," the letter adds. The letter is circulated here as a document of the Security Council and of the General Assembly under agenda Item 116--"the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security," which will be debated at the plenary meetings of the assembly in the middle of this month. [Text] [OW080130 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 8 Nov 80]

HUSAYN VIEWS IRANIAN WAR--Baghdad, November 10 (XINHUA)--Iraqi President Saddam Husayn said here this evening that his country will continue to triumph over Iran if the war between the two countries drags on. Speaking at a press conference attended by foreign journalists, the president said that Iraqi forces will carry on the fighting against Iranian troops and make every effort to improve its military situation until Iraq's aims are realized. Although his country hopes to end the hostilities, he added, it has made preparations for a possible protracted war. He pointed out that his country wishes to see stability in the sensitive Gulf area. He said that Iraq is economically strong. Although it is engaged in war with Iran, its economic development plans are being implemented as usual. In answer to a question about Iraq's oil export, the president said that his country will restart oil export soon after technical improvement is made. Asked whether the Soviet Union has fulfilled the Iraqi-Soviet treaty of friendship and cooperation, he said that Iraqi-Soviet official cooperation affects not only military, but also political, economic and cultural fields. [Text] [OW111304 Beijing XINHUA in English 1250 GMT 11 Nov 80]

IRANIAN ON U.S. RELATIONS--Tehran, November 8 (XINHUA)--"It is up to Mr. Reagan to ponder what kind of relations he will establish with us," said Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i, according to KEYHAN today. Raja'i, on an inspection tour in Khorramabad, told local reporters yesterday that "the hostages issue is an easy matter, the Majlis has made a decision, the government is obliged to carry out this decision." "The arrival of Reagan and the departure of Carter are the same to us," he said, "but I must repeat it is Reagan who must ponder in what manner the U.S. would treat Iran." [Text] [OW090306 Beijing XINHUA in English 0256 GMT 9 Nov 80]

BANI-SADR SUPPORTS FREE SPEECH--Tehran, November 8 (XINHUA)--"I cannot fight on two fronts, the military front against Iraqi aggressors and the psychological-political front opened by somebody in Tehran," said Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr in an interview with the newspaper "ISLAMIC REVOLUTION today. The president's statement followed the arrest yesterday of former Foreign Minister Sadeq Qotbzadeh, who criticized the lack of freedom of expression in Iranian press media. Bani-Sadr said that the Iranian revolution, even when at war, should not allow the "prohibition of freedom of speech." "I don't know what is the speech of Qotbzadeh, but what I know is that the revolutionary prosecutor of Tehran did not have the authority to judge," he said. "He must receive the complaints and examine them afterwards," he added, "otherwise, there will be just one authority, that of the revolutionary prosecutor of Tehran who will exercise judicial and executive power at the same time." "On TV and radio, there are other persons who produce broadcasts against the president, why not arrest them," he queried. [Text] [OW090731 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 9 Nov 80]

U.S. MIDEAST ROLE--Cairo, November 8 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat and the visiting Israeli Labour Party leader Shimon Peres have agreed that the Camp David accords are the cornerstone of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, but they differed in some other points. President Al-Sadat told the press to this effect shortly after his meeting today with the Israeli Labour Party delegation which arrived here on November 6. Al-Sadat said, "We have had very constructive discussions of issues all over the area and in the whole world, especially after the change in the American Government." He went on to stress that "it will be difficult for us to reach a comprehensive settlement without the United States as a full partner." Vice-President of the Egyptian National Democratic Party Mustafa Khalil and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali yesterday had talks with the Israeli delegation which included former Israeli Foreign Minister Aba Eban and former chief of staff Hayim Barlev on the future of the Middle East and the question of Palestine. The Labour Party, which had long been in power in Israel, differed with the present Israeli Government in certain respects.

It holds that the issue of the West Bank of the Jordan River could be settled with Jordan while Israel should maintain some strongholds and settlements there. Like the Israeli Government, it stands opposed to the founding of an independent Palestinian state and for the annexation of the East Jerusalem. [Text] [OW090124 Beijing XINHUA in English 0101 GMT 9 Nov 80]

IRAN ACCEPTS UN REPRESENTATIVE--Tehran, November 11 (XINHUA)--Iran's Supreme Defence Council agreed at a meeting held in Khuzestan Province yesterday to a visit by a United Nations representative, the PARS News Agency reported today. Hojatoleslam 'Ali Khamene'i, representative of Iranian leader Khomeyni on the council, told PARS after the meeting that if the U.N. representative was sent to gather information on the position of Iran and the aggression of Iraq, there would be no objection to the visit. The council also decided to seek clarifications on a five-point proposal made by Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca to send a six-nation mission from the non-aligned countries to visit Tehran and Baghdad, PARS reported. "The proposal was somewhat unclear," Khamene'i noted, adding that it would have to be clarified before the Iranian Government could respond. [Text] [OW121230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1216 GMT 12 Nov 80]

IRANIAN TALKS WITH IRAQ--Tehran, November 11 (XINHUA)--Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr told journalists yesterday that "until we drive out the enemy from the borders, negotiation is meaningless and in fact the entertainment of negotiation under pressure and military invasion is, in my opinion, an anti-revolutionary act and a total negation of our revolution." He made the remarks at a press conference attended by local and foreign journalists in Dezful, Khuzistan Province. On Iraqi President Saddam Husayn's offer that if Iran honored the 1975 Algerian accord, Iraq will pull back its troops, President Bani-Sadr said: Let the Supreme Defence Council meet today and we shall announce our position regardint this suggestion." The TEHRAN TIMES today quoted Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed 'Ali Raja'i as saying: "Iran is willing for talks if Iraq pulls out fully." Questioned about the Iranian stand and chances of a two-way negotiation of the war, he said: "Yes, if Saddam returned to those previous territories and all Iraqi aggressive forces went out from the Iranian soil, we are also prepared to negotiate the aspects with a legitimate representative of the Iraqi people." [Text] [OW111905 Beijing XINHUA in English 1847 GMT 11 Nov 80]

IRANIAN ON U.S. HOSTAGES--Tehran, November 10 (XINHUA)--Iranian Majlis speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani reaffirmed today that "it is now up to the United States to prove to the world that it has been working for the release of the hostages," according to the PARS News Agency. In an interview with local and foreign reporters here today, he also declared that "I don't see any new developments" and that "the United States should not expect any new move from our side." Asked whether President Carter would be able to settle the issue of the hostages before leaving office, he replied, "I doubt if President Carter would be able to do anything significant in this regard without first winning the approval of the Republican Party in the United States. But if he wants, he can accept our terms very soon." Referring to the conditions for the release of the hostages, he said: "We have certain rights and as long as those rights have not been attained the hostages shall remain here. If it is proved to us that the United States is not willing to give us our rights, the hostages will be tried here." [Text] [OW110714 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 11 Nov 80]

INDIAN OFFICIAL MEETS 'ARAFAT--Beirut, November 10 (XINHUA)--Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Yasir 'Arafat had discussions on the Iraq-Iran war with visiting Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao here this morning. The Palestinian news agency, WAFA, reported they discussed the role of the non-aligned movement in working out a solution to the war and stressed the importance of the endeavours of the non-aligned bloc to end the bloodshed. They also discussed escalation of Israeli military provocation in southern Lebanon, the situation inside the occupied Palestinian territories and a number of other issues in the Middle East, WAFA added. The Indian foreign minister, who arrived here yesterday on a one-day visit, left for Kuwait in the afternoon after meeting Lebanese Foreign Minister Fu'ad Butrus. [Text] [OW110206 Beijing XINHUA in English 0130 GMT 11 Nov 80]

AFGHANI DIPLOMAT SEEKS ASYLUM--Islamabad, November 10 (XINHUA)--An Afghan diplomat in Pakistan has requested political asylum in Pakistan, according to a report in DAILY NEWS published in Karachi last night. The report said, Mohammad Rasul Khushi, a secretary in the Afghan consulate in Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan Province bordering Afghanistan, has sought permission to stay in Pakistan. Earlier a senior Afghan official of public work service came to Pakistan and also asked for political asylum. The report added that a number of employees of the Afghan consulate in Quetta have resigned their jobs. [Text] [OW101850 Beijing XINHUA in English 1844 GMT 10 Nov 80]

AFGHAN OFFICIALS LEAVING--Beijing, November 10 (XINHUA)--The United Nations High Commission for Refugees said in Islamabad yesterday that more high-ranking Afghan officials are leaving their country with their families in the hope of reaching the West, according to an AFP report. The Afghan officials told U.N. officials that they had hoped to wait for the Soviet troops to withdraw but they lost hope. Observers said that their sudden, clandestine departure has probably affected the operation of Kabul Government agencies. Afghan foreign trade director Mohammed Abdel, and national television director Saliuki Nurzai have left their country in secret. Others were the head of the water supply department, and the director of projects and coordination in the Planning Ministry. Three mathematics professors at the University of Kabul as well as the chief doctor and chief accountant at the Afghan Ariana Airline also left. [Text] [OW100826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0816 GMT 10 Nov 80]

INDIAN OFFICIAL ON USSR--Beijing, November 8 (XINHUA)--Indian opposition leader Subramaniam Swamy said Friday that the Soviet Union wants to provoke a new Indo-Pakistan War to base its problems in Afghanistan, according to an AP report from New Delhi. Swamy told a news conference that the Soviet Union has been pressing India to "open a front" on Pakistan's eastern border to "tie down Pakistan, and divide its attention so that the U.S.S.R. can, with ease, handle the Afghan Mujahideens (Moslem insurgents) operating from the Afghanistan-Pakistan border" on the west. Moscow wants such a diversion, he said, because "it is known that the U.S.S.R. is finding it difficult to retain its control and occupation of Afghanistan," Swamy said. He said that on his last visit to Pakistan he found that the people there want friendship with India and India should try to avoid a confrontation. [Text] [OW081306 Beijing XINHUA in English 1256 GMT 8 Nov 80]

USSR AFGHAN ANNEXATION PLAN--Islamabad, November 6 (XINHUA)--Russia was strongly warned today by editorials in Pakistani newspapers that any attempts to annex the Afghanistan Wakhan salient bordering Pakistan and China "would create grave regional and international problems for it." An editorial in the Urdu paper JANG says that Russia intends to annex this portion of Afghan territory into its own as a part of its expansionist drive. It warns that any attempt to alter recognised international boundaries by force is against the UN Charter and subject to challenge. The editorial emphasizes that the Wakhan Panhandle in Badakhshan Province northeast Afghanistan borders both Pakistan and China and is of strategic significance for Pakistan. An editorial in another Urdu paper NAWA-I-WAQT also emphasized the strategic importance of the area as it would give Russia direct access to the salients on Pakistan's northern border. [Text] [OW061820 Beijing XINHUA in English 1634 GMT 6 Nov 80]

QOTBZADEH RELEASED--Tehran, November 11 (XINHUA)--Former Iranian Foreign Minister Sadeq Qotbzadeh was released last night on the orders of Iranian leader Khomeyni, TEHRAN TIMES reports today. He was freed by the Islamic Revolutionary Court following appeals and protests from Majlis members and prominent political and religious figures. Qotbzadeh was arrested last Friday. [Text] [OW111204 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 11 Nov 80]

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

PRC'S SLOGANS OF PAST 30 YEARS REVIEWED

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 80 pp 46-47

[Article by Hong Shi [1738 1102]: "On 'Promoting What Is Proletarian and Liquidating What Is Bourgeois'"]

[Text] With civilization dating 5,000 years back, China is not only known for its civil and polite conversations and literary works full of unfathomable wisdom, but also renowned for its popular political slogans in the form of well-orchestrated verses and poems that can be easily remembered but hardly comprehended by the people. Although books were burned and scholars presecuted during the Great Cultural Revolution, stereotyped political phrases and terms were abundant in the form of eulogy, criticism, instructions from the highest authority and confessions from demons and monsters which seemed lending new lustre to the Chinese culture.

The most unpopular of all was a four-Chinese character slogan entitled "Attack by reasoning, defend by force," which cost countless people's lives and countless others disabled. The most soul-stirring of all was another four-character slogan: "Combat self-interest, criticize revisionism," which carried an uncontested power to criticize and condemn almost anyone and everyone, including the then chief of state. The most plausible of all was "Seek truth from facts" despite the fact that it was not even heeded by the Party Central Committee, which still wanted to conceal something from the people when Liu Shaoqi was rehabilitated. The most amazing of all was "Hold the key link in bringing everything else into line." What was the key link and what was everything else? The answer to this question varies from person to person. Since the people did not know what the key link means, how could they be expected to bring about the order across the land? These slogans have just disappeared as fast as they came. The current slogan "Look ahead" is still being promoted. But I do not want to talk about it. The most endurable of all was "Promote what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois." This slogan appeared almost 30 years ago when Lin Biao called for giving prominence to politics. This slogan is still being promoted by the Chinese communist leadership, whose newspapers and journals recently denounced Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for distorting this "positive" slogan. Since they say so, I consider it absolutely necessary to discuss it at some length.

Early in 1966, the first full name chosen for the cultural revolution was the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution, and was later officially renamed the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" by the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party

Central Committee in a "16-point resolution." It was so named in order to give prominence to the spirit of "promoting what is proletarian, liquidating what is bourgeois." That cultural revolution that lasted 10 years was indeed a disaster or great tragedy which was unfolded in the name of "promote what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois." Consequently, the proletariat was so vigorously promoted that it eventually entered the state organs, schools and scientific research departments until it could put everything under its command and exercise dictatorship over the superstructure and the ideological field in an all-round way. The liquidation of the bourgeoisie was even more thorough and effective. In the end, not only were the national capitalists badly beaten, arrested and murdered and their homes sacked, but also all small handicraft industrialists persecuted. Even worse was the fact that almost all old revolutionaries were accused of being capitalist roaders and unanimously thrown out of office; ordinary citizens were charged with being revisionists for trying to eke out a decent living; anyone who wanted to raise a few chickens or grow some onions and pepper in his private plot was subsequently condemned as a person with an intent to become a capitalist; animal excrement was confiscated for fear that someone might use it to grow something and turn himself capitalist; all educated people were condemned as bourgeois intellectuals and were thoroughly criticized and transformed into new persons; even those primary school pupils were accused of being obsessed with the bouregois world outlook and were forced to undergo reeducation. Eventually, capitalism gave way to feudalism, which converted the originally graceful People's Republic of China into a feudal-socialist state in which only one man ruled supreme. As a political bureau member, Jiang Qing was so shameless that she even dared to openly talk about empress at the Communist Party meetings. Do you think that she was the only one who was crazy at that time? Draw your own conclusion.

There are many lessons we can draw from that disastrous Cultural Revolution. A historical experience that first merits our attention is that in a country like ours where vestiges of feudalism remain evident, any attempt to overly criticize the so-called capitalism which has never had a chance to run its full course, or just repeat the feudalists' attacks on its bad effect on society will do our nation only harm, and will provide bad people with opportunities to concoct false charges against good ctiizens, bringing our country back to feudal days. In this connection, we must take this proverb from north China at face value: "Don't try to find bone in eggs." During the Cultural Revolution, many people in Communist China were falsely charged and unjustly sentenced to prison terms. This injustice not only angered the heaven but also was bitterly resented and hated by the people and countless victimized families. Is there any doubt that this was caused by that absolutely unnecessary campaign to "eliminate the bourgeoisie"? During the campaign to promote the proletariat, everyone knew that the workers propaganda team was nothing more than puppets of the PLA propaganda teams, although the Cultural Revolution professed to put the working class in command of everything. This is why even today the PLA propaganda teams are still stationed in various organizations under the pretext of supporting the left long after the workers propaganda teams were out of existence. As everyone knows, PLA soldiers mostly come from the countryside. In the years when they were put in command of everything under the pretext of promoting the proletariat, what they really promoted were only peasant mentality and privileges of feudal society. We must not forget that the malpractice in the form of back-door deals that still exist in our society originated from the PLA propaganda teams upon their entering various organizations in the name of supporting the left. In the language of Chinese communist writers and artists, promoting the proletariat is a synonym for promoting privileges. For example, the leading members of the so-called "proletarian headquarters" could enjoy unlimited privileges which were beyond the reach of the law; all other officials under its command were also granted privileges on the basis of their ranks; the citizens were also divided into various categories, with those of poor family origin enjoying more privileges than others, including a privilege to obtain pardons from the court once they were found guilty of crimes. This is why over 90 percent of juvenile delinquents in Chinese society today come from families listed under the "fifth red category."

Last year, RENMIN RIBAO carried an article profoundly convincing the people that the slogan "Promote what is proletarian, liquidate what is bourgeois" is a mistake. But a few months later, this slogan reappeared in that newspaper in order to curry favor with the high authorities. It was really a shame.

Theoretically, the proletariat and the bouregoisie are opposed and complimentary to each other. This means that neither can exist without the other. Recently, we have heard the Chinese communists proclaim that classes have ceased to exist in China, and capitalists and landlords have been transformed into self-reliant laborers. From this proclamation we can infer that in China today gone are not only class difference and divergencies between worker and peasants but also the proletariat itself as well, although the people there from all walks of life still feel free to pursue different trades. From this fact, we can also conclude that sending a large number of youths from cities to participate in agricultural production does not mean lowering their stature as members of the ruling class, since workers and peasants are now on an equal footing; although young workers now constitute a majority of the work force, their ideas should not be considered more advanced than others. This inference tells us that "Promote what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois" is only an empty slogan which is out of fashion with reality.

From another theoretical point of view, we can also say that capitalist factors in China today still keep on playing a positive and negative role in its four modernizations. This is evident by the fact that the Chinese government has repeatedly reaffirmed its intention of maintaining the status quo of Hong Kong and Macao, along with a pledge not to change the social system of Taiwan, and a policy to import capitals from abroad, and encourage revolutionaries and patriotic bourgeois elements of Chinese origin living abroad to trace their roots to their motherland. How can China expect to "liquidate what is bourgeois" at a time when it strives to mobilize all positive capitalist factors to promote its four modernizations program?

Some people have mechanically identified capitalism as a system of the exploitation of man by man, and have used this as a criterion for distinguishing it from socialism. I consider this viewpoint untenable, because exploiters exist not only in capitalist communities but also in socialist societies as well. In the past, exploitation took the form of fixed interests that capitalists drew from their investments, while today, it takes the form of legal profits that foreign businessmen earn from their investments in China. Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" squandering of public funds for their own comfortable life, the Party Central Committee member Wang Dongxing's construction of his own home at government expense, the abuse of privileges by ranking cadres to seek excess material comforts in violation of the principle of "To each according to his work" were actually acts of exploitation in different forms. During his lifetime, Marx could only predict a system of the means of production of public ownership. It was beyond his expectation that it was to be exploited by today's social imperialism. When the "gang of four" was toppled, one of its members Wang Hongwen was identified as a new-born bourgeois element, which was actually a misnomer because he was in fact a new-born feudal exploiter. In that capacity, he still could not compared favorably with the world's big capitalists although he wielded greater power than they did. Today, when we discuss the slogan "Promote what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois," we must first make sure of what it really means, what deserves promotion and what merits liquidation. It is a shame to note that the people in China still do not know how to distinguish socialism from revisionism after spending 20 years combating the latter and 30 years building the former.

Marxism holds that man's social being determines his thinking. Why do the capitalist ideas merit elimination at a time when positive capitalist factors still have to be mobilized to serve the objective of the four modernizations? Many intellectuals were labeled the "stinking ninth category" when the "gang of four" were in power. Aware that they were as disgraced as ever in the wake of the downfall of the "gang of four," these intellectuals had no alternative but to leave the country for good. Since then they have become successful businessmen and capitalists. Today, when they return to China, they are respectfully treated as VIP's by the Chinese leaders and have ever since joined the united front. They have also been welcomed to invest their wealth in developing their motherland and to act as advisers for foreign trade. In other words, the more they invest, the higher the respect they can command. But their old colleagues at home still continue to criticize capitalism after receiving two disappointing recorded reports entitled "A visit to relatives in Hong Kong." During this period of reform, the slogan "Promote what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois" is clearly out of touch with reality. By continuing to promote it, the Chinese communists may bring another epic ideological confusion to their country. I am also afraid that it may be distorted and used by the "leftists" as a weapon to stir up troubles again. During this trial period of reform, it is likely to find theory out of touch with reality. As China's leaders, they should foresee what bad effect their specific adminstrative and economic measures may have on thei country so that they can take action to forestall it. They must understand that ideological education alone cannot cure all social ills, although it may help; it is not in their national interests if they change policies from time to time. If they are not aware of this point, they certainly do not deserve to be called materialists. True, some propaganda slogans were very useful and effective during the war of resistance against Japan and liberation war. Nevertheless, they are no longer applicable to today's complicated political and economic life. A review of slogans that have appeared over the past 30 years reminds us that they are so numerous that they can be compiled into a huge dictionary as it was recently printed overseas. Most of them have produced no good results. This teaches us that ambiguous slogans should no longer be manufactured in the future: politics using empty slogans as a weapon should be discarded and replaced by firm and specific policies which will lead the people to increase their confidence in the government.

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HUA GUOFENG'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS PREMIER APPRAISED

Hong Kong DONGXIANG [THE TREND] in Chinese No 24, 16 Sep 80 pp 12-13

[Article by Guan Ping [4619 1627]: "Hua Guofeng in the Past Four and a Half Years"]

[Text] Hua Guofeng began to serve as Premier of the State Council of China in April 1976; four and a half years later, he resigned from office at the recent Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and was succeeded by Zhao Ziyang.

It may be said that Hua Guofeng was given the appointment at a time of crisis. He stepped in the office of Premier when the gang of four was engaged in its fiercest activities to seize power. But as he resigns today, the political situation in China has become largely stabilized. From a certain angle, therefore, Hua Guofeng has been a transitional Premier.

When Hua Guofeng acceded to office, the people's initial impression was that he could not be readily trusted. Because he had had no conspicuous administrative achievements, his image, compared to that of his predecessor Zhou Enlai, was really rather dim. At the time, some even said that Hua Guofeng acceded to office merely because of Mao Zedong's statement of a few words, "With you in charge, I am at ease," so that he lacked any real talent or authentic learning.

Later, Deng Xiaoping was resurrected; people's opinions about Hua Guofeng further multiplied, saying that he enjoyed no real power. Did Hua Guofeng play any real role at all? From the political achievements of the past four and a half years, we can see that he has presided over sessions of the National People's Congress, plenary sessions of the Chinese Communist Party Congress and Central Committee, agricultural conferences, industrial conferences, and scientific conferences. He has visited West Europe and Japan and received countless foreign guests. In this series of activities, he basically demonstrated he was "neither exceptionally meritorious, nor much of a failure." This was not very easy, in view of the fact that China had undergone a 10-year catastrophe.

Foreigners' impressions and appraisal of Hua Guofeng are not too bad. Some appraisals suggested Hua Guofeng was a man of "sharp mind and high caliber"; the delegation of Japan's International Trade Promotion Association was of the impression that he "was steady and practical, and would achieve results even if he should serve as president of a large enterprise in a capitalist country." A leader of Japan's financial and economic circles, Doko, said: "Hua Guofeng is a man who speaks of no falsehood and is simple and forthright. One gets the impression that the two personalities of Mr Mao and Mr Zhou are combined in him...."

According to the impression of the delegation of the League of Diet Members for Sino-Japanese Friendship, Hua Guofeng was not very easy to deal with as its counterpart in the negotiations. He was rather slow when he first started to talk, but "when it came to the key points, he would sit erect and even raise his tone." At the meeting of Sino-Japanese chiefs of government last year, Huo Guofeng had no statistics at hand; nevertheless, during nearly an hour of discussion, he continued to cite specific production figures. This indicated that he was diligent in his study, serious, and prudent.

As a man, Hua Guofeng is humble and affable and very easy to get along with; he is very deferential toward the older generation. At meetings of the Chinese Communist Party, his attitude toward elders such as Chen Yun and Ye Jianying, and at meetings of the National People's Congress his attitude toward such elders as Guo Moruo, has always been one of utmost concern and care. This is a great characteristic of his personality. The fact that, as a 1938 cadre, he was able after the death of Mao Zedong to intervene between not a few pioneering elders and numerous generals and to continue to maintain his lofty status as party chairman apparently has a great deal to do with this personality.

Hua Guofeng's fortitude in discharging his duties can be seen from the process of his decisive smashing of the gang of four. The gang of four had boasted that they could instantly mobilize 300,000 armed militia from Shanghai. But when the problem of the gang of four was solved, there was no need to fire one single shot, and the gang of four was smashed forthwith. In this were exhibited Hua Guofeng's calm and decisiveness.

Hua Guofeng has a good grasp of his own character, and he also has a strong, principled personality. At the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, he suggested that people not call him wise leader or propagandize on his personal behalf; they should instead propagandize on behalf of the older generation of revolutionaries and the masses of people. Later, when a farm in the vicinity of the capital put on exhibit the tea set he used during an inspection tour there, a student at the Central Party School wrote a letter criticizing him. He humbly accepted the criticism and designated Lin Hujia [2651 0039 0502] to send someone to take it away.

He has regularly maintained contact with the masses by making inspection visits to factories, mines, and the countryside. When he went to a people's commune for a visit during the lunar New Year period this year, he ate dumplings with the peasants.

Hua Guofeng absorbed a lesson from Mao Zedong, as he seldom appeared in public together with his wife. When reporters asked about his wife, he always simply replied: "This is a private matter...." This also won good feelings on the part of people across the country.

But, undeniably, Hua Guofeng seems to lack a certain sharpness and creative view. Some say that Hua Guofeng has seldom initiated any reforms but has mostly "followed the precedents of his predecessors." Of course, the background against which he acceded to office was not such a blessing to him. There were those within and outside the party who would simply not trust him. Under such circumstances, initiation of any reforms is bound to face encumberance, and everything would best depend on prudence. On the other hand, what cannot be overlooked is that, from the mid-1950's up to the Cultural Revolution period, Hua had been rising steadily under the influence of Mao Zedong's left line; this leftist tendency had taken up quite a proportion of his mentality, and hence it was not very easy for him to break away from this force of habit. Therefore, Hua Guofeng once had a "two whatevers" tendency. In his speeches there appeared language similar to that of the "whateverist faction." Fortunately, Hua seeks truth from facts; once he discovers mistakes, he is able to cope with them seriously. His "whatevers" tendency therefore is not fixed but is subject to continued change from higher to lower degrees.

Not long ago, when Hua Guofeng answered the questions of a correspondent of the Yugoslav newspaper VJESNIK, he pointed out Mao Zedong's mistakes. But it should be also noted that, compared with Deng Xiaoping's poignance, the degree of his criticism of Mao falls considerably short. This difference between them probably lies in the fact that the period of his contact with Mao Zedong was far shorter than that of Deng Xiaoping and, especially around the time of the Cultural Revolution, Hua Guofeng was not necessarily with Mao. The reservation Hua Guofeng has demonstrated before he was in control of sufficient facts is understandable.

Hua Guofeng has departed from office.

Some say that the impact of Hua Guofeng as a transitional Premier during the past four and a half years has been rather small; nor has the astonishment about his resignation been very great. True, the takeover from Hua by Zhao has not really produced much astonishment, but whether or not the impact of the Hua regime has been great is probably something that cannot be seen until a longer period of time has elapsed. In the meantime, as party chairman, Hua Guofeng will, I believe, continue to develop his influence. People might as well wait and see.

9255
CSO: 4005

PURGE FEUDAL INFLUENCE TO RECTIFY THE IDEOLOGICAL LINE

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Feng Qishun [7458 0366 5293] and Qiu Shaoquan [6726 1421 0356]: "Rectify the Ideological Line and Eliminate the Pernicious Influence of Feudalism"]

[Text] The discussion on the criterion of truth smashed Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" idealist metaphysical ideological line, emancipated people's mind and laid a firm theoretical foundation for the dialectic materialist line reaffirmed by the party's Third Plenary Session. Today, the situation of implementing the party's ideological line is naturally much better than before.

However, the issue of ideological lines is not only a theoretical one, and the emergence of erroneous lines is not only due to theoretical reasons. What is even more important are the ideological and social roots. The party's improper ideological line after 1965, especially the long rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ideological line in the 10 years of disaster, was not limited to theoretical reasons. Starting from reality in everything, linking theory with practice, seeking the truth from the facts , and testing and developing truth through practice, our party's ideological line is the fundamental principle of dialectic materialist epistemology. Ours is a political party with a high degree of Marxist theoretical training. To say that the basic knowledge of dialectic materialist epistemology was confused due to only theoretical reasons does not make sense. Similarly, since the Third Plenary Session, after bringing order out of chaos in the theoretical aspect, the many difficulties encountered in the introduction of the criterion of truth and the implementation of the party's matter-of-fact ideological line in many areas are not merely, or mainly, due to reasons of theoretical understanding.

The serious problems in the ideological line encountered by our party are mainly due to the corrosion of the party organism by the pernicious influence of feudalism. Exercising an evil influence in the party, the feudal ideology has befuddled our understanding of the basic knowledge of Marxist epistemology, destroyed our party's spirit of seeking the truth from the facts, ruined its ideological line and brought calamities to the party and the state. To implement thoroughly the party's ideological line, we must, while bringing order out of chaos in the theoretical aspect, conscientiously purge the pernicious influence of feudalism.

How does the feudal ideology endanger the party's ideological line?

The widespread modern superstition resulting from the intrusion of the idea of imperial power was the principal ideological source for the disruption of the party's ideological line. "Mandated by Heaven" and reigning over everything, the feudal emperor was the "absolute authority." As the representative of the "will of Heaven," the "embodiment" of truth and the "savior" of his subjects, his every word and every phrase were "golden rules and precious precepts," only to be followed, never disobeyed. During our party's long revolutionary struggle, such corrupt feudal concept was once criticized. However, the traditional influence of feudalism was deeply entrenched in our country. Under the agitation of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng [1660 3932], amidst the clamor of "supreme criterion," "peak," "loyalty" and "close adherence," it again spread far and wide. Such pernicious feudal influence as imperial power attacked the party organism and affected people's thinking, resulting in widespread modern superstition,and the destruction of the party's ideological line became inevitable. Because, under the cult of the individual, the "supreme directive" determined all and became the "supreme criterion" of all, and people must treat it as an "imperial edict" and transmit it and act accordingly, without the slightest neglect or dissent. Thus, how could there be seeking the truth from the facts and starting from reality in everything? How could the criterion of practice be carried out? Because, under the cult of the individual, the pernicious feudal idea that "I am the state" was manifested as "the leader is the party." Loyalty to the leader replaced loyalty to the people, and people, in fear and trepidation, prostrated at the leader's feet, speaking according to his decree and acting according to the expression on his face. Hundreds of millions followed the "command" of one man. How could the party's ideological line not be abandoned?

The feudal prerogative mentality in the party severed our party from the people and the mass line and divorced it from its ideological line. With the rigid hierarchy and the numerous prerogatives in the feudal society, there was no equality even among the rulers, while "the elite and the lowly" and the "honorable and the humble" were clear-cut between the feudal bureaucrats and the common people. After our party came into power, such feudal mentality produced an influence on a part of the cadres. With the defects of many concrete systems on top thereof and the abandonment of party discipline and state law during the calamity of 10 years, intra-party life became extremely abnormal, thus providing the opportunity for the unchecked spread of the feudal prerogative mentality. Certain cadres regarded themselves as special, considered themselves "princes," placed themselves beyond party discipline and state law, and demanded "privileges" for their children and relatives. Others, arrogant and bureaucratic, took their own promotions as favors granted by the superior, and openly declared that they would "obey whomever superior," while ignoring the opinions of the people and treating them with indifference. The relationship of harmony became one of antagonism, hierarchy suffocated wisdom and coercion replaced the mass line. When the appeals of the masses were not heard or heeded, when the objective laws and the test of practice were scorned, how could the party's ideological line not be trampled underfoot?

The influence of feudal patriarchy wrecked democratic centralism, strangled intra-party democracy and the socialist democracy and blocked the implementation of the party's ideological line. The feudal society was founded on the estates of the landowners and the small peasant economy of individual householders, while imperial power was built on clan power, relying on clan power for its existence. In society, the emperor was supreme; in the family, the patriarch determined all. The influence of patriarchy was always an obstacle to intra-party democracy. Take the important principle of collective leadership for instance: For many years, the relationship between the secretary and the committee members was said to be "the minority obeying the majority," but actually the first secretary made the decisions, and the relationship was one between the leader and the followers, or even between the monarch and his subjects. The "one-chief system" of the high administrative officials was criticized, but what emerged was the "one-chief system" of the party committee secretaries. "Letting everyone have his say" was often replaced by "one man's say," and "centralism" became "one man's leadership." As such patriarchal despotism made it impossible for the party organization to pool the wisdom of the collective or for the full discussion of different views, how could problems be promptly discovered and solved? As patriarchy severely corroded the party organism, it was impossible to uncover or solve the problems of a unit, a region, no matter how serious, if the first in command was not replaced. Was not the issue of Shanxi's Xiyang county a case in point? It calls for our attention.

Currently, the further rectification of the ideological line has encountered a stumbling block, viz., the "power criterion." There is such a saying: Follow the criterion of practice when studying; employ the criterion of power when working. There is such an idea: Practice is a soft criterion; power is a hard criterion. These are not cynical remarks or groundless ideas, but quite realistic. They reflect an objectively existing fact: If the obstacle of the "power criterion" is not removed, the party's ideological line cannot be implemented. How can the "power criterion" be removed? We feel that primarily we must purge the pernicious feudal influence and solve the ideological issue.

In the sphere of epistemology, the word "power" does not exist. Lumping "power" and the criterion of truth together and creating the "power criterion" are obviously fallacious. However, fallacies do exist. In the class society, the exploiting class occupying the ruling position always suppressed and assessed reason with power, and what it followed was the "power criterion." It often turned the black and white upside down and mixed up the right and wrong, making the development of truth follow an extremely painful path. In the feudal society particularly, prerogatives were widespread and the superior officials dominated their subordinates. Those in power arbitrarily decided on the right and wrong, "calling a stag a horse." The very powerful were always right, and truth became the slave of feudal prerogatives. It was the ugly manifestation of feudalism and obscurantism and an important factor for the long stagnation of China's feudal society. Such feudal "power criterion" rampaged in China for 2,000 or 3,000 years, and we have tasted enough of its bitter fruit in real life. Practice has indicated that the powerful and the powerless, and the very powerful and the not so powerful are all equal before truth. Following the correct ideological line, they all can understand truth. Power and truth do not equate each other, nor do they form a direct ratio. To study the new conditions, solve the new problems and make contributions to the four modernizations, one must face reality, give attention to investigation, respect the opinions of the masses, heed the call of practice, uphold the criterion of practice and reject the "criterion of power." One must not suppress reason with power and stick to the old ways. Nor must one turn one's eyes upward, fix one's attention on the superior and obey the words of the powerful, while ignoring the views of one's colleagues and subordinates, let alone the opinions of the masses and the practical situation. Only by purging the pernicious feudal influence and eliminating the "power criterion" will the criterion of practice truly become the guiding thought of people's work, instead of just something theoretical.

Naturally, the feudal ideology is not the only thing blocking the party's ideological line. There are also the bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideologies. While purging the feudal influence, we must also criticize extreme egoism, anarchism, liberalism, etc. However, they are beyond the range of this article.

6080
CSO: 4005

LABELS 'PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP,' 'PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY' DISCUSSED

Editorial Defended

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1980 pp 18-20

[Article by Niu Meng [3662 5724]: "'A Suggestion' Was Good!"]

[Text] "A Suggestion," the editorial in the August issue of ZHENGMING [CONTEND], brought up a completely new and bold suggestion for the third session of the Fifth National People's Congress: the form of government "dictatorship of the proletariat" should be changed to a "people's democracy." The crux of this suggestion lies not in changing "proletariat" into "people's democracy," but in eliminating the word "dictatorship." Though this suggestion will not necessarily be accepted at present by the Chinese communist leadership, nevertheless it has important strategic significance for China's future.

The Class Target of Dictatorship Has Already Disappeared

The Chinese Communist Party, during the entire course of history from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, has at times emphasized a people's democratic dictatorship and at times a dictatorship of the proletariat. However, regardless of which kind of "dictatorship" was put into effect, no fundamental change in guiding principles, policies or measures was produced because what people in the government were concerned with was merely "dictatorship," in other words, consolidating their position in government. As to what label the government used, that was not at all important. Of course, "a people's democratic dictatorship" seems much more attractive on the surface, but democracy and dictatorship are, after all, opposites. Even if one were to make a "unity of opposites" out of them, from the point of view of the people, one ought to be speaking mainly about democracy and not about dictatorship. For this reason, getting rid of the word "dictatorship" and leaving only "democracy," as far as realizing a true people's democracy is concerned, is really a perfectly justifiable move. As for the question of whether it would be proper to eliminate "dictatorship" at present, by investigating the matter further from a theoretical standpoint and testing it further with our experience, we can definitely arrive at an objectively fair conclusion. However, if we want to reach this point, there is one premise that we must include in our thinking, which is that the principles of Marxism-Leninism are not doctrines that, once formed, can admit of no change. Only when principles are based on the objective reality of continuously changing development and are continuously revised and corrected can they have vitality and be of leading significance for the communist movement. The viewpoint that one can only correct isolated words and phrases of Marxist-Leninist theory but not its basic principles is itself a manifestation of a rigidity in thinking that violates Marxism-Leninism.

We consider that since 1956, the people's democratic dictatorship or the dictatorship of the proletariat that was later emphasized, has lost its target. This target naturally refers to a class and not to certain individuals. In order to elucidate this question, we may as well investigate certain points made by Mao Zedong in his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship." Mao said, "The Chinese people, through several decades of accumulated experience, all call on us to put into effect a people's democratic dictatorship, or an autocracy of the people's democracy, which is the same thing. This will strip the reactionary cliques of their rights of speech, and allows only the people to have the right of speech." "The democratic aspect, directed within, towards the people, and the dictatorial aspect directed towards the reactionary clique, combined constitute the people's democratic dictatorship." In that case, who are the "people"? Mao pointed out that the people at that time consisted of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. And whom would these "people" dictate to? The landlord class, the bureaucrat capitalist class and the Kuomintang reactionaries. And through what means would they dictate? Through the tools used by one class to oppress another--the army, the police and the law courts. Mao continued, "If someone from among the people breaks the law, he must also go to jail. This is different in principle from dictatorship over the reactionary class considered as a class." It is obvious from these points that Mao definitely did not consider punishment and suppression directed against the people as dictatorship; only suppression directed against the entire reactionary class was dictatorship. Fine, but in that case we cannot help asking: When were the landlord class, and the bureaucrat capitalist class, in so far as they constituted a class, eliminated? If we accept that these two classes have already been eliminated (mind, this does not mean every single individual making up the class), then has not "dictatorship" lost its target? And if dictatorship one day loses its target, then unavoidably either in essence it loses the meaning of its existence or it continues to be dictatorial without any object. In truth, is not this exactly what happened?

The National Bourgeoisie Constituted a "Living Target"

Mao Zedong perhaps had some opinion on this, so in his later writings he gradually eliminated the national bourgeoisie from the category of "the people." Mao said, "The people have the powerful machinery of the state in their hands and so do not fear rebellion from the national bourgeoisie." "The system of people's rights is possessed by all the common people together, and not privately by the bourgeoisie. Add to this the leadership of the workers class, and you have a state system of a people's democratic dictatorship." "The basis of the people's democratic dictatorship is the alliance between the worker class, the peasant class, and the urban petty bourgeoisie, mainly the alliance between the workers and peasants." "The people's democratic dictatorship requires the leadership of the worker class." "To sum up all our experience and concentrate it on one point, it is a people's democratic dictatorship based on an alliance of the workers and peasants and led (through the Communist Party) by the worker class." The above points show that the position of the national bourgeoisie has gone through a fundamental change from having been a part of "the people" to being outside of "the people." Facts have proved that the national bourgeoisie, in so far as it constituted a class, in the years and months following actually became the object of the people's democratic dictatorship, became a "living target" to attack. Over and over again political movements have placed emphasis on attacking targets, in reality, when has it not been the so-called bourgeoisie and its intellectuals? Only wasn't the national bourgeoisie "class" eliminated long ago? From Mao's exposition above one can see that the people's democratic dictatorship is a dictatorship of the worker class, and also a dictatorship of the Communist Party. Although the terminology is somewhat different, in essence there is no distinction at all. Therefore, the viewpoint that "the people's democratic dictatorship" is a bit more elegant, or more moderate, than "dictatorship of the proletariat" is superficial and not consistent with reality.

Calling in Question the [article] "Dictatorship" of Wu Jiang

Of course, the slogan "dictatorship of the proletariat" made many people speak of a tiger changing its stripes. During the time of the cultural revolution this slogan resounded from the heavens and now it is also one of the "four steadfasts." Nevertheless, Mao Zedong never especially addressed it. Only in November of 1957 did the theoretician Wu Jiang, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the socialist October Revolution, and perhaps also to celebrate the great victory of the anti-rightist struggle, publish a specialized exposition of "dictatorship of the proletariat," a long political essay entitled "Forty Years of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." On 1 July 1958, the People's Publishing House issued it separately, changing the title to "On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (abbreviated below to "Dictatorship"). Twenty years later, in October 1979, it was again reprinted twice. It seems that the CCP's theoretical and propaganda structure attached great importance to this article from the beginning.

Here we cannot possibly, nor is it necessary to, make a complete analysis of "Dictatorship," but there are several things one must point out because they are useful in explaining whether or not it would be proper to eliminate "dictatorship."

First of all, from the point of view of today's concepts and realities, one feels that the article "Dictatorship" in the course of its exposition has a strongly doctrinal flavor and is full of allegations and labels. Whoever doesn't agree with the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" is considered a counterrevolutionary, a false Marxist. Since that particular expression at the time had universality and authority, ever since the time of the "anti-right" movement no one has dared even in the slightest to call a "dictatorship of the proletariat" into question. However, has practice proved that the "erroneous theories" of that time had some truth to them? Among the erroneous theories bitterly attacked by "Dictatorship" were that "the dictatorship of the proletariat has ruined socialism," "the dictatorship of the proletariat has destroyed democratic freedoms," "the dictatorship of the proletariat will create some kind of totalitarianism, or autocracy of the bureaucratic structure," etc. If the author at that time was really filled with indignation over these erroneous theories, then after 20 years, particularly after passing through the catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution, can it be that there are no new feelings at all? What is interesting is that these right-wing views of 1957 seem to have been forcefully supported by certain facts.

Secondly, "Dictatorship" emphasized that "the dictatorship of the proletariat has already existed in the world for all of 40 years. It is not only in existence, but has already taken on a broader, global scope. The opposition between the newly-born and mighty system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the capitalist dictatorial system, which is weakening day by day, has become a particular characteristic of the modern world." However, what is the present situation of the international communist movement? Have there not been very great changes? Modern revisionist Yugoslavia, at first ostracized for not maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, has now been accepted as a true socialist country. This change was not due to the Yugoslav system itself, but to people's ideological understanding. To repeat, the newly-born and mighty dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia is not only on a day-by-day decline, but has simply changed into a dictatorship of the capitalist class. These two classical examples enlighten us, if thinking becomes ossified and affairs are dictated by emotions, then one cannot recognize the original aspect of things. If one does not frequently correct his understanding of things and get it to keep pace with objective changes and developments, then he can easily reach a mistaken or biased conclusion. Speaking truly, from 1957 on, which kind of dictatorship has been put into practice in China? Who was being dictated to during the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution? Now is the time to arrive at a just conclusion on that.

In addition, "Dictatorship," in elucidating the general concept of a "dictatorship of the proletariat," consider that "dictatorship over the enemy and democracy for the people are two mutually connected aspects contained within the dictatorship of the proletariat.... From the point of view of the people themselves, dictatorship of the proletariat is socialist democracy." The author considered that this way of speaking was extremely unscientific and rather low-brow. It was simply allowing concepts to explain away facts and arguments to prove themselves. Who doesn't know that "dictatorship" and "democracy" are two opposing concepts? How can one speak of them as the same thing? How can they be equated? To say that a dictatorship of the proletariat from the point of view of the people is socialist democracy simply makes one not know whether to laugh or cry. It simply makes a joke of people's democracy. And that is not to say, since the time of the anti-right movement, how many of the political targets who have been labeled class enemies are really enemies, not to mention how many unjust, false and mistaken charges were created by "democracy." Can just speaking of persecution suffered by the "people" during the Cultural Revolution be the expression of a socialist democracy for the people? No wonder some people [even] spoke of the absolutely lawless, dictatorial actions inflicted on the people during the Cultural Revolution as "developing a great socialist democracy!" At this point, let us develop our ideas further. Orthodox theory has always considered that socialism is far superior to capitalism, yet the great majority of capitalist societies disdain to raise the banner of "dictatorship." Over and over again they advocate democratic freedoms. Why does far-superior socialism cling so stubbornly to "dictatorship" and not dare to publicly declare democracy and put it into practice? Can it be that the great masses of the people love "dictatorship" more than democracy? The time for conscientiously considering changing China's form of government has arrived, and the time for using false theories that sound like the truth to dupe the people should pass, never to return.

Finally, "Dictatorship" considered that "dictatorship of the proletariat is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism applicable in any part of the world." If a dictatorship of the proletariat is not established, then the national economy cannot be developed in a planned way, socialism and communism cannot be built, and the living standard of the workers cannot be raised.... However, our way of looking at it is precisely the opposite. The history of the founding of Soviet Russia, Communist China, communist Vietnam and communist Cambodia shows that it has been precisely because of placing too much blind faith in dictatorship and blindly making use of it that their national economies have developed so very slowly, and even sometimes regressed. That is why socialism has been so slow to be established or has not been established. The workers' standard of living has been so slow in being raised and the people have suffered disaster. Where does the real fault lie? We cannot always go on repeating "because of the damage caused by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four',..." Is there anything wrong with the country's system of government? One hopes that in the near future the question of changing the form of government can be put on the CCP's agenda.

The Lesson of the "Dictatorship of the Masses"

In sum, we consider that at present the antagonistic class within the country has long since been eliminated and that dictatorship has lost its class target. The masses of people do not need dictatorship, but they thirst for democracy. For this reason, bluntly suggesting a "people's democracy" both reflects the realities and answers to the feelings of the people. If we persist in emphasizing "dictatorship," then afterwards it will be hard to avoid having it create a "theoretical" basis for certain ambitious persons which will enable them at every turn to use this to intimidate and punish people and at every turn to use it to expel those whose opinions differ from theirs. During the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, they persisted in the dictatorship of the proletariat to the absolute limit. The result was that they "dictated" out a historically unprecedented large number of unjust, mistaken and false charges. They even "dictated" the end to a large number of Communist Party members and founding members of the revolution. This kind of dictatorship has long since violated the principles of Marxism-Leninism and is not in accord with Mao Zedong Thought. It has long since gone beyond the scope of being aimed at a particular class and has been a dictatorship of individual against individual, bad people against good people, this faction against that faction. In order to explain this strange phenomenon, the theoreticians then brought out a new general concept, changing the name to "dictatorship of the masses." Consequently, there was the obtaining of confessions by compulsion and then giving them credence, beating, smashing and looting, setting up kangaroo courts, and resorting to force on a large scale. All these had a perfectly justifiable basis. One can see how great the danger is of dictatorship without any object and how deep such a painful lesson was!

Without doubt, CONTEND's viewpoint is novel and bold, its suggestion is reasonable and well-founded. I believe it is going to be supported by more and more people. As for people who fly into a rage when they hear this suggestion, undoubtedly they exist. However, may I offer some advice to these gentlemen. First, calm down; second, liberate your thinking; third, make allowances for the feelings of the people; fourth, consider the nation as the important thing. In this way, they may gradually come around to seeing our point. Even if they don't, it's not important. One, they can refute it; two, they can criticize it. Even who is right and who is wrong at present has not been established theoretically, I believe that after 20 or 30 years the facts will generally provide a solution for us.

Contention With Editorial

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1980 pp 21-22

[Article by Shi Huizhi [0670 1920 0037]: "The Form of Government of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat Cannot Be Changed--A Contention With CONTEND's Editorial 'A Suggestion'"]

[Text] Lu Xun said that if you use a knife incorrectly, you can hurt yourself. How well said! But is Lu Xun's meaning that if one has cut oneself with a knife one should then throw it away? As I see it, it is not. According to reason it cannot possibly be that way!

My intention in bringing this up is to provide the following simile. It is like the Chinese Communist Party which has not done a good job of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Do we then want to throw away the dictatorship of the proletariat and change China's form of government? In view of this kind of understanding, I cannot agree with "A Suggestion," the editorial appearing in issue No 34 of CONTEND, that the form of government of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" should be changed to a "people's democracy."

In order to elucidate my meaning it is necessary to talk a little about Marxism-Leninism. The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. Lenin said that only a person who has accepted the idea of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat may be called a Marxist. The latter is essentially the touchstone for distinguishing true from false Marxists because class struggle may also be accepted by the capitalist class and its thinkers.

The aim of the proletariat engaging in revolution is to seize political power, found a state having the dictatorship of the proletariat as its form of government and make the transition to communism. The Marxist theory of the state emphatically points out that there is a long and slow transitional period between capitalist society and communist society. The state existing during this transitional period can only be a dictatorship of the proletariat.

That is to say, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not an expedient measure and is not, as the editorial in CONTEND said, "When... a state is entering the first stage of communism (socialism), at a time when the class struggle has fundamentally died out, a dictatorship of the proletariat should not necessarily be emphasized." "After 'capitalist resistance' has been effectively suppressed and broken, the necessity for a dictatorship of the proletariat become less and less."

Let us look at it again from the point of view of the relative difficulty of seizing political power and consolidating it. The proverb says, "Starting an enterprise is difficult, but maintaining an enterprise is even more difficult." This is an extremely true expression. If we say, "After a revolution, any temporary state structure must be dictatorial" (quoted from CONTEND), then in order to enable this "state structure" to proceed from being "temporary" to being permanent and not to change its color, it is all the more necessary for it to be "dictatorial." According to the lessons of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat internationally, for state systems of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the danger of "obtaining (power) and then losing it" [definitely] exists.

The evolution of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country, into a socialist-imperialist nation was due to its departing from a dictatorship of the proletariat and allowing the newly-born capitalist class to assume power, which changed the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the capitalist class.

Let's look at it from the point of view of the concrete situation in China. During the initial period after the state was established, its political power was on the way to being consolidated, the economy was rapidly being restored and developed and the people's lives were rapidly being improved. All this was precisely because a state system of a dictatorship of the proletariat had correctly been brought into full play which clearly demonstrated the might of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Five or seven years later, particularly during the period of the cultural revolution when the Party and state were made almost unrecognizable as such, the economy was harmed and the people were made destitute. All this was precisely because they had abandoned the normal path of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At that time, the principal people wielding power were deified, and so was the dictatorship of the proletariat. In addition, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," those totalitarian elements, stirred up turmoil in their midst. Thereupon the state form of government of the dictatorship of the proletariat changed into a form of government of a state run by the dictatorship of a class similar to a feudalistic landlord class. The normal democratic life of the people changed into a "dictatorship of the masses" with endless conflict and struggle. However, this was definitely not a question of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, but of a particular phenomenon of a particular period in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. It was merely because all of this "particular phenomenon" appeared in the guise of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and all shook the "iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat" with good and bad people all jumbled together that to this very day people still speak of a tiger changing its stripes. As soon as the dictatorship of the proletariat is brought up, one feels lingering fear and eternal regret.

For this reason, it is not that there is something wrong with this knife of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, even though in the past it hurt some of those on our side. It is that those wielding the knife are not yet able to use it properly. There is definitely a lesson to be learned from the fact that after smashing the "gang of four," they brought out the "four steadfasts." One of them is "steadfastness in maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat." Since this word "steadfast" means that it is stipulated in the first clause of the first paragraph of the Chinese Communist Party Constitution that China's form of government cannot be changed, at the same time it should also mean that we must correctly and effectively bring into full play the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must thus prevent a false dictatorship of the proletariat--feudal, fascist dictatorships and things like "dictatorships of the masses"--from intimidating people.

One thing is clear. There are two problems that can be readily solved. One is the form of government of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the question of the normal democratic life of the people. Originally, the state machinery of the dictatorship of the proletariat was used to repress subversive and destructive actions by international class enemies within the country and new capitalist-class elements that had sprung up within the state structure. Towards the great mass of the people, it exercised the right of protecting them. For this reason, the dictatorship of the proletariat and a normal political life for the people can exist parallel and not contrary to each other. The normal progress of the people's democratic life under the protection of the dictatorship of the proletariat definitely does not mean that the people will be able to enjoy democracy only if the form of government is changed to a "people's democracy." There is no question here of the terminology not being suited to the realities.

The second is the question of opposing feudalism, bureaucratism and the practice of special privileges. This was formerly the crucial point in Chinese communist society. But one of the important functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat is that it must continuously wash itself clean of corrupt elements and wash away fascism, bureaucratism and special privileges to guarantee the purity of state political power. This is actually a question of the state machinery of the dictatorship of the proletariat consolidating itself and strengthening itself "through political movement" and not of changing and abolishing what the dictatorship of the proletariat can accomplish very well on its own. Of course, here it is necessary to emphasize people's democracy and allow people in a state system of a dictatorship of the proletariat to enjoy the true right of being the guardians of their own form of government.

The above are the superficial views of an enthusiastic reader of CONTEND which are especially brought up here to respond to CONTEND's suggestions and teach it a little wisdom.

'Proletarian Dictatorship' Label Disliked

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1980 p 22

[Article by Li Chenghui [2621 4453 6540]: "Looking at 'A Suggestion' From the Point of View of National Political Life"]

[Text] "Ordinary people have their share of responsibility whether a nation prospers or falls." The editorial in the August issue of CONTEND brought up the suggestion that the form of government of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" should be changed to a "people's democracy." I support this suggestion.

The idea of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" was introduced by Marx more than a hundred years ago. Very great changes have occurred to produce the historic conditions and class situation of today's society. The general concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, has been in use for over a hundred years without change. This is neither realistic nor scientific; at its worst, it is dangerous!

What the CCP has emphasized in the 30 years since the state was founded has been "the dictatorship of the proletariat." Which kind of situation has been created as a result? The People's Congress should examine this question deeply. Lu Xun said that if a knife is used improperly, a person can hurt himself. In fact, in the past 30 years they have not been dictating to the enemy but to their own class. For people to take their own comrades and old revolutionaries and drive them into cowsheds and tyrranize them to the extent that a hundred million people were harmed is a lesson that goes as deep as one's very blood. Is it possible not to be introspective about it?

I lived in China for nearly 20 years and was nearly stifled to death. From the first day I arrived in the country until the day I left, all I saw was people in conflict with one another. Today I struggle against you, tomorrow it's your turn to struggle against me. In actuality, no one is a class enemy of anyone else. Many of those who were struggled against were themselves workers, Communist Party members, or even old revolutionaries who had shed their blood for the nation like Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai and He Long. As soon as an allegation was made, they could be paraded through the streets, struggled against, made to grovel, beaten and kicked and even thrown into prison and tortured to death. Really! If one were to say that this was like fascist dictatorship or the despotism of the first emperor of Qin, one would not be far off.

During the initial period after the state was founded and in order to consolidate the revolutionary political power, a dictatorship of the proletariat was carried out against the remnants of antirevolutionary organizations. In addition, these were suppressed so as not to have any opportunity to launch a counteroffensive. This was proper, to avoid a failure like that of the "Paris Commune." However, for them to carry on with this until after political power was consolidated and still want to emphasize a "dictatorship of the proletariat" was really using the knife incorrectly. When it comes to opening fire on one's own comrades, is this not really too cruel?

To consolidate the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is important to do a good job in two things. The first is to increase production to build the four modernizations and raise the people's standard of living. The reason the Chinese worker class and laboring people wanted revolution in the first place was that they wanted to improve the people's lives, allow the nation to change from being poor to being prosperous and enable China to have a better tomorrow. They did not want people to struggle against one another and struggle all the way to a communist society. If people have a good life, then state political power will be consolidated as a matter of course. If they eat well, have a good place to live, dress well and have freedoms, who would then want to overthrow his own good government?

Secondly, put into effect rule by law. This is a most fundamental question in governing a country. Rule by law is actually a form of government of a dictatorship of the state in accordance with practices in a people's democracy. It has a decisive effect on the consolidation of a state power and on the stability, unity and prosperity of a society.

I wish only that the CCP would throw away this label of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and abandon its ideological pressure on the people so that the brand-new aspect of the nation could emerge.

9634
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LENIN'S TEACHING ON MILITANT MATERIALISM PRAISED

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 4, 25 Apr 80 pp 3-6

[Commentator's Article, "Uphold Militant Materialism--in Memory of the 110th Birthday of Lenin"]

[Text] Lenin has left us an abundant and very precious philosophical heritage. His "Materialism and Empirical Criticism," "Philosophical Notes" and his many other related works are brilliant contributions to Marxist philosophy. He successfully applied and developed Marxist philosophy in the protracted struggles of the Russian democratic and socialist revolutions. Lenin became unashamedly the heir of Marxist philosophy.

In his later years, Lenin wrote "On the Significance of Militant Materialism." In this famous piece of writing he penetratingly elucidated the significance of militant materialism. At that time (1922) the Russian proletariat was faced with the arduous task of consolidating the Soviet regime and of building a socialist society. On the ideological front, Lenin defended the militant task of materialism against the philosophical idealism, which was then very popular in the bourgeois countries, against a Russian idealism that persistently followed these fashionable reactionary philosophies and decorated itself with Marxist formulations, and Lenin also tried to educate those "communist party members who outwardly appeared as Marxists but who were actually distorting Marxism" and were directing their propaganda against the members of the Russian communist (Bolshevik) party. Lenin's revolutionary theories and practices were shining models of the defense of militant Marcist materialism. The historical experiences of the international communist movement, especially of our Chinese experiences in revolution and construction, have proven that the key to success in the proletarian causes of revolution and construction is to firmly uphold an ideology of militant materialism. This ideology is even in our days of the greatest actual significance for the Chinese people as they are presently engaged in the heroic struggle to realize the four modernizations.

"Marx and Engels defended political materialism with utmost firmness and furthermore made it repeatedly clear that all tendencies to abandon this fundamental concept would be erroneous to the extreme." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 442). Lenin was faithful to the revolutionary tradition of the militant materialism of Marxism. With extreme clarity he set forth that materialism is the fundamental theoretical position of Marxism. "General materialism holds that the existence of objective reality (material) does not depend on human consciousness, perception, experience, etc. Historical materialism holds that the existence of society does not depend on human social consciousness. In these two positions consciousness is merely the reflection of existence, at most merely an almost perfect (fitting and extremely precise) reflection." After clarifying this general truth about Marcist philosophy, Lenin immediately follows it up by pointing out: "From this Marxist philosophy, molded as in one whole block of steel, it is not possible to strip off any of its fundamental preconditions or important components, as otherwise it would mean departing from objective truth and throwing oneself into the arms of reactionary fallacies." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, pp 332-333). Materialism is one such fundamental precondition and basis of Marxist philosophy. Abandoning this fundamental precondition and base would of necessity mean departing from objective truth, departing from Marxism, and it would not make the slightest difference whether and how many enticing Marxist philosophical formulations were added. The truth which Lenin reveals in the above mentioned expose is the truth of Marxism which cannot be subverted by turning it upside down or by adding any supplements to it.

Lenin faithfully believed in the Marxist theory of the struggle between the two basic lines of materialism and idealism that at all times and everywhere exists in fundamental philosophical questions. Through an examination of Marx's philosophical statements in "Das Kapital" and in his other works, Lenin realized that upholding materialism was a "consistent and inalterable thesis" set forth by Marx and that Marx contemptiously ridiculed any retrogression toward idealism. As a consequence Lenin came to the penetrating conclusion that "the core of all philosophical statements by Marx is the explanation of the two opposing lines." (Cf. Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 344). Historical developments have not shown that this theory of Marxism-Leninism on the fundamental political problem of the struggle between the two lines is outdated or immaterial, to be adduced or ignored at will. On the contrary, practice has proven that the Marxist-Leninist theory of the struggle between the two lines in philosophy cannot become stale or decay. The struggle between materialism and idealism will never cease and can never be reconciled. It is also not possible to place oneself philosophically above materialism and idealism or to transcend their antagonistic stand and struggle. The history of philosophy is the history of cognition, but one must not confuse the history of philosophy with the history of politics or the concrete and special history of science. We must not disregard or neglect to the slightest degree the position and role of the struggle between materialism and idealism throughout the history of philosophy. We must at all times bear in mind this one lesson that Lenin taught us: "In all the great many novels, strange and weird formulations and the utterly pedantic, tedious talk that tries to solve philosophical problems, we see without exception these two basic lines, these two basic factions, emerge into view." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 342). Only by a conscious and absolutely clear separation of the materialist line and the idealist line in all problems, can we consciously defend the scientific world view of Marxism.

Lenin believed the revolutionary dialectics in Marxism are "the decisively significant elements in Marxism." He applied dialectics in the theory of reflections and in the process and development of cognition. He pointed out that a modern proponent of materialism must of necessity be a proponent of dialectic materialism. When he urged to organize the systematic study of Hegel's dialectics and when he did a comprehensive research on the actual use of dialectics in Marx's "Das Kapital" and in his other historical and political works, Lenin explicitly pointed out that it is necessary to employ a materialist viewpoint in the research, explanation and propagation of dialectics. When explaining and promoting dialectics, he always emphasized the unity of dialectics and materialism. In the 16 paragraphs of his famous "Key Elements of Dialectics," the first paragraph deals with "The Objectivity of Observation." When using dialectics in the study of objective phenomena, he always taught people not to introduce subjective voluntarism into the study. He harshly rejected the evil tendencies of regarding revolutionary dialectics as a kind of fashionable empty talk or pleasant-to-listen-to pretty language. He engaged in an uncompromising struggle against revisionists such as Kautsky and Otto Bauer who played around with the terminology of dialectics, but actually trampled Marxism underfoot, stubbornly adhered to outworn ideals and who, being a petty bourgeois democratic faction, had not the slightest knowledge of Marxism. Following the development of practice, Lenin gave new impetus to the study of dialectics, and at that time he started out from the objective world, that is from the natural and social developmental changes, continuously revealing new aspects of dialectics. At the time of defining consisely and to the point the thesis that dialectics is the unity of opposites, he emphatically pointed out that "this, however, requires explanation and elaboration." (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol 38, p 240). This prevented the erroneous tendency of having the dialectical rule becoming in its scope over-simplified, one-sidedly and altogether an ossified thing. For this reason, the Marxist dialectics as developed by Lenin are "a thing full of life, a many-sided knowledge (with new aspects continuously increasing)." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 714).

The reason why Lenin's materialism is a thoroughgoing system is its firm adherence to the principle that the standards of practice must be basis for the theory of knowledge. (Cf. Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 137). He held that "the entire living human practice is to penetrate deeply into the very body of epistemology; it provides the objective standards of truth," "life, the viewpoint of practice, must be the primary and basic viewpoint of epistemology. This viewpoint will of necessity lead to materialism" (Cf. Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2 pp 192, 142). Lenin's thesis has been expounded from a deep philosophical world view and a vivid and abundant practical revolutionary experience. He integrated Marxist theory and proletarian revolutionary experience into an inseparable entity. Not only in his systematic theoretical expose but also in practice did he steadfastly carry out the principle that "when theory is converted into practice, practice gives life to theory, theory is corrected by practice and is also tested in practice." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 3, p 398).

It is a basic principle of Leninism that practice exercizes a checking and correcting function with regard to theory. Lenin has never regarded Marxism as something immutable and frozen, or as something sacred and inviolable. He firmly opposed the erroneous tendency of "mere faithfulness to the text of a theory without faithfulness to the spirit of a theory." At all times he checked every step in the revolutionary progress on the basis of practical experience. He was adept in replacing old formulas, be they by Marx, Engels or even by himself, if they had become no more appropriate for new historical conditions, replacing them by new formulas and conclusions based on experiences from new historical conditions and as fitting the new historical tasks. Lenin praised the genius of Marx and Engels in that "they did not mark time and stood still, mulling over epistemological problems that had already been solved," and that they "over a lengthy period of time, about half a century, developed and expanded materialism and advanced it toward a fundamental school of philosophy." (Cf. Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 343). Lenin conscientiously adhered to this Marxist line as he was continuously advancing Marxist philosophy under newly arising historical conditions.

In the practice of leading the Russian revolution, Lenin steadfastly upheld the principle of learning from the experiences of the proletarian mass movement and deriving lessons from these experiences. He emphatically pointed out: "We are not going to such an extreme as to demand from Marx and other Marxists all knowledge of concrete conditions that would show us the road to socialism. That would be foolish indeed. We only have knowledge of the general direction of the road and know which classes will give strength on that road, but as to the concrete and actual conditions, these will only become revealed to us in the practical experiences of the thousands upon thousands of people." (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol 25, p 273). His confidence in the revolutionary practice of the proletariat is in its spirit in striking contrast to Plekhanov and the opportunists and revisionists of all brands who slander the revolutionary practice of the proletariat and "rebuke" the revolutionary masses.

Lenin's faith in the revolutionary practice of the proletariat is also demonstrated in his courageous acknowledgement and correction of his own mistakes. He once said: "Clever people too make mistakes. There is no man, and there cannot be any man, who is completely free from mistakes. A clever man is one who does not commit serious mistakes and who also will easily and quickly correct his mistakes." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 4, footnote on p 192). Lenin spoke and also acted in this manner. He courageously admitted his mistakes and quickly rectified his mistakes, for instance on the question of objecting to the boycott of the Witte Duma in December 1905, on the question of dispersing the "democratic congress" in September 1917 (Cf. Stalin's Collected Works, Vol 4, p 281), and on the question of coping or dealing with "lie wei" [0441 4850] at the Third International, (Cf. Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 4, p 598) Lenin pointed out: "Don't be afraid to acknowledge your own mistakes. Don't be afraid to adjust these mistakes again and again. This is the way we get to the top of the mountain before us." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 4, pp 601-602). Only because Lenin adopted this scientific attitude toward himself and preserved a materialist spirit throughout the revolutionary practice could it be avoided that there was a spread and growth of such evil trends as the unscientific and anti-Marxist deification and idolization of the proletarian leadership and the ossification and rendering absolute of Marxism-Leninism itself. In this way he could at all times preserve a clear, sober and scientific mind. He repeatedly reaffirmed that "there is nothing more dangerous than misconceptions (and having one's mind turned, especially in the highest places)." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 4, p 597). The great victory of the socialist October revolution led by Lenin was a feat unparalleled in the history of the proletariat. However, Lenin never allowed himself to become dizzied by success; on the contrary, his grasp of the overall situation of the proletarian revolutionary movement became ever more prudent and perfect. He led the Russian proletariat in thoroughly shattering the counterrevolutionary attacks by the Russian and foreign bourgeoisie and also in steadily moving on to the task of socialist economic construction. Lenin's life was one of firm adherence to militant materialism, and as a consequence his revolutionary undertakings throughout his entire life had always been successful and constituted one continuous advance from victory to victory.

Lenin viewed as extremely important the role of revolutionary theory in the course of proletarian revolutionary practice "Without a revolutionary theory there would be no revolutionary movement." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 1, p 241). This is a famous and well-known saying of Lenin. On the other hand, however, he was strongly opposed to exaggerating the role of consciousness and thought. He pointed out: "To derive inevitability, causality, regularity, etc from pure thinking amounts to idealism." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 2, p 167). Marxism-Leninism has always regarded social movement as the course of natural history which follows certain laws. These laws are not only independent of man's will, consciousness and hopes, but on the contrary, it is they that determine man's will, consciousness and hopes. As Lenin expressed it: "Speaking of the party of the proletariat, the most dangerous mistake would be to build one's strategy at the organizational stage on wishful thinking," and "to build the strategy of the proletariat on subjective desires would amount to destroying these hopes." (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol 24, p 207). Note how serious these dangers are to the proletarian cause if the idealist error were committed of allotting an exaggerated role to subjective consciousness and if policy were built on subjective wishful thinking!

The philosophy of Marxism-Leninism is always militant and full of vitality. In his "On the Significance of Militant Materialism," Lenin pointed out that members of the communist party should form alliances with non-party elements who are confirmed materialists, and also with modern scientists, especially those of the natural sciences, to guide all the masses without exceptions in the defense of materialism and Marxism He pointed out that the task of militant materialism in the defense and development of Marxist philosophy is, first of all, to resolutely expose and attack all the various popular philosophies of idealism and scepticism, also to carry out untiringly propaganda for atheism and against religious superstitions and obscurantism. Secondly, to give attention to the various problems most recently set forth by the revolution in the natural sciences and furthermore to employ dialectic materialism in the struggle against any infiltrations of the bourgeois world view. Thirdly, to study systematically Hegel's dialectics and the dialectics actually applied by Marx. Lenin said: "Materialism that would not set itself these tasks step by step cannot possibly become militant materialism." (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol 4, pp 609-610). Lenin left us these important last admonitions regarding philosophical research work. He clearly pointed out the correct road that we must follow in the development of Marxist philosophy.

The great victories of our Chinese revolution were all gained under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. While we have been taught serious lessons by rampaging idealist trends of thought in the course of our socialist revolution and socialist construction, we again emphatically declare that the theory in defense of militant materialism as revelaed by Lenin is a universal tenet of Marxism. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have for a long time launched unbridled attacks against Marxist philosophy, distorting it and trampling it underfoot. In this situation it is our foremost task to restore the basic theories of Marxist philosophy, and for that reason we must give first priority to the defense of militant materialism. Marxist-Leninist philosophy is a science; it does not finalize truth, but it is the road which in actual practice continuously opens up further developments of Marxist philosophy. If we are today not able to promote and advance Marxist-Leninist philosophy according to the progress of practice, we shall not be able to defend the militant materialism of Marxism. We are determined to observe and follow the teachings of Lenin, namely to "give consideration to the true facts of the realities," to be adept at using new principles and new conclusions to enrich and develop the Marxist philosophy. Let us forever remember the great teachings that Lenin left us regarding the defense of militant materialism, wipe out idealism and advance victoriously on the correct road of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought when proceeding on our new long march toward the realization of the four modernizations.

8453
CSO: 4005

PARTY SECRETARIAT'S THREE NEW MEASURES PRAISED

Hong Kong DONGXIANG [THE TREND] in Chinese No 24, 16 Sep 80 pp 19-21

[Article by Li Jiang [2621 3068]: "The 'Three Trail-blazing Measures' of the Central Secretariat"]

[Text] During the slightly more than half year since the Central Secretariat was established by the Fifth Plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, this Secretariat, headed by Hu Yaobang, has been conducting deepening investigation and study, facing realities, seeking truth from facts, and doing a job really full of sound and appearance. Following the three great undertakings it has already disposed of during the initial stage (planning the administration of the capital municipality from an overall situation, rectifying the extreme left line in Tibet, and putting forward a plan for the development of education), new measures adopted by the Secretariat have recently again become the subject of happy conversation among the people of the mainland. Among these, the castigation of the "offspring of those in power," the bombardment of the "petroleum kingdom," and the rectification of the operations of the Civil Aviation General Administration [CAGA] received especially high praise. Concerning these three incidents, the ringleader that got all the proceedings started was, on the surface, RENMIN RIBAO; however, people all know that without the support of Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, Hu Jiwei [5170 4936 0251] would never have been able to initiate these three great events which shook the whole country.

Trying Out the Sword First on the "Petroleum Kingdom"

Let us first discuss the bombardment of the "petroleum kingdom." This so-called "petroleum kingdom" means certain leading figures who have entered the high stratum of Beijing because of their background in handling petroleum operations. In the early period of the exploitation of oil resources at Daqing, they really made meritorious contributions to the cause of petroleum exploitation in China. However, confined by their past experience, they are inclined to aspire to large-scale operations and eager to score successes, and they also tend to violate scientific principles and ignore economic laws in their conduct. As a result, they have by this time come to stand in the way or possibly even to sabotage the progress of the four modernizations.

Without due decisiveness and determination, the Secretariat would not have dared touch such a huge entity. This battle was begun first of all in connection with the incident of "Bohai No 2." This so-called "Bohai No 2" incident has to do with the fact that oil-drilling rig "Bohai No 2" of the Oceanic Petroleum Exploration

Bureau of the Petroleum Ministry capsized on the morning of 25 November last year in a tagging operation in the Bohai Gulf when its drilling position was being changed from one location to another, causing the death of 72 persons and involving a direct economic loss of over 37 million yuan (equivalent to more than HK $100 million).

This incident took place last November, but it was not until 21 April this year that the Tianjin Municipal Bureau of Labor submitted an indictment to the Municipal People's Procuratorate. And it was 7 May before the Tianjin Municipal People's Court accepted the indictment submitted by the Municipal Bureau of Labor, began to conduct its investigation, and established the case. Furthermore, it was not until 21 July that XINHUA NEWS AGENCY publicly announced this incident for the very first time and raised the question of tracing responsibility. From this time schedule, it can be seen how thorny the disposition of the incident must have been.

Selecting a Beneficial Outlet for Breakthrough

But China's economic construction today is really harboring too many bad habits; practices stressing rash and foolhardy pursuits, violating the scientific spirit, and ignoring workers' lives and security are quite prevalent. The Petroleum Ministry has always bragged about "speaking honest words, doing an honest job, and being an honest man," but in reality, its conduct deviates from its words; it deceives those above and hoodwinks those below, and is in fact not very honest at all. And the way the incident of "Bohai No 2" occurred and the Petroleum Ministry's attitude in coping with it later have constituted quite a model in this regard. In proceeding from this incident of "Bohai No 2," it may be said that the Secretariat has selected a very beneficial outlet for a breakthrough. The incident of "Bohai No 2" reflects several inveterate diseases in China's economic construction today.

First and foremost is the bad atmosphere of bragging and resorting to empty talk. The Bohai Gulf is plagued by cold currents, high winds, and big waves in winter; it is very easy for the oil-drilling rigs to shift their locations, and this often results in already drilled wells being left unused. Also, none of the oil-drilling rigs is ice-resistent. Yet the Petroleum Ministry put forward the question: "Are we going to spend the winter standing idly by or exerting ourselves at work?" Hence, the Oceanic Petroleum Exploration Bureau undertook to raise the challenge to the exploration teams: "We must spend the winter exerting ourselves at work, and not allow the rigs simply to soak through the season; we must pass a revolutionized winter." When the staff and workers expressed dissent, the chieftain of the Oceanic Bureau would say: "Even if our rigs must capsize, let them capsize in the sea and not in the Wharves." These words sounded heroic and magnificent, but they merely constituted great empty talk.

Next is the practice of directing modern economic construction with wartime experience and the old troop-commanding methods, in violation of the laws of economic construction. Fighting a battle, of course, cannot avoid unknown factors and must often involve elements of risk, but construction must depend on a solid, scientific basis and cannot allow any adventures. Fighting a battle causes people to die, and this is inevitable, but as a matter of principle, construction must do its best to avoid causing people to die. Fighting a battle takes advantage of fighting opportunities and often stresses concentration of forces, but, in the case of construction, the emphasis should be placed more on democracy and on listening to the opinions of technical personnel. But during the incident of "Bohai No 2," those responsible precisely ignored the differences between economic construction and the conduct of warfare by employing methods for the conduct of warfare to direct construction, thus leading to serious ill consequences.

The third is the working style that does not show respect for the masses. Today, not a few cadres of the Chinese Communist Party are accustomed to not showing respect for the masses; they tend to make decisions by a single word of their own on all matters. The expression "even if our rigs must capsize, let them capsize (for my sake) in the sea" uttered by certain cadres of the Oceanic Bureau serves as a good illustration as to this question. The words "let them...(for my sake)" are indeed incisive in depicting the blatant and domineering posture of certain bureaucrats of the Chinese Communist Party here. These bureaucrats show respect neither for the masses not for science. In the case of "Bohai No 2," for example, it had been 7 years since it was imported; yet not a single word of the instructions for its use was ever translated. Some officials not only show no respect for science, but they even purposely violate objective laws in their conduct. Oil-drilling rig "Bohai No 1" was once forcibly sent out to sea under conditions when it should not have sent; the result was that one of its legs was broken. Luckily, under the urgent rescue of the sailors, no casualties were involved. Yet the Petroleum Ministry seized upon this to put out unrestrained propaganda by designating it as a case of how "man will conquer nature."

The fourth is the working style of deceiving those above and hoodwinking those below and exhibiting inconsistency between words and deeds. The capsizing of "Bohai No 2" was really the consequence of the "will of the superior." After the incident occurred, however, the Oceanic Petroleum Exploration Bureau chose to write a false report, saying that "big winds were suddenly encountered and they were irresistible," that "there was no error in the direction of the operations," and that "the rescuers were very brave." Family members of the dead were even instigated to lie in support of the report. Petroleum Minister Song Zhenming even took the lead in altering the report submitted to the State Council, changing "big wind of the 10th class" to "a big wind of the 11th class," and thus lying about the condition of the battle.

The fifth is the bad habit of not treasuring workers' lives and not treasuring the property and materials of the state. After the occurrence of the "Bohai No 2" incident, a responsible person in the Oceanic Petroleum Exploration Bureau lightheartedly said to the investigation group: "Struggle requires sacrifices; we must pay a price for the war years. We must also pay a price for the work of the four modernizations. The death of the 72 persons is worthwhile in this regard. They are heroes; we cannot help but pay our tuition!" On the day of the incident, the dispatch office of the petroleum minister, in a telephone call to the National Commanding Headquarters for Security on the High Seas, which is in charge of uniform deployment and direction of rescue work on the high seas, even stated as follows: "We request that the National Commanding Headquarters for Security on the High Seas inform us whether or not there are any vessels passing by; if there are, please ask them to rush to the scene for rescue work before 9 o'clock on the 25th. If they cannot reach the scene before 9 o'clock, then please don't trouble them any further." Treating workers' lives with such an attitude is indeed tantamount to treating human lives as being no more than grass.

Song Zhenming Is Ultimately Dismissed

These bad habits have more or less persisted among Chinese Communist officials; on the one hand they have strangled the workers' enthusiasm, and on the other hand they have obstructed economic development. It is necessary that they be removed. The incident of "Bohai No 2" was ultimately brought to a close with the dismissal from office of Petroleum Minister Song Zhenming and the punishment of Vice Premier Kang Shi'en, who is in charge of the Petroleum Industry, by the marking of a great demerit. This example of disposal was virtually the very first since the founding of the state by the Chinese Communists; it thus shook the whole nation. It constituted a serious warning not only to the Petroleum Ministry but also to all economic departments, factories, mines, and enterprises in the country. This precedent created by the Secretariat will have an inestimable influence on the future economy of China.

All Opinions Point to "Grievances" about CAGA Service

After the bombardment of the "petroleum kingdom," the second department subject to rectification by the Secretariat was the CAGA.

It may be said that all opinions about the service of the CAGA point to "grievances." There is great incongruence between the prices it collects (based on prices for external tourists) and the services it provides. Yet it has been sustaining losses over long years and thus has become a burden on the public finances of the state. The first salvo designed to rectify the CAGA was fired on 4 August. RENMIN RIBAO did something unusual on that day, as it issued an editorial without corresponding news under the title "Civil Aviation Must Follow the Path of Turning Itself Into an Enterprise."

Domestic and foreign tourists have expressed many opinions about the low quality of service provided by the CAGA and the inefficiency it has shown in its work. This has seriously damaged China's reputation, and it demands that the CAGA by various means train competent technical personnel and high-caliber service personnel, establish a system of rules and regulations, and, most important, change the situation in which leaders of the CAGA look at but do not see such existing shortcomings and problems, see them but do not bother with them, or both with them but do not handle them earnestly. This constituted criticism of the CAGA Director Shen Tu [3088 0956] without specifically naming him, and it also indicated why the CAGA failed to achieve improvements for such a long time. The editorial pointed out that CAGA personnel should be replaced in order to "allow those with competence in management to guide civil aviation enterprises."

But after the publication of this editorial, the CAGA effected no improvements, nor did it express any reaction; a sentiment of resistance seemed to prevail. This is not hard to understand. For a long time, the CAGA has "enjoyed a monopoly at headquarters, with no competition elsewhere." Those who were selected to join the CAGA happened to be all "proud sons of heaven" superior to others. Under such circumstances, how could they accept anybody's criticism? Thus, 13 days later, RENMIN RIBAO fired its second round of bombardment; using the space of more than a quarter of a page, it published two letters from readers criticizing the CAGA's services. With domestic tourists thus telling their own experiences, one letter pointed out three discretions regularly exercised by the CAGA; changing flight-times freely and providing flights when it pleases; most planes not providing meals, and nobody looking after passengers awaiting their flights; and lying when flights are delayed. The other letter poignantly put forward several observations about service personnel lacking due courtesy, the quality of meals being too low, and improper care of luggage.

Director Shen Tu Forced To Deliver Self-Criticism

Three days later, a third round of cannonballs were fired. This was criticism expressed by foreign envoys stationed in the capital: two staff members at the capital airport changing airport regulations without authorization, making matters more difficult for foreign envoys, treating them with crude manners, and even abusing the wife of the ambassador of Chad, hence causing the ambassador of Chad to say that in his experience as a diplomat in four continents he had never encountered this kind of treatment anywhere else.

Just as RENMIN RIBAO pointed out, these lax practices were not a question of individual staff members; rather, they had a great deal to do with the improper management of civil aviation enterprises. Civil aviation in China may be said to be a principal channel of China's communication with the outside world. At a time when China is engaged in modernization work, generally appeals for foreign economic and technical cooperation, and seeks to unite with friends of various countries in joint opposition to Soviet hegemony, the CAGA can only serve to sabotage the strategic goals of the Chinese Communists. Under such circumstances, rectification of the CAGA naturally became an urgent problem requiring solution by the Central Secretariat.

Today, it looks as though obstacles to the solution of this CAGA problem are likely smaller than those concerning the "petroleum kingdom." At just about the same time as Song Zhenmin was specifically criticized by name, CAGA Director Shen Tu ultimately indicated his own attitude, acknowledging the inadequacy of service and expressing a willingness to accept criticism. Of course, whether this was representative of a real intention to rectify existing faults or a mere concession designed to protect his office, only time can tell.

Relentless Castigation of "Offspring of Those in Power" Pleases Everyone

Another matter disposed by the Central Secretariat which pleased everybody was the relentless castigation of the "offspring of those in power," by which children of high-ranking cadres were subject to blows. In mid-August, XINHUA NEWS AGENCY reported that, unafraid of privileged personalities, the Beijing Municipal Court had sentenced three children of high-ranking cadres to 3 to 6 years' imprisonment for illegally detaining others, extortion, and theft.

Among these three children of high-ranking cadres, two were named Xu [1776]; they are brothers. Their father was originally deputy political commissioner of a certain army; their mother was deputy director of the Beijing internal combustion engine accessories plant. The other person was the son of the chief of the cadre department of a certain military region.

Certain children of high-ranking cadres resorting to mistreatment of others on account of the power behind them, violating laws and discipline, and their parents preferring to shield them, and similar practices, have in recent years become a salient problem in mainland society. Taking advantage of their social status and relations, they have resorted to illegal activities, backdoor deals, abuse of the masses, transmission of yellow publications and photographs, and amusing themselves with women. Some even set up rpivate courts to try to exact confessions from people, commit extortion and blackmail, and do whatever they please. All this presented a lively picture very much of the kind exemplified by the vicious offspring of those in power in the novel "Shuihu Zhuan" ["All Men Are Brothers"].

Their conduct not only affected public security but also had a very bad influence among youths, and this was deeply hated by the vast ranks of the people. The reason certain literary works, such as "General, You Can't Do This!" and "In the Files of Society," "If I Were Genuine," etc., have aroused so much vigorous response in society in recent years is inseparable from the blatant and imperious way certain children of high-ranking cadres have sought to exercise their privileges.

In the past, certain Chinese Communist departments seemed to have adopted an approach of suppression with respect to literary works which reflected such problems; this could only inflate the arrogance of the privileged and render fruitless the earnest Chinese Communist attempt to restore close relations between the party and the masses. Therefore it has now become imperative for the party to eliminate obstacles and to face squarely, with strict impartiality, the question of the privileged among the ranks of the cadres, in order to solemnly deter the children of high-ranking cadres who violate laws and discipline. This was another challenge facing the Secretariat, since the resultant approach was bound to affect the personal interests of a sizable part of high-ranking cadres and, hence, offend not a few people.

Firm Decision of the Secretariat

Facts indicate that the Central Secretariat finally made a firm decision to strike at the lawbreaking children of high-ranking cadres, so as to uphold laws of the state. At the same time as XINHUA NEWS AGENCY reported the news about the three children of high-ranking cadres being subjected to punishment by the law, BEIJING RIBAO also published a Commentator's article entitled "A Warning to Those Children of Cadres Who Violate the Law and Commit Crimes"; the poignant title of this article has been rare. In a righteous and solemn tone, the article pointed out: "Don't think that, since you have your fathers and your mothers behind you, others would of course never dare to touch you. In the case of the people, they would not hesitate to touch even if it were the seat of a tiger or a lion. When you commit a crime, the people's judiciary organs will always have ways to grab you and bring you to justice, no matter in which shelter you seek to hide. For the sake of the state's four modernizations and for the sake of your own future, you had better change, fold up your 'awful airs,' and spend your energy in practical study and work. If you treat history well, history will treat you well!"

Meanwhile, BEIJING RIBAO and RENMIN RIBAO also published articles at various times demanding that parents who happen to be high-ranking cadres refrain from placing themselves in any privileged position, or placing their children in any such position. These articles warned that, since parents who have committed a crime would not implicate their children, neither would parents who have established merits be in any position to provide shelter for their children. If anyone should continue to send people to plead for favors in an attempt to shelter his children who have committed a crime, then he would be impinging on the law and discipline and would thus be subject to punishment in accordance with party discipline or the laws of the state.

Reading these articles gives one great pleasure. It is hoped that the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party will keep up with such efforts and, in winding up the remnant case of the Cultural Revolution and readjusting economic construction and aspects of the like, direct and stage even more heroic and magnificent repertoire items.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CONSTITUTIONAL ARTICLES SUITABLE FOR REVISION PINPOINTED

Hong Kong DONGXIANG [THE TREND] in Chinese No 24, 16 Sep 80 pp 7-8

[Article by Bi Ming [1732 6900]: "The 10 Places That Should Be Revised in the Constitution"]

[Text] At the recently convened session of the National People's Congress, a suggestion of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee was accepted and a special committee was established and given the responsibility of revising the Constitution that had been passed by the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in 1978.

This [session of the] National People's Congress revised Article 45 of the Constitution; that is, the provision concerning the "four bigs" was deleted from the article, which had read: "Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike, and have the right to 'speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates, and write big-character posters.'" Apart from this article, then, what other articles of the Constitution may be revised?

As we open the text of the Constitution formulated in 1978 and compare it with the Chinese Communist Party's various new policies during the past 2 years, we discover that at least nine [additional] places must be revised.

1. "Preamble," Section 2: "Since the founding of our state, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, the people of all our nationalities have carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the political, economic, cultural and military fields and in foreign affairs and have won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction through repeated struggles against enemies both at home and abroad and through the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

Here, "the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" as a political movement in the positive sense was written into the Constitution. However, as early as National Day last year, the Chinese Communist Party had already subtly negated the Cultural Revolution, and by this time the "Cultural Revolution" has already become a synonym for "catastrophe." Therefore, this passage is liable to be revised.

2. In the "Preamble," Section 4, it is prescribed: "The general task for the people of the whole country in this new period is: To persevere in continuing

the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment, and to make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology by the end of the century." But in Ye Jianying's speech at the meeting in celebration of National Day last year, the general task was broached this way: "To unite the people of all nationalities and bring into play all positive factors so that we can work with one heart and one mind and go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a modern, powerful, socialist country." Later on, in the revised draft of the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party, the general task was again changed: "To unite the people of all nationalities so that we can work with one heart and one mind, according to plan, and proportionately achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results in developing our socialist economy and building a modern, highly democratic, highly civilized, and powerful socialist country." It was said that the deletion of the expression "bring into play all positive factors" was meant to avoid the possibility that some might try to guess who the "negative factors: were, or that some might look upon themselves as "positive factors." "Go all out, aim high" was deleted, and "proportionately at a high speed" was added, because the former did not have any substantive meaning; adding "highly civilized, highly democratic" before "modern" was designed to make the concept of modernization more complete. Insofar as this new concept of modernization is concerned, Yao Yilin [1202 0181 2651] had already applied it in his report to this session. It looks as though, in the forthcoming revision of the Constitution, the way the general task is to be broached will also be revised.

3. "Preamble," Section 6: "We should consolidate and expand the revolutionary united front, which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which unites the large numbers of intellectuals and other working people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in Taiwan, Hongkong, and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad." Here, intellectuals were still regarded as objects to be united; however, according to the new point of view of the Chinese Communist Party, intellectuals have already become part of the working class.

4. "Preamble," Section 7: "Taiwan is China's sacred territory. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great cause of unifying our motherland." Beginning New Year's Day last year, such wording as "liberation of Taiwan" was no longer used, and in its place is now "the return of Taiwan to the motherland."

5. Chapter 1, General Principles, Article 2: "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people." It is said that, with regard to the party's character, the new draft of the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party has added this statement: "The Communist Party of China is the faithful representative of the people of all nationalities of China." This statement is neither superfluous nor uncalled-for embellishment; its addition makes the party's character far more clear. It looks as though the new Constitution will also be revised in this manner.

6. Chapter 2, "The Structure of the State," Article 1: Deputies of the National People's Congress "should be elected by secret ballot after democratic consultation." In the new Electoral Law, this method of election has already been changed

to differential election; that is, the number of candidates should be greater than the number of those to be elected. Besides, the kind of "method of election," theoretically through "consultation" but really through designation by a higher level, has long been the subject of repeated criticism.

7. Article 34: "People's congresses and revolutionary committees are established in provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, counties, cities, municipal districts, people's communes, and towns.

"People's congresses and revolutionary committees of the people's communes are organizations of political power at the grassroots level and are also leading organs of collective economy.

"Revolutionary committees at the provincial level may establish administrative offices as their agencies in prefectures."

According to the new organic law, revolutionary committees at various levels have already been eliminated and replaced by people's governments at various levels. Therefore, articles of the Constitution involving "revolutionary committees" will be revised.

8. Article 48: "Citizens have the right to work. To ensure that citizens enjoy this right, the state provides employment in accordance with the principle of overall consideration." According to the provision of this Constitutional article, people have no freedom of employment, since it must be provided by the -tate in accordance with the principle of uniform arrangement. Over the past 30 years this practice has revealed very great defects, and China recently has encouraged freedom of vocational choice and propagated the "double door" employment approach. Hence, this article of the Constitution also looks likely to be subject to revision.

9. In the forthcoming constitutional revision, the repeal of lifelong tenure for cadres should be added and the limitation of tenures for cadres should be prescribed. This will be the most welcome article to the people in the forthcoming constitutional revision.

The above 9 items, plus the deletion of the "four bigs," make 10 altogether.

The reason China is undertaking a constitutional revision at this time is because the old Constitution has already run into contradiction with China's new political situation, and some of its articles still carry certain erroneous propositions of the Cultural Revolution period. It is estimated that the new Constitution, after revision, will incorporate certain new conclusions from China's theoretical research during the past 4 years, so as to preserve in constitutional form the results of those 4 years.

9255
CSO: 4005

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAWYER SYSTEM EXPOUNDED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Yu Xiangyang [0060 0686 7122]: "Discussing the Lawyer System"]

[Text] The people's lawyer system is an important item in China's socialist legal system, an embodiment of the socialist democratic principles and a part of the content of the systematization and legalization of democracy. It has an important significance in safeguarding the people's democratic rights, maintaining the socialist legal system and promoting the development of the socialist construction.

China formally created the people's lawyer system in 1956. Serving the people in law, the lawyers were enthusiastically welcomed by the masses. Speaking highly of the system, Comrade Dong Biwu [5516 1801 2976] urged its "rapid popularization." However, it encountered unjust criticisms in the anti-rightist movement in 1957. Some lawyers were erroneously classified as rightists for "defending criminals" and "shielding evildoers." For this reason, the system existed in name only. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated, during the Great Cultural Revolution, thoroughly "smashing the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts," the lawyer structure was completely destroyed, and defense by lawyer became an untouchable "forbidden area." As a result, large numbers of unjust, false and erroneous cases occurred and many innocent cadres and people encountered persecution. The damages resulting from Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" destruction of the socialist legal system and abolition of the lawyer system proved the necessity of the lawyer system. After declaring the reinstatement of the lawyer system, the Second Conference of the Fifth National People's Congress recently published the "Provisional Regulations on the Lawyers of the People's Republic of China." Such measures are completely in keeping with the fundamental interest and desire of the broad masses.

As the work of lawyers was interrupted for more than 2 decades, currently some cadres and people do not have a clear understanding of the significance of the lawyer system. Some people feel that "defense by lawyer is a formality, a show, and not essential." It is an indication of their failure to understand

China's judicial process. Defense by lawyer is an indispensable link in China's trial work. The criminal procedure passed by the Second Conference of the Fifth National People's Congress provides: Besides exercising the right of defense himself, the defendant may entrust the following persons to conduct his defense: (1) a lawyer; (2) a citizen recommended by a people's organization or the defendant's unit and approved by the people's court; (3) a close relative or guardian of the defendant. Among the defenders, the lawyer is a professional in legal work and an expert in legal knowledge, and possesses experience in handling cases. In a lawsuit, he is an independent participant, free from any restraint by the defendant or interference by any organ, organization or individual. He enjoys more extensive rights than other defenders, such as checking into material relevant to the case, making necessary investigations and interviewing and corresponding with the defendant under detention. In court, he occupies a position of equality with the public prosecutor, and he may argue with the prosecutor. During the argument, he will present, in accordance with the facts and the law, material and opinions favorable to the defendant, thereby concretely guaranteeing the full exercise of the defendant's right to defense, aiding the court to clarify the case, enhancing the quality of the handling of the case and avoiding injustice.

There are also those who feel that, "by arguing for the defendant, the lawyer speaks for the criminal," and that he "loses his class standpoint." First, those holding this view have confused the distinction between a defendant and a criminal. They feel that the defendant is a criminal, and the criminal equals to the defendant, which is actually wrong. Criminal cases are very complicated. Generally speaking, there may be three kinds of defendants: a true criminal, a good person violating the law (such as accident due to negligence); a person falsely accused. Before the court renders a guilty verdict, they are all referred to as defendants. Only after investigation, prosecution and trial will the innocence or guilt be finally determined. After trial when the guilt of the defendant is proved, but not as grave as charged, and the sentence should be reduced, or the criminal responsibility should be eliminated, the lawyer must also argue for the defendant. Next, they do not understand the responsibility of the lawyer in criminal defense. Article 28 of China's "Criminal Procedure" provides: "The responsibility of the defender is to present material and opinions, in accordance with the facts and the law, to prove the defendant's innocence or the lightness of his offense, plead for reduction of sentence or elimination of criminal responsibility, and protect the defendant's legitimate rights." Obviously, when defending a defendant in court, the lawyer starts from upholding the dignity of the law and discharges his responsibility from the standpoint of the state and the people. He absolutely does not "speak for the criminal" or "lose his class standpoint."

One important task of the people's lawyer is to accept the invitation of organs, industries, professional units, people's communes and social organizations to serve as a legal adviser. With the progress of the four modernization construction, besides serving as defenders in criminal cases, lawyers will develop a great impact on settling the economic disputes among the state, industries, collectives and individuals, on safeguarding and supervising the conscientious performance of all kinds of contracts between industries and on handling issues of foreign trade, insurance, and joint operation of enterprises by China and foreign countries.

6080
CSO: 4005

ABOLISH LIFE TENURE SYSTEM OF CADRES

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Jiao Yuke [3542 3768 3784]]

[Text] To build China into a modern socialist power by the end of the century is the established political line of our party in the new historical era. "After the political line has been decided, the cadres are the determining factor." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 2 p 514). In accordance with the requirements of the political line, reforming the cadre system, especially abolishing life tenure, which actually forms a part of the cadre system, will produce a momentous impact on assuring the realization of the party's political line and the smooth progress of the four modernization construction.

Linked with the political system of the state and with that of feudal dictatorship, the cadre system is a hereditary life tenure system. Meanwhile, what is linked with the socialist system is proletarian democracy. The concentrated manifestation of such democracy is the election and dismissal of the leaders of all levels according to the opinions of the majority, in order to promote those most representative of the fundamental interest of the proletariat and the laboring people and those with the best management talent to the leading posts of all levels.

Ours is a socialist country. After the founding of the nation, our party vigorously followed the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, actively built the political power of the state and introduced the people's democracy. However, as the gradual perfection of the socialist democracy must undergo a process and as there are various historical and social factors, life tenure actually exists in China's cadre system today. As long as he does not make grave errors, a cadre will keep his position as an official throughout his lifetime. Similar to the cult of the individual, one man's say, factional activities and the prerogative mentality, such life tenure is actually a feudal remnant and easily turns into a parasite of patriarchy and bureaucraticism. Therefore, it is fundamentally inconsistent with China's socialist system.

Our position as the party in power requires that our cadres always represent the interest of the masses. Thus, life tenure must be replaced by the election and rotational system, in order to prevent the power holders from severing themselves from the masses and becoming bureaucratized.

Aside from representing the interest of the proletariat and the laboring people, the proletarian party in power has no prerogatives. Its cadres naturally must accept the supervision of the masses and be responsible to the masses. However, life tenure actually in existence in the cadre system easily leads our cadres to feel responsible only to the superior, not to the inferior, only to look up, not down, and only to be officials, not common people. Inevitably, the masses lose their supervision over the cadres, while the latter lapse into the mentality of "ironclad job security," sticking to the old ways, remaining in a rut, guarding their own turf, seeking no improvement and enjoying their emolument regardless of the quality of their work. The draft revision of the party constitution abolishes the life tenure of cadres and places the cadres of all levels under the people's supervision. It is an important measure, because, by abolishing the life tenure of cadres, the people will enjoy a true, not nominal, power of supervision, making it possible for them to elect those trusted by them to the leadership posts, to dismiss the incompetent whenever necessary and to promptly purge the corrupt. At the same time, it will encourage the cadres of all levels to maintain their close tie with the masses, promptly concentrate the wisdom of the people, understand their difficulties and preserve their own vitality. Some people feel that abolishing the life tenure of cadres may affect the continuity and stability of the party's lines and policies. Such worry is superfluous. The majority of the people of a state, a region, is a stable entity, and the people's will and desires of the era are indestructible and indomitable. The party's lines are the concentrated reflections of the people's will and desires. When the leaders of the various levels are truly elected, subject to rotation and dismissal, and the supervision of the masses, the continuity and stability of the party's lines will have a correct and firm foundation and a reliable guarantee.

Abolishing the life tenure of cadres will benefit the implementation of the cadre line of selecting the able and promoting the competent and making appointments on the merits. Ours is a large country and we have people of talent in great numbers. Yet the life tenure system blocks the metabolism of the cadre ranks and stifles large groups of talented people. Arrogant and domineering, some cadres actually regard the power granted by the people as their private property, practicing nepotism, feeling jealous of the able and the competent, and discriminating against those of different views. Thus, it becomes difficult for the promising young people of both virtue and talent to grow and attain important posts. To eliminate such defects and to promote talents unrestricted to one pattern, primarily life tenure must be abolished. By so doing, the outstanding people trusted by the masses will be promoted to leadership posts, while those who are inferior by comparison will be eliminated, and the cadre ranks will maintain their vitality.

Only by abolishing life tenure will the proletarian party in power effectively prevent the careerists from usurping the leadership power of the party and the state and safeguard the stable and unit i political situation. That Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could remain in power for 10 long years was not unrelated to the life tenure system. Lin Biao wanted to become the chairman of the state and Jiang Qing wanted to become the empress, because they thought that such positions, once acquired, would be for life, and that they could turn the people's republic into a feudal dynasty of "one surname through the generations." Therefore, one may say that abolishing the tenure system will at least block the path of the careerists in the cadre system. When the cadres of all levels are placed under the constant supervision of the people and the people select and replace the cadres according to their own will, though the careerists infiltrating the cadre ranks may triumph for a time, they will not be able to play the tyrant for long.

The strenuous historical task of the four modernization construction requires the abolition of the life tenure system. The arduousness of the task calls for the prompt solution of the "aging" problem of the cadre ranks. Once the life tenure system is fundamentally solved, the "aging" problem will be easily handled, and the leadership teams of the various levels will become youthful and vigorous. The complexity of the four modernization construction necessitates changes in the composition of the cadre ranks. The four modernization construction involves all realms of modern science and technology, and organizing modern mass production requires all kinds of scientific management knowledge. We must have large groups of cadres proficient in science and technology, in all kinds of professional knowledge and in organizing. Abolishing the life tenure system of cadres and placing professional talents in important posts constitute the proper way to change the cadre composition and conclude the irrational situation of the layman leading the expert. If we truly introduce the cadre policy of selecting the able and promoting the competent, then, we will, on the one hand, encourage the cadres to learn professional knowledge, turning from laymen to experts, and eliminate those satisfied with their status as a layman and, on the other hand, make it possible for those with professional skills and with enthusiasm for the four modernization construction to be selected for leadership posts. Furthermore, in the four modernization construction, while assimilating the lessons of experience of the past 30 years, we must also continuously study and solve the new situations and new problems. In face of this strategic task, our cadres of all levels must always maintain their fighting spirit, their vitality, an active mind, a strong desire for knowledge and proficiency in their field. After remaining at the leadership posts for a long time, some of our cadres have become ossified or semi-ossified in their thinking. They are satisfied with the status quo, desire no progress, stay in a rut and want no reform. If such mentality is not promptly changed, not only will it be impossible to realize the four modernization construction, but the survival of the nation will become a tremendous problem. Therefore, abolishing the life tenure of the cadres is definitely not an expediency, but a long-range momentous strategic measure. It is the trend of the times and imperative.

6080
CSO: 4005

INTELLECTUALS URGED TO APPLY FOR OFFICIAL POSITIONS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Xiao Lin [5135 2651]: "Select Cadres From Among Intellectuals"]

[Text] Recently, the following news reports have come to my attention: The Xingtai Municipal Stocking Plant--one of "eight hopeless enterprises" in Xingtai City, Hebei Province--has been quickly converted from a backward unit into an advanced enterprise since college graduate Li Xianggen [2621 4382 2704] was named its director and secretary of its party branch in October 1977.

A chemical plant in Xiaoyi County of Luliang Prefecture, Shanxi Province, which once bordered on bankruptcy, has received a shot in the arm and has made its products competitive on the market since a college graduate who knows this trade well was appointed its director.

Actually, examples of this kind are not lacking in Shanghai. At least two out of several hundred textile mills in Shanghai are well known for their scientific management systems and good organizations for production. They are Shanghai Cotton Textile Mills No 12 and No 28. During a recent tour of the two textile mills, I was told that their directors were also trained in this particular field. There should be laws governing the development of such outstanding examples that have repeatedly emerged in our society. Selecting cadres from among the intellectuals and appointing young and robust intellectuals of political integrity to leading posts should be regarded as urgent measures for accelerating the tempo of the four modernizations.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." Today, our party's political line is a call for accomplishing the four modernizations before the end of this century. With this political line growing steadily more popular with each passing day, people throughout the country sincerely hope that leading organs at all levels will take a giant step forward in carrying it through to the end. Everyone must understand that the organizational line is subordinate to the political line; the promotion of the four modernizations has little in common with the promotion of land reform and the cooperative movement, and therefore it has placed a new demand on the organization line.

The four modernizations program is aimed at modernizing our country under the socialist system. Bearing this in mind, we are required to radically reform our existing cadre system and to set new standards for promoting cadres on the merit of their moral qualities and aptitude. By moral qualities, we mean their degree of commitment to the socialist road and the cause of the four modernizations. By aptitude, we mean their ability to lead the four modernizations program, which requires professional knowledge. Cadres not armed with professional knowledge are in no position to lead the four modernizations program. At present, the number of cadres with professional knowledge is relatively small and therefore far from being able to meet the requirements for promoting the four modernizations.

How can we change this situation? There are two ways to solve this problem. First, in-service cadres must be required to study hard in order to change from nonprofessionals into experts. Second, bold steps must be taken to select cadres from among the intellectuals.

Except for a few who were born in the old society, the overwhelming majority of intellectuals in our country have been trained since the birth of new China. Most of these intellectuals were trained in new schools founded since the construction of new China. During the past 30 years, the number of our college and middle school graduates has increased to 8 million, most of whom have spent 10 or 20 years or even longer working in various fields of practical work. They now form the backbone of a work force employed by various departments, trades, enterprises, and establishments. Among them are outstanding public service workers. In addition, there are cadres who were born of worker and peasant families and who have studied hard to gradually turn themselves into experts. If we select one-tenth of the 8 million intellectuals as cadres, the number will be nearly 800,000. In other words, the conditions are now ripe for selecting cadres from among intellectuals.

Some comrades have worried that selecting cadres from among intellectuals may violate the party's class line. This unnecessary worry reflects a lack of clear understanding of the nature of our party's class line, which is based on the support of the working class. But the content of the working class on which our party relies sometimes may or must undergo changes. For example, the most reliable mass organizations allied with the working class in the countryside now accommodate more elements than in the days of land reform and the cooperative movement. Today, through 30 years of work, practice, and education, the overwhelming majority of intellectuals in our country have become part of or outstanding members of the working class. During the past 20 years or more, they have personally witnessed the struggle against rightists unfold and escalate and they have experienced the 3 years of economic difficulties, as well as the 10 years of turmoil caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." No one can deny that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals who have survived these three major tests are reliable and good. The reason is that, through these tests, they have proven themselves to be patriots, staunch supporters of the Communist Party leadership, and good workers diligently sharpening their professional skills to serve the cause of the socialist construction, with the conviction that only socialism can save China. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," they have worked even harder than ever for the sake of the revolution. Now let me ask: Can any nonworking-class intellectuals perform that kind of feat? Can anyone say that they are not outstanding members of the working class? Is it in line with the requirements of the party's class line for this new historical period, for us to resolutely rely on and trust these outstanding members of the working class, and boldly promote able intellectuals of political integrity to leading posts?

Some people contend that our party may be in danger of going revisionist and our country may risk changing color if political power falls into the hands of the intellectuals. We must break with this totally erroneous traditional idea that has shackled the people's minds and bound their feet and hands for years. If this viewpoint had any merit, there would never have been any Marxist party nor any state under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, since Marx and Engels, cofounders of Marxism, and Lenin and Stalin, who founded and led the world's first state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, were all typical intellectuals. This fact alone can prove this viewpoint absurd.

It is important to select cadres from among intellectuals. In the future, our cadres not directly engaged in production will be recruited mainly from among intellectuals (including outstanding workers and peasants trained by various schools and party schools). But this does not mean that every intellectual can become a cadre, just as every piece of pig iron is not necessarily good raw material for making steel. Anyone who can meet the standards of intellectual maturity and political integrity required of cadres should be selected. Practical experience shows that the key to success in accurately selecting cadres lies in the mass line. Specifically, the following methods should be adopted for selecting cadres from among intellectuals: first, reliance on recommendations from the masses and grassroots organizations; second, reliance on self-recommendations; third, recruiting through advertisement; fourth, combining elections with appointments. Of course, the first three methods must be coupled with a screening and examination procedure. In this connection, I strongly urge those interested in public service to recommend themselves. In the history of China and other countries, there have been many distinguished public figures who voluntarily offered their services to their nations. The secretary of the treasury under America's first president, George Washington, was a man who recommended himself to the President for that job when he was in his thirties. Later, he helped President Washington solve many financial problems that others considered impossible of solution. Today, we must encourage people to recommend themselves for public service. This is one way to find more talented people to serve this country. Those who can recommend themselves for official positions are mostly persons with a strong sense of responsibility and a high degree of dedication to public service. Their bold decision of this kind usually stems from their desire to serve their country and is based on a conscientious analysis of subjective and objective realities. Once the chips are down, they will do everything possible for the benefit of the country. At a time when our country is in urgent need of able intellectuals to speed up the tempo of the four modernizations, people must be encouraged to voluntarily apply for official positions. Anyone who has the courage to bear the heavy responsibility and is able to serve the public interest should be respected and admired. Recruiting new cadres through advertisement is believed to be another fruitful measure for encouraging talented people to recommend themselves for official positions—a measure which should be widely promoted by all trades and enterprises.

9574
CSO: 4005

BEIJING WARNS XINJIANG TROUBLEMAKERS

Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Alain Jacob: "Central Government Warns Troublemakers 'Regardless of Their Nationality'"]

[Text] Beijing--What happened in Xinjiang last spring? Rumors had begun to make the rounds in Beijing during the summer to the effect that there had been serious clashes between elements of the Uigur population and civil servants (or military personnel) of the Han nationality stationed in the region. The incidents reportedly were so serious that the families of some of those civil servants had to be evacuated and returned to Beijing. There was talk of dead and wounded but this was entirely too vague to enable anybody to get an exact idea of what had really happened.

Hardly more is known today but the fact that these incidents did take place was confirmed on the occasion of the mission carried out that month to Xinjiang by Mr Wang Zhen, member, Political Bureau, Communist Party, and specialist for this region, because he had served there at length right after liberation. Talking at Urumchi on 9 October, during a meeting organized in connection with the presence of Mr Wang Zhen, one of the regional party committee secretaries, a man by the name of Mr Temur Dawamad said that "events that took place recently are harmful to unity among the nationalities and unity between the army and the people and they have had an adverse effect." "We must," he added, "deal severely with those few persons who stirred up dissent and who undermine unity. We must isolate those few bad individuals."

Mr Wang Zhen himself during that same meeting did not expressly refer to these incidents but he did describe "the strengthening of unity between all nationalities" in Xingjiang as "the primordial task" on which depends the interest of each and every one. He issued a severe warning in the name of respect for the law: "We will not tolerate any act contrary to the law or any irresponsible actions. We are determined to fight against all wrongdoers who undermine the social order. All criminals will be punished, regardless of who they may be and what their nationality may be."

But Mr Wang Zhen went even further in expressly mentioning the role of Soviet agents: "We must realize," he said, "that the Soviet social-imperialists are stepping up their activities of subversion and we must be on guard against the kind of discord which they create among us in order to undermine our fatherland's unity."

These words must be viewed in the light of reports disseminated in July by a "clandestine" radio station called "Radio 1 August" (the anniversary date of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), generally considered an offshoot of the Vietnamese and Soviet special services.

These reports--which must be treated with the utmost caution because of their origin--specifically mentioned incidents that happened in April in the western part of Xinjiang, in the region of Aksu.

Although some of these statements are quite wild, it is nevertheless true that there has been trouble in Xinjiang which justifies, if not alarm, then at least very special attention on the part of the Chinese central government.

In contrast to other regions inhabited by national minorities, Xinjiang was considered an area suitable for population settlement by Beijing. Right after liberation, there were only 6-7 percent Han residents. With more than 4 million individuals, they today constitute almost one-third of the regional population although they are not integrated into an environment which is still profoundly Muslim, an environment from which they are separated by ethnic, sociological, and religious barriers. In spite of an undeniable effort at economic advancement, this relatively recent evolution certainly does create a delicate situation charged with tension.

It is not entirely inconceivable, finally, that the troubles in the more remote Islamic countries--linked to Xinjiang by very ancient and traditional relationships--may have produced an echo in that region and may have constituted a supplementary ferment for agitation.

5058
CSO: 4200

PARTY AND STATE

MEASURES TO REHABILITATE 'STIFLED TALENT' REPORTED

Hong Kong DONGXIANG [THE TREND] in Chinese No 24, 16 Sep 80 pp 26-27

[Article by Lin Xi [2651 5045]: "Important Measures for Rehabilitating Stifled Talents"]

[Text] Today, the Chinese Communist Party is concentrating on realizing the four modernizations by the end of the present century. In this great march, a serious problem is the lack of talented people, especially scientific, technological and management talent. In order to solve this problem, what is even more important and more urgent, apart from the development of educational enterprises, is how to tap the potential of existing talent.

At the national conference on employment problems last month, a salient measure was put forward under the handling of Wan Lin, the major exponent of the practice faction. This called for allowing professionals to choose their professions and for giving scope to their interests and expertise, with the condition that the interests of the state and the collective as well as the individual be taken into consideration. In its wake, RENMIN RIBAO published articles at different times stressing permission to effect appropriate interchange of talented persons. The articles said: "At present, the adoption of resolute and strong measures is urgently required to break down barriers, to liberate suppressed, wasted talented persons from 'warehouses' and 'little manors,' and to let them demonstrate their talent and fulfill their ambitions at relevant posts." This was indeed a strong measure to give scope to the potential of existing professional talented persons and to promote the work of modernization.

In the mainland today, "what one is doing is not what one has studied, and a lack of openings to serve the country" constitute the common vexation of many intellectuals. The phenomenon of a large-scale brain drain in recent years has been significantly related to nothing more than this very situation.

Late last month, RENMIN RIBAO devoted entire pages to letters from readers reporting how "what one is doing is not what one has studied." These letters can all be said to have consisted of words of tears and voices of sorrow, reflecting the hearty appeals of a considerable part of the intellectuals:

A university student majoring in industrial economics was, upon graduation, assigned to an agricultural machinery plant with only 50 workers to take on the duties of custodian, statistician, cashier, secretary, etc. He was later transferred to the propaganda department of the County Party Committee to write reports.

A university student majoring in urban sociology was, upon graduation, given a job of shepherd.

A graduate of the astronomy department at Nanjing University was assigned to the Wuhu regional administration meteorological bureau in Anhui Province, where what he did was to repair the plumbing and provide services to conferences--by selling cigarettes and meal tickets.

A student who had graduated from the math-dynamics department of Beijing University was assigned the job of bank teller.

A university student majoring in mechanical manufacturing was assigned as a teacher, and what he taught was human biology and hygiene.

There were also those majoring in oceanic geology and topography who were assigned to county bureaus of civic administration; those majoring in oceanic meteorology who were assigned to the job of repairmen at county chemical fertilizer plants; those majoring in aerial photography who were assigned to middle schools to teach physics.... Situations like these have been just too common in China. Some of these [people] have been subject to such torture for 10 to 20 years, with the most precious springtime of their life already behind them. They painfully appealed to the authorities not to "make matches at random" any more, since that had resulted in wasting talent.

The reason for such a situation has a great deal to do with the entire employment system of the Chinese Communists in the past, which was called uniform assignment. Since it was assignment, naturally one had to do what one was told to do, regardless of the interest and expertise of the individual involved. If assigned to a good superior, that would be one's luck; otherwise, one would be condemned to a lifetime of misery. Many special talented persons who were assigned to do what they had not studied were by no means satisfied with encounters of this kind; they earnestly hoped to serve the country's construction. But what could they do? Even if you wanted to return to your own specialty, and even if another appropriate unit wanted to use you, it would still be very hard for you to leave, because you had no power of self-determination, and the will of your superior would decide on your right to a professional choice.

There were not a few who submitted requests to their superiors for transfer, but they encountered replies such as "this can be studied," "we may discuss this a little," "this matter is rather complex," "we will let you know after our considerations," "you must remain at ease until the transfer," etc. In a word, the secret of dealing with you was to delay; some would simply attach a label to you such as "struggling for your own individual fame and profit" or "not working at ease on your own job." In such cases, your days from then on would be even harder.

Under ordinary conditions, scientific and technical personnel who wish to be transferred from their present jobs must venture through four passes--namely, the pass of their own respective unit, the pass of the party branch, the pass of the party committee, and the pass of the higher organ which has to examine and approve their requests. Some must venture through even five or six passes, and if any one of them turns out to be blocked, transfer is out of question. Therefore, some scientific and technical personnel said: "To effect a transfer of one's job is really harder than applying for a visa to go abroad!"

China's four modernizations lack talented persons, on the one hand, yet they waste talents and put talents in deep freeze on a grand scale on the other. This kind of practice is really intolerable. The permission now granted for appropriate freedom of professional choice and for appropriate interchange of talented people constitutes precisely the kind of measures that would bring talent out of the deep freeze.

First of all, it would make professional personnel feel pleasant and comfortable, so that they would tend to take the initiative in their work.

Secondly, it would change the habit of clinging to the iron ricebowl and eating from the common pot. In the past, staff members would only enter an organ but not leave it; the upshot would be the same whether one did well or very badly--that is, to stay put. Natura-ly, a person's incentive to exert himself became dampened. Now permission is granted for interchange of personnel, and with competition, scientific and technical personnel will of course strive to improve their own work capabilities.

Thirdly, it may improve work efficiency. The talents that I lack may be secured from you, and the talents you lack may be secured from me. Working personnel thus all become experts in their own fields; they naturally feel much more comfortable at work under such circumstances.

More important, permission for interchange of personnel makes it possible for all personnel to devote their talent to their jobs. This serves to put into effect the emphasis the authorities have placed on the value of men.

Apart from transfers of jobs, interchange of personnel may be subject to other uses; concurrent offices, concurrent teaching, and temporary borrowing, for example, are adoptable methods.

But while interchange of personnel is both feasible and needed, in view of the mainland's current situation, there will probably still be obstacles in the way if it is to be applied on a universal basis. The persons in charge at the various enterprises, units, and organs may not all be able to consider questions from the point of view of the interests of the state and the overall situation, or from the angle of the scientific and technical personnel. It is possible that they will indulge in the "power" they used to enjoy in controlling people's life and death. They may believe in the motto "it is nice to serve as officials when there are more people," and at the same time they may be afraid to let scientific and technical personnel be transferred, because if such transferred personnel should achieve meritorious results in other units, would that not constitute a deprivation to themselves? In a word, in such matters as desire for power and old habits, sudden change is not easy.

But such obstacles must be overcome. A situation in which some idle to death, some work to death, some suppress their talents, and some thirst for talents can no longer be permitted to continue. If people are allowed to work at odds with each other like this for very long, it can only serve to extend the gap between China's scientific level and that of foreign countries. It looks as though the Chinese Communists should consolidate the interchange of personnel in legal form, so as to ensure that professionals can request transfers with a sense of justification, and so as to ensure that the talent of all people is relevantly devoted to their work.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

YOUNG CADRES ENCOUNTER RESISTANCE IN MOVING UPWARD

Liaoning Cadres Promoted

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 80 p 1

[News report by GUANGMING RIBAO correspondent Sun Jun [1327 6874]: "Liaoning Promotes Outstanding Youth Cadres to Leading Posts"]

[Text] Party organizations at all levels throughout Liaoning Province have encountered some ideological obstacles when they took steps in promoting a number of outstanding young cadres to leading posts serving the needs of the four modernizations in accord with the guidelines of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. In a statement commenting on this problem, Ren Zhongyi, first secretary of the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee, said: Further efforts must be made to eliminate the vestiges of feudalism in our society which still stand in the way of our efforts to promote cadres.

Ren Zhongyi said: A survey shows that at present, the idea of promoting cadres on the basis of seniority remains the biggest ideological obstacle to the appointment of young cadres to leadership positions. Some comrades who urge evaluating cadres on the basis of seniority, regarding experiences as the principal qualification for promotion, always tend to neglect young cadres' potentials to catch up with and overtake senior cadres in terms of performance and always nitpick on what they have done. Other comrades even have lodged protests with authorities which have promoted or are about to promote young cadres to leading posts. This indicates that the forces emphasizing seniority as principal qualification for promotion remain predominant in our country; the vestiges of the feudal order characterized by grades, ranks and respect for seniority remain in effect in our society, along with sectarianism which reflects high regard for "nobles and their disciples and old associates." Today, we often hear someone say: "I still want to take orders from my old boss rather than from that new appointee." We have also detected that favoritism and nepotism are still being practiced by those in authority. Where did such malpractices originate? They are actually vestiges of feudalism. There are still some people who classify our society into groups on the basis of their class origin, and in the light of whether they were born red or black. These people who are influenced by the feudal ideology also consider "nobles always nobles and poor always poor."

Analyzing the origin of the aforementioned ideology, Ren Zhongyi said: Our party has led the people in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country to successfully capture the political power. Because the influence of feudalism remains deep-rooted in our society, we must get a clear idea about its essence and danger so that we can consciously strive to eliminate its vestiges.

Ren Zhongyi said: We must revitalize our cadre system so as to promote truly outstanding young cadres to the leading posts at the service of their country and nation. By revitalization, we mean replacing the archaic regulations which have the effect of suppressing talented people, preventing them from moving up and wasting their energy with effective measures aimed at training and promoting outstanding professionals to serve the needs of the socialist modernization. We also mean retiring inept cadres and taking care of their welfare for the rest of their lives and transferring those misplaced personnel to more suitable posts. In short, we must take necessary and reasonable measures to retire the old and bring in fresh blood to revitalize the cadre system. Today, I am glad to announce that we have made some breakthroughs in this field. For example, some units have adopted the democratic election system to select and promote cadres to the leading posts, while others have applied the civil examination measure to recruit workers. In the future, we must continue to reform the cadre system so that all outstanding professionals can be placed in suitable posts. For example, directors of small franchise manufacturing businesses can become managers of their big corporations through fair competition. In this way, the system of promoting people on the basis of seniority is bound to die a natural death.

Ren Zhongyi said: Comrades in charge of organizational work should emancipate their minds. If they still refuse to emancipate their minds and if they still persist in promoting their colleagues on the basis of seniority, always considering their young colleagues too premature to be worthy of any higher positions, outstanding young cadres will never have chances to move up. All political departments should act as vanguards in cherishing and promoting outstanding young cadres rather than deliberately preventing them from moving upward.

Changzhi Promotes Educated Youths

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 80 p 1

[Article by Lu Jiasheng [7120 0857 3932]: "Changzhi Municipality Promotes a Group of Specialists to Leading Posts"]

[Text] Since their promotion to leading posts at all levels over 2 years ago, some 80 college and middle school graduates and youths of corresponding academic achievement in Changzhi Municipality, Shanxi Province, have been warmly praised by the masses for promoting production and other work.

In the process of selecting and promoting cadres to leading posts at all levels, a point that commands our special attention is that their promotion is a departure from the old tradition but not from the party's principle.

In the process of promoting cadres, the erroneous idea emphasizing poor class origin as principal qualification for promotion has given way to the party's policy which emphasizes performance as key qualification for promotion. A typical example is the promotion of Zhang Qingjian [1728 3237 0256], a surgeon of the Changzhi Municipal Hospital, to its deputy superintendent despite the problem of his past class origin. During the past 30 years, as a supporter of socialism and the party leadership, Zhang Qingjian has worked and studied hard and has distinguished himself as an outstanding surgeon in the medical circles of Changzhi Municipality. He was commended by the 1978 National Science Conference for guiding a scientific research project to success, whose outcome enlightens the surgeons to the fact that a patient survived after his circulation system abruptly stopped functioning for 8 minutes. Since his promotion to the position of the Changzhi Municipal Hospital's superintendent, he has worked even harder than ever, and has made new contributions to the branch of medical science.

In the process of promoting cadres, intellectuals have been regarded as members of the working class. For example, when the Luan Mining Bureau was reorganized, college and middle school graduates of the 1950's and 1960's were invited to join the principal leading groups of its 4 affiliated mines; 6 out of 10 positions of the deputy directors or higher leading cadres of the Wangzhuang Coal Mine are held by college and middle vocational school graduates; "professional cadres" have also been invited to join the staff of the Zhigejie, Wuyang and Zhangcun coal mines.

In the course of promoting cadres, the erroneous idea of selecting cadres for promotion from among the party members and government staff members alone on the basis of seniority has also given way to a new system of evaluating them on the basis of their ability to handle practical problems. For example, 35-year-old Kang Lin [1660 2651], a Taiyuan Institute of Technology graduate of 1970, and a staff member of a synthetic fat acid plant, was promoted last April to the position of its deputy director in charge of production. Since his promotion, he has joined other leading cadres of the plant in actively redrafting and improving its regulations governing the organization of production. He has also helped the plant improve the quality of its products, increase its output and earnings, and fulfill its various economic and technical targets ahead of schedule. In addition, Changzhi Municipality has promoted cadres from outside the party to leading posts. For example, nonparty cadres Huang Yang [7806 2254], He Hao [0149 3185] and Tao Xu [7118 6070] have been promoted to the positions of deputy principals of the Changzhi Municipal Middle Schools No 1 and No 2; nonparty cadre Lu Qinqiao [7120 2953 2890] to the position of deputy principal and concurrent dean of students of the Changzhi Municipal Middle School No 6; nonparty cadre Luo Guoliang [5012 0948 5328] to the position of deputy director of the Changzhi Municipal Theatrical Troupe; and nonparty cadre Chen Xifang [7115 0823 5364] to the position of deputy principal of the Changzhi Municipal Drama School.

9574
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

SHANGHAI FIRE, EXPLOSION ACCIDENTS--Our city made very great achievements in fire prevention work during the January-September period this year. Compared with the same period last year, there was a more than 20-percent drop in the number of fire accidents, property losses and the number of casualties involved. This was also the lowest record of losses to fire compared to the same periods of the past 4 years. This was revealed at the municipal conference on winter fire prevention work today. The conference also noted that at present, there are still many problems faced by Shanghai in its fire prevention work. Particularly since the beginning of October there have been successive fire and explosion accidents, causing considerable property losses to the state and a number of deaths and injuries. This situation should arouse the vigilance of leaders at all levels and the people throughout the municipality. The winter season is approaching. Because of the expected strong winds, dry weather and increased use of fire and electricity in the winter, slight negligence may cause a fire accident. The conference called on all units to widely publicize the need for fire prevention, organize inspections to remove any hidden cause of fire hazards and insure safety in using fire and electricity during the winter. [Text] [OW081145 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 5 Nov 80]

SHANDONG MARRIAGE LAW--The propaganda department of the Shandong Provincial CCP Committee recently issued a circular on publicizing the marriage law. The circular calls on propaganda departments at all levels to conscientiously carry out this work in line with their actual conditions and to emphasize the basic contents and significance of the marriage law to ensure its implementation. All party committee propaganda departments are urged to conduct propaganda activities on the new marriage law in November. [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 5 Nov 80 SK]

STUDY OF PARIS COMMUNE--After 5 days of discussion, the second annual meeting of the Chinese Society for Studying French History concluded in Zhejiang's Hangzhou City on 5 November. Attending the annual meeting were 89 researchers of French history from 51 units, including institutes of higher learning, scientific research institutes, and journalists and publishing organisations from all parts of China. All discussions were focused on the special topic of the Paris commune. Some 30 papers were submitted to the meeting, dealing with the characteristics, significance and experience of the Paris commune and its impact in China. Next year marks the 110th anniversary of the founding of the Paris commune. [OW061056 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Nov 80 OW]

GUANGDONG CADRE ARRESTED--(Wen Yitao), secretary of the (Jiaqi) commune CCP committee of Lufeng County, took advantage of his power and position and shot dead an innocent youth in violation of the law. He was arrested on 19 October with the approval of the people's procuratorate in Lufeng County and in accordance with the law. The (Lutian) troupe of (Jiaqi) commune of Lufeng County staged a performance on the evening of 7 October. When (Lin Kangke), a commune member of (Yuankeliao) village of (Lixin) production brigade, was entering the theater with a ticket in his hand, he got into a quarrel with a militiaman of (Aidui) production brigade who was maintaining order in the theater. The militiaman beat and injured (Lin Kangke) and sent him to the commune. Some people from (Yuankeliao) village went to the commune entrance and strongly demanded that the commune handle the case. Some commune members medicated in the quarrel and eased the tension. However, (Wen Yitao) suddenly ran out from a room and scolded the masses. This made the people very angry. He then fired a shot in the air which made the people even more angry. They dashed into the commune and broke some windows. (Wen Yitao) hid in the room. When the masses tried to seek him out, he fired five shots at the door and hit (Cai Liangru), a young man of the 18th team of the (Aishe) production brigade, who was watching the scene from a tree outside the door. After failing to respond to emergency treatment, (Cai Liangru) died. (Wen Yitao's criminal act exerted a very bad influence and the broad masses of people strongly urged the commune to prosecute him according to law. At present, this case is under investigation. [Text] [HK050639 Guangzhou City Service in Mandarin 2345 GMT 1 Nov 80]

LIAONING NATIONALITY WORK SESSION--The Sixth Standing Committee meeting of the Fifth Liaoning Provincial People's Congress was held 5-7 October. The meeting approved a report on provincial nationality work, endorsed the provincial government report on reward and punishment regulations for forestry enterprises, discussed a draft method on maintaining ties between congress Standing Committee members and the deputies and discussed the election and dismissal of personnel. Huang Oudong, chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, addressed the meeting. He urged special attention to minority legislative work to ensure the rights of minority nationalities in political, economic and cultural fields. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Nov 80 SK]

JIANGSU CYL CONFERENCE--A Jiangsu provincial conference to exchange experience among grassroots CYL units was held in Nanjing 3-5 November. Secretaries of CYL committees at prefectural, municipal and county levels and representatives of advanced CYL branches, totaling some 500, attended the conference. Hu Hong, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and Hu Dehua, secretary of the CYL Central Committee, spoke at the conference. Eight CYL branches made work reports and 400 advanced CYL branches were commended at the conference. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Nov 80 OW]

HUBEI MEDIATION WORK--In the past few years, Hubei Province's people's mediation organizations have been developing well. These organizations were established and perfected under the guidance of leaders and people's governments at all levels. At present, there are 3,067 leading mediation groups, 35,370 mediation committees, 248,050 mediation groups and 881,800 cadres working for mediation in the province. These organizations have been working in accordance with the government policies and laws to settle civil disputes, giving the people's courts more time to deal with serious cases. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Nov 80 HK]

ANHUI TU COUNCIL MEETING--The Anhui Provincial Trade Union Council recently held a work meeting in Tongling City to discuss how to mobilize women workers in Anhui to contribute to the four modernizations, safeguard their legal rights and solve their problems. The meeting noted that due to the influence of the left-leaning line and sabotage by the "gang of four" over a protracted period of time, labor protection for women workers in Anhui has been quite inadequate. The meeting called on cadres of women workers to conscientiously study the party's policy, analyze women workers' problems in production and daily life and take immediate action to solve them. The meeting also urged women representatives to speak out and reflect workers' opinion at workers' congresses and supervise the implementation of motions related to the vital interests of women workers. [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Nov 80 OW]

ANHUI JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION FORUM--A provincial forum on judicial administration was recently held in Hefei, Anhui. Vice Governor Cheng Guanghua addressed the forum. The forum called for strengthening judicial administration organs, training of judicial cadres, the lawyer system and notarization work. It also called for giving wide publicity to the legal system and disseminating knowledge of the laws among the people. It urged the departments concerned to help judicial organs overcome material difficulties so that they can have the necessary conditions under which to work. [OW121321 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Nov 80]

HUBEI PREFECTURAL REGULATIONS--Hubei Jingzhou Prefectural Administrative Office recently issued regulations on strictly controlling expenditure. This year, Jingzhou Prefecture was hit by severe floods, therefore, it is necessary to cut expenditure in order to provide relief. The Jingzhou Prefectural Administrative Office made four stipulations: 1) all units must economize expenditure and should not spend more than the quota allocated by the financial departments; 2) all departments concerned must conduct less meetings to cut expenditure; 3) no units must pay superflous items, such as vehicles and so on; 4) it is strictly forbidden to repair and construct offices, except under special circumstances. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Oct 80 HK]

CSO: 4005

CHINA WOULD LIKE U.S. AID TO MODERNIZE AIR FORCE

Paris LE MONDE in French 14 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Alain Jacob: "Beijing Wants Washington's Help in Modernizing Its Air Force"]

[Text] Beijing--Officials responsible for Chinese defense apparently are giving priority to the modernization of their Air Force. Various projects involving other services have been suspended in the light of the economic policy of "readjustment" which this year involves a reduction of something like 13 percent in the military budget. Several signs indicate that these austerity measures do not directly affect the Air Force. Now, the Chinese aircraft industry itself is not able to meet the needs which have to be satisfied.

Last January, the New China News Agency reported flight tests involving a Chinese-made combat aircraft which theoretically can fly at three times the speed of sound. But it also reported the conditions connected with this test flight which, quite frankly, would make one's hair stand on end. According to Western experts, the aircraft in question is a delta-wing twin-jet of which only about half a dozen copies are now in existence and it would be incapable of achieving the performances, in flight, for which it had been designed.

Chinese aviators thus turned to foreign suppliers either to improve the aircraft they already have or to get new ones.

A contract has just been signed between Marconi Avionics, an affiliate of British Electric, for an amount of $95 million. This involves electronic target-spotting and firing systems intended for the Mig-19 aircraft of which the Chinese have about 2,000.

On the other hand, Beijing has for a long time been interested in the British VTOL aircraft, the Harrier. Chinese experts however have tempered their initial enthusiasm by noting that the employment of such perfect aircraft would require the existence and operation, without failure, of technical and logistic support services on the ground which the Chinese Air Force would have trouble providing.

In view of these conditions, Chinese officials have turned to American aircraft builders.

According to trustworthy sources, both Chinese and Western, China is supposed to be particularly interested in two types of aircraft: the Phantom F-4, which is already being sold not only to NATO member countries but also to Japan, Iran, Israel, etc., and the F-15, likewise sold abroad, especially to Saudi Arabia. These two aircraft were built by McDonnell-Douglas, which also builds the DC-9 Super 80 civilian transport aircraft, regarding which conversations have been in progress with China for the past 2 years.

Washington said and repeated that the delivery of "offensive" military materiel to China--such as combat aircraft--was ruled out. Only sales of logistic equipment or equipment for "mixed" civilian and military use were officially authorized, such as ground and air transportation equipment, observation systems, data processing machines, etc.

It seems however--if we are to believe certain Western experts--that exploratory or preliminary conversations were started last summer between Chinese representatives and American builders. These same specialists noted the large number of American missions representing groups connected with American industry which have followed each other to China.

The Chinese are not thinking of any massive purchase of aircraft which would make China's Air Force dependent in case of conflict on the political goodwill of a foreign supplier. The contracts contemplated supposedly are of a "technological" nature, that is to say, they involve the delivery of a limited number of aircraft (about half a score, at most) and the acquisition of licenses permitting progressive manufacture in China even of larger series.

The Americans it seems are trying to take precautions regarding the future without any too abrupt changes. American sales to China were increased ten-fold over a period of 3 years, slightly topping a figure of $1.7 billion in 1979; but that volume could be considerably increased in the next several years--provided, however, as Washington knows very well, that a suitable proportion of military orders would be accepted along with civilian orders.

5058
CSO: 4200

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

INDICTMENT AGAINST PLA LEADERS CRITICIZED

OW172206 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 17 Nov 80

[Text] People ask, is the indictment against Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao objective?

1. These ranking military officers are included in the 10 principal defendants of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and are to be tried by a special court. It was said that the special court would correctly decide their responsibilities for the 10-year havoc and would sentence them fairly. The problem is that, in the past, they and other leading personnel of our armed forces loyally implemented CCP military commission chairman Mao Zedong's orders and directives. Because soldiers must absolutely obey orders. It was proper for them to obey the orders and directives of the CCP military commission chairman and the state's supreme commander. Why are they now deounced for committing serious crimes? We want to ask: Those who implemented erroneous orders were severely punished, but the one who issued erroneous orders was not punished. Is such a trial fair?

2. There are many problems and suspicious points in the indictment about the five military officers' so-called plot to conduct armed rebellion and murder Chairman Mao.

First of all, both the nature and content of the indictment are similar to the notorious "outline of Project 571." After the downfall of the "gang of four," it came to light that all the contents of the so-called "outline of Project 571" were plotted and mapped out by the "gang of four." We want to ask: Can the groundless crimes fabricated by the "gang of four" be used as the main evidence in the trial against our military leaders?

3. At present, there are persons making special efforts to exaggerate the gang-fabricated myth the so-called Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique planted a time bomb at Chairman Mao's (?residence) in May of 1971 to kill him.

Furthermore, there are persons currently spreading a rumor claiming that the bomb, which recently exploded at the Beijing railway station, was planted by PLA soldiers. For his ulterior motives, a certain person even claimed that this bomb was from the warehouse of a division of the Beijing PLA units and was carried to the Beijing railway station to be planted in the special railway car reserved for Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping in an attempt to kill him. However, due to carelessness, the bomb exploded prematurely and killed many persons at the railway station. The rumor obviously attacks our armed forces, particularly some leading comrades of the Beijing military region, attempting to convince people that sworn followers of the so-called Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique were hiding in the armed forces, saying that they are very dangerous enemies and were plotting to kill central leading personnel. It is obvious that the rumor was spread only to create a tense atmosphere for the trial of the five military leaders as well as for the continuing purge of the so-called persons associated with the Lin Biao clique.

CSO: 4005

CLARIFICATION

In JPRS 76825, 17 November 1980, No 138 of this series, p 60 in article entitled 'BA YI RADIO' SAYS U.S. GIVES PRC MILITARY SECRETS TO TAIWAN, please make the following change to paragraph 3, line 4:

Thus, these Americans had every single detail of the guided missile testing ground in Shuangcheng, an important secret base of ours.

This supplies indistinct words in broadcast.

BRIEFS

SHANGHAI CRIMINAL CASES--Since the beginning of this year, Shanghai public security organizations have relentlessly punished active criminal elements in order to improve social order and protect the masses. As a result the number of criminal cases has declined greatly. To promote the coming winter-spring security work, the municipal public security bureau held a meeting of cadres and policemen on 3 November and called for efforts to track down criminal gangs, smugglers and profiteers, to clamp down on black market activities and to arrest thieves and swindlers in public places. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 3 Nov 80 OW]

LIAONING LUDA GARRISON COMMAND--Shenyang, 8 Nov (XINHUA)--Commander Zhang Huairui, political commissar Wang Congzhou and other principal leading cadres of the PLA Luda Garrison Command in Liaoning recently visited coastal outposts by sea to firmly grasp work at grassroots units. From 10 October till 29 October they covered the 1,000 li sea defense line and visited 7 regimental units and over 30 frontline platoons. Wherever they went, they listened to the voice of cadres and fighters, tried to understand the situation on the spot and urged personnel concerned to work together and study solutions. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0238 GMT 8 Nov 80 OW]

SICHUAN MILITARY SKILLS CONTEST--The Sichuan provincial security and military skills contest was held for 8 days. It closed on 9 October. All militiamen and policemen did well in the contest. This proved that the training they have received is indeed adequate. [Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Oct 80 HK]

SICHUAN NATIONAL DEFENSE INDUSTRIES--The Sichuan provincial national defense industries has turned to producing civilian products when there are not enough production tasks in the winter. These products include motor vehicles, bicycles, cameras, electronic calculators, radios and so on. This year's civilian product production plan has so far accounted for 60 percent of the total production value. Workers' income has increased and subsequently so has their enthusiasm. [Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 18 Oct 80 HK]

SHANGHAI WATERFRONT SECURITY IMPROVEMENT--Public security, shipping and other concerned units in Shanghai have made vigorous joint efforts to improve public security and order in the Shiliupu area, in suburban Shanghai, where the country fair trade is in a peak period. Passenger traffic to and from the area by land and river transportation has increased sharply. Criminals are active in the vicinity of the Shiliupu passenger wharf, engaging in ticket scalping, picking pockets, and other illegal activities. In the past 2 weeks or so, more than 560 cases have been solved, and the offenders have been punished according to law. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 8 Nov 80 OW]

JIANGSU AIR DEFENSE WORKS--The major cities and towns of Jiangsu Province actively make use of the people's air defense works during peacetime. Presently, more than 300 such defense works, with a total space of some 110,000 square meters, can be turned into underground workshops, warehouses, reception centers, restaurants, stores, conference halls, offices and hospitals. By utilizing the air defense works during peacetime for production and catering services, the functions of such works can be fully tapped for providing more employment opportunities. In Nanjing Municipality, a people's air defense command has been turned into an underground hostel with 350 beds and a mess-hall capable of accommodating some 300 customers. In Wuxi Municipality, a huge air defense work has been turned into an underground park to attract tourists. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Nov 80 OW]

JIANGSU MILITIA MEETINGS--The Jiangsu Provincial Government and the provincial military district held on-the-spot meetings in Yangzhou and Nanjing from 5 to 10 November on the organization and training of the militia antiaircraft artillery (AAA) battalions and regiments of the province. The meetings were held in accordance with the guidelines issued by the State Council and the Central Military Commission in their directives on building militia antiaircraft artillery contingents. Present were responsible comrades of the municipal and county people's governments in Jiangsu, military subdistricts, Nanjing Garrison Command, the municipal and county people's armed forces departments and the provincial people's air raid defense office as well as leading comrades of Nanjing PLA units, the provincial CCP committee, the provincial government and the provincial military district. Also present were representatives of Shanghai Garrison Command, Zhejiang and Anhui provincial military districts and PLA air force, artillery and armor units in Nanjing. Participants visited a number of AAA battalion and regimental command posts and firing ranges and watched firing and the command training of militia cadres. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Nov 80 OW]

ORDNANCE CADRE TRAINING UNIT--The Shandong Military District has recently put into operation an ordnance cadre training unit [dui] to train some 130 ordnance cadres from the military subdistricts and county-level people's armed forces departments. The training is to improve ordnance management work and the cadres' professional level in view of the characteristics of militia ordnance work under the new historical conditions and on the basis of existing weapons and equipment, which will speed up the building of the rank and file of ordnance cadres and strengthening logistics work to meet the needs of modern warfare. In order to effectively run the training unit, the Shandong Military District made special efforts to establish a teaching office and to transfer cadres with professional know-how, practical experiences and teaching abilities to assume teaching positions. [Text] [Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Oct 80 p 1]

CSO: 4005

REINTERPRETATION OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LITERATURE, POLITICS

Anhui ANHUI WENXUE [ANHUI LITERATURE] in Chinese No 4, 1980 pp 66-70

[Article by Liu Guangyao [0491 0342 5069]: "Recognize Anew the Relationship Between Literature and Art and Politics"]

[Text] In our garden of socialist literature and art, do we truly have "one hundred flowers blooming?" Are our poets truly emancipated from the improper restrictions of the past, and do they express themselves freely? If we seek the truth from the facts, the answer should be in the negative. For many years, our pitiful Muse beat her head against the fences and the high walls and, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" evil trend prevailed, was simply placed under "total dictatorship." To be frank, the development of art even today is not without obstacles. What is the reason? I feel that one important reason is the long existing biased interpretation of the relationship between literature and art and politics. For more than 2 decades, the theory or principle followed by us is: "Literature and art serve politics." But is this a truly scientific slogan? To clarify the right and wrong of theories and bring prosperity to literary and artistic creation, the writer wishes to express his dissent for instructions by the experts.

In Terms of the Objective of Artistic Understanding, Literature and Art Cannot Serve Politics

We know that the most fundamental reason for the classifications and distinctions among the sciences is because of the different objectives of their understanding (or objects of understanding). As a special social ideology, literature and art also have their own unique objective of understanding.

The objective of literary and artistic understanding is man.

Gorki pointed out: "The material for literature is man and his multiple pursuits and actions--man in the course of his growth or destruction." Therefore, he called literature "the study of man."

Then, how should literature and art understand and express man? Do they precede or succeed life?

According to the materialist reaction theory, literature and art can only understand and express man in life, and they appear subsequent to man's living activities. In this sense, literature and art succeed life. Gorki paid serious attention to this characteristic. He admonished: "It must be remembered that people only began to write about the French Revolution of the late 18th century in the mid-19th century when not only the flame of the French Revolution had quenched, but the coal had also been covered by the petit bourgeois' cold ashes." ("On Literature").

In view thereof, literature and art obviously cannot serve politics. To put it more concretely, politics is always manifested in the formulation and introduction of concrete policies and measures. When a policy is merely a policy and has not been enforced, literature and art cannot serve it. The reason is because it still belongs to the realm of concept and is a so-called "conceptual thing," while literature and art are the tools to understand and reflect objective things and also belong in the category of conceptual things. Under such a situation, asking literature and art to serve politics is no different from asking a concept to "understand" and "reflect" a concept, which is naturally extremely ridiculous. Meanwhile, before the completion of the political process, when a policy is still in the midst of enforcement, it likewise cannot become the objective of artistic understanding and reflection, and the so-called principle of "literature and art serving politics" is likewise impossible. Because at this time, man's "multiple pursuits and actions" have not fully manifested themselves, "the course of his growth or destruction" has not taken its final form, and his "human nature" has not "materialized" and "objectivized" in the product of his practice. In other word, man has not yet created "his work and his world of reality;" therefore, there is not yet the objective which can enable him to "directly perceive himself." Before the end of the so-called Great Cultural Revolution, for instance, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" just began to enforce the policy of cultural tyranny, it was inconceivable for the artistic images of Xie Huimin and Song Baoqi to emerge. Yet very obviously, when a policy, by means of practice, is converted from a "conceptual thing" into a "real thing," into "life," "literature and art serving politics" becomes an empty phrase, because by now the so-called "politics" no longer exists. If it still exists, it is no longer politics in its original sense, but something which has inextricably intertwined and merged with other factors (economic, legal, ethical, moral, etc.) of social life. Furthermore, such intertwining and merging are not imposed mechanically or manifested abstractly. As "man is the sum total of all social relations," such intertwining is expressed in form of his concrete perception. Under this situation, to "serve politics" and to understand the law of motion of politics, one must discard its living perceptual form and abstract it from the organic whole of multiple social factors, yet this apparently cannot be accomplished by art. The understanding of an object by literature and art is premised on retaining the perceptual form of the object, and there is no art if the perceptual form of the object is discarded. Just think: if literature and art no longer exist, how can they "serve politics?"

If literature and art are forced to "serve politics," it will inevitably lead to the following consequences:

(1) Turning literature and art into diagrams for political concepts, policies and regulations; depriving them of their power to intervene in and understand life;

(2) resulting in the artificiality, formalization, conceptualization and dishonesty of character images. Has this situation not been revealed repeatedly in our literary and artistic creations for many years?

In Terms of the Method of Literary and Artistic Understanding, Literature and Art Cannot Serve Politics

We know that, conditioned by the different attributes of the objects of understanding, man created two different methods of understanding, viz., abstract understanding (logical thinking) and image understanding (image thinking). The most essential characteristic of abstract understanding is discarding the perceptual form of a particular object, its individuality and its specific characteristics to arrive at the understanding of its general characteristics. This method is adopted in politics to study the general state of things and create policies adjusted to such general state. On the contrary, image understanding follows the method of retaining the perceptual form of a particular object and its specific characteristics and seeking its maximum individual clarity. Thus is art. Goethe's view is correct: "... comprehending the individual and describing the individual constitute the true life of art." ("Goethe's Conversation with (Aikeman)").

In view thereof, art, which serves to understand the individual characteristics of things, and politics, which serves to understand the general characteristics of things, are in a contradictory state right from the beginning. "Any general is particular (one part, one aspect, or the essence). Any general can only approximately include all the particulars. No particular can be completely included in the general.... Any particular, after thousands of conversions, is linked with the particular of another category (objects, phenomena, processes), etc." (Lenin, "Notes on Philosophy"). That a particular object is particular is because it contains things incompatible with the general. Furthermore, the general, in another aspect, is relatively stable and immutable, while the "particular" is continuously changing and moving and incessantly battering at the barriers of the "general." True, the force of such battery is minimal, but its uninterrupted quantitative change will lead to changes in the general essence of an object. Doubtlessly, when the changes of the "particular" have not grown strong enough to affect the "general," its principle or manifestation is not recognized by the "general," but the "particular" ignores such recognition or its absence, persists in its own power of movement and change, and adheres to its contradictory position to the "general." Precisely because of such contradiction between the particular and the general, it is impossible for art to serve politics.

The issue can be illustrated as follows.

For more than a decade, Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" rampage created serious destructions to the society of our country. Its aftereffect is still felt today, leading some innocent and flawless people to the road of crime, such as Jiang Aizhen [5592 1947 3791] of Xinjiang's Shihezi region. This state of things is reflected in some of the recent novels. The culprits in such novels are, like (Lazi) in the Indian film "Wanderer," innocent, but the law has to adjudge them guilty. Just think: Can politics write under its own banner that "the culprit is innocent because he committed the crime under the influence of the evil consequences created by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four's' disruption?" No. Politics can only premise itself on recognition of the general state, on adapting to such general state, and gradually reform it. However, what about literature and art? Literature and art cannot treat life so simply. Do we not see clearly here the contradiction between literature and art and politics? How aptly Mr Lu Xun [7627 6598] put it! "Politics must maintain the status quo; naturally it is in a different direction from literature and art which are dissatisfied with the status quo." ("Parting of the Ways between Politics and Literature and Art"). However, his words have been forgotten.

The contradiction between the particular and the general is manifested, in creation, as that between literature and art and politics. The conflict between the particular and the general is manifested, in creation, as the intervention of literature and art in life and in politics--the reason for the vitality of works voicing dissatisfaction with the status quo and resisting it in the history of literature and art, because it expresses the creative motions of life and the effort against restrictions and for new developments, and it belongs to the future. That the literature and art "extolling virtues and achievements" are lifeless is because they obliterate the tendency of the motions and changes of things and strive to polish and smooth out the figures for the purpose of diagraming a certain kind of politics, so that the individuality of the figures is dissipated in general principles. How can they possess vitality?

What Is the Political Essence of Literature and Art?

The foregoing discussion does not reject the political essence of literature and art. The contradiction between literature and art and politics itself denotes such essence. Then, how does one interpret the political essence of literature and art?

I feel that the political essence of literature and art mainly rests in its indirectness, in its conceptual link with definite social "norms," and in its ideological link with certain future political policies. However, such links are after all indirect, and it is impossible for them to directly lead to a political movement. The Renaissance of Europe happened more than 200 years before its 18th century political revolution. The "Peacock Flying Southeast" was an indictment of feudal ethics in the Han Dynasty, yet the earnest anti-feudal struggle did not begin until the "4 May" movement.

In view thereof, though literature and art possess a political essence, they themselves are not political. To put it more concretely, the reasons are: (1) Though literature and art contain certain ideals concerning politics, they are far from complete political doctrines, nor concrete and feasible political programs. What they attempt to express is "nothing else but human nature." They cannot assign themselves the task of creating political doctrines. As aptly put by Tolstoy, "the goal of the artist is not indisputably solving problems, but in making people love life by means of the countless and inexhaustible living phenomena. If I am told that I can write a novel and use it to indubitably decide on the views on social issues considered by me to be right, then I will spend not even 2 hours working on such a novel. But if I am told that today's children will want to read what I write 20 years from now, and that they will cry over it, laugh over it and love life, I will dedicate my entire life and total effort to such a novel." (2) Politics possesses a "direct realistic quality;" it can use certain coercive means to enforce a political program. On the other hand, literature is merely "conceptual." Its strength indirectly acts on society, and it cannot directly intervene in the political life. "Lisao" contained Qu Yuan's political ideal, but it was not political, nor did it "serve politics." Had Qu Yuan been able to introduce smoothly his political line, he would not have reached the stage of being "emaciated and pallid in appearance" and "chanting poetry next to the pond." When he composed "Lisao," there was no politics to be "served" by it.

Nevertheless, for many years in our country, in accordance with the theory that "literature and art serve politics," the issue of literature and art has been summarily classified as a political issue, resulting in the tragic persecution of writers and artists and the "encirclement and suppression" of literature and art time and again! Comrade Zhong Dianfei [6945 8410 2787] pointed out sorrowfully: "If it is said that literature and art are politics itself, what does it indicate? It does not indicate anything. What it actually means is that literature and art should perish. Since we already have the politics which can lead China's revolution to victory, why bother with such superfluities? I hope that the readers will not think that I purposefully write such shocking words and play with concepts. It is not so. It is precisely because of the ever more aggravating controversy between the two views on literature and art in the past 30 years and the tragic and painful lessons undergone by us that I have finally recognized the truth." ("Thoughts on Film Literature").

Since art is not political, one naturally comes to the following conclusion: The provisions and norms of a political policy cannot serve as the criterion to judge the political tendency of an artistic work. The political issue involved in an artistic work is considered as the "subject matter" by art. As it itself is the object of artistic judgment, naturally it cannot "reverse the positions of the guest and the host" and serve as the criterion to judge literature and art. Take the novel "Li Zicheng" for instance: Can we say that the political policy advocated by Li Zicheng's peasant army in the novel was its political tendency? Obviously not. The reason is because if so, its political tendency would apparently fall under the category of the peasant petit bourgeoisie, while very obviously, the political tendency of "Li Zicheng" belonged to the category of the proletarian world outlook. The same may be said of modern themes and issues involving current policies. What determines whether the political tendency of a literary work is revolutionary or reactionary is not the political issue involved in it, but whether its interpretation of such issue is compatible with reality and consistent with the Marxist world outlook. As long as it is consistent with the Marxist world outlook, its political tendency is revolutionary or progressive. As for whether it conforms to the requirements in the clauses of a certain policy, such determination will be superfluous and arbitrary. According to the law of art itself, it is contradictory to politics to start with. Furthermore, is it possible for its policy [sic] to be wrong? Who can guarantee that we will not make mistakes today and in the future?

In Terms of the Functions of Literature and Art and Politics, Politics Should Serve Literature and Art

Any science and any department of human production (spiritual and material) have their special and irreplaceable functions. Comparing their different special functions is an important means to study their mutual relationships.

What is the function of literature and art?

To be concise, it is to understand the beauty of the objective world and uncover and grasp the "rule of beauty" in the objective world.

What is the function of politics?

To be concise, it is to manage--managing the things of the state, such as the economy, culture and military affairs. Such management is realized in form of appropriate policies formed by a given political group according to the concrete conditions in the realm of practical life. It studies the links between all kinds of practical activities and the multiple social relations, and the social conditions relied on by such activities for their pursuit, uncovers the patterns therein, and thereby supplies the necessary social conditions for their smooth progress. In this sense, management is service.

However, isn't politics the manifestation of the class struggle? Is it pure management?

To be sure, politics is the struggle between the classes, and the formulation of political policies is conditioned by the interest of a specific class. However, politics is a product of the state, and the state itself is a sort of managing organ created for the purpose of averting the destruction of society in the class struggle. It itself is "a force which comes from society, places itself above society, and becomes ever more severed from society." (Lenin, "the State and Revolution"). It is entirely possible for the interest of a specific class to coincide with the common interest of the whole society. Even for a class in its decline, its political decisions, on certain concrete issues, may possibly contain popular factors. Therefore, the class essence of politics and its management function are not contradictory. Furthermore, with the proletarian seizure of political power, the disappearance of domestic exploiting classes and the concentration of the main force of the state on economic and cultural construction, politics will become pure management more and more. Needless to say, we have begun to advance into such an era.

In view thereof, to enable literature and art to perform their function normally, should politics not study the conditions needed by literary and artistic activities and thereby serve literature and art?

Precisely thus Vice Chairman Deng demands that politics serve literature and art:

"The party's leadership of literary and artistic work is not by issuing orders or by demanding that it subordinate itself to temporary, concrete and direct political tasks, but by helping, in accordance with the characteristics and development laws of literature and art, the literary and artistic workers acquire the conditions for the continuous prosperity of the literary and artistic enterprise, raise the literary and artistic level, and create superior literary and artistic works and performing art worthy of China's great people and great era." ("Congratulatory Speech at the Fourth Congress of China's Literary and Artistic Workers").

In that case, what conditions, generally speaking, are needed for artistic prosperity?

A true policy of "100 flowers blooming; 100 schools of thought contending" is needed! The true freedom of creation is needed!

In the past, we dreamed of "100 flowers blooming; 100 schools of thought contending," but due to many historical, political and understanding reasons, we did not attain it. However, "today, we can say with full confidence that it will not be long before such a situation appears, and the condition for the true realization of the Marxist policy of '100 flowers blooming; 100 schools of thought contending' is ever maturing." (Ibid.)

Let us welcome the arrival of the true "100 flowers blooming; 100 schools of thought contending!"

6080
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDUCATOR LISTS WAYS TO REFORM MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 23 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Shao Ailing [6730 1947 3781]: "Four Suggestions for Improving the Structure of Middle School Education in Shanghai"]

[Text] The proper structure of middle school education has a direct bearing on the selection of talents by institutions of higher learning, the development of qualified new students and the supply of able workers for the reserve labor force. It is my opinion that structural reform in the urban middle schools calls for the establishment of "multiform senior middle schools," that the reform should mainly be directed toward the adoption of a flexible policy of using various ways and means in the management of schools, that there should be proper control over the development of ordinary senior middle schools, that different types of technical and vocational schools should be developed according to a plan, and that technical courses should gradually be introduced into the ordinary senior middle schools. The important reforms stated above would enable education to render further service to the socialist construction projects of four modernizations.

Many advantages accrue to the bringing about in a positive manner structural reforms in the system of higher education in Shanghai. Shanghai is a vital base for industry, science and technology and foreign trade. In other words, it enjoys a supremacy in terms of industrial, economic, cultural and technological power. The various organizations in society, the industrial and mining enterprises, the various trades and business enterprises all have the capability of meeting the conditions for establishing schools and various types of vocational schools either by themselves or in cooperation with other interested parties. In view of its economic, scientific and technological development, Shanghai is certainly in a position to raise the standard of the various types of middle school education. Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, Shanghai had a long tradition of running various types of middle schools. In 1964, there were 76,018 junior middle school graduates in Shanghai. After graduation, 26,790 went on to ordinary senior middle schools (35 percent of the total for that year), 8,869 (12 percent) went on to mid-level special schools, 6,617 (8.7 percent) went on to branch schools, 11,614 (15.3 percent) went on to various types of trade schools, and 22,128 (29 percent) joined the military services, entered cultural supplementary schools or waited for employment. In that year, the number of senior level technical and trade school students was slightly larger than the number of ordinary senior middle school students. This would seem to indicate that Shanghai is in a favorable position to bring about structural reforms in the middle school education system and that it enjoys a headstart in the establishment of a large number of new schools. It is also to be noted that beginning in 1981, the number of middle school and primary school students is expected to show a drop in proportion to the drop in the birthrate. That is also an advantage insofar as our effort to readjust and reorganize middle school education and to bring about reforms in its system and structure is concerned.

Structural reform in middle school education involves such areas as the developmental projects of the entire educational system, the economic structure, the labor system, the system for the admission of students and the policy toward young intellectuals. This complex social reform also involves the vital question of the education and career of thousands upon thousands of boys and girls. The education, economic, labor and financial departments of the city should jointly set up a reform advisory committee and organize the necessary personnel to conduct a survey and research of the principles, the policies and the methods of the reform and to draw up an overall plan on an experimental but positive basis with an eye to the best interests of all the concerned parties so that the structure of middle school education may meet the needs of the four modernizations, the development of talents by institutions of higher learning, and the development of the various trades and enterprises. In order to meet the needs stated above, it is suggested that emphasis should be placed on the following.

(1) Readjustment and putting in order the system of ordinary middle schools. When studying the question of extending the period of senior middle school education in Shanghai, adequate consideration should be given to the question of how to establish different types of senior middle schools and how to raise their standard qualitatively and quantitatively. Aside from efficiently operating demonstration middle schools and supplying institutions of higher learning a large number of qualified new students, we should also make technical education available in ordinary senior middle schools or offer elective courses in vocational education on a trial basis. We should study ways and means to provide senior middle school students some expertise in the professions and certain skills in productive labor within the limitations of the schools and according to the needs of economic development.

(2) Establishment of vocational classes or vocational senior middle schools on a trial basis. The setting up of vocational classes in ordinary senior middle schools or turning ordinary senior middle schools into vocational senior middle schools requires joint planning on the part of the municipal education department and the concerned labor planning departments. To make the most of the positive attitude on the part of the parties concerned in the establishment of such schools, the various vocational training classes and vocational schools (not including the existing middle vocational and technical schools) should take different forms and adopt different methods. These schools may be established by the education department, or they may be established by the production and mining enterprises. The length of the courses should be flexible. However, such schools must be established with the approval of the concerned departments so that there may be a uniformity in vocational education in the city. This type of vocational classes or vocational senior middle schools must see to it that, on top of the main cultural courses offered by senior middle schools, the students are offered vocational courses and the opportunity to acquire certain skills in productive labor. The government is not to be responsible for the assignment of jobs. It is up to the

cooperating units and the concerned parties to select the candidates for employment. The various types of vocational senior middle schools should hold themselves responsible for making their graduates take the entrance examination for admission to institutions of higher learning.

(3) Readjustment and putting in order the existing middle vocational schools and technical schools. Efforts should be made to gradually upgrade the importance of senior middle vocational school education to approximate that of middle school education and to set up a proper ratio between middle and senior vocational schools and ordinary senior middle schools and a proper ratio in the courses offered by the middle vocational schools themselves. Our present task is to readjust and to put in order the faulty distribution of middle vocational schools and the overall planning of the courses offered by vocational schools. In the process of implementing the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement, the technical schools should upgrade their quality by making the necessary readjustments and well-considered developments in a positive manner.

(4) Marshalling the positive factors of all quarters in planning the establishment of various types of senior, middle and junior vocational schools and labor and cultural supplementary schools. These schools are for the benefit of new graduates and old graduates who are looking for employment or waiting for admission to institutions of higher learning. They should organize these graduates and get them to study culture or science so that they may acquire some professional knowledge and certain manual skills. These schools are mainly for the purpose of answering the different needs of junior and senior middle school graduates who are unable to get admitted to institutions of higher learning or to find employment and of meeting the needs of a constantly changing society. After readjustments have been made, some of these schools may be turned into various types of institutions for spare time education. In going about our task, we should exercise some foresight so as to eliminate the possibility of waste and to make the maximum use of the limited educational funds.

The concerned parties should also adopt the necessary measures to establish step by step an army of teachers and professionals well-versed in the field of vocational and technical education in order to bring about the needed reforms in the structure of middle school education.

9621
CSO: 4005

HAINAN EDUCATION BUREAU CALLS MEETING TO EXCHANGE VIEWS

Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] The Hainan Bureau of Education recently convened a meeting for the exchange of views on the work of strengthening the political ideology of students of middle and primary schools. Among the 100-odd participants were the responsible comrades representing the city of Haikou and the education bureaus in the various counties, leaders who have distinguished themselves in political work in the schools, class teachers, pioneer counselors, teachers of political instruction and representatives of students who were good in health, good in their studies and good in their work.

In the course of the meeting, 13 representatives of progressive units and other individual representatives, in talking about their experiences, generally agreed that, in this new historical era, the young students are most active in their thinking, that the work of strengthening their political thoughts has a profound meaning, that, bearing in mind the special features of different schools, the work of instilling political ideology in the students should be closely coordinated with teaching. The main job of schools is to teach, and teaching is done mainly in the classroom. Within the contents of the syllabus and with consideration to the actual needs of the students, the teachers should instill in them the correct ideologies and make ideological education available to them on a regular basis. That is the way to develop the work of instilling political ideologies in the schools to the best advantage. To remedy their lack of ideals for the future, their laxity of discipline and an unwillingness on the part of the students to make a serious and painstaking effort to learn, the teachers of different courses at the Diao Lou Primary School in Lin Kao County make it a practice to instill in the students ideological education in the normal course of their teaching. For example, language teachers, while teaching such lessons as "Attacking the Frontier Pass" and "The Man Who Knows No Fatigue," told of the fearless exploits of Chen Jingrun [7115 2529 3389] in scaling the heights in the field of science to inspire the students to apply themselves diligently to their studies, to overcome difficulties in capturing the frontier pass, and to learn the necessary skills in order to enable themselves to make their contributions to the four modernizations. After sustained efforts to make available to the students education of an ideological nature, the school showed a decided improvement in discipline

To get the instillation of political ideologies in the middle and primary schools to a good start, it is essential to take into account the characteristics of the young people. It is the view of the representatives at the meeting that, while their views of the world are still in the process of taking shape, their thoughts, not having been set, have a high degree of pliability. At this stage, while undergoing a period of intellectual and physical growth, they have a keen desire to learn and to emulate role models. That being the case, they are easily swayed and influenced in the course of their activities and their contacts. The work of instilling political ideologies in the middle and primary schools must, in addition to classroom instruction, place emphasis on education outside the classroom. It is necessary to take into account the special characteristics of the young and to engage them by various means in activities that appeal to them so as to get abstract ideas across to them by tangible means and to educate them through the exercise of their strong sensory perceptions. That was how Han Yan [7281 3601], a teacher at the Xin Lian Primary School in Wen Chang County and an outstanding school counselor of the province, went about his work with remarkable results.

Another meaningful experience underlines the importance on the part of teachers to set personal examples and to do what they preach. It is the opinion of the representatives that, in view of the tendency of the students to pattern themselves after role models, the thoughts and actions and even the mode of dress of school leaders, political cadres and teachers have a profound influence on them. Li Kaiming [2621 7030 2494], a sixth grade class teacher at the Hainan Middle School, is particularly adapt in this respect. She treats her students like her own children and shows a deep affection and concern for them. She also sets a personal example for her students. She is the first to do what she expects her students to do, and she is the first to observe what she expects her students to observe. Her students regard her as a loving mother and mentor, hangs on to her every word, and takes her as a model worthy of emulation. Thus, she encounters little difficulty in her work as class teacher, and her students are able to develop mentally and physically in a healthy manner.

It is also the opinion of the representatives that, in order to do a good job in the instillation of political ideologies in the middle and primary schools, it is necessary to bring into full play the positive role that can be assumed by organizations, groups and student associations and to achieve close coordination with different sectors in society in mobilizing all the positive factors to jointly develop a new generation of young people.

9621
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ZHENGZHOU UNIVERSITY UPGRADES TEACHING OF BASIC COURSES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Oct 80 p 1

[Text] According to reporter Yin Ping [3009 1627], steps taken by Zhengzhou University to focus the teachers' main efforts on the teaching of basic courses and to organize the teachers in a positive manner to study better methods of teaching in order to raise the quality of the teaching of basic courses have shown encouraging results. At the present time, the level of teaching in the basic science and arts courses has reached or surpassed the highest level achieved by that university prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Last spring, after the party committee of the university had shifted its main attention to exercising its leadership in the area of teaching, it discovered a widespread weakness in the teaching of basic courses in the various departments and an unacceptably low standard of the quality of teaching. After a period of intensive study, the party committee put forward certain recommendations to upgrade the teaching of basic courses. It called for the teaching of basic courses by the professors, associate professors and lecturers in the various departments and special units who are experienced in teaching and who have proved their competence as teachers. The party committee also decided that the principal teachers of basic courses must be exhaustively evaluated and approved by the university and department leadership. That represents a basic departure from the practice of having basic courses taught by a "relay" of young teachers. The university is to use the quality of teaching and the compilation of reference materials and suggestions for better teaching methods by the teachers of basic courses as a basis for determining their rating in scientific research and for their job classification and promotion the same way teachers engaged in scientific research are evaluated. Teachers of basic courses who have demonstrated a correct attitude in teaching and who have shown a qualitative competence in their teaching are to be given prior consideration for promotion. This practice has yielded positive results in the teaching of basic courses. During the last school year, 63 percent of the principal teachers of basic courses were professors, associate professors and lecturers. This semester, the figure has risen to 73 percent.

In strengthening the teaching of basic courses, the university attaches great importance to encouraging the teachers to undertake research on teaching in a positive manner. Discussion meetings are being held on a regular basis by the university, the departments and the teaching research group for the exchange of teaching experiences, especially with reference to the strengthening of the teaching of basic theories, the dissemination of basic knowledge and training in basic skills. Teachers make it a practice to attend each others' classes in order to compare notes. In addition, the university also sends selected teachers to other institutions of higher learning to undergo further studies or to attend lectures given by nationally known specialists and professors or to participate in discussion panels in order to widen their field of knowledge and to upgrade their competence in the teaching of basic courses.

After over a year of experience, the quality of the teaching of basic courses at the university has registered an upward swing. The university has basically reached or surpassed the highest level achieved prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution" in mathematical analysis in the mathematics department, higher algebra, optics in the physics department, inorganic chemistry in the chemistry department, ancient Chinese in the Chinese department, and rudimentary archaeology in the history department. The various departments have compiled over 50 pieces of improved supplementary material on the quality of basic courses, thus enriching the contents of the teaching of the basic courses. As a result of the strengthening of the teaching of basic courses, an overwhelming majority of the students have shown better achievements.

9621
CSO: 4005

MONGOLIAN WRITERS, ARTISTS URGED TO SERVE MODERNIZATION

Hohhot HONGYAN in Chinese No 4, Jul 80 pp 55-57

[Article by Yan Xinsheng [7051 2450 3932]: "Strengthen Leadership in Making Creative Work Flourish; Vigorously Unfold Mass Cultural Work"]

[Text] In May, greenery returns to the world, and signs of spring characterized by youthful vigor are seen everywhere around this capital of Inner Mongolia. On 5 May--a lovely day this spring season--cultural bureau chiefs from all over Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region gathered in Hohhot for the opening session of an 11-day-long cultural work discussion meeting.

This meeting represented a step forward in implementing the guidelines of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's congratulatory message to the Fourth National Cultural Congress and the communique of the National Conference of Provincial, Municipal, and Regional Cultural Bureau Chiefs. In addition to summing up and exchanging the experiences that they have gained over the past 3 years following the downfall of the "gang of four," the delegates to the meeting studied the problems of cultural and artistic work for this new historical period and related principles and policies. They also discussed the matter of how to arrange cultural work for the next 2 years, in accordance with the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation, and improvement, and the ways to strengthen and improve the leadership over cultural activities.

During the meeting, responsible persons of the party and government in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Wang Feng [3769 6912], Kong Fei [1313 7378], Wang Yilun [3769 6654 0243], Jie-er-ge-le [2638 1422 2706 0519] and Zhou Beifeng [0719 0342 5478]; responsible persons of the Propaganda Department of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Regional Party Committee Chao Luomeng [3390 3157 3443], Bao Xiang [1405 4382], and Yun Zhaoguang [0061 3564 0342]; responsible persons of the United Front Work Department of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Regional Party Committee Ke Ligeng [0344 0500 2577] and Zhao Yuding [6392 0358 1694], and other comrades received the delegates to the meeting and posed for group pictures with them. Following the reception, Comrade Wang Feng, secretary of the Autonomous Regional Party Committee, delivered an important speech at the meeting.

Comrade Yun Zhaoguang, chief of the Autonomous Region Cultural Bureau, delivered a report to the meeting. He pointed out: Cultural workers must try their best to serve the purpose of the four modernizations. To this end, the leadership over writers and artists should be strengthened in order to further enliven literary and artistic creative activities and to constantly raise the ideological level and artistic qualities of literary and artistic works. We must help the minority people in our region actively develop their cultures and arts, which reflect the glorious life and history of people of the Mongol and other minority nationalities. We must create and present to the public literary and artistic works of unique national character in our region. Forces must be organized to help the people of all nationalities discover and preserve their precious cultural legacy.

In his report, Comrade Yun Zhaoguang pointed out: We must present to the public further good literary and artistic works in the spheres of plays, operas, motion pictures, dance, songs, music, ballad singing, and storytelling, in addition to revolutionizing and popularizing literature and art. At the same time, it is necessary to develop a literary review and research program and to train and organize a huge contingent of writers and artists capable of keeping in touch with reality and of seeking truth from facts. Only in this way can we create a fresh style of literary and artistic review and research which can correct mistakes through a process of mutual discussion, free debate, and struggle for truth. Leading comrades at all levels in charge of cultural affairs must take the lead in emancipating their thinking, resolutely implement the party's policy on literature and art, and further diversify the themes and styles of literary and artistic works. We must correctly guide artists to create works that glorify our great people and reflect the life of this great era. We must introduce democracy to the artistic world and implement the principle of "three don'ts." Although the days are gone when we could dictate orders to writers and artists and adopt a high-handed policy to tamper with their creative activities, today we should not take an overly cautious attitude toward them or hesitate to lead, guide, criticize, and place demands on them. We must assume a leading role in the spheres of literary and artistic creations and theatrical performance programs. We must also guide them to produce a variety of nutritious spiritual food for the benefit of the people of all nationalities. On the other hand, writers and artists should also take into consideration the effect their works may have on society and should present to the public works full of lofty ideals and decent characters which inspire the people to push forward the wheel of history.

In his report, Comrade Yun Zhaoguang also reviewed his bureau's cultural work, outlined plans for its future development, and commended advanced individuals and units on the cultural front. During the meeting, delegates also discussed plans to strengthen the ideological building of the mass cultural organizations in rural, pastoral, and frontier areas with the aim of enlivening the cultural life there. They suggested that potential resources be pooled to gradually reorganize or expand existing cultural centers and their activities and to build new ones which will be operated by the communes or the state and be financed by the public funds, and that pilot projects be developed to open cultural centers in small townships. The meeting pointed out: Further efforts must be made to improve and consolidate existing cultural centers and to sum up and promote their experiences. Cultural rooms should be established in those production brigades and production teams which have the resources to do so. The people should be encouraged to spend their spare time voluntarily organizing small-scale, inexpensive, multipurpose cultural activities, including spare-time theatrical troupes and cultural propaganda teams for the benefit of the public. Popular art exhibition halls and cultural centers at all levels should increase their cultural activities in rural, pastoral, and frontier areas by helping their subordinate units develop mass recreation and entertainment programs with the aim of enriching and enlivening their cultural life. Ways must be found to develop mass cultural work in pastoral and frontier areas. Cultural centers in various localities may sell tickets to some theatrical performances in order to reduce their financial burdens and solve the problems of financing such programs. But in doing so, all cultural centers should make sure that "all proceeds from such entertainment programs should be used solely for cultural development purposes."

Also invited to the meeting were responsible comrades of cultural centers in Qahar Youyi Zhong Banner, Ongniud Banner, Horqin Zhoyi Zhong Banner, Ulantuge commune of Darhan Muminggan United Banner, and Ejin Horo commune of Ejin Horo Banner. During their discussions with the cultural bureau chiefs who attended the meeting, they also emphasized the importance of various cultural programs to their areas. They unanimously pointed out: During the past 2 years, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the exhilarating economic prosperity resulting from the party's decision to shift the emphasis of its work to the socialist modernization and its step-by-step implementation of the economic policy for the rural and pastoral areas have given rise to an urgent desire among the broad masses of peasants and herdsmen for an enlivening of their cultural life. In view of this, cultural centers throughout Inner Mongolia must play an important role in promoting and enlivening socialist cultural life and in inspiring the people to accelerate the tempo of the four modernizations, and they must expand, consolidate, and improve their programs. During the past few years, commune-operated cultural centers financed by public funds have been widely established in Ongniud Banner of Ju Ud league in an effort to satisfy the people's demands for enlivening of their cultural life. They have established production brigade-level spare-time theatrical troupes, opened libraries and reading rooms to the public, displayed bulletings, shown color slides, organized choirs or bands and storytelling activities, and given lectures on the four modernizations. They have launched propaganda programs to educate commune members in agriculture and animal husbandry and other branches of science. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the cultural center operated by the Qahar Youyi Zhong Banner--an advanced cultural unit in Inner Mongolia--has organized special teams to hold exhibitions, show color slides, and give lectures to peasants and herdsmen in the widely scattered rural and pastoral townships and villages. The aim of these programs is to deepen their scientific and cultural knowledge, enrich their cultural life, and introduce healthy social activities welcomed by the masses.

Last year, representatives of cultural centers from all over Inner Mongolia met in Hohhot to exchange their experiences. Since the close [of that meeting], the Autonomous region Cultural Bureau has helped concerned departments to establish state-operated cultural centers in Ulantuge commune of Darhan Muminggan United Banner and Horo commune of Ejin Horo Banner, respectively, and to organize tours of communes by cultural service units on wheels in the sparsely populated pastoral areas. Since last December, a cultural service unit on wheels organized by the Ulantuge commune cultural station has visited 4 communes, 12 brigades, and 25 production teams, in defiance of snowstorms and frigid weather. During the trip it showed films, held exhibitions, and loaned books to the people in addition to acting as an agent for commodity sales. It has also used radio recorders to capture 10 or more popular songs for wider distribution in the future, given lectures on the party's principles and policies, and launched other programs aimed at introducing healthy social practices and acquainting the people with the four modernizations. These have been programs which were warmly welcomed by herdsmen. Wherever this cultural unit on wheels went, it was greeted by a large crowd of herdsmen who said happily: "Never before has anyone brought culture on wheels to yurts or Mongol dwellings. To us, cultural units on wheels are something unheard of. Today, we have everything we want. We should hold high our golden milk cups as a token of gratitude for the party's solicitude for us." At forums they hailed cultural service units on wheels as an effective measure to open less-developed minority areas to civilization, with the blessing of the party and government.

Comrades who attended the forums unanimously said: There are 800 million peasants in China. We must attach importance to the task of improving their cultural well-being. Party and government organizations at all levels must assume a leading role in promoting mass cultural work, and attach importance to it. Furthermore, efforts must be made to strengthen and improve party leadership in this field. The party's "double-hundred" policy and other policies on literature and art should be resolutely implemented. Economy must be practiced in carrying out small-scale, sparetime, voluntary, and multipurpose cultural programs. As an integral part of the national cultural program, mass cultural work should be regarded as an indispensable factor in building China into a modern socialist power. Efforts must be made to further strengthen this work.

At the closing session of this meeting on 16 May, Comrade Bao Yinda [1405 7299 6671], deputy chief of the Autonomous Region Cultural Bureau, summed up the meeting with a speech. In his speech, he pointed out: During the meeting, a wide range of problems have been brought up for discussion. Among them are the orientation of cultural work, principles and policies regarding literature and art, the purpose of literature and art, the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other, how to emancipate the mind, how to uphold the four basic principles, how to correctly implement the "double-hundred" policy, how to strengthen and improve the party's leadership over writers and artists, and the effect of literary and artistic works on society. Through discussion, comrades have basically reached agreement on ways to solve the aforementioned problems, have clarified their thinking, and have increased their confidence in the future of our cultural program. By exchanging their work experiences, they have also laid a fine ideological foundation for cultural work in this new historical period.

Comrade Bao Yinda pointed out: In the future, our writers and artists are urged to advance along the socialist path. Only in this way can they adapt themselves to the needs of the current situation resulting from our party's decision to shift the emphasis of its work to socialist modernization; fulfill their pledges to resolutely serve the people, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the socialist cause of the four modernizations; meet the people's growing demands for improving their spiritual well-being; help foster new socialist personalities; and assist the people of all nationalities in raising their ideological, cultural, and moral level. An important item that has been discussed and debated during the meeting is the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other. Through discussion, they have basically agreed that since literature and art cannot be estranged from politics, they should be geared to serve politics. But we must remember past lessons by refraining from interpreting this point in too rigid and narrow-minded a manner. In actuality, it is absolutely unwise to simply emphasize the "portrayal of politics as a central task," in gross disregard of the special nature of literature and art. Generally speaking, we must give full play to the role of literature and art as a propaganda and educational medium in the struggle to "foster the proletariat and eliminate the bourgeoisie." There should be close coordination between mass spare-time cultural activities and theatrical programs for propaganda purposes. Cultural bureaus in various localities must attach importance to mass cultural work and overcome the tendency to overly emphasizing the professional but neglecting the spare-time troupes, as well as of overly emphasizing the cities and neglecting the countryside. Vigorous efforts must be made to promote programs for showing films and for displaying cultural objects and paintings, in addition to other mass cultural activities. Aware of the growing needs of the peasants and herdsmen for an enlivening of their cultural life, we must keep in touch with the basic-level units and with reality, conduct investigations and study, and overcome cultural poverty as soon as possible in rural, pastoral, remote mountainous, and frontier areas. We must strengthen mass cultural work and develop literary and artistic works that cater to minority people in a manner appropriate to local conditions and improve the leadership in this field We must produce literary and artistic works that show respect for the language, customs, and tradition of the people of Mongol and other minority nationalities in various localities, and actively help them develop their culture and arts. There may be works involving relations between different nationalities. Before presenting them to the public, their writers must take into consideration their possible effect on society. The development of such works calls for scientific and careful investigation into the relevant historical background. Only in this way can they present to the public perfect works not tinged with racial slurs that would hurt the feelings and dignity of certain nationalities and split the nation as a whole. Departments in charge of cultural affairs must actively take measures to ban any theatrical works that disgrace or humiliate minority people in our country. In addition, we must conscientiously study plans to save cultural legacies.

Comrade Bao Yinda pointed out: We must persist in implementing the "double-hundred" policy. In doing so, we must recognize its obvious class nature. This policy does not imply the handing of a blank check to writers and artists for whatever they want to write and portray. We must insure that Marxism will assume a predominant role and reign supreme in the ideological field. No writer or artist should overlook the educational role of his works. nor will he be allowed to produce, purely from an economic point of view, works that cater only to the vulgar tastes of the people. He must be well aware that any literary and artistic works of feudal and bourgeois influence will have a detrimental effect on the broad masses, especially youngsters. We must persist in the policy of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China, and weeding out the old to bring forth the new" in dealing with traditional theatrical works and ancient and foreign cultural matters.

Comrade Bao Yinda concluded his speech by saying: Now resting on our shoulders is a heavy but glorious responsibility. Comrades attending the meeting must strengthen their sense of responsibility to the party and people and do a good job of promoting mass cultural work for the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. They should take the initiative to strengthen their leadership over cultural work, voluntarily report their works to the local party committees, and seek advice from them. They should work and study hard, keep in touch with reality, conduct investigations and study, overcome interference in our mass cultural work from various erroneous trends of thought, and play a role in unifying the people of all nationalities and leading groups at all levels behind the common endeavor to accomplish the four modernizations with faster results.

9574
CSO: 4005

CHINA SCORES SUCCESS IN SETTLING FEUDS BEYOND COURT

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 80 p 3

[Article: "Solve Disputes and End Feuds--People's Mediation Committees Basically Restored and Gradually Strengthened in Cities and Countryside throughout the Country"]

[Text] With their functions basically restored and gradually strengthened in rural and urban China, our people's mediation committees at all levels have played a positive role in settling civil disputes and ending feuds. According to incomplete statistics tabulated by 16 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions by the end of 1979, there were over 410,000 mediation organizations staffed by nearly 3 million mediators throughout the country.

Our party and government have consistently attached importance to the work performed by the people's mediation organizations since the State Council of the Central People's Government proclaimed the "regulations governing the organization of the people's mediation committees," which stipulate them as mass organizations devoted to settling general disputes and minor criminal cases through mediation under the guidance of the basic level people's governments and courts.

For a long time, they accumulated valuable experiences in settling civil disputes through mediation. But during the Great Cultural Revolution, as the people's courts disintegrated, so did the people's mediation committees. It was not until 1973 after the people's courts were reinstated that many localities moved to reactivate their mediation organizations. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," the mediation committees have scored successes in mediating and settling disputes and in consolidating stability and unity. Thus far, cases of civil dispute prosecuted by local people's courts in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have been far outnumbered by similar cases handled by their corresponding mediation organizations. In 1979, mediation organizations in Shandong Province succeeded in settling nearly 540,000 civil disputes through mediation, 35 times more than the cases of civil dispute prosecuted by their corresponding people's courts. Incomplete statistics indicated that mediation committees in 14 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions succeeded in settling nearly 3 million disputes.

The successful settlement of a large number of civil disputes by the mediation organizations has resulted in reducing the rates of litigation, and the number of civil and criminal cases and has prevented crimes, thus enabling the courts to devote more time to handling more serious and complicated cases.

Of the cases of dispute handled by the mediation organizations, many could not be easily settled. Some cases were very complicated and tough or even dangerous. In the absence of mediation, some ordinary neighborhood disputes and family quarrels are quite likely to deteriorate into sharp contradictions, violence or even commission of murder and suicide. With timely mediating services and patient assistance provided by the mediation committees, such contradictions can be minimized or resolved, feuds can be contained and disasters can be nipped in the bud. For example, in 1979, Guangdong Province succeeded in settling nearly 175,000 disputes through mediation, prevented commission of over 3,400 suicides and murders and saved over 2,700 lives. Typical was the case of an intellectual couple's marriage dispute satisfactorily settled through mediation by the Xinglong Neighborhood Mediation Committee in the Nankai District of Tianjin Municipality. During the 14 years of their marriage, the couple spent nearly 13 years trying to get a divorce. Their quarrels arose from the female's complaints that her husband never wanted to help her out with the house chores and had never given her any loving care. She also resented his suggestion that she get an abortion when she became pregnant for the third time, thus leading her to suspect that he might have another woman on his mind. From then on, they hated each other and lived apart for a prolonged period of time. Initial efforts were subsequently made by their respective neighborhood committees and employers to mediate and resolve their feud, but without success. In October 1978, the Xinglong Neighborhood Mediation Committee spent 2 months trying to settle their quarrels after she pressed for divorce again with the court. Aware that she loved her two children, the mediation committee immediately gave them instructions as to how to dissuade their parents from a divorce. Later, their 12-year-old son told his mother: "Mama, no divorce! If you are divorced, I will have to be separated from my sister. Once the family is broken, it is unlikely to reunite." It was this little talk that moved her to tears, and eventually made her agree to become reconciled with her husband. Noting this progress, the mediators lost no time in carrying that message to him. During the meeting, in addition to scolding him that it was wrong not to take good care of his family and his wife, the mediators reminded him of his difficulties in raising his children without a mother. Toward the end of the meeting, he quickly expressed his willingness to be reconciled with his wife. Noting that the condition was ripe for reconciliation between the two sides, the mediators swiftly moved to get the feuding couple together, accompanying them to withdraw their vows for divorce from the court. As a result of self-criticism, the couple are now determined to live together in harmony.

Our system of settling the people's feuds through mediation has become a subject of study by foreign visitors. During its recent visit to Wuhan Municipality, a Harvard Law School delegation concluded its study of the role of China's people's mediation committees by saying: China has done a very good job of preventing civil disputes from worsening and killing them in the bud once they become known.

9574
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI COUNTY COMBATS SUPERSTITIOUS ACTIVITIES

HK100643 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Nov 80

[Excerpts] According to SHAANXI RIBAO, Fengxiang County has taken measures to arrest a sinister trend of feudal superstitious activities. In the early part of the fourth lunar month (Changcun) commune held a trade fair at (Lingshan). Certain people whose thinking was seriously infected with feudal superstition seized the chance to make contact with each other. They launched activities to build temples, with leadership and planning. They carved seals and mobilized a number of people to go around the place collecting donations. Under the influence of this activity, building of temples was also launched at (Xuanwushan). Certain superstitious peasants were hoodwinked into abandoning production and going up the mountain to take part. Certain brigades and production teams sent trucks and tractors to transport wood, bricks and lime to the site. In less than 1 month, five large temple buildings were erected at (Lingshan) and three at (Xuanwushan). Sect leaders cheated people by pretending to cure illness, while witches and wizards disguised themselves as gods and devils, confusing the masses.

In view of these superstitious activities, the leading comrades of the Fengxiang County CCP Committee and responsible comrades of the county propaganda and united front departments and public security bureau went up the mountains to find out the situation and patiently conducted persuasive education for the masses. They advised them to go back to work at their production teams. The sect leaders, witches and wizards had their errors pointed out and were required to immediately cease their illegal activities. The county people's government also issued a three-point decision: 1) all building of temples must immediately cease on the mountain tops and elsewhere, and nobody is allowed to collect donations under the pretext of building temples; 2) all material diverted to building temples must be taken back to the communes [words indistinct]; 3) sect leaders, witches and wizards organizing the building of temples and the accountants, storemen and others responsible for the work must be examined at their communes, and return their illegally-acquired property.

Beginning in mid-August, the county office for straightening out social order convened the sect leaders, witches and wizards together with backbone elements in superstitious activities to explain the policies. They exposed how, after the sinister wind of building temples had been whipped up, certain bad people seized the chance to fabricate rumors to hoodwink people and engage in corruption. Through investigation and verification, they revealed the problems concerning the organizers of temple building, and dealt with them according to the nature of the case and their attitude.

CSO: 4005

NEWSLETTER DESCRIBES SUN YAT-SEN'S LIFE IN HONOLULU

OW101221 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0808 GMT 10 Nov 80

[Newsletter by XINHUA reporter Ye Zhixiong: "Cherish High Ideals and Admire New Things--on Mr Sun Yat-sen in Honolulu"]

[Excerpts] Honolulu, 10 Nov (XINHUA)--Honolulu is a picturesque place where Mr Sun Yat-sen attended school and conducted revolutionary activities when he was a youth. For this reason, I longed to visit Honolulu more than any other place. During this visit, I have had the pleasure of seeing those old sites which had something to do with him.

Sun Yat-sen had two elder brothers and two elder sisters. In 1972, his eldest brother, Sun Mei, came to Hawaii with his uncle from Cuiheng village of Xiangshan County (now renamed Zhongshan County), Guangdong. Sun Mei then ran a grocery store in Honolulu and successfully trial-produced rice in nearby swamp land. He enjoyed some prestige in Honolulu and his name was listed in the 1880 Hawaii yearbook. In June 1879, Sun Yat-sen came to Hawaii with his mother, Yang Shi, through Macao via British steamship "(Glanork)."

At first, he helped his brother in looking after the grocery store. Three months later, he entered the (Jolani) school run by the Episcopal Church. In school, he used his formal name "Zaizhi." In his biography, he described his ideological condition then as "cherishing high ideals and admiring new things."

After graduation from the (Jolani) school, he pursued advanced studies at the (Aushiu) college, then the highest institution of learning in Honolulu. Soon afterwards, he received a letter from his family asking him to return to China.

In the summer of 1894 he made a trip to Tianjin and wrote to Li Hongzhang to demand a reform. His demand was ignored. From then on, he became firmer in taking a democratic revolutionary road.

In the winter of 1894 he returned to Honolulu from Shanghai, gathered some intellectual youth, small businessmen and small peasants from among the overseas Chinese who opposed the Qing regime, and organized Xing Zhong Hui [Society for Rebuilding China], the earliest democratic revolutionary organization of the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Someone told me that there is a Mr Sun Yat-sen's statue in Honolulu's China town. With high respect, I visited the China town.

When I took a close look at the statue, I found that it was donated in 1976 by the Kaohsiung Municipal Kuomintang Committee in Taiwan. The overseas Chinese and people of Chinese descent in Honolulu very clearly know China's history of the past century. Like the people throughout China, they have great respect for Mr Sun Yat-sen, a great pioneer of democratic revolution in China. The Taiwan authorities "donated" the statue in order to take advantage of Mr Sun Yat-sen's lofty prestige among the overseas Chinese and the people of Chinese descent in Honolulu. The intention behind the donation is self-evident. Today, the statue is in good condition, but the inscription on its foundation written by the Kaohsiung Municipal Kuomintang Committee has been damaged and blurred by some angry persons. This shows the following fact: Some overseas Chinese and people of Chinese descent here have said that the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan should contribute to the reunification of the great motherland if they truly respect Mr Sun Yat-sen's will.

CSO: 4005

PRC, BBC TO COPRODUCE ANIMATED FILM

OW051128 Beijing XINHUA in English 0216 GMT 5 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, November 5 (XINHUA)--Zhao Wei, deputy manager of the China Film Co-production Corporation, announced today that agreement had been reached between the Shanghai Animation Film Studio and the BBC on co-production of a full-length animated film.

This will be the first time that China ever produces a full-length animated film in cooperation with a foreign enterprise.

The Chinese side is now preparing a script based on a Chinese folk tale entitled "Subduing the Spirits" written in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). The story tells how an immortal conquers fox spirits. The script will be submitted for discussion early in the coming year before the Chinese draw the main characters. The BBC will endeavor to form a consortium of international investors to underwrite a substantial part of the film cost. In return, the consortium will control all rights outside China. The Chinese investors will share in the profits made abroad.

Mr. Gunnar Rugheimer, general manager of program acquisition for the BBC said, "I consider this deal a major breakthrough which will give Western viewers an opportunity to savor the genius of Chinese animators."

The cartoon, puppet, paper-cut and paperfolding films produced by the Shanghai Animation Film Studio enjoy great popularity in China. Eighteen of the studio's productions have won awards in international film festivals.

The new animated film will be directed by Wang Shuchen, vice director of the Shanghai studio. Wang Shuchen is a famous scenarist-director of animated films who began his career in this field in the early 1950s. "Nazha Conquers the Dragon King," which he adapted and directed, was chosen as the best animated film in a national poll held earlier this year.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REPORT ON STUDENTS' INDIFFERENCE TO MARXISM

OW031359 Hong Kong AFP in English 1338 GMT 3 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing 3 Nov (AFP)--Chinese students are showing increasing indifference to courses in Marxism-Leninism, the GUANGMING DAILY said today.

Quoting from a study conducted last spring by the communist party propaganda department in the provinces of Hunan, Guangdong and Fujian, the newspaper said that despite the efforts of their teachers, students either showed no interest or "failed to accord due importance" to courses on elementary Marxist theory.

In some teaching institutions a third of students enrolled did not attend classes while others used class time to read novels, write letters, prepare for other classes or study a foreign language, it said.

Some disillusioned students felt that Marxist theory had no basis because "he who is in power is always right" or that they could not have confidence in Marxism because it could be "changed to suit anybody."

Others were reported to have said that Marxist theory was of no use because it did not serve to help solve the concrete problems facing the country.

Confusion on the subject at the time of the death of late Chairman Mao Zedong in 1976 was such that many students and even some teachers wanted to do away with these courses altogether.

Digging into the reasons for such attitudes the study quoted by the newspaper said that a considerable number of people, including "leading comrades" felt that theoretical education was not indispensable at a time when China was engaged in its economic modernisation.

It also attributed this state of affairs to the low level of political culture on the part of many teachers and the opening of China to the world, especially with regard to the influence of Hong Kong.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEBEI PEOPLE'S COMMUNE EXPANDS CULTURAL FACILITIES

OW150748 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 15 Nov 80

[Text] Shijiazhuang, November 15 (XINHUA)--The example of a people's commune 100 kilometers northwest of Beijing is indicative of what peasants can do to enrich their cultural life, says a deputy director of the Hebei provincial cultural bureau following a recent tour of the commune.

Community efforts to set up cultural facilities within their economic means are a necessary supplement to government spending, which are still limited, the official said. Today, 38 commune-run centers supplement some one hundred government-run centers scattered throughout the province.

The cultural center of the Xinbao'an commune, a commune with a population of 13,000, includes a library, reading rooms, a table tennis room, chess rooms, an open-air cinema, a sportsground, and an auditorium where films can be screened on cold or wet days.

The Xinbao'an facilities were built in 1975 with 90,000 yuan from the commune's public accumulation fund. The commune, in Huailai County, is one of the higher income farming units in north China, with 120 workshops and side-line occupation groups run by the commune and its subdivisions, the production brigades.

The cultural facilities are self-sustaining. The 13,000 yuan from 505 film shows given last year was enough to cover the operational costs of the commune center including pay for the five staff members. To keep costs within reason, the staff members all perform more than one job. The film projectionist, for example, draws lantern slides, paints, provides accompaniment for theatrical performances, serves as a judge at table tennis matches, and acts as the center's accountant.

The center is open in the evenings, on weekdays and the whole day on Sundays and holidays. Two to three thousand people come every day to read, play, view films or watch sports matches.

An amateur theatrical troupe and a story-telling team perform regularly in the center and the staff have organized lectures in painting, music, dance and agronomy.

Before the cultural center was set up, the peasants in Xinbao'an commune had to depend on government mobile film teams for their cultural needs. The government-run county cultural center is not within easy reach, because the county seat is 10 kilometers away. The need for cultural activities was especially acute in a place like Xinbao'an where one-fourth of the population have at least seven years of schooling.

Production brigades in the commune also have their own facilities. The Dongyuan production brigade has bought a film projector and gives an average of two film shows a week. Another brigade, the Xiyuan brigade, has an auditorium with a seating capacity of 1,000; the place attracts peasants from neighbouring villages whenever a theatrical event takes place.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

CHINESE LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION MEETING--The Chinese Language Association held an inaugural meeting in Wuhan on the morning of 21 October attended by more than 200 linguists from different parts of the country. (Li Shuxiang), famous linguist and deputy director of the linguistic department of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, presided over [illegible]e opening ceremony. The Hubei Vice Provincial Governor Li Fuquan and other responsible comrades of departments concerned were invited to attend the meeting. Li Fuquan spoke at the meeting, congratulating the Chinese Language Association on its inauguration. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Oct 80 HK]

ANHUI SECONDARY VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS--Following the central authorities' directive on restructuring secondary school education, 10 municipalities in Anhui have now set up or improved 46 secondary vocational schools, with a total of 86 classes and 4,500 students. A meeting on restructuring secondary school education in 12 municipalities was held in Anqing from 19 to 22 October. Vice Governor Wei Xinyi, responsible comrades of the provincial planning commission and the provincial education department and vice mayors of the 12 municipalities in charge of cultural and education attended. The meeting called for efforts to solve the shortage of teaching materials, teachers, equipment and founds [as printed] [OW040220 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Nov 80 OW]

QINGHAI TIBETAN PUBLICATIONS--The publishing house in Qinghai Province has published a number of books in the Tibetan language on political science, natural science, technology, literature, art and Tibetan medicine. They have also published a Tibetan dictionary and 19 textbooks for middle and primary schools in the Tibetan language. [OW121207 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 11 Nov 80 OW]

LIAONING COLLEGES--In order to enable more students to receive higher education, colleges and universities in Liaoning have established branch schools, evening schools or correspondence schools. Workers colleges run by enterprises have been opened to persons outside the enterprises. By managing various forms of schools, Liaoning has 89,000 more students than the state-set quota for students pursuing higher education. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Nov 80 SK]

LIAONING NEW DRAMA--A new drama "Luo Feng Tai" on how rural areas exert efforts to become more prosperous, such the first drama since the downfall of the "gang of four," premiered at Zhonghua Theater in Shenyang, Liaoning, 8 November. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Nov 80 SK]

YUNNAN TEACHERS' GATHERING--The Yunnan Provincial People's Government held a gathering in Kunming on 25 October to promote 22 special-grade teachers. Yang Kecheng, vice provincial governor, announced the decision to promote special-grade teachers and Liu Minghui, governor and secretary of the Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee, presented the certificates and awards to teachers. Gao Zhiguo, deputy secretary of the Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee, delivered a speech on behalf of the provincial CCP committee. He said: Education is the key to the progress of the four modernizations. Special-grade teachers in Yunnan Province must enhance their political, ideological and cultural standards in order to meet the demands put forward by Comrade Hu Yaobang at the national teacher's training forum. [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Oct 80 HK]

SHANGHAI JOURNALIST'S BIRTH ANNIVERSARY--Chen Yi, deputy secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee, and some 40 personages paid respects at the Zou Taofen Memorial Hall in Shanghai to mark the 85th birth anniversary of the late journalist, political commentator and publisher on 5 November. [OW121251 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 5 Nov 80 OW]

SHANGHAI BOOK SERIES--Shanghai, 6 Nov (XINHUA)--A set of "Wenyi Zhishi Congshu" [Series of Books on Literary and Art Knowledge] is being published in Shanghai, introducing literary and art theories as well as important writers, works, literary and art trends and schools in the literary history of China and foreign countries. This will help the advancement of literary enthusiasts through self-study. [OW121251 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0124 GMT 6 Nov 80 OW]

JIANGSU LIBRARY SUPPLIES--China's first library supplies company was founded in Wujin County, Jiangsu, in March this year. The company is formed with the assistance of the Beijing library and the county's 18 factories. It sells book shelves, typing tables, book carrying carts and other library supplies. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Nov 80 OW]

TAIWAN MOUNTAINEERS--Hong Kong, 8 Nov (XINHUA)--According to a dispatch from a newspaper in Taiwan, the Himalaya Mountain range survey team of the Taiwan Mountaineers Association has successfully reached the 5,546 meter high (ka-la-bo-ta) mountain peak at 1015 hours in the morning of 29 October. The team consisted of 16 members: 13 of them successfully climbed the (ka-la-bo-ta) mountain 6 peak on that day. They were: Captain Cai Lile, secretary (Yi-xi-zhuo-ma), members Wang Jing, Zhou Wen, Lin Tianxiang, Wang Douji, Pan Zegan, Liu Tiande, Lin Shuzhi, Jin Zhijie, Gao Quanhui, and Li Zhaoming and reporter Qiu Yanyao. The team of mountaineers safely descended from the peak after completing their mission. [Text] [OW092151 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1520 GMT 8 Nov 80]

SMUGGLING IN OPERA TROUPE--Beijing Nov 7 (AFP)--Several members of a Chinese opera troupe took advantage of trips abroad to engage in smuggling, the latest edition of TIANJIN DAILY available here reported today. The newspaper only identified those of the troupe who had smuggled in the most--the vice-director of the Chaozhou Opera, Yang Lieming and the person in charge of its supplies, Lin Fideng. While visiting Hong Kong last April the two collected a range of goods valued at 20,000 yuan (13,000 U.S. dollars). These included TV sets, tapes, calculators and various other electronic gadgets which they smuggled in with the troupe's baggage. The newspaper reported that the Guangdong Provincial Disciplinary Commission would examine the cases of Yang and Lin shortly. Li Xueguang, the director of the opera troupe of Chaozhou, [word indistinct] the southern Guangdong Province,' is accused of having failed in his duty to take adequate steps against this smuggling. [Text] [OW070908 Hong Kong AFP in English 0808 GMT 7 Nov 80]

SPORTS DELEGATION VISITS EUROPE--Beijing, 9 Nov (XINHUA)--At the invitation of the Romanian State Committee for Physical Culture and the Swiss Physical Culture Association, a three-member Chinese physical culture delegation led by Lu Jindong, vice minister in charge of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission, left Beijing 9 November by plane for friendly visits to Romania and Switzerland. [Text] [OW100202 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1224 GMT 9 Nov 80]

CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76822

3 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 143

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76922

3 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 143

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

New U.S. Nuclear Strategy Against Government Criticized
(Ba Yi Radio, 9 Nov 80) 1

Beijing Audience Acclaims Romanian Comedy on Bureaucracy
(XINHUA, 9 Nov 80) 3

European Parliament President Urges UK To Stay in EC
(XINHUA, 7 Nov 80) 4

Polish Politburo Member Discusses Economic Problems
(XINHUA, 7 Nov 80) 5

U.S. Admiral Making Four-Nation Tour of South Asia
(XINHUA, 16 Nov 80) 6

Papua New Guinea, U.S. Agree on 'Free Association'
(XINHUA, 18 Nov 80) 7

U.S. Figure Skaters Perform in Beijing
(XINHUA, 12 Nov 80) 8

Soviet Relations With Austria Strained
(XINHUA, 14 Nov 80) 9

Polish Workers' Party's Political Bureau Meets
(XINHUA, 5 Nov 80) 10

Poland Faces Grave Food Situation
(XINHUA, 5 Nov 80) 11

Briefs

Schmidt Reelected 12
EEC World Role 12
Athletic Meet With S. Korea 12
Republicans in U.S. Congress 13
African Trade Fairs Close 13
Kissinger on European Conference 13
Acrobats in New York 14
American Scientist 14
Soviet Military in Kabul 14
Somali Delegation 14
Dance Ensemble's African Tour 14
Acrobatic Troupe in Madagascar 15
Polish Officials Resign 15
Polish Official on Government 15
Reagan's Scientific Advisors 16
U.S. Aid to Poland 16

PARTY AND STATE

Transition From Hua Guofeng to Zhao Ziyang Appraised
(Ma Lu; ZHENGMING, 1 Oct 80) 17

Scientific Faith of Marxism Said Essential to Modernization
(Fan Zuogang; JIANG-HAN LUNTAN, 1980) 21

On Such Slogans as 'Fear No Sacrifice'
(Dong Feng; RENMIN RIBAO, 4 Sep 80) 28

Rise of Zhao Ziyang, Need for Economic Reform Traced
(Chen Jianshi; ZHENGMING, 1 Oct 80) 30

Second Generation of Good Leadership Vital to Government
(Dong Jin; ZHENGMING, 1 Oct 80) 37

Probe Ways To Make Ideological, Political Work Scientific
(Tan Tao; GUANGMING RIBAO, 24 Aug 80) 41

Party Members, Cadres Encouraged To Link Study, Practice
(Huang Xunli, Wang Shiyun; HAINAN RIBAO, 16 Aug 80) 47

Education of Rural Party Members in Propaganda Work Urged
(Yang Linxun; GUIZHOU RIBAO, 9 Sep 80) 49

Students in United States Have Rough Time; Extol Socialism
(Bai Hui; WEN HUI BAO, 31 Aug 80) 51

Question of Promoting Personnel Transfers Addressed
(Xin Guangqi; WEN HUI BAO, 31 Aug 80) 53

Incident in Shandong Shows Value of Specialized Skills
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 25 Aug 80) 55

Many Cadres Still Using Public Funds for Self-Indulgence
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 29 Aug 80) 57

Education in Marxist Economics Corrects Erroneous Views
(Zhang Jun; DAZHONG RIBAO, 28 Aug 80) 59

Steps Must Be Taken To Prevent Careless Waste
(Chen Fengxiong; RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Sep 80) 62

Cadres Accept Responsibility for Failures
(Ou Yang Shigao; RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Sep 80) 64

Influence of 'Petroleum Faction' in Cabinet Reviewed
(Su Jiong; ZHENGMING, 1 Oct 80) 65

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Handling Accidents Such as 'Bohai No. 2' Discussed
(Chen Shucan, Wang Saiyin; NANFANG RIBAO, 4 Sep 80) .. 73

Laser Weapons Research Being Accelerated
(Wang Zhiming; GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 25 Aug 80) 75

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Provincial Party Secretary on Nationality Policy in Gansu
(Song Ping; MINZU TUANJIE, 15 Aug 80) 77

How Founder of Tang Dynasty Educated His Children
(Wei Deliang; HANGZHOU DAXUE XUEBAO, Mar 80) 84

NEW U.S. NUCLEAR STRATEGY AGAINST GOVERNMENT CRITICIZED

OW091954 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 9 Nov 80

[Text] It is necessary to make known to the public in clear terms the question of U.S. nuclear guided missiles aimed at 100 Chinese targets. It is reported that U.S. presidential secret document No 59 on a new nuclear strategy concerns a decision to strike 100 targets in China with nuclear weapons when necessary. They include navy, army and air force military bases, large industrial centers, major cities and scientific research institutions.

It is necessary to point out that as early as last year, our country's intelligence organization reported to the central authorities on U.S. nuclear guided missiles targeted at the Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Shenyang and Guangzhou (?military regions). Moreover, the power of the guided missiles is 25 to 30 times stronger than the atomic bomb that the United States dropped on Japan's Hiroshima in 1945. However, our country's leaders ordered that this question should not be brought to light for fear that it might obstruct the development of friendship and allied relations between China and the United States. In accordance with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction, this intelligence report was not relayed to senior military cadres. Of course, the masses of commanders and fighters, as well as the people, were even more ignorant of this report. The yankees refused to comment on the report on the U.S. plan to carry out nuclear strikes at China when necessary. The central authorities concealed from the whole army and the people of the whole country the U.S. imperialists' sinister plan. Vice Chairman Deng was even more reluctant to openly and explicitly bring up this question to the U.S. President out of fear that it might rupture relations with the United States.

After our government commented mildly and indirectly on this question, the U.S. State Department spokesman rudely rejected the Chinese comments in a way that the imperialists treat their colony, alleging that the U.S. strategy plan was U.S. internal affairs and that it did not have to consult with foreign countries on this matter. Such an arrogant attitude assumed by the U.S. Government has aroused the strong indignation of the Chinese people. However, some people in the central authorities are attempting to defend the U.S. leaders' stand. At a meeting of the party Central Committee's Military Commission held last month, somebody said that the U.S. plan for a nuclear attack on China will be carried out only under special circumstances:

If our country liberates Taiwan with force or directly harms U.S. interests. Such a view is extremely ridiculous. First whether or not our country liberates Taiwan is our internal affair and has nothing to do with the United States. Second, China and the United States are equal powers in the world. How can the United States decide, based on the value of using China and on the extent of its impact on the U.S. interest, whether or not to use nuclear weapon against China?

Why has Vice Chairman Deng ignored the opinions of other colleagues and stubbornly refused to ask the U.S. leaders for an explanation of their sinister plan? It is absolutely not allowed to conceal from the whole army and people of the whole country the danger of a U.S. nuclear attack on China [words indistinct]. Holding back the facts from the people shows a lack of political farsightedness and is a betrayal of the Chinese people.

CSO: 4005

BEIJING AUDIENCE ACCLAIMS ROMANIAN COMEDY ON BUREAUCRACY

OW091720 Beijing XINHUA in English 1612 GMT 9 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, November 9 (XINHUA)--A Romanian comedy satirizing bureaucracy and other social malpractices was acclaimed by a Beijing audience here this evening.

"Fair Opinion" is the first Romanian play to be staged in the Chinese capital by the Beijing People's Art Theatre.

Written in 1967 by the well-known Romanian playwright Aurel Baranga, the comedy features an honest journalist, Chitlaru, who is determined to work for reforms.

The play develops around a struggle between Chitlaru and his newspaper chief, a bureaucrat. Chitlaru's supporters are upright, open and above-board, while Cristinoiu's cronies rely on flattery, deceit and trickery.

The theme of tonight's presentation was clearly spelled out by a line spoken by one of Chitlaru's supporters: "During the transition from capitalism to communism, all the most glorious things are beginning to flower while our sordidness and decadence are being exposed. Therefore, my ideological headquarters has issued three directives: do not make a fuss, do not grumble and do not be afraid."

Commenting on the production, Fang Guande, well-known Chinese comedian and director of the play, said: "Through the medium of the press, the play touches upon all aspects of the life. It reveals the playwright's love of life and high ideals."

Ma Qun, who played the part of Chitlaru, said: "Many of the things reflected in the play also find their expression in China. The reason we put on this play is that we want to improve things in our own country."

"Fair Opinion" has remained in the repertoire of many Romanian theatres since its premiere more than ten years ago. During its rehearsals, the Beijing People's Art Theatre received support and assistance from the Romanian Embassy, the Romanian Council of Socialist Culture and Education, Romanian theatres and Romanian experts in Beijing.

CSO: 4020

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT PRESIDENT URGES UK TO STAY IN EC

OW070756 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 7 Nov 80

[Text] London, November 6 (XINHUA)—Madame Simon Veil, president of the European parliament, said here tonight that political cooperation was "vital" in the European Community and that the European parliament "refuses to envisage" the possibility of British withdrawal from the community.

Speaking at a British Government dinner given in her honour by Lord Hailsham, the lord chancellor, she emphasized that it was in the sphere of political cooperation that the community had in recent years achieved the most substantial progress. "It is essential that, in future, progress on political cooperation should go hand-in-hand with progress on the community's domestic front. The gradual co-ordination of the external policies of the member states clearly presupposes that there exists between the latter a convergence of interests which will grow as the community becomes more unified," she added.

She said she hoped that all members of the European Community "will join together to build a stronger community" and believed that the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the community would undermine the foundations of the latter. She pointed out that in the present climate of uncertainty, provoked by conflicts which might escalate at any moment and worldwide economic difficulties, citizens of the European countries were right to expect the community to help them by joint action.

The speech by Mme Veil marked the first official reaction from a European leader since the Labour Party of Britain voted at its annual conference last month for withdrawal from the European Community.

Her host, Lord Hailsham, replied: "Europe must co-operate or Europe will perish."

Mme Veil is in London on a two-day visit.

CSO: 4020

POLISH POLITBURO MEMBER DISCUSSES ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

OW070818 Beijing XINHUA in English 0729 GMT 7 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, November 6 (XINHUA)--Poland's economic difficulties are deepening with no signs of relaxation in social tension. "The situation is serious and extremely complicated," said Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party yesterday.

Speaking at a meeting of activists in Gdansk Province, he said that the severe cold which came earlier than usual had affected the harvesting of sugar beet, potatoes and other crops. Potato output could be only half of the planned target.

In industry, he said, owing to the shortage of raw materials, factories are operating below capacity. And it will be hard to fulfil this year's planned targets. Hard coal output will be 12 million tons less than the target, iron 280,000 tons less and electricity 1.5 billion kwh less. The production of export commodities declined at a bigger margin.

He said the main tasks of the country's economic work at present are to greatly increase production, practice economy, ensure supplies and introducing economic reforms. Reforms will be carried out in two phases. Phase one calls for improvement of management by giving more power of self-management to enterprises, improving the method in drawing up economic plans and lowering the output targets set by the leadership. In phase two, a new comprehensive programme for reform will be worked out in accordance with the changed social conditions, with emphasis on drawing up new constitutions for enterprises and increasing the role of the workers' self-governing committee.

Olszowski said that in the difficult economic situation, aids from the Soviet Union and other countries are important. However, he added, Poland "must rely on its own strength to overcome the difficulties."

Referring to the social conditions, he pointed out that parallel with the economic difficulties there exists "an especially unfavorable phenomenon--chaos in social consciousness and the minds of the citizens." This can be overcome with the participation of all healthy social forces.

He said, "It should be the task of all party members to oppose by political means efforts of organizing strikes."

CSO: 4020

U.S. ADMIRAL MAKING FOUR-NATION TOUR OF SOUTH ASIA

OW151212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 16 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, November 16 (XINHUA)—Admiral Robert L. J. Long, commander in chief of U.S. forces in the Pacific and Indian oceans, told reporters in New Delhi the purpose of his four-nation trip (Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh) was to meet security officials there, know their views on their respective countries' relations with the United States and explain U.S. policies, according to reports from New Delhi.

The U.S. admiral is in India after a three-day visit to Pakistan from November 10 to 13. He will leave for Sri Lanka tomorrow.

He gave no details of his talks in New Delhi with the chiefs of staff of the Indian navy, army and air force. He also met the U.S. defence and foreign ministry officials.

In a briefing connected with Long's visit, a high U.S. military official said in New Delhi that the United States had ended "a period of drifting" and would seek cooperation from countries in the Indian Ocean region to keep the Straits of Hormuz open.

The official added that the United States had between 30 and 35 navy ships in the Indian Ocean and that the Soviet Union maintained approximately the same number.

A REUTER report from New Delhi said "there was no immediate indication that as a result of Admiral Long's visit, India would allow U.S. navy ships to visit its ports, the way Soviet ships do occasionally."

CSO: 4020

PAPUA NEW GUINEA, U.S. AGREE ON 'FREE ASSOCIATION'

OW180206 Beijing XINHUA in English 0149 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Washington, November 17 (XINHUA)--A formal government compact of "free association" with the United States was initialed by a representative of the Republic of Papua New Guinea, a newly-founded mid-Pacific nation, at a ceremony held in the State Department at noon today.

Two other Micronesian entities--the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia--initialed the same document on October 31.

Under the terms of "free association," the United States will retain plenary authority in defense and security matters for a period of at least 15 years, and thereafter as mutually agreed. The Micronesian states will acquire internal self-government and authority over their foreign relations, other than those aspects which the U.S. determines to be defense and security-related. According to the State Department, the compact and its subsidiary agreements will allow the United States continued use of the Kwajalein missile range in the Marshall Islands and the right to establish training areas and other military facilities in Papua.

The compact is pending for final approval in each of the Micronesian entities by its legislature and, in plebiscite, by its voters, as well as by the U.S. Congress. Once the compact is approved, the United States will present the completed arrangements to the United Nations and seek termination of the trusteeship agreement.

The three Micronesian states were previously ruled by Spain, Germany and Japan, and have been administered by the U.S. as a trusteeship of the United Nations since 1947.

The NEW YORK TIMES quoted government officials as saying that "the greatest U.S. strategic stake is simply in keeping unfriendly navies out of the area and thus heading off a potential threat to Hawaii, Guam and other Pacific points."

CSO: 4020

U.S. FIGURE SKATERS PERFORM IN BEIJING

OW121938 Beijing XINHUA in English 1858 GMT 12 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, November 12 (XINHUA)--An impressive demonstration by the visiting U.S. figure skating group drew warm applause from spectators here this evening at the capital indoor stadium.

The exhibition included routines by 20-year-old Tai Babilonia and 22-year-old Randy Gardner who captured the pair champion at last year's world figure skating championships. Their triple turn and ice dance showed a high standard of mastery and virtuosity and drew cheers from the 18,000 spectators.

In a gesture of friendship, olympic champion Peggy Fleming Jenkins, already known to Chinese T.V. spectators, performed an ice dance to the strains of the Chinese music.

Peggy, who became a professional skater after winning the title at the Olympic Games in 1968, said, "I feel excited to perform here. I am out of competition for a long time, but I still enjoy it." Peggy now has a four-year-old boy. Her husband, Doctor Gregory Jenkins, is accompanying her on the China tour.

Chinese figure skaters during this evening's program included 16-year-old Wumaerjiang of Uygur nationality.

Chinese coach Huang Yushi said: "The U.S. group is truly of world level. They have brought new techniques to us. We have learned a lot from the clinics given by them these last few days."

Group official Charles de Moore said: "The Chinese skaters have a lot of talent. They should learn the latest techniques in their skating."

The visitors will give another exhibition tomorrow evening and leave here for home on November 14.

CSO: 4020

SOVIET RELATIONS WITH AUSTRIA STRAINED

OW141548 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 14 Nov 80

[Text] Vienna, November 13 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union has cast a shadow over its relations with Austria.

According to press reports here, the "Hofburg Theater" of Austria originally planned to make a performance tour of the USSR in mid-November this year in accordance with a cultural agreement between the two countries. However, when more than 100 actors of the theater were ready to depart on the morning of November 11, they learned with surprise that the Soviet Foreign Ministry had declared Pavel Landovsky, a Czechoslovak actor working in the theater, persona non grata and described as a "mistake" the issuance of an entry visa to him by the Soviet Embassy here.

As a quick and strong response by the Austrian Government, the tour was cancelled. Commenting on the November 11 event, Federal Chancellor B. Kreisky stressed that this was not a case of taking an actor out from the theater but a demand that all the actors be chosen by the Soviet authorities. At a press conference on the following day, Foreign Minister W. Pahr pointed out that the Soviet action ran counter to the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference. At the same press conference, Minister of Education F. Sinowatz announced that he had cancelled his visit to the Soviet Union scheduled for November 11, because it had become meaningless.

Landovsky is a famous Czechoslovak writer, director and actor who signed the "1977 Charter" of Prague. He has worked in the "Hofburg Theater" since last January after he formally got a visa from the Czechoslovak authorities. The Soviet ambassador to Austria told Foreign Minister Pahr that the reason why Landovsky was refused to enter the Soviet Union was that his citizenship had been revoked by the Czechoslovak authorities, and as a result, his visa was null and void. However, Landovsky knew nothing about this. In an interview with newsmen here, director of the "Hopburg Theater" Achim Bennig noted, "It is totally confusing that the revocation of the citizenship of a Czech is told by a Soviet ambassador."

CSO: 4020

POLISH WORKERS' PARTY'S POLITICAL BUREAU MEETS

OW051548 Beijing XINHUA in English 1529 GMT 5 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, November 5 (XINHUA)—The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party met to hear and approved yesterday reports on the talks between Polish and Soviet leaders and the negotiations between Premier Jozef Pinkowski and the delegation of the "solidarity" independent trade union.

According to the Polish press agency, the Political Bureau pointed out that under the current complex international situation and the difficult circumstances in Poland, the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union "are of special significance." Brezhnev's belief that "the Polish communists and labouring people are capable of settling acute problems in the political and economic development" is "in conformity with the will and action of the Polish party to stabilize the country's situation."

The Political Bureau also pointed out that the two countries have "identical views" on the existing crucial international issues, especially in the opposition of nuclear armament.

After hearing Pinkowski's briefing on his talks with the representatives of the "solidarity" independent trade union, the Political Bureau noted that "we should do our utmost" to settle a number of most important problems and meet the numerous demands. The very immediate concern is normalization. Things will not take a turn for the better "if we do not do a good job of our work and production," it stressed.

Strong feelings including the threat of strike have aggravated tension in the country, the Political Bureau emphasized. At present, the tension is far from being relaxed, it added.

CSO: 4020

POLAND FACES GRAVE FOOD SITUATION

OW051334 Beijing XINHUA in English 1240 GMT 5 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, November 5 (XINHUA)--"This is a disastrous year. The yield of every crop is unsatisfactory," declared Leon Klonica, Polish minister of agriculture at a press conference here yesterday.

To cope with the grave situation, the Polish Council of Ministers met on November 3 following a joint meeting of the Polish United Workers' Party and the United Peasants' Party on agricultural policies held not long ago.

Klonica said that up to November 4, the target of potato purchases was only fulfilled by [number indistinct] per cent and the total potato yield is estimated at 25 million tons which is only 60 per cent of last year's figure. By the end of October, the government only bought 5.5 million tons of beets as compared with 11.5 million tons in the planned target. Meanwhile, 40 per cent of Chinese cabbages, 20 per cent of radish and three per cent of apples have not yet been harvested. The head of pigs and cattle are declining while state purchases of livestock are 160,000 tons less than that of last year.

As a result of the drop in cereal output, Poland has imported eight million tons of grain this year and even likely to exceed [number indistinct] million, tons which is an all-time high record.

The decrease in agricultural and livestock production has directly affected market supply, the life of the people and industrial production using agricultural products as raw materials.

In view of the situation mentioned above, the Council of Ministers called on departments and units concerned to adopt "emergency measures" to gather in all agriculture produce as quickly as possible to be sent to the market or the processing plants. The council also required government functionaries, high school students and armymen to help in harvesting and transporting farm produce.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

SCHMIDT REELECTED--Bonn, November 5 (XINHUA)--Helmut Schmidt was re-elected chancellor of the West German Federal Government today. Out of the 491 members of the Ninth Federal Assembly (Bundestag), 266 voted for Schmidt and 222 against. This will be his third term of office as chancellor. His chancellorship will be the longest with the exception of Konrad Adenauer since the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany. Under the West German basic law, the chancellor's candidate is to be nominated by the president. President Karl Carstens nominated Schmidt as chancellor on the recommendation of the ruling Social-Liberal coalition which won the election on October 5 of this year. [Text] [OW061224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 6 Nov 80]

EEC WORLD ROLE--Brussels, November 6 (XINHUA)--Political cooperation among member states of the European Community should be strengthened in relations with Third World countries, stressed Roy Jenkins, president of the EEC Commission, this evening. In his lecture entitled "The Community's Role in the World," at the Royal Institute for International Relations here, Jenkins said: "Political cooperation does not in practice extend to all important foreign policy questions although the range of subjects covered is constantly expanding. The process remains primarily one of cooperation and not of integration." "For the moment the important thing is to develop all practical means for making political cooperation more effective and to set its longer-term objectives." With regard to north-south dialogue, Jenkins said: "The community has a special role to play." He expressed the desire to establish a new economic world order and said the community does not wish to cling to the old order. In conclusion, he said that the European Community will make a more and more efficient contribution to the solution of the problems besetting the world. [Text] [OW070714 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 7 Nov 80]

ATHLETIC MEET WITH S. KOREA--Bangkok, November 6 (XINHUA)--China emerged today on the top in Group B to qualify for the finals of the Sixth Asian Youth Basketball Championships after overpowering Singapore 123:37 (half time 63:10) in the last group match here. In Group C, Japan, Saudi Arabia and South Korea have identical records of three wins and one loss, but South Korea placed third after points count, leaving Japan and Saudi Arabia to play in the finals with the two winning teams in Group A and B. In the girls' competition, three rounds of 12 games have been played and their group matches will continue until November 9. The two unbeaten teams, China and South Korea, will meet day after tomorrow. [Excerpts] [OW070726 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 7 Nov 80]

REPUBLICANS IN U.S. CONGRESS--Washington, November 5 (XINHUA)--The Republicans captured the control of the U.S. Senate for the first time in 26 years in Tuesday's election, according to the final returns released here this evening. Together with the election of the president and vice president, the American voters elected 34 senators, one-third of the 100 members of the Senate, and all the 435 members of the House of Representatives as required by the constitution. The Republicans got a net gain of 12 Senate seats from the Democrats, completely wiping out the Democrats' dominant 59-41 edge in the Senate. The new line-up of the Senate is: Republicans 53, Democrats 46, Independent 1. In the House of Representatives, the Democrats lost 35 seats to the Republicans but are still in control with 241 seats against the Republicans' 192 seats. In the outgoing House, the Democrats have 276 seats, the Republicans 159. Meanwhile, the Republicans won 7 governors with a net gain of 4 out of 13 contests at stake in the governor election yesterday. That put the Republicans' count at 23 governors of 50 states, the party's best number in a decade. [Text] [OW060734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 6 Nov 80]

AFRICAN TRADE FAIRS CLOSE--Khartoum, November 17 (XINHUA)--The third All Africa Trade Fair which began a fortnight ago closed here this evening. The Fourth International Fair of Khartoum held simultaneously also ended. Thirty-two African countries and 127 companies participated in the All Africa Trade Fair. Abdel Wahid Labini, acting manager of the fair, told XINHUA that at present trade volume between African countries and the Eastern and Western countries made up 95 per cent of the total trade volume of Africa, while the trade volume within the African continent only occupied five per cent. The sponsors of the All Africa Trade Fair hoped to change the situation by developing and expanding trade among African countries. During the fair, the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation arranged a seminar on the transfer of technology to Africa, and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and the International Trade Centre jointly held a symposium on promoting trade among African countries. The fair is held once every four years. The next one will be held in Accra, Ghana. [Text] [OW180219 Beijing XINHUA in English 0116 GMT 18 Nov 80]

KISSINGER ON EUROPEAN CONFERENCE--Paris, November 16 (XINHUA)--Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger considered it "absurd" to hold the follow-up conference on European security and cooperation under the current circumstances. Kissinger, who is a foreign policy adviser to President-elect Reagan, said here today at a press conference that it was "sort of absurd to hold the conference less than a year after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan." He believed that the conference would achieve nothing important. He pointed out, "History has shown that it is easier to negotiate with the Soviet Union when you have a predictable foreign policy based on a clear definition of your national interests than when you have a unforeseeable foreign policy." Referring to future relations between the U.S. new government and France, Kissinger believed that "relations between President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and President Reagan will be very good. I have always believed that the fundamental interests of the U.S. and France are parallel." Kissinger arrived here today from Lisbon on a private visit. [Text] [OW171240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1225 GMT 17 Nov 80]

ACROBATS IN NEW YORK--New York, November 5 (XINHUA)--The Guangdong Acrobatic Groupe from China gave its premiere at the Radio City Music Hall here this evening to an exceptionally warm welcome by 6,000 spectators. Every item the troupe presented received loud cheers and warm applause. "Excellent"! "marvellous"! shouted the spectators, including many delegates to the United Nations from various countries. At the end of the performance, the audience rose to give a prolonged, thunderous applause. [Text] [OW111727 Beijing XINHUA in English 1210 GMT 6 Nov 80 OW]

AMERICAN SCIENTIST--Tianjin, November 9 (XINHUA)--Well-known American scientist Herbert Simon, the 1978 winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics, has been invited by Tianjin University to be an honorary professor. Mr Simon recently lectured at the university on administrative policy-making. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0128 GMT 9 Nov 90 OW]

SOVIET MILITARY IN KABUL--Beijing, 13 Nov (XINHUA)--According to Western sources, diplomats in New Delhi said on 12 November: Almost every day last week a large number of Soviet military columns arrived in Afghanistan's capital of Kabul. One diplomat said: The columns, which included tracked vehicles and trucks carrying military supplies, arrived in Kabul at 2300 after the curfew was imposed. Afghans who recently arrived in New Delhi from Kabul said: About 10,000 Soviet troops have been deployed to the Afghan capital. According to a reliable Afghan source, these new Soviet military personnel were deployed to replace the first batch of Soviet soldiers who occupied Afghanistan. The sources said: Since last week the Afghan Muslim guerrillas have repeatedly attacked Soviet military columns in Lowgar and Paktia provinces. Both Soviet and Afghan government troops suffered heavy casualties. According to guerrilla sources, the guerrillas seized the enemies' food, ammunition and other materials. [Text] [OW150131 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1225 GMT 13 Nov 80]

SOMALI DELEGATION--A delegation of cadres of the Somali Socialist Revolutionary Party arrived in Nanjing on 7 November. Hu Hong, secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee, feted the Somali visitors on 8 November. The Somali visitors toured Nanjing and Yangzhou cities during their stay. They left for Beijing on 11 November. [OW121447 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 11 Nov 80 OW]

DANCE ENSEMBLE'S AFRICAN TOUR--Beijing, 12 Nov (XINHUA)--China's Oriental Song and Dance Ensemble will heave shortly for a month's tour of Egypt, Sudan and Algeria. Its program of 20 items, which begins in Egypt on 18 November, is made up of Chinese songs and dances, including those of China's minority nationalities, and Egyptian, Sudanese and Algerian songs and dances. The 35 members of the tour group are led by Wang Kun, an actor for more than 40 years and a member of the National Committee of the Chinese people's political consultative conference and a council member of the Chinese Musicians' Association. The group's art director is Aitura, a member of the Uygur minority nationality, who has been a dancer for 30 years. She will present a solo item during the tour. Aitura is a deputy to the National People's Congress, a member of the Nationalities Affairs Commission and a council member of the Chinese Dancer's Association. Wang Kun said today: "We all hope to contribute to the promotion of friendship and understanding between the Chinese and other peoples of the world. We also see this tour as a good opportunity to learn from Arab artists to further our cultural exchanges." [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 12 Nov 80 OW]

ACROBATIC TROUPE IN MADAGASCAR--Tananarive, 7 Nov (XINHUA)--The Shaanxi Acrobatic Troupe of China left here by special plane for home this evening at the end of a 10-day performance tour of Madagascar. Among those seeing the troupe off at the airport were Ramiliarison Henri, secretary-general of the Ministry of Revolutionary Culture and Art; Chinese Ambassador to Madagascar Gan Yetao and representatives of overseas Chinese. During its stay, the Chinese troupe gave a total of 8 performances at Tananative, Diego-Suarez and Tamatave for more than 11,000 spectators. Rakotoarivelo Jonah, president of the Executive Committee of Tananarive Province, gave a farewell dinner yesterday evening for the Chinese guests. Before its arrival in Madagascar on 28 October the troupe had visited Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda, Mauritius, Kenya and Somalia. It gave 53 performances for 130,000 spectators in its 92-day tour. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0756 GMT 8 Nov 80 OW]

POLISH OFFICIALS RESIGN--Warsaw, November 5 (XINHUA)--The first secretary of the Krakow Municipal Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Krystyn Dabrowa has requested to resign his concurrent post of chairman of the City People's Council, according to PAP. His request was approved on November 3 by a plenary session of the People's Council which appointed former vice-chairman of the People's Council and editor-in-chief of the Literature Publishing House Andrzej Kruz to take his place. Before this, the first secretary of the Torun Provincial Party Committee Boleslaw Kapitan also resigned his concurrent job of chairman of the Provincial People's Council. Earlier, the sixth plenary session of the Central Committee of the party passed a decision restricting the tenure of office and jobs held concurrently by party and government leaders. The newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU has pointed out that this was an important measure to speed up the democratization of domestic political life. [Text] [OW051632 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 5 Nov 80]

POLISH OFFICIAL ON GOVERNMENT--Warsaw, November 5 (XINHUA)--The recent negotiations between the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the independent self-governing "solidarity" trade union were practical and there were differences, but they clarified many matters and there was consensus on some of them, said Polish government spokesman Jozef Barecki at a press conference yesterday, according to PAP. The conclusion is that negotiations are necessary, he said. The spokesman said that the trade union could once again rest assured that the government hoped to cooperate as a partner and would always live up to what it had accepted in the agreement. The spokesman quoted chairman of the Council of Ministers Jozef Pinkowski as saying during the talks that mutual trust should be the basis for every piece of realistic work and cooperation, that it was necessary to get rid of the difficulty now besetting the country, and that the government regarded the meeting as an indication of sincerity and mutual respect for the signed agreements. The chairman was also quoted as saying that the trade union should not be confined to making claims but should also work to maintain order and ensure satisfactory work. [Text] [OW051730 Beijing XINHUA in English 1641 GMT 5 Nov 80]

REAGAN'S SCIENTIFIC ADVISORS--Beijing, 15 Nov (XINHUA)--According to a recent report by the NEW YORK TIMES, the scientific advisers of U.S. President-elect Reagan have urged him to strengthen military, industrial and space technology plans as the way to reestablish the strategic and economic superiority of the United States. The report says Reagan recently appointed an advisory group composed of 15 scientists and engineers to advise his transition team on technological problems. Most members of the group are well-known figures in military aeronautics, space navigation, and the nuclear and electronics industries. The cochairman are (Simon Lamore), (senior vice general manager of the General Electric Company in charge of technology). The report says members of the group unanimously regarded science as a means to strengthen U.S. military might and economic competitiveness and unanimously held that the United States lags behind other countries in many important technological fields. Edward David, one of the members, said: "The 1970's were the years of our technological recession, and the public is worried about this. The government has changed policies repeatedly. Scientific and technological developments have not kept up with expectations, thus enterprises have been unable to increase production." They held that the areas needing special attention are computer science, robotics and other production technologies, raw material engineering, nuclear energy research, meteorology, oceanography and improving scientific and engineering education. [Text] [OW161824 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1200 GMT 15 Nov 80]

U.S. AID TO POLAND--Beijing, 15 Nov (XINHUA)--U.S. State Department spokesman Trattner on 14 November said to reporters that the United States is carefully considering a request for economic aid made by the Polish authorities recently. He said the United States still firmly believes that giving Poland economic aid is in line with U.S. interests. He added: "The economic stability in Poland is in line with not only U.S. interests but European interests as well." A U.S. Government official has disclosed there are people who have made a number of proposals for giving Poland economic aid, including loans for Poland to purchase U.S. grain. The NEW YORK TIMES reported on 14 November that U.S. Secretary of State Muskie has proposed to increase agricultural loans to Poland for 1980-1981. Last September, President Carter announced the extension of an agricultural loan of $670 million to Poland. He has now suggested to increase that figure to $900 million. According to REUTERS, British Minister of Trade Cecil Parkinson, who is currently visiting Poland, said that Poland has begun discussions with Britain on trade-related credit loans. He said his 4-day talks in Poland have given him the impression that Poland is trying to obtain new loans from all its trade partners. [Text] [OW180959 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1513 GMT 15 Nov 80]

CSO: 4005

TRANSITION FROM HUA GUOFENG TO ZHAO ZIYANG APPRAISED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 18-19

[Article by Ma Lu [7456 6424]: "How To View the Succession of Zhao Ziyang"]

[Text] The proceedings of the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress have now been completed. This session cannot but attract the attention of Chinese at home and abroad, or even of the whole world, because it carried out a major reorganization of the government: it replaced the Premier and a due number of vice premiers, and Zhao Ziyang's "new cabinet" has taken the place of Hua Guofeng's "old cabinet." Such a major reorganization of the leading stratum of government is not rare in the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America (including, of course, Japan), but it is seldom seen in a communist-led country or in what are called Third World countries. In these countries, once a person gains control of political power, he is seldom willing to give it up unless prompted through a bloody coup, by the appearance of violent mass disturbances (such as the recent strikes in Poland), or as a result of intervention by foreign forces. After Hua Guofeng acceded to control over the State Council in 1976, Japan's circles of political analysis liked to use the term "the Hua regime;" this hinted that Hua Guofeng's leadership was estimated to be likely to develop into a new regime and to continue for a long time. Domestically, there was at the same time the saying that Hua might lead the Chinese people into the 21st century. These were both instances of people conventionally following the conception mentioned above--that is, the leader of a country would not quit unless overthrown. An event such as the abdication and change of position that have occurred this time, with no resultant disturbance, is seldom seen, indeed.

The Weight of Premier Zhao's Burden

Some say that even though Hua recommended Zhao Ziyang to replace him, what was replaced was but the office of the Premier of the State Council; he himself remains party chairman. According to the principle of the party guiding the government, Hua still wields great power, and whether Zhao's succession can have any great effect is still rather doubtful. But in reality, the principle of separation between the party and government has been put forward this time. The Communist Party is the party in power; however, it should only provide guiding opinions on the line, principles, policies, and programs, and at the same time lead all its members to play a positive and active role in the government and in mass organizations in order to assure the execution of various decisions. It should not directly command or interfere with the government's work. Only the National People's

Congress, as the organ of supreme power in the whole country, and its Standing Committee can directly command and intervene in the government's work (as [an organ of] government, the State Council is responsible only to the National People's Congress). Of course, for a long time the National People's Congress had become simply an instrument that "votes according to the imperial edict;" it had lost its proper function precisely because the party had taken its place. The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress has really changed this situation to a definite extent. The questioning, scrutinizing, and impeachment activities of the delegates vis-a-vis various departments of the government more or less exercised the functions of the organ of power. Some say that this was but a decision by the Communist Party; "what one can make, one can also break." If at some point certain leaders of the Communist Party should decide once more to recover their power, then what is to be done? We cannot say that such a possibility does not exist. But we must see that the profound lessons of the past 10 to 20 years have already made most Communist Party leaders gravely sense the danger of "the party ruling the state"--that is, if one person or a few persons like the gang of four can succeed in controlling the party and in carrying out a set of policies to the detriment of the country and the people, while the National People's Congress and the government are bogged down in an impotent position, the whole country may well collapse. Restoring and perfecting the functions and powers of the National People's Congress and allowing the government to work independently is precisely the Communist Party's important decision today. Whether it is Hua Guofeng or anyone else, if he is not in charge of governmental duties he cannot interfere with governmental work on the basis of his personal wishes, no matter how high his position in the party might be. If he did so, he would be violating the party's decision.

On the other hand, this man Zhao Ziyang is also unlikely to agree to serve merely as "a prime minister keeping the emperor company at dinner." In taking over the Premiership of the State Council, he knows deeply how difficult and heavy his responsibility is, as he is allowed only to succeed and not to fail. Without the power to work in the absence of restraint, he would not have accepted the appointment at a time of "transition between the new and the old." This is not a personal matter for Zhao Ziyang; it likewise reflects the party's decision.

As has been observed above, this major transformation of China's modern political system was accomplished peacefully. But if we perceive a degree deeper, is that not a direct result of the mass movements ranging from the "4 May Movement" until the smashing of the gang of four? In other words, it took 4 years for unprecedented political struggle that appeared in October 1976 to become roughly settled in a general situation. It may be said that this struggle was very complex and complicated and not very easy to manage. But it may also be said that those in China's leading stratum, having gone through important domestic and foreign experiences and lessons, have now reached the point of full maturity. They know that the Chinese people, whose wounds are extensive and whose grievances are deep, are hardly able to weather another stormy climate, and they must thus carefully and prudently manage the great affairs of state. Just as Mao Zedong said, one must eat one mouthful at a time. The general situation becoming only roughly settled after 4 years might seem too slow, but in reality this also can only be done that way. To be able to have such an achievement is already a very good thing insofar as the Chinese people are concerned. The major historic significance of the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress also lies here.

Can the "Crisis in Trust" Be Eliminated?

Some say that after this session of the National People's Congress, the "crisis in trust" in China should be able to be resolved.

As for those delegates who participated in this session of the congress, those members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference who were present at this session, and those who are well versed in China's internal conditions, this kind of thinking may be appropriate. But to most of the domestic population and overseas brethren, it is still too early to say so.

To make this observation is not to suggest that the present government leaders are not trustworthy. It is equally baseless to think that in the past they were not trusted and that today they are absolutely trusted. Just as Lu Xun said: "Hopelessness is as false as hope itself." At that time, of course, Lu Xun had something else in mind, but today the situation does present some similarities. After repeated reversals of more than 20 years, some who originally had full confidence in the Communist Party have come to find that it has become progressively eroded, reversal after reversal. Each reversal in the past was said to have been a major change, and the situation was said to be fine and greatly hopeful, but each time the result turned out to be a greater disappointment. The story about "The Wolves Are Coming" has left them nothing to trust, they feel. Hence, in their eyes, the statements made at this session of the National People's Congress, the bills and regulations passed, and the personnel changes that took place seem but the same routine; no one knows when another negation is to take place, they feel. This is one point. Then, in terms of the domestic social atmosphere, many people perhaps had too many fears until the smashing of the gang of four; those powerful political campaigns made it necessary at least for people to follow the rules on the surface. In addition, mass communication organs used to report only the pleasant but not otherwise. Therefore the outlook still seemed somewhat "revolutionary," and those arriving from the outside world could not help but look at the ongoing situation with some respect. As for today, since emphasis is placed on emancipation of thinking and on breaking down conventions, many ideas buried deep in people's minds, many ugly things that had been covered up, and plenty of previously unknown and unspeakable personalities and things are all becoming gradually exposed. These included selfishness and avarice, stupidity and senselessness, and also the disposition toward worshiping things foreign and fawning to those from abroad on account of the opening door. All of this now comes to the surface. Judging by such phenomena alone, it would seem that the social atmosphere today has become worse than it was before the smashing of the gang of four. For instance, the direct feeling of residents of Hong Kong is that precisely during these past few years the number of escapees has increased. Why has this been the case? No answer can be found no matter how hard one ponders. Thirdly, an "indigenous emperor" style rather generally prevails among the local cadres, who resort to perverting justice for bribes and plotting avenues for private gain, and not a few working personnel evidence a dragged-out, tired-out, listless attitude; thus it is clearly discernible that the medium and lower echelons of cadres are not doing their job. Yet, continuation of the work in question depends on them. This being the case, even though the State Council has brought in Zhao Ziyang, Wan Li, and the like to exercise power, can continuation be assured? Can absence of deviation be guaranteed? In the case of these medium and lower echelons of cadres, even if they are replaced, there is no certainty that better persons will be found. They say: It most probably is impossible for Zhao Ziyang, Wan Li, and the like to take charge of everything from top to bottom; then, if those below pretend to follow orders but actually obstruct them, and hence stand in the way, what is to be done?

Precedents in the Transformation of the Cadre System

Are we worrying too much in saying all this? Not necessarily, because all of what is said has a factual basis. But is such an estimation completely correct? Of course not. Such an estimation, in reality, is still based on conditions prior to the smashing of the gang of four (including the conditions left behind) without due attention being paid to the fact that in many aspects there already have been fundamental changes. Among these changes, the main one is that concerning excessive concentration of power and the lifelong tenure of cadres, which, in a positive sense, means the establishment of democracy and a legal system. "Personal reputation and status, in particular, cannot be granted through others:" this is a correct concept that had already appeared in the days prior to the Qin Dynasty. But since the founding of the Chinese Communist state, not a few titles and positions have been granted as if they were rewards for merit and services; hence the largest number of offices and posts in history has come to be established. This session of the National People's Congress broached the issue of Beijing University's "18 Lohan:" 9 party secretaries, and 9 president and vice presidents. Actually this has been a generally prevailing situation: in many organs there are often 8 or 10 "vice excellencies," most of whom are usually ceremonial figures partaking in the spoils and nothing else. This time, old vice premiers and vice chairmen of the National People's Congress took the lead in resigning; this may be said to be entirely unprecedented. It created the precedent, in fact, for transforming the cadre system. The ultimate result is going to be a gradual advance toward employment of personnel strictly on the basis of talent, so that only the able will be in office, with their reputations matching their positions. This will serve to steer work in various aspects forward and put things on a course as arranged by the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, thereby overcoming the various phenomena mentioned above and changing people's impressions accordingly. It takes time to achieve all of this step by step. The restoration of the people's trust in the Communist Party must also be determined by how much can be done in this regard. Therefore, to say that the "crisis in trust" has already been solved is but something said to placate oneself. But even if one is merely saying that, as long as efforts are made to really follow the present decisions and carry them out in practice, such "trust" will eventually be restored, along with the emergence of fruitful results, and the "crisis" will have then become a thing of the past. That would be something to be expected.

9253
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

SCIENTIFIC FAITH OF MARXISM SAID ESSENTIAL TO MODERNIZATION

Wuhan JIANG-HAN LUNTAN [JIANG-HAN (CHANGJIANG AND HAN RIVER) FORUM] in Chinese Vol 3, 1980 p 39-43

[Article by Fan Zuogang [2868 0155 0474]: "Uphold the Scientific Faith of Marxism"]

[Text] "All humans have faith" is the mid-Tang translation of a teaching from the Avatamsaka Sutra of Buddhism; "An honest man is born relying on faith" is a thesis of Martin Luther, the 16th century German religious reformer; "The enemy can cut off my head, but he cannot shake my faith" is an oath the proletarian revolutionary Fang Zhimin [2455 1807 2404] made in prison. Each of these statements has its own unique meaning, and the ideological levels are as different as heaven and earth, but they express a common theme: In all times and places, people who live on this earth have been unable to be without their own ideals and faiths.

When man finally split off from a purely animal state, simultaneously there came into being the awareness and thought peculiar to man. Faith is one form of thought: it is a derivative of thought activity.

Faith is a yearning, a pursuit, an attraction toward something, and people draw strength from this spirit to explain, adapt or change the natural world and the social environment. Like thought, faith is produced and constrained under certain material conditions of social life. People's thought, knowledge and faith increase and develop along with the development of productive forces and go through a process from low to high, from shallow to profound and from blind pursuit to conviction of scientific truth.

In primitive society, the level of production and the ability to think is extremely low; people are still in a barbaric state, "totem worship" has become a universal form of faith for people, and they use certain animals or natural objects as symbols, piously worshipping them and using them as natural protective forces to maintain their own class. This is a kind of blind and illusory faith.

After entering the stage of class society, people's faith takes on a fresh class coloring: "In each period the ideology of the ruling class is the ideology which occupies the dominant position." For hundreds and thousands of years, the many faiths of Confucianist theories, Buddhist sutras, teachings of God, and even the utilitarianism which flouishes today, in essence all belong to the class which dominated the material means of production and that class, to maintain its ruling position, proclaimed and inculcated the faith which would benefit it and attract those they ruled to abandon their own faiths and accept what the dominant class advocated. For example, Dr Hu Shi, the apologist of the compradore class, early in this century proclaimed "study questions more and talk less about isms" to resist the transmission and promotion of Marxism in China. But this Doctor of Philosophy did not categorically oppose faith, for the peculiar pragmatism of the sort that "if it has breasts, it's a woman," was imported into China from the United States in the hands of Hu Shi. It is obvious that whatever the exploiting class believed or did not believe had a class bias, and thus this faith also was an antiscientific opiate and corruptant which violated the laws of history.

The faith of the ruled class and the workers had one aspect of what had been inculcated by the ruling class, and at the same time from their own enslaved position there was also their own faith which was opposed to that of the ruling class, expecially when there are social struggles and human vicissitudes. It is, as Lenin said, when the bottom is not willing to go along with the old life and the top cannot rule as before, then in particular, the embodiments of the laboring people's rejection of evil, longing for ideals and upholding of faith can be concentrated. "The Blue Heaven is dead, the Yellow Heaven has taken over"; "do not serve gods buddhas, or ancestors"; "equalize noble and humble, even up rich and poor"; "with a three-foot sword the world can be conquered and the world becomes a place to wander at will";..., such battle cries issued by revolutionary leaders throughout history immediately became passionate faith for people who wished to change their situations, motivated them to fight and deal a heavy blow to the ruling class and the faith it worshipped, thus it made it possible for people's aspirations to be realized to a certain degree. But because of class restrictions and the limitations of historical conditions, these faiths are only simple concepts which come from a desire to throw off bitter conditions and are not built on a foundation which correctly reflects the laws of historical development, but, because of the obstruction of scientific culture and the influence of religion, "to start an enormous storm, the vital interests of the masses must be draped in the garb of religious teaching," so people's faith frequently had to be wrapped in the mysterious colors, thus in practice, it was impossible finally to realize their own desires and complete the historical mission of liberating themselves and transforming present conditions, therefore, these faiths still were unscientific, visionary forms of faith.

However, after Marxism appeared and changed socialism from vision to scientific reality, there was a revolution unprecedented in its profundity in the realm of people's knowledge and the content of faith.

Marx and Engels critically carried on the essence of mankind's ideological and cultural legacy, summarized the production struggle, the class struggle and the latest achievements of scientific experimentation, revealed the objective laws of social development and pointed the way for the advance of history. Thus Marxism is the sole scientific ideological weapon for the liberation struggle of the proletariat and the vast numbers of workers. The creation of Marxism made people cast off the divine aura of religious faith. "The historical mission is to establish the truth of this world." Before it, of all the various blueprints for socialism and the varieties of faith, those which are true and false will be discriminated and those which should be accepted and those which could be rejected will be determined. The theory and practice of Marxism and scientific socialism is still the faith on which people rely to build the sole scientific foundation so that "people with reason can think, act and build their own reality."

There is one view that Marxism is science, and that science is the object of research and not the object of faith, thus Marxism cannot be something in which to believe. This inference is a little hard to understand because research and faith are not mutually exclusive and opposing concepts. The opposite of science is ignorance and superstition, but faith is definitely not a synonym for superstition. No matter what dictionary you use, as long as you are not playing etymological games, the word "faith" can be understood by anyone as including ideas of belief, conviction, reverence and respect and is used as a compass and yardstick for behavior. Above we said that different times have had different faiths, different classes have had different faiths, also. There is blind faith and scientific faith, but faith in Marxism is scientific faith. Of course, the fact that Marxism is a scientific theory has been the object of research, but "in essence, it is critical and revolutionary." Its break with the ossified and superstition is constantly perfected and developed in practice. Just because of this, the fundamental principles and scientific system of Marxism is long-lived and evergreen, and already through over a hundred years of practice has proved that it is the ideological weapon of the liberation struggle of the proletariat and the workers and is the worldview and methodology for people to understand and change the objective and subjective. It is the guiding ideology of our socialist nation and this is clearly incorporated into the constitution of the People's Republic of China. If Marxism is something only for discussion in the study and not a guide for action, then there is no way to expain the historical picture which has developed in China over the last 60 years with the help of Marxism.

In recent year, Chinese with lofty ideals have made many valuable attempts to find arguments for saving the nation and people, without being able to realize their ambitions. But when Marxism spread to China and, on the basis of combining with Chinese revolutionary practice, Mao Zedong Thought was produced, people achieved enormous power of faith. "Beheading is not important as long as the ideology is true." People ran about shouting slogans, making speeches on street corners, setting up regimes in mountain villages, fighting on the battlefields and in the torture chambers. Everyone felt the same and struggled to build a brand-new socialist mansion. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, whose guiding thought is Marxism, after many difficulties, the court of Jiang Jieshi, which had been upheld by an army of 8 million was finally defeated and an unreasonable social system of several thousand years duration was brought to an end, and by a tortuous path the great victory of socialist revolution and socialist construction was won.

"All faith can only be secured in revolutionary theory," "everything can be abandoned in the search for truth." The martyr Zheng Zhixin's [1728 1807 2450] solemn pledge made in prison clearly showed her faith in Marxist science, and gave her incomparable wisdom and inexhaustible strength so that in the evil wind and miasmas she could distinguish the fallacies and perversions of the "gang of four's" false Marxism and anti-Marxism; so that in the face of violence she had a lofty and unyielding character and in the face of danger she was not afraid and was faithful and unyielding, showing an unshakeable faith in and iron will of Marxism. Similarly, in the spring of 1976 in the national mass movement which centered on Tiananmen Square, in the dangerous circumstances when the brutal control of the "gang of four" was at its peak, what thousands of people expressed was "the vow to respect and defend the country at all costs and clearly distinguish Marxism-Leninism and protect state power." The time of "righteous indignation rose to the heavens and red hearts will rebuild our China" was most strident. This is a review of the struggle of Marxism, showing eloquently the power of faith of people armed with Marxism.

Through the harsh test of battle, our troops began a new long march, and in the wake of bitter experience, people broke open the ideological door behind which they had long been imprisoned and began to consider our past, present and future. Behind the keynote of triumphant advance there chanced to appear a low note: it was said that Marxism was in crisis, socialism had no future, etc. There may be a variety of reasons for the appearance of this way of looking at things and I would like to analyze them here from the perspective of the history of socialism and its present state.

It should be admitted that we have not used Marxism with sufficient correctness and there are still some gaps and errors in our scientific socialist theory and practice, there is some lack of correspondence in the achievements and contributions we should have made, especially during the turbulent era of the Great Cultural Revolution, the calamity brought on by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" when history moved backwards; after the smashing of the "gang of four" when spring was in the air, a period when we had a new lease on life, some new contradictions gradually began to appear, such as, that democracy was not healthy, that the legal system was not perfect, that bad bureaucratic practices were not yet extinguished and that special privilege thinking had a resurgence, so that people's feelings of detesting the world and its ways and their ideas of grief for the times and the nation were entirely understandable.

We are thorough materialists, seek truth from facts, proceed from actuality: these are fundamental points and points of departure for Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. To build faith on a scientific foundation selfconsciously requires that the original face of history be accurately restored.

We have lived in socialist society for 30 years and Marxism has been in China for 60 years. This time is only an instant in the long process of historical development. Historically, the alternation of different social systems or the shaping and establishment of a new social system frequently goes through a prolonged process, and there might even appear to be a brief retreat. This is not unprecedented. When the Germanic peoples established the Frankish Kingdom in Western Europe, the process of making it feudal took over two centuries to complete. The bourgeois revolution in England also went through the several decade-long Stuart Restoration. In France, that which is presently termed the Fifth Republic means that in the past 200 years of capitalist political system which it has gone through, there have already been four crises in the system of government. In the final period of the Chinese feudal monarchy, because of the invasion of foreign capitalism in the mid-19th century and its alliance with feudal forces, China was unable to follow the usual developmental path of turning capitalist and through the process of becoming semifeudal and semicolonial finally evolved towards socialism. All the above, however different the class content and manifested form, clearly explains that history does not develop in a straight line. The succession between exploitative systems is still like this, and the establishment of the socialist system, of course, cannot be without some tortuousness.

China's past is that of a feudal society which continued for several thousand years, small-scale production was the rule and in the treasure house of Marxism there were no ready-made models for how to build a socialist mansion. Socialism was not victorious first in developed capitalist countries as Engels had predicted. Although when our party was first established, with enthusiastic conviction Lenin vested his hopes of the final victory of socialism in the vast territory of the East, including China, but it was all up to our ancient country to practice and create it ourselves.

At the same time, socialism also was created in an environment in which both at home and abroad there existed hostile forces. "Socialism will abolish class." Lenin had enunciated this thesis very early. But when socialism was first established, classes were numerous and complex. Like the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" they epitomized anti-Marxist and antisocialist forces and in a certain climate they utilized our shortcomings and mistakes (in essence, this was also distorted or violated Marxism) to run rampant for a long time with heavy damage and profound consequences, so that the splendor of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought and the reputation of socialism suffered severe damage.

However, this was, after all, the product of special historical circumstances (such as the climate of the Great Cultural Revolution, and the formation and upsurge of modern superstition). History cannot simply repeat itself. Such conditions cannot reappear in their original form, but the important thing is that our party and people endured severe discipline and testing, paid a heavy price and gain extremely rich and valuable experience and are even more mature politically. We put an end to the sources of disorder, stopped the hidden peril, conscientiously developed democracy, gradually rebuilt the legal system, got rid of modern superstition with the fearless spirit of materialism and corrected the series of errors and distortions which were brought about by modern superstition. What we are carrying out now is proceeding from actuality, seeking truth from facts and the ideological line of testing knowledge with practice; a political line for building socialism centered on the four modernizations, an organizational line of unity and stability of the party and promoting only the worthy. From this more than 3 years of practice, anyone can feel intimately from our political situation, economic situation, material culture and life style, that things have clearly taken a turn for the better, much better and faster than people originally thought, and this is truly a very moving scene.

All of this is the proper sense of the Marxist task, and the victory of Marxism. If it can be said that Marxism was defeated, then this is its restoration; if it can be said that Marxism was stagnant, then this is its development. The theory and practice of these 3 years has proved the vitality of Marxism and the so-called crisis was only the crisis of false Marxism and anti-Marxism.

Of course, this is not to say that there are no problems, troubles or difficulties ahead of us, or that the process of advancing is not tortuous. On the socialist path there are many realms of necessity which we must continue to explore, in our party style and peopleness there are many feudal (mainly manifested as special privileges thinking), small-scale production (mainly manifested as conservativeness and force of habit) and "gang of fourish" (mainly manifested as ultraleftist thought tide) pernicious influences which are far from having been eliminated and are still corrupting the socialist body, and capitalist "popular" styles (mainly manifested as blind worship of foreign things and self-deprecation) which are still prevalent. All of this must go through a long and difficult period of education and struggle, of this there is no doubt. But, what do we rely on to change this situation? Anarchism? This has already been proven bankrupt in the history of the international communist movement and in our Great Cultural Revolution; liberalization? The Marxist view of liberalism has always recognized the coexistence of mutual reliance and mutual restraint of discipline, just as with democracy and collectivism. Abstract freedom cannot be found. Recently, those who advocate democratic freedoms in China have been unable to drag the "freedom" of old China into the society they idealized, how much less can such free acts as having the four modernizations, which are unprecedented in our history, depart from party leadership, praise the "democratic group" and even seek help from "those who hold difference political views" be permitted?

Things return to their roots, whether it be 30 years or 2 years. From the lessons of experience both positive and negative, we still have faith in Marxism and uphold Marxism. Feudal, small-scale production and capitalist precepts are incompatible with Marxism. The special privilege thinking which people detest and which fills them with indignation is not the measures adopted by the Party Central Committee organizationally, systematically or from ideology and public sentiment. If the punishment is increased will they disappear? Of course, this is no easy matter. But, if only the correct line of Marxism is maintained, all non-Marxist things sooner or later will have no place to hide.

Of course, the vitality of Marxism and the superiority of the socialist system ultimately still depends on our realizing the modernizations within this century, as especially after catching up with and surpassing the production levels of the world's advanced capitalist countries, it will become completely obvious. However, as Communist Party members and as citizens with high aspirations, can we sit and wait for that day to come all by itself? During the time of democratic revolution and socialist transformation, even when we lack the material conditions, do we not also constantly feel the vitality of Marxism and the superiority of the socialist system? To realize modernizations and build a strong socialist country is in accord with the will of the people and the general trend of events. Even people abroad accept this. Their basis and our possibility are not the same, but we reach the same goal though by different routes. Realizing Chinese-style modernization is imperative: this is the common conclusion. But please consider this: recently, on the basis of actual experiences in his scientific research, the American physicist Yang Zhenning [2799 2182 1380] analyzed objectively our ardent search for order during the last 2 years and after the plans proved impractical, he thought "the revised new modernizations plans are even wiser, and I believe from this experience, China must learn how to manage the arrangement of financial affairs. China has resources--both manpower and material--and with more correct management, ultimately will achieve the goal of modernization. This goal is not likely to change: it is a fundamental, long-term policy." It should be said that this prediction is fair and sound. A U.S. Congressional Economic Committee last year also made an appraisal of China's economy, and although they said "we foresee that the future course of China's economic policy may be especially difficult" and there are some puzzles, after analyzing the theory and practice of China's "economic scale," it must be pointed out that "in the next 10 years, certainly China will be able to maintain an average rate of economic growth roughly the same as that for the past 25 years, and this will mean that by the end of this century, the gross value of China's domestic production will increase by four-fold." "This will easily move China into the rank of the five great economic countries." Of course, in making this prediction, they are not going too far either.

It is not that we are gaining inspiration from the U.S. Congress, but that this shows they are making this prediction on the basis of the developmental trends of the past 3 years (i.e., the so-called "post-Mao Chinese economy). But these 3 years were still 3 years of the unlimited vitality of Marxism, still the close combination of Marxist scientific theory and Chinese socialist practice over the past 20 years, and thus were 3 years of brilliance. They have no way of understanding this point and are unwilling to acknowledge it. But here we have made more profound the conviction that Marxism is science, and we must uphold and have faith in scientific Marxism.

8226
CSO: 4005

ON SUCH SLOGANS AS 'FEAR NO SACRIFICE'

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 80 p 8

[Article by Dong Fang [5516 2800]: "On Such Slogans as 'Fear No Sacrifice'"]

[Text] Some people use the slogan "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice" to put off responsibility for accidents which involve heavy casualities and this must make people seriously think about this slogan and analyze it.

"Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence." Comrade Mao Zedong said this when mourning Comrade Zhang Side [1728 1835 1795]. What it really means is that in the process of struggle a certain amount of sacrifice is unavoidable. But in a more profound sense it means that the Chinese Communist Party and the revolutionary ranks under its leadership are selfconsciously and bravely struggling for the thorough liberation of the people and for the interests and well-being of the people, and thus, not only should they not fear this sacrifice, but they also should consider it a matter of inestimable glory to be able to make this sacrifice. Hence, "When we die for the people it is a worthy death"; "To die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai." These words express in concentrated form the revolutionary will of all our ranks, and represent the solemn vow all of us revolutionaries make to the people. It has become a viewpoint which is an important element in our revolutionary outlook on life; it has become a revolutionary spirit which has always been one of our precious fine traditions. In the new revolutionary struggle we are carrying on to realize the four modernizations, each revolutionary should be able to maintain this revolutionary outlook on life and continue to develop and glorify this revolutionary tradition. But at the same time that Comrade Mao Zedong spoke these words, he also said "We should do our utmost to reduce those unnecessary sacrifices. Our cadres should be concerned about each other, take good care of each other, help each other." This reflected the essence of the relationship between comrades in the revolutionary ranks and expressed the demands and aspirations of all revolutionaries.

It is evident that revolutionaries' view and attitude of sacrifice has always been analytical and discriminating. There are two kinds of sacrifice: one is the unavoidable and necessary sacrifice. Revolutionaries have always welcomed this kind of sacrifice selfconsciously and full of ardor and sincerity. Countless revolutionary martyrs and people with lofty ideals have been glorious models of this. He who flees this kind of sacrifice is not a sincere revolutionary, and some have even become shameless deserters. Second, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifice. Not only should every person who has leadership responsibility do his utmost to think of ways to avoid this kind of sacrifice, but each comrade also should use his brains to offer advice and plans to make every effort to avoid it. Everyone who causes this kind of sacrifice because of neglect of duty should take the blame, reform and atone for his crime. Even those who boast that the dereliction of command duty that caused the accident was a heroic deed, are criminals of the nation and people, and by rights should be punished according to law.

In short, in the process of struggling for the interests of the people, revolutionaries should dare to make sacrifices, but should also not take making sacrifices lightly. This alone is the integrated viewpoint and seeking truth from facts attitude revolutionaries take towards sacrifice.

Speaking of the present, I think that we should adovate this kind of spirit of self-conscious bitter struggle and fearless sacrifice with a seeking truth from facts attitude. This kind of spirit should be especially emphasized among cadres, because among our cadres, the development of this spirit is far from sufficient. On the other hand we should oppose the tendency to speak of sacrifice lightly or rashly, a tendency which is divorced from reality and easily encourages pointless sacrifice and we should especially watch out for those people who rely on rash and idle talk of sacrifice in order to escape responsibility. For many years the broad masses have paid more than enough unnecessary sacrifices because of this. Since certain leadership comrades of the Petroleum Ministry and the Bureau of Offshore Oil Exploration, have in reality already turned their backs on the principle "Our cadres should be concerned about every single soldier...", what right or qualifications do they have to talk to the masses about "sacrifice"? And as for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and that gang, in the ten year catastrophe, with even more ulterior motives they incited people to should the slogans "Be resolute, do not fear sacrifice, wipe away all difficulties and go and win the victory" to pursue "all-out civil war" so as to create those shocking "sacrifices" and because of this many people gave their lives in bewilderment. This painful historical lesson should be remembared forever.

Thus, we should adopt this kind of attitude towards the slogan "First, don't fear suffering, second, don't fear death."

8226
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

RISE OF ZHAO ZIYANG, NEED FOR ECONOMIC REFORM TRACED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 15-17

[Article by Chen Jianshi [7115 1696 0013]: "The Background of Zhao Ziyang's Rise to Power"]

[Text] Zhao Ziyang's accession to the office of Premier, with authorization to carry out economic reforms, has been warmly welcomed at home and abroad. But it may also be said that he was given the appointment "at a time of crisis," and that from now on he would be allowed only to succeed and not to fail. In other words, the extreme-left line in the style of Mao Zedong is absolutely not allowed to interfere with his work again, or the Chinese Communist Party would really face the possibility of annihilation and the Chinese people might be headed toward a gargantuan disaster.

Everything Must Get Started From the Beginning

Recently, a documentary film "China's Story in Blood and Tears" was shown in Hong Kong. The film covered the vicissitudes from the Boxer Incident, and the invasion of China by the joint forces of eight powers, up to the appearance of Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong at the ceremony of the founding of the new state atop the Gate of Heavenly Peace on 1 October 1949. During a period of some 50 years, China underwent countless adversities, such as the disturbances created by Zhang Zuolin and other warlords in North China, Yuan Shikai's assumption of the title of emperor, the first cooperation between the Nationalists and the Communists during the Northern Expedition, the failure of the Great Revolution and the perpetration by Chiang Kai-shek of the "12 April" coup and purge of the Communists, the invasion of China by the Japanese bandits, the second cooperation between the Nationalists and the Communists, victory of the anti-Japanese resistance, and the return to civil war. Finally, there was the founding of the Chinese Communist state and the scene of rapturous hailing of Mao Zedong. The film stopped here and did not continue. But the background narration left a question mark about the destiny of the state under Chinese Communist rule.

During the past 30 years, however, the Chinese Communists have moved from receiving the people's rapturous welcome to the instigation of the Cultural Revolution and hence a total loss of popular support. During this long period, except in the early 1950's when they made certain contributions, they have gradually aggravated their harassment and exasperation of the people, conducted frequent campaigns, and embarked upon a "leftist" line, bringing destruciton to the economy and production and devastation to democracy and the legal system. All this has resulted in great injury to the vitality of China. Especially during the 10-year Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people were placed under feudal, fascist rule that was unprecedented in China or elsewhere throughout the ages; social order, culture and education, and concepts of morality and ethics in the folk tradition all underwent a great regression. China was actually under the rule of a single leader, a heavenly deity; it took only a wave of the deity's hand to prompt the common people to advance wave after wave in battle like worthless ants. The deity wanted the people to "fear neither hardship nor death," and to defend himself and his power he did not cringe at all even at destroying the Constitution and crushing the party he himself had personally created. All kinds of crimes were carried out in the name of "revolution," "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," and other similar "leftist" pretexts. This situation finally provoked the earth-shaking, heart-rending "5 April Movement." As this was the direction in which popular sentiments were expressed, it ultimately brought to a close the utterly preposterous tragedy of the Cultural Revolution.

Insofar as China is concerned, the realistic satire is the fact that the two slogans put forward by patriotic youths of the "4 May Movement" of 1919, in terms of a demand for the realization of democracy and scientific progress, turned out to be still empty at the time of the Cultural Revolution; everything still had to get started from the very beginning. Rebuilding democracy, rebuilding the legal system, respecting science, and developing the economy are the new slogans of the 1 billion Chinese people today. Please note what great advances many countries have achieved during these past 60 years: defeated countries have been rebuilt from ruins; colonies have moved from independence to development and to the building of civilized states with balanced development of science and technology. But China is still just trying to make a beginning from the A, B, C of democracy and science.

The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress of Communist China decided to carry out great reforms in the systems of the country's leadership and economy, to practise a separation between party and government, to grant full authority to new Premier Zhao Ziyang of the State Council, and to let him promote new economic policies with a free hand. This was a new start on the part of the Chinese Communist Party after it suffered its failures through 30 years of practice under extreme-"left" policies. That is to say, it must abandon those empty revolutionary slogans, develop production in a down-to-earth way, raise the people's living standards, let the common people speak their minds, and grant them greater democratic freedom. This new start was not meant to lean to the other side, the side of capitalism, but to create genuine people's democracy, so that any party member or cadre would be subject to supervision by the people. Like the "4 May Movement," this new beginning step is profoundly supported by the Chinese at home and abroad.

The Burden of the "Petroleum Kingdom"

The emergence of the Zhao Ziyang regime has a background for its inevitability. That is to say, if the Chinese Communist Party had still failed to institute reforms, its political power would certainly have encountered disruption because of economic problems.

When Mao Zedong died in September 1976 and Jiang Qing and the gang of four were overthrown that October, the economy of Communist China was sustaining injuries within and without. An earthquake in the Tangshan area caused devastating damages: more than 700,000 casualties and several million people in the Beijing-Tianjin region homeless. Vietnam pressed for "aid" at this time, and the Chinese had to tighten their belts and do their best to provide it. At this moment, although Hua Guofeng had acceded to power, the "little gang of four," Wang Dongxin, Ji Dengkuei and others, were still usurping high offices. Ignoring the fact that most of the victims of the Tangshan earthquake disaster still had no housing accommodations, they somehow chose to mobilize the country's material resources to build that memorial hall for the leader and also to publish Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong." The administration of the Chinese Communists at this time still followed Mao's system. A national learn-from-Dazhai conference exalted Chen Yonggui to the heavens and ordered the various provinces and municipalities (autonomous regions) to build a certain number of "Dazhai counties" within a specific time limit. Stupid measures like "channeling water from the west to the east" continued to be carried out. While the assumption had been that once the gang of four was overthrown, everything would be all right, little did people know that the forces of the "whateverist faction" continued to entrench themselves in party and government organs at various levels. Bureaucratism prevailed as usual. Although the central authorities put forward the call for a more daring and accelerated approach to the construction of the economy, there was a lack of scientific perception in this regard, and the economy by no means embarked upon the desired course. Even while it was clearly understood that the gang of four had brought China to the brink of bankruptcy, resultant problems were not solved. At this time, people only heard all the blame being heaped upon Lin Biao and the gang of four, whereas Mao's faults were mostly glossed over.

Under such circumstances, it was difficult for the economy to develop. But the central authorities were meanwhile burdened by the partial testimonies of the "petroleum faction," thinking that there was petroleum to be exploited everywhere in China. Whenever certain dignitaries were dispatched abroad on visits, they chose to import everything, regardless of price. Without any study as to whether or not it suited China's needs, much equipment was imported by ready agreement, once its proponents were heard to say how advanced it was. The upshot was that these imports greatly exceeded Communist China's ability to pay for them in foreign exchange, but the blind belief continued that many Daqings would be forthcoming in the country. Although leading cadres of the petroleum departments had made meritorious contributions in the past in the exploitation of China's petroleum resources, they had become muddleheaded because of applauses, thinking that if large corps were thrown into the battle, the attendant military means of siege should succeed in everything. As a result, they suffered a great tumble and ultimately turned petroleum, which the Chinese Communists envisioned as the largest source of foreign exchange for their economic construction, into a springtime dream.

In its supply to Japan last year, petroleum had already showed its restrictions when the demand could not be met, even after measures were adopted to appropriate some here and borrow some there. Not until the end of the year was the export of 7.6 million tons of petroleum to Japan accomplished. According to the terms of the 1978 long-range Sino-Japanese trade agreement, the supply of China's crude oil to Japan needs to be increased every year during the 5-year period from 1978 to 1982. From 1983 on, the amount to be supplied will be agreed upon anew, depending on how petroleum production has increased by that time. But after the problem popped up last year, even the supply of 8 million tons this year has been found to be more difficult. Recently, Yao Yiling finally indicated to Japan's Vice Minister of Miti Yano that starting next year, it will be impossible for Communist China to carry out the terms of the agreement to supply 9.5 million tons of crude oil to Japan then and also to supply 15 million tons in 1982. Therefore, he reduced the amount of petroleum to be supplied to Japan in each of those 2 years to 8.3 million tons. Gu Mu even had to apologize especially to Doko for this, saying that the reason China would be unable to continue to supply Japan with petroleum according to those terms was because she had not mastered the data regarding the accurate amount of petroleum deposits, and had underestimated the damage caused by the gang of four, so that petroleum production had become stagnant. As China's own need for petroleum increased, it became impossible for her to satisfy Japan.

Reducing the Internal Supplies and External Sales of Petroleum

The vanishing of Communist China's beautiful dream of building her economy on the basis of exports of large quantities of petroleum brought major consequences to the entire economic plan. After the [Second World] War, none of the various countries started off its economic development with light industry and then carried over to the development of the petroleum industry in a strategic way. In the economic takeoff of Japan and West Germany, the petroleum and chemical industries brought about large amounts of foreign exchange income. The development of petroleum and chemical industries not only directly permitted the development of chemical fibers but also provided great leaps for industries that have to do with the people's livelihood, such as plastics, detergents, paper, etc. The economies of South Korea and Taiwan also started with light industries closely related to the petroleum and chemical industries. Luckily, they both profited from getting petroleum supplies at a reasonable price. But since the petroleum crisis of 1975, these countries and areas time and again have encountered the difficulty of inflated petroleum prices. The era of petroleum supplies at a reasonable price has come to an end. None of the Third World countries has escaped this encounter with the problem of high petroleum prices and the resultant sufferings. Some extremely poor countries have even fallen into major economic crises resulting from annual overexpenditures and insufficient income; Turkey is a good example.

Since Communist China does not have sufficient petroleum and natural gas, her economic planning must change its course. First of all, she will be unable to rely on petroleum exports for the exchange for large factory equipment and expensive advanced technology. Secondly, the source of domestic petroleum power supplies is bound to suffer a blow because of this. Thirdly, those industries that rely on petroleum-based raw materials will suffer a shortage of raw materials. According to a statement made by a provincial delegate at this session of the National People's Congress, nine sets of imported chemical fiber and chemical fertilizer factory equipment could not start operation after their installation because of a lack of petroleum and had to be pigeonholed.

Petroleum control measures are being strenthened at various places; Jilin in the northeast has already started to reduce freight truck driving in order to adapt to the reality of the petroleum shortage. All this explains that the "10 or more Daqings" the Chinese Communists have talked about have not been realized. Petroleum production at Daqing has already reached its peak. The domestic petroleum supply is being reduced, and the ability to provide large quantities for export no longer exists. The Chinese Communists are still continuing to search for petroleum everywhere, and especially in the case of oilfields along the coast, they have signed agreements with 10-odd foreign petroleum companies to let those countries pay their own exploration costs in order to search for petroleum in the East China Sea, the South China Sea, and the Bohai Gulf. Nevertheless, no exciting discoveries of large oilfields have yet been scored up to the present. Efforts are also being made to search for petroleum in Tarim, Zaidamu, and Sichuan. Perhaps new oilfields will be found in the future, but at least for the present, efforts must still be made to cope with this petroleum crisis.

When Yao Yiling reported on the economic plans of the Chinese Communists for the 2 years 1980 and 1981, the amount of petroleum production remained at 106 million tons--i.e., at the same level as during the past 2 years. The fact that petroleum production cannot go higher is thus confirmed in the short run. Luckily, China still has huge coal and hydroelectric power resources; otherwise it would be very hard for the country to solve its energy problem. Even so, in the next few years, at least, the Chinese Communists cannot rely on petroleum exports, but only on an expansion of light industrial exports, to pay their foreign debts.

Stimulating Nature of the "Sichuan Model"

Under such circumstances, Zhao Ziyang's economic construction in Sichuan was given the utmost attention by the central authorities. Why? Because it proved that the moves which he worked out in Sichuan to expand enterprise, commune, and production brigade management autonomy and to open up the free market, and so forth, can solve the food supply problem and, compared to Mao Zedong's empty slogans and policies, which actually resulted in the exasperation of the people, they are as different as heaven is from earth. The "Sichuan model" he has worked out can stimulate the workers' and peasants' enthusiasm for productivity. He said: "We cannot blame it all on the peasants; once production is developed, of course the peasants will feel settled. To solve this problem is a responsibility which we must undertake." In response to other people's praise of his achievements in Sichuan, he usually does not show any ready elation, but instead says: "What we have done in Sichuan is just restore the original shape of things; we cannot rejoice too early. We need to make still greater efforts." He courageously carried out the policy of expanding production autonomy and made it possible for the economy of Sichuan, with its 100 million people, to prosper in a short time. In the free market in Sichuan, there is everything; the people do their best to increase production so as to increase their income; peasants, workers, and merchants combine to link production and sales operations into one continuous process; those who work more, earn more. Thus the economy both in the cities and in the countryside has become swiftly vitalized. The reason why all Sichuanese praise Zhao Ziyang in the same tone is because their livelihood has been really improved.

The Chinese Communist state has been founded for 31 years, already, but it is a pity to observe that, except for the relatively well-completed First Five-Year Economic Plan, the rest of the time has been taken up mostly by Mao's blind commands and his leftist poison-generating policies and slogans which twisted China all out of shape. In certain regions, it is no different from old China. In the large cities, too, except in their central districts, one need only to go slightly deeper into the small lanes to see how the dilapidated conditions there are still the same as in the past. To speak truthfully, the Chinese Communists have been at it for more than 30 years; if they still refuse to change their tack, they will simply be unable to face the people.

It was against this kind of background that Zhao Ziyang acceded to office to devote all his energies to carrying out economic reforms and the daring expansion of autonomy. As he has explained, this policy is not a capitalist path but one which builds China's own socialism on the basis of a capitalist civilization. If China's socialism is not to be developed on the basis of a capitalist civilization, is it going to go back to feudalism?

This statement enabled the people of the whole country to have confidence in him. Indeed, China no longer has any other path to follow, and it simply will not do if it does not work on a new economic policy. The extreme-left line has ruined China and turned it into one of the world's poorest countries. It has put China in a dead corner, and from now on it will never again be allowed to influence China's development.

Some are worried that Chinese Communist policies always waver too much: even if what they are doing now seems all right, there is no guarantee that changes will not take place again. It appears that we need not be overly concerned about this. As long as the policies of Deng Xiaoping-Zhao Ziyang are upheld by the whole country, and the vast ranks of workers, peasants, and urban citizens derive benefits from the economic reforms, then it will be very difficult for Mao Zedong's extreme-left line to stage a "comeback."

How To Restore "Trust"?

During the past 100 years and more, a hoary China, after suffering its full share of abuses by the powers, was further subject to mistreatment by various domestic forms of ruler, such as emperor, president, chairman, and great leader. In a 30-year postwar period of relatively sustained peace, and in particular when conspicuous improvements were coming about in the livelihood of the people of most countries of the world, somehow such a preposterous tragedy as the Cultural Revolution took place in China. Just as Zhao Ziyang has said, during the Cultural Revolution period everything was too leftist; this made the Chinese Communists reflect on the pains after the pains were over, so that they are now fully enlightened and realize that lack of relevant change simply will not do.

The decision made at the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress to separate the party from the government, the repeal of the lifelong tenure of leading cadres, and the magazine HONGQI's demand that the people should have the right to recall incompetent officials all indicate that, in coordination with the great reforms in the economy, a great rectification in politics is also imperative under the circumstances. Among the 38 million party members, half of them entered the party during the Cultural Revolution period, and many of these were elements who resorted to beating, smashing, and looting at the time. These elements lack professional knowledge and culture and yet refuse to study. Bureaucratic elements like these, who depend only on their mouths, must be eliminated. Only if the right to supervise government officials is genuinely conferred upon the people, and democracy and the legal system are perfected, can the Chinese Communist Party conscientiously face the people, the more than 300,000 progressive personalities butchered by Chiang Kai-shek during the "12 April" incident in 1927, and the countless martyrs sacrificed during the anti-Japanese and liberation wars.

Mao Zedong's merits and demerits must be clearly differentiated, and no further effort should be made to gloss over everything for him. Only by demonstrating such determination to accept the supervision of the people can the Chinese Communist Party restore the people's confidence. Zhao Ziyang's accession to office has already made a good beginning; with the support of the whole country, the new regime and the new line are surely going to bring about economic prosperity.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

SECOND GENERATION OF GOOD LEADERSHIP VITAL TO GOVERNMENT

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 20-21

[Article by Dong Jin [5516 0093]: "A Delightful Step and Valuable Popular Support"]

[Text] There seems to be a law governing China's historical development: The first generation consists mostly of rulers of magnificent talent, although some of them make a good beginning but fail to keep up in the end; then, if there is a good second generation of rulers who value stability and unity and make a new beginning together with the people, the given dynasty is usually able to last much longer. The sovereign fortune of the Han Dynasty was bolstered precisely by such a second generation and also by a third generation in terms of "rule during the reigns of Emperor Wen and Emperor Jing." Their efforts to have the population rest, grow, and gather strength made it possible for Emperor Wu of the fifth generation to replenish his army, dabble in military arts, resist and attack invaders from the north, and remain in an invincible position. Li Shimin [2621 0013 3046] initiated the "coup at the Xuanwu Gate," suppressed ambitious characters and clowns like Jiancheng [1696 2052] and Yuanji [0337 0679], solicited men of talent, accepted dissidents' suggestions broadmindedly, and put up a high-spirited effort to achieve government. There thus emerged the "reign of Zhenguan," which laid down a firm foundation for the statehood under the House of Tang. Continuity of the Song Dynasty hinged upon Zhao Kuangyi [6392 0562 5030], and that of the Qing Dynasty was made possible by the 60 years of untiring efforts for government on the part of Emperor Kangxi. There are still not a few other relevant examples.

The people's appraisals are usually fair, as they have called these virtuous rulers Taizong [Founding Father] (the posthumous title of Emperor Wen of the Han Dynasty was also Taizong) and honored those valiant rulers who failed to inspire continuity merely as Taizu [Founder] or Gaozu [Early Founder]. Thus, just as one usually divides into two, they have not been denied their merits in founding their dynasties.

There have also been no small number of negative proofs. When the Second Sovereign turned out to be muddleheaded, the Qin Dynasty turned out to be shortlived. Civil government and military achievements under Emperor Wu of the Wei Dynasty outshone those of his predecessors. His successor, Cao Pei, however, knew only how to compose poems and appraise essays, and not how to recognize talented persons and use them, so he was ultimately undermined by the Sima family. If we examine generally why the five dynasties also turned out to be shortlived, the reason is nearly always that they did not have a good second generation of rulers. Such historical examples can be clearly enumerated.

Today's powerholding group in Beijing ought to be called the second generation of the proletarian dictatorship in our country, perhaps. As they have inherited the leftist style that lasted 20 years and another 10-year disaster, it is really not a very light and easy job to figure out how to fold up this messy stall--that is, politically how to return to order from disorder, give scope to a forthright style, practise democracy, and honor the legal system, and economically how to readjust and improve and make strides in respect to the four modernizations and gradually to ameriiorate the livelihood of the people. However, "when a person is hungry, he is easily satisfied with food": when the people see that the authorities really intend to "start anew," when the situation has become relatively relaxed, when the economy has become more flexible, and when life seems to experience some improvement, they immediately start to have confidence in the future, hoping that those running the government have really become the second generation of leaders intent on laying the foundation for long-range rule and stability. Even though they still see deficiencies in their everyday life, some things are not entirely satisfactory, privileged persons especially hold sway, ordinary cadres often drag their feet, efficiency is very low at work, the remnant poison of the gang of four is still not completely eliminated, and even the so-called united front falls victim to formalism and followers therefore have not deviated from the traditional style of accomplices and cronies, yet the people at home and abroad are still full of enthusiasm and entrust to the [leaders] their earnest hopes, give them time, and remain willing to wait. This kind of opportunity and this kind of popular attitude ought to be regarded as extremely precious.

Honestly speaking, since the resurgence of "His Excellency Deng" in the political arena to handle matters of high policy, the steps taken cannot be said to be slow; at the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Plenums of the 11th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, a great step forward was taken each time. Taking "practice as the only criterion for testing truth," challenging modern superstition, smashing the whateverism of the "new gang of four," rectifying unjust, false, and erroneous cases of litigation, and restoring the reputation of Liu Shaoqi, plus all sorts of reforms symbolized by these measures, ought to be regarded as quite daring in general. It should be recognized that, without the courage and fortitude of a statesman, no one can make up his mind or be able to manage to thrust forth "broad strokes" of this variety.

The session of the National People's Congress that has just been concluded should, in terms of atmosphere, be regarded as representing another delightful stride forward. The fact that delegates dared to question, dared to impeach the derelict, and dared to destroy those two deceptive "red banners," and that several bills passed, all seem "fairly satisfactory." The fact that the leading group has been further renovated and the "pragmatic faction" has advanced a step forward to wield real power especially meets with popular expectations. But we would rather not say what others are saying, and we dare not yet advance any premature substantive appraisal about this development, because, concerning certain matters, we would still like to wait and see. For example, as a united front organization, the role of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is said to be to give full scope to consultation in state affairs. Furthermore, all democratic parties and groups must be independent and self-reliant, and they must exercise long-range mutual supervision with respect to the Chinese Communist Party. All this is undoubtedly fine and constitutes a great momentum giving scope to democracy. But insofar as various levels of leadership of these democratic parties and groups is concerned, all who are in control of such "leadership authority" are "straddling" members of the Chinese Communist Party, whereas ordinary chairmen, directors, committee members, etc., are turned into decorative personalties and praise-singers who must raise their hands, hail, and applaud. In view of such an inveterate situation, is change intended? If this old condition is allowed to persist, then will this so-called independence, self-reliance, giving scope to democracy, and so forth not still remain empty talk?

What are the problems we are preparing to wait and see from now on? To borrow the mode of expression of the "Great Leader" in 1956, in his "On the Ten Major Relationships," we may say as follows:

1. [Are the Chinese leaders] really thinking of working on the four modernizations, or just pretending, or thinking neither in a profound nor in a practical manner?

If they really are thinking of working on the "four modernizations," then they should likewise seriously carry out the fifth "modernization"--democratization of politics. From a theoretical point of view, we entirely recognize that socialist democracy is far more democratic than the Western type of democracy, and that it is genuine democracy. But the common people today are somewhat "realistic" and "rather plain, with no preoccupation with high-sounding theories whatsoever." They merely wish to have a few examples of basic democracy put into practice, real freedom of expression--expression of opinions without fear, the practice of real elections, with organs of public opinion at various levels really able to exercise the right of discussion, passage, veto, and recall, which they ought to have.

Only after these few points of elementary democracy are put into practice can the machinery of "democracy" be really activated, its screws be tightened, and its lubrication be regularly maintained; only thus can talented persons really be selected and trained; only thus can the importation of foreign technology and capital give full play to their role. Otherwise, everything will become empty talk, a dream. In a pool of dead water, it is impossible to raise big fish.

2. [Are they] really thinking of "opening up," and not just pretending to think of "opening up," or [are they] making a half-genuine and half-feigning gesture to "open up?" In the last years of the Northern Song Dynasty, there was a folk ballad which suggested that "when the city gates are closed, the avenues of expression are open"; "when the city gates are open, the avenues of expression are closed." This meant that when the soldiers of Jin laid siege to Kaifeng, Li Gang [2621 4854] was appointed to office and he allowed scholars of the Imperial College to express themselves freely, but when the siege was lifted by the Jin soldiers, no one was allowed to speak any more. Today, the external enemy, "whose intention to destroy us will never die," is in a position to threaten our existence in the long run. In one sense, our concentrated efforts to work on the four modernizations and exert ourselves to the utmost in order to make the fastest headway are designed precisely to race for time and speed in relation to it. The instance between us is too close to allow even one iota of relaxation, and therefore it is necessary for all 1 billion of our people to unite and push forward with one mind and one heart. Under such circumstances, only an "opening up," only a broadening of the avenues of expression on a wide and long-term basis can mobilize all forces to join the formidable enterprises of construction. In order to broaden the avenues of expression, it is necessary first of all to break down the old framework of "public opinion consistency," to listen to (or at least tolerate) some "unplesant words" from abroad, and to open

up some popularly managed newspapers, or newspapers really managed by various parties and groups domestically, so as to give regular opportunities of expression to the demands, opinions, and appeals of the vast ranks of the people. This is really an important indication of "opening up."

3. [Are they] really going to "rectify," or [will they] just pretend to "rectify?"

The Chinese Communist Party, which has trained and produced hundreds and thousands of dedicated and selfless men, is still trusted by the vast ranks of the people today, even though for 30 stormy years they have been subjected to rough going under the party. But it should be acknowledged that a considerable (or not an insignificant) segment of party members have exhibited a change in character: those who enjoy power seek privileges and resort to evil doings, afraid that their power would "become useless once outdated," whereas those do not enjoy any special power simply lead a muddleheaded life, sparing their efforts and wasting their time at work. They suppress criticism and shirk responsibility. All kinds of bureaucratic germs have deeply penetrated the blood of no small number of party members and even medium and high-ranking cadres, so that policies and measures emanating from above become things of a different nature at each level below until they are completely out of shape. The authorities, seeming to have already sensed this "crisis in trust," have called for rectification and accordingly want to "strengthen leadership" and "improve leadership." We must soul-searchingly acknowledge that after 20 years of extrememe leftism and a 10-year period of disaster, the organic structure of the party has been subject to serious erosion, and a situation like that of the last days of Guomindang rule seems to have reemerged! This might sound like overstating a case of danger in order to arouse attention, but it is hoped that the authorities will in fact listen to such "overstatements" and thereby make up their minds to really bring about a state of vigorous exertion by way of "rectification" and really lead the people forward.

People are always good at citing the expression "A journey of 10,000 miles begins with the first step" to explain how one's responsibilities are heavy and how his road is long. I think this constitutes an "excessive embellishment of words." How difficult would it be if one really were to walk the distance of 10,000 miles one step at a time? Nor is it appropraite as an analogy today. A more elementary and approximate analogy would be to compare the cause of the "four modernizations" to a seven-level pagoda which people must climb step by step and reach the top within 20 years in order to "complete the cultivation" [like Buddhists]. This is a responsibility conferred upon the present generation of Chinese by history. The second generation of leaders as a group should today establish this determination to lead the vast ranks of the people to earnestly finish climbing these steps and thus create a sovereign fortune of peace and happiness for all posterity--one that is not going to be threatened.

This session of the National People's Congress may be said to represent another step upward, but it is still only a single step. Whether or not efforts will continue to be made to climb the rest of the steps in an orderly way is something that we have to wait and see from the foregoing three aspects!

9255
CSO: 4005

PROBE WAYS TO MAKE IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK SCIENTIFIC

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Tan Tao [6223 3324]: "A Probe That Is Worth Paying Attention To"]

[Text] The forum on ideological and political work jointly convened by the First Ministry of Machine Building and the National Machine Building Trade Union opened up a new vista, broadened the people's purview, and caused people to think. This forum discussed a question with which people are generally concerned today: how to do our ideological and political work well, do it in a deepening way, and do it in a refined way. They fearlessly put forward the question of how to probe ways to make our ideological and political work scientific and to create a new subject of socialist ideological and political work.

I.

Our party has paid great attention to ideological and political work ever since it began to lead the Chinese revolution. As early as 50 years ago, "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," written by Comrade Mao Zedong, already suggested that ideological and political work within the party must overcome subjectivism and make party members' thinking and party life "scientific." The theory concerning ideological and political work and the scientific methods to propagandize and organize the masses, created by our party on the basis of summing up practical experience, have all played a great role in the years of revolution and wars and in the years of socialist construction. But in the most recent years, why have the people not paid attention to ideological and political work, and why has each work not been welcomed by the masses? The fundamental cause is that, for a long time, and especially during the 10-year disaster, the correct theory, guiding principles, and effective scientific methods concerning ideological and political work formulated in the past were sabotaged.

The correct ideological line, political line, and organizational line are the premise for doing our ideological and political work well; thoroughly carrying out the party's correct lines, in turn, is the main task of our ideological and political work. But during the 10-year disaster, all this was sabotaged ideologically, politically, and organizationally by the extreme-left line. For example: the scientific theories of Marxism, such as marking clear boundaries between the enemies and ourselves and correctly handling contradictions among the people, were somehow replaced by a slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link" irrespective of parties, time, location, or conditions involved. Dealing with facts, speaking truth, and stressing reason are fine traditions of our party in ideological and political work, but somehow they were replaced by the crude methods of fabrication, framing up, implicating the innocent, and exaggerating minor mistakes and shortcomings to the level of principle. When our party proceeds with ideological and political work among the masses of the people, a basic point of departure is to care about, sympathize with, and look after every comrade. But when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway, they flung "total dictatorship" everywhere and not only destroyed the intimate relationship between comrades but even treated human beings not as human beings, abused and persecuted people at random, debased their personality, and treated human life like so much grass. When undertaking ideological and political work under such circumstances, how could people help walking into a dead alley? And how could the people welcome such work? If we do not gravely sum up such lessons of failure in our ideological and political work over the years, it will be impossible for us to restore our fine traditions, find outlets for improving our ideological and political work, and find a way to make our ideological and political work scientific.

II.

There is one view which suggests that, since we are mainly concerned with economic construction right now, we need only to employ economic means. This is a misunderstanding.

Economic means are very important: without them, it would be very difficult for us to assure compliance with objective economic laws in our operations and very difficult for us to correctly treat the interrelationship between the economic interests of the state, the collective, and the individual. In reality, if we wish to make our ideological and political work scientific, an important content is to have people perceive and follow objective economic laws in their operations. But in mobilizing the socialist enthusiasm of the vast ranks of the masses, economic means are not omnipotent. Because, apart from material relations and needs, man also wishes to find spiritual satisfaction; this is also objective existence. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Man must have spirit; the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat comes from there." If man had only a material life and knew only how to eat and drink, how could there have been a history of civilization of several thousand years? In our own country, if people showed no concern about the future of the state and society, no enthusiasm toward collective enterprises, if they did not have ideals, morality, or a spirit of dedication, and if there were no heroes of their respective times, what kind of country would this have become? Then, we would not have had the earth-shaking "5 April" movement, we would not have had in our war of defensive counterattack against Vietnam such numerous heroic fighters and fine commanding officers as Liang Yingrui [2733 5391 3843], Yang Jianzhang [2799 1696 4545], Shan Da [1472 6671], Hu Xuqing [5170 4872 3237], and Li Peijiang [2621 1014 3068], and we would not have been able to insist on the socialist path, let alone to realize communism.

The reason we agree with making our ideological and political work scientific is first of all because: to elevate man's ideological consciousness through study and education is feasible; there are laws to follow in man's thinking and activity. In reality, in our long periods of practice in the past, we have already accumulated a large amount of experience in mastering such laws and thus have laid a solid foundation for making our ideological and political work scientific.

III.

Some comrades say: In pursuing ideological and political work, what we have is plenty of long experience; we can simply restore our old traditions. Such an understanding simplifies things too much.

Documents provided by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong to guide our ideological and political work, such as the well-known resolutions passed by the Gutian conference, "On Practice," "On Contradictions," "On the Self-Cultivation of Communists," the rectification documents, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," etc., are our precious spiritual wealth. Our party has good experience and fine traditions in carrying out ideological and political work, such as unity of theory and practice, exemplification, close links with the masses, proceeding from reality in every case, patiently and carefully developing criticism and self-criticism in the manner of "a gentle breeze and a mild rain": each of these serves really as a specific key to a specific lock which sends warmth into everybody's heart. We must not abandon these fine traditions.

But we must look forward, because many, many new situations and new problems which never appeared before are now with us and require us to study and to solve them. Citying the "three old articles" would not be enough to make our ideological and political work scientific. Past experience always carried with it the characteristics of the period, i.e., mainly applied to the solution of political problems in people's thinking relative to revolution, war, class struggle, and change of the private ownership system. Today, we must continue to eliminate the remnant poison of feudalism and criticize bourgeois ideology, but our main task is to solve ideological and political problems relating to economic construction and realization of modernization. Some of the experience in this regard most certainly cannot be transferred or copied intact: for instance, during the years of war, of democratic reforms and of the remolding of the bourgeoisie, the bitter recollection of and settling accounts with exploitation by landlords and capitalists raised the class consciousness of hundreds and thousands of exploited and oppressed toiling masses and stimulated their strong revolutionary enthusiasm. Some fighters among the reactionary troops were immediately able to turn their guns around and fire at the Kuomintang after their liberation and after the education they gained through airing their grievances. It has also been necessary for the generation born after the birth of new China to undergo such education. But to try to arouse their enthusiasm toward the building of socialism in this way would be impractical. Also, for example, struggling hard is a fine tradition, and it is still necessary to carry on such education. However, it would be quite improbable to think that once the masses of the people recall the difficulties and hardships under which the Red Army underwent in climbing the snowy mountains and passing through the grasslands, they would be indifferent to the difficulties that still actually exist in respect to their clothing, food, housing, and communications.

There was an important matter to be taken up and the First Ministry of Machine Building and the National Machine Building Trade Union jointly convened this forum, and that was to penetratingly discuss the new content and new characteristics of ideological and political work in the enterprises of the new era which are different from the past, and, in response to such new characteristics, to propose a new series of problems that require study and solution today. Their generalizations represent merely a new effort and have not by any means exhausted the efforts of study in this respect, although they have really made a good beginning. In order to do a good job in our ideological and political work, we must do things flexibly according to the time, place, and persons involved. With respect to the infinitely diverse conditions of the people's ideological state, the greatest taboo in trying to make ideological and political work scientific is to "treat everything the same way" with no variation. We must seek truth from facts and shoot our arrows at specific targets: this is the core of both inheriting our fine traditions and making our ideological and political work scientific.

IV.

In order to create a subject in science, we must have our own scientific theory and scientific method. Marxism, as the purest crystallization of the social sciences, is a powerful ideological weapon for perceiving society and changing society. From the beginning, Marxism has always been doing ideological and political work on man's behalf and, in the first place, doing ideological and political work on behalf of the proletariat itself. It clearly ceclares: "Philosophy takes the proletariat as its own material weapon and, similarly, the proletariat takes philosophy as its own spiritual weapon." Marxism arms the proletariat with the scientific, theoretical knowledge of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, political economy, and scientific socialism. It scientifically explains that man is not only a natural being but also a social being; his social existence determines his social consciousness, and consciousness is but a function of his brain and a reflection of objective existence. This serves to open wide the door through which we can master the laws of our ideological activity and make our ideological and political work scientific. Apart from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, no new subject of socialist ideological and political work can appear in our country.

But Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong have not studied all problems of society, nor is Marxism the only subject which studies social problems.

For example, sociology is a subject that studies social life and social problems, such as the relationship between family, relatives, friends and neighbors; problems about population, labor, morality, customs, nationality, women, youth, children, and old age; professional teamwork; the influence of the city, housing, the environment and communications facilities upon man; and also culture, recreation, love, marriage, etc. Whether or not these various problems are treated relevantly does affect, directly or indirectly, man's emotions, enthusiasm, happiness, anger, grievances, and pleasure. All of these belong to the realm of sociological study. If we intend to make our ideological and political work scientific, then why can't we also use the scientific principles in sociology as our weapon for probing the laws of man's ideological activity?

For example, psychology is a subject in science. Man's psychology is but a function of his brain and a reflection of the outside world. Lenin said: "Psychological things, the senses, etc., are the highest products of matter (namely, physical things), the functions of an especially complicated piece of matter called the human brain." In doing our ideological and political work, we must always study people's emotions, interests, qualities, and character; we must study people's psychological state. Therefore, it is also very necessary to absorb the results of study in psychology, master the laws of movement of the special characteristics of mass psychology through deepening investigation and study, and thereby make our ideological and political work scientific.

The bourgeoisie has run into many snags since it started to manage society, and it has also continued to sum up the experiences and lessons of its successes and failures. This is precisely how the behavioral sciences have come about. They study the mutual relationship between man's behavior, motives, and needs, how to mobilize man's enthusiasm, the internal relations of the "working collective," the absorption of staff and workers into management work, the behavior of leaders and the modes of leadership, etc. If we intend to make our ideological and political work scientific, why can't we borrow certain beneficial elements from this kind of study? The Western bourgeoisie has the ambition to create a scientific subject out of its management experience, so why can't the Eastern proletariat create a scientific subject out of its own management experience and out of its socialist ideological and political work?

In fact, there has already been a history of several thousand years in which the Chinese have been studying man's behavior. If we flip through the classic works, we can see evidence of this everywhere. Comrade Mao Zedong is one who paid attention to absorbing the thinking and the language of the ancients in this regard. When, in his "On Contradictions" he talked about the need to look at problems from an overall viewpoint, he quoted Master Sun's discourse on military affairs to say: "Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles without danger of defeat." He also quoted the words of Wei Zheng of the Tang Dynasty: "Listen to both sides and you will be enlightened; heed only one side and you will be benighted." When he talked about treating contradictions within the party and among the people, he several times quoted the expression "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones; cure the sickness to save the patient." Liu Shaoqi also used quotations in his well-known work "On the Self-Cultivation of Communists." He wrote: "In China's ancient past, Master Zeng said: 'I examine myself three times each day.'" This is a discussion of the question of self-reflection. In the "Book of Odes," there are these famous stanzas: "As you cut, then file; as you carve, then polish." This means that between friends there must be mutual assistance and mutual criticism." As the ancients studied the norms of behavior, some reduced their understanding to mottoes and educated the people from their childhood onward; some incorporated their results in discourses on history, such as Sima Guang's "The Mirror of General History To Benefit Current Rule." This may be said to be a work that studied the behaviro of social managers such as emperors, kings, generals, and prime ministers. Of course, different classes all have their own respective norms of morality and behavior. But from the results of study of the ancients, it is still feasible for us to discard their dross and absorb their quintessence. Even the experience and lessons summed up by the ruling class on how to serve as officials and how to treat the subjects are worthy of our borrowing and reference.

The task of science is to reveal the objective laws of the development of things, to probe objective truths, and turn them into a guide for changing the world. Man, as a social being, has both his individuality and his commonality shared by all men. Man's psychological state, ideological state, and behavioral characteristics in various classes and strata all have their commonality; they all have certain laws that we can follow. Otherwise, how could we have achieved those great results in our ideological and political work in the 10-odd years before the "Cultural Revolution?" This explains that the practice of our ideological and political work at that time was basically scientific and followed objective laws in its operation. The only thing is that we have not yet studied it as a subject in science, so as to create a system of knowledge concerning scientific theory and scientific methods. Ideological and political work needs to be made scientific. This is a demand made on us by our realistic needs and a task conferred upon us by the socialist new era. Those comrades who wish to devote themselves to this cause, please exert yourselves so that you can bring new light to the socialist theoretical system.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY MEMBERS, CADRES ENCOURAGED TO LINK STUDY, PRACTICE

Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Huang Xunli [7806 1789 0448] and Wang Shiyun [3769 1709 7189]: "Teach Party Members and Cadres to Take the Lead in Starting From Themselves"]

[Text] The second brigade of the Nanlu state farm has been appraised as an advanced farm unit for eight consecutive years. In the movement to study the "Guiding principles," this brigade's party branch demands that all of the party members must integrate practice with action and take the lead in starting with themselves.

In organizing party members in the movement to study the "Guiding principles," leading group members of this brigade's party branch first took the lead in study, took the lead in action and further implemented the system of the division of labor with individual responsibility under collective leadership. Since last winter, the party members and cadres of this brigade have all persisted in participating in labor with the group, fulfilled the same quotas as the workers and staff members and participated in checking and accepting and comparing and assessing. All that the party members and masses were asked to do, the party members and cadres had to do first. This year, in fighting drought they field planted rubber tree seedlings and it was originally determined that each worker plant 12 trees. The production brigade heads, Wang Haiming [3769 3189 2494] and Ma Dangxian [7456 3981 0431], of the party branch committee, planted 35 rubber tree seedlings in one day. When the party members and cadres working with the group took the lead, staff and worker enthusiasm increased and everyone happily agreed to raise the quota to 30 trees. As a result, the entire brigade finished the planting of 2,400 trees three days ahead of time. After planting, the party members and cadres again took the lead in carrying water to fight the drought and strengthening management thus causing the survival rate of the seedlings to reach 98 percent.

Each time they organized a production battle or voluntary labor in the brigade, or met with natural calmity, the party branch always educated the party members to use the spirit of the "Guiding principles" to make strict demands on themselves and when faced with difficult tasks to consciously bring into play the exemplary vanguard role of the communist party members. At the beginning of this year, rubber got a severe powdery mildew and it was necessary to organize manpower to take turns during the night to spray a chemical to prevent and cure it. The party branch then educated the party members to integrate the practice with study of the "Guiding principles," to take the lead in bearing hardships and to spur everyone on to continually spray the chemical for seven nights so that they controlled and wiped out the powdery mildew in good time and guaranteed the scheduled tapping. For a high and stable yield, the party members of the entire brigade again took the lead in using after work time to collect and spread manure. With the hard work of all the members of the brigade, this year more than 300 kilograms of manure was collected and spread before the rubber tapping. To improve the backward forest section, the female communist party member Yang Fengmei [2799 7364 2734] gave her work in the nursery to someone else and of her own accord asked to go to handle the overgrown weeds, the abundance of rocks and the many dead seedlings in three forest sections. Each day, she worked from dawn to dusk, cutting sprouts and digging couch grass and filling the gaps with seedlings and green manuring. After half a year of hard work, these three forest sections became one forest section.

In their study of the "Guiding principles," the second brigade party branch educated the party members to arm their minds with the spirit of the "Guiding principles," to dare to grasp and handle various unhealthy trends and evil practices and to be adept in doing well people's ideological work. At the beginning of this year, some workers and staff members wilfully let some ducks go into the fields and they trampled the crops. When deputy brigade leader and communist party member Fu Wengiang [4569 2429 1730] discovered this, he immediately criticized the workers and staff members concerned and reinstated penalty rules. After this affair, his house was stoned by people and the vegetables in his private plot were also destroyed. In the face of this type of threat, some people urged him not to ask for trouble. He said: "When my house is damaged I can fix it and when the melons and vegetables are dead I can plant again. Communist party members must certainly uphold the interests of the nation." With the support of the party branch and the vast numbers of workers and staff members, he, together with other cadres, boldly upheld grasping discipline and grasping ideological work thus causing the workers of the whole brigade to go into action, to adopt measures, handle livestock well and protect the crops. For all those who have made mistakes and been punished, the party branch will also promptly do ideological work well. After two young workers were punished for stealing public chemical fertilizer, the leading members of the party branch promptly sought to talk with them to educate them to ideologically recognize their mistakes and to also point the way forward. This dispelled the misgivings of the two young workers and braced them to advance. Ordinarily, the party branch also fixes a time to hold a party member activities meeting to examine the ideology and expressions of the party members, to analyze the ideological developments of workers and staff members and divide the work to do well the ideological work of workers and staff members. For those workers who are sick and cannot go to work or have household financial difficulties, the party branch also sends out people to drop in to have heart to heart talks with them and express sympathy and solicitude, promptly gives financial assistance to those who deserve it, works to improve relations between the party and masses and between cadres and the masses, and unites them as one to complete each task.

9480
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

EDUCATION OF RURAL PARTY MEMBERS IN PROPAGANDA WORK URGED

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 9 Sep 80 p 1

[Article by Yang Linxun [2799 2651 8113]: "Do a Good Job of Educating Rural Party Members, Strengthen Grass-roots Level Propaganda Work"]

[Text] A provincial propaganda work conference was held in Guiyang from 8 August to 4 September. Leading cadres from the party committees on propaganda of each locality, prefecture and city, comrades responsible for propaganda work in each county, district and commune, and comrades responsible for propaganda work in each organization of the province participated in the conference.

During this conference, they summarized and exchanged situations and experiences on previous training in rotation of rural party members, drew up plans for present and future work and discussed the problem of further strengthening grass-roots level propaganda work. The conference considered that from the point of view of the whole province the situation of training in rotation of rural party members was good. The paying of closer attention to counties was already fully under way during the last week in July. At present, the training in rotation work of rural party members in nine counties including Xishui is already basically finished. Training can be completed for 47 counties before the three autumn jobs. Party member training in directly related local and county organizations and institutions has already begun in Tong Ren Prefecture the directly subordinate organizations of the southeast prefectures of Guizhou and in the directly subordinate organizations and institutions of Guiyang. To do well the work of training party members, each locality, based on their own circumstances, continued to stress the following points. Firstly, they made the best use of time. All units that carry out and plan to finish training before the three autumn jobs must make the best use of September and strive to basically finish training before the busy period of the three autumn jobs. The rural areas of the entire province must work hard to basically finish before the end of November and in a minority of difficult areas they must finish training by the end of December. Secondly, they must pay attention to quality. A commune which has already finished training in rotation must also carry out an inspection. Communes where quality of training in rotation is not high, and which merely went through the motions must undertake retraining. Thirdly, they must do well summing up checking and acceptance. It is necessary to develop and choose advanced branches and the activities of good party members on the basis of summing up. Fourthly, they must concentrate their energies to grasping the training in rotation of organization party members. Leading cadres must participate in study as ordinary party members and they must guarantee universal training before the Twelfth Party Central Committee convenes.

The conference conscientiously studied grass-roots propaganda work especially the problem of rural propaganda work. Everyone realized in practice that ideological and political work are always the center of party propaganda work. After the focal point of party work is shifted to economic construction, the ideological and political work of economic construction is the central task of propaganda work.

The conference pointed out that from now until before the Spring Festival, we must stress the following two aspects of propaganda. Firstly, to continue to stress propagation of the party's agricultural policy. They must carry out propaganda education to counter the present fear by rural cadres and commune members of policy changes, to counter the situation of thinking of prosperity but not daring to be prosperous or thinking of prosperity but not being able to be prosperous and to counter the type of thought that considers the relaxation of policies as not speaking about policies. Secondly, it is necessary to imbue the rural cadres and masses with socialist ideas and guide them to correctly handle the three relationships of the state, collective and individual. It is also necessary to make great efforts to commend advanced models which were done well in this area and the new habit of cultivating love of the nation and love of the collective and uniting to help each other.

The conference stressed that to accomplish the above mentioned propaganda tasks, we must emphasize the following tasks. The first is to strengthen investigation and study. The second is to grasp well of the disposition of propaganda cadres and to go through propaganda channels to complete the setting up of a propaganda network. It is necessary to establish a grass-roots mass propaganda contingent composed of lecturers, instructors and propagandists. It is necessary to grasp well the propaganda and cultural fronts of peasant night schools, clubs and cultural centers. The third is grasping well the building of cultural centers centered in small cities and towns.

9480
CSO: 4005

STUDENTS IN UNITED STATES HAVE ROUGH TIME; EXTOL SOCIALISM

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 31 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Bai Hui [4101 1979]: "Some Thoughts Arising From a Friend's Letter Abroad"]

[Text] Recently I received a letter from a friend telling of the situation of several persons who had gone to the United States to study at their own expense. These people, upon arrival at the United States, had to struggle every day just to make their living. Even when friends and relatives sent a little money to help out it was not enough to keep body and soul together, and they really had rough times. They studied at the university during the day and at night washed dishes or waited on tables at restaurants. The health of many of them had begun to suffer. Of course they had no choice as to what kind of work they did. If they could find a job, they considered themselves fortunate, because sometimes it was even impossible to find work washing dishes or waiting on tables. With no jobs they had no choice but to sing in the streets trying to get enough money to buy something to eat.

No one had given these students any political instruction. They reached the conclusion from their own experience that: "although we haven't been in the United States very long, we have met a lot of people and had a lot of experiences, and gained a great education, at least as to what capitalism is. When we remember what it was like back in China, and compare it to what it is like here (in the United States), we feel that it is incomparably better in China."

This really goes to prove that although the capitalist society may be more developed materially, spiritually it is a wasteland. This is primarily manifested in personal relationships. All conversations are concerned with cold, naked cash. There has never been any doubt as to the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. Why do some people have doubts? It all goes back to a single sentence. Although socialism is better, we haven't done a good job with it. Of course this is because of the sabotage by adventurers and schemers like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and Kang Sheng. But it is also because of omissions in our work. We have put a stop to the counterrevolutionary sabotage, the extreme leftist line has been corrected, and I believe that with the proper education the doubts of many people will be eliminated. The problem is that there are still some people, and not just young people, who are infatuated with things foreign. We should have faith in good things foreign. But we should not be infatuated with them. Infatuation is a blind action. For example, different products may be of the exact same quality, but if one has a foreign label stuck on it, it seems to be worth a hundred times more. Given two technicians with the same level of skill, if one has come from overseas, it seems that he has much better abilities. Isn't this laughable superstition? There is one other thing that really makes people angry. It seems that everywhere foreigners go is like a restricted area, and Chinese may not enter. If one carelessly enters there, he will be scolded and chased out by his compatriots. This is not laughable, but is a shameful, slavish action. Naturally we must be courteous in our dealings with foreigners, and we must not discriminate against them. Discrimination is uncivilized behaviour. What is the correct attitude? It is what Comrade Chou Enlai repeatedly pointed out: Be neither haughty nor humble.

9559
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

QUESTION OF PROMOTING PERSONNEL TRANSFERS ADDRESSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 31 Aug 80 p 1

[News report by reporter Xin Guangqi [6850 0342 3825]: "Personnel Transfers Deserve Support From the Whole Society"]

[Text] On 25 August the head of the Shanghai Scientific and Technical Cadre Office spoke to reporters on the question of promoting personnel transfers. He said the personnel transfer methods of the Shanghai Lazer Technical Research Institute and the Shanghai Communications University are worth being promoted. Concerned departments are considering using transfers, double duties, and recruitment to remedy the stagnant situation in management of technical cadre. Shanghai has 200,000 science, engineering, agricultural and medical technical cadres. Because of a number of defects in the cadre system, the potential of this force has not been completely tapped. This is a great waste. The promoting of personnel transfers is an attempt to solve this problem. The head of the Technical Cadre Office feels that the promoting of transfers has the following good points: 1, is to change the unreasonable organization of Shanghai's Technical Corps. Based on the laws of scientific development there must be a definite ratio of high, middle, and primary level technical cadre at research institutes and schools of higher learning. This ratio should be triangular in shape. Only in this way can there be mutual coordination and better effectiveness. However, at present, research institutes of the Academy of Sciences and schools of higher learning have an overabundance of middle level technical cadre, such as research assistants and lecturers. For example, there are more than 1,000 lecturers at Tongji University, but only 400 or so assistant lecturers. Most middle level technical cadre are capable of independent work, but because they are concentrated in one place, one topic that could be completed by one or two persons is often worked on by six or seven people, at a considerable waste of talent, and at the expense of work efficiency. At the same time there is a shortage of backbone teaching cadre at local research institutes, university branch schools and institutes in the Shanghai area, which needs to be corrected. Units with a surplus of personnel should follow the example of the Shanghai Lazer Technical Research Institute and the Shanghai Communications University in sending batches of personnel to local research institutes and branch schools on a rotating basis. 2, make the most use of each person's special talents, so each can make his best possible contribution. Some people have certain special talents, but cannot utilize this talent in the present job. If they were assigned to a different unit, they could do as much as they were able to. 3, it stimulates intellectual thought and helps develop all the different fields of study.

The head of the Technical Cadre Office told reporters that the expansion of this work requires the support of the entire society, especially the cadre of the various units as well as their personnel departments. Some cadre see talented persons as a "possession of the unit" and not as "belonging to the nation." Some technical cadre are unable to use their talents at their own units, but if some other unit wants to borrow them or if transfer orders come from higher authorities, they find all sorts of excuses not to leave. Cadre at educational organizations and personnel departments must learn a little science, a little personnel management to understand that the transfer of personnel is necessary for the development of science. At the same time they must increase the ratio of technical cadre in these departments to help develop the work of personnel transfers. The development of talent exchanges can take many forms. It may be double duties, teaching more than one discipline, such as backbone technical cadre of research institutes of the Academy of Sciences doubling as assistant heads of local research institutes or laboratory chiefs, university professors also having research duties, research personnel teaching specialty courses in universities, the borrowing or transfer of research personnel or teachers to go to units which lack personnel to work for 6 months or a year, will help those units in their work and will permit mutual observation and understanding. If suitable, a permanent transfer can be made. Recruiting: after announcements have been posted and research personnel have applied for the jobs, if those personnel applying are able to complete the set goal on time, there should be a bonus. Contracts: contract methods may be used between units, joint research or contracted missions to complete certain problems or specialty course instruction tasks.

9559
CSO: 4005

INCIDENT IN SHANDONG SHOWS VALUE OF SPECIALIZED SKILLS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 3

[Article: "In Order To Carry Out the Four Modernizations, We Must Place Specialized Cadres in Important Positions"]

[Text] In a meeting of party secretaries held recently by the Dezhou Prefecture CCP Committee, the deputy secretary of the Qingyun County CCP Committee, Gao Shusong [7559 2885 2646], examined the current situation, related his experience and the understanding which he deeply felt, and argued that in order to carry out the four modernizations, we must promote and place specialized cadres in important positions.

The course of development is as follows. In order to enlarge the irrigation area of Sichu commune, in the eastern section of Qingyun County, the Qingyun County CCP Committee decided last fall to rebuild and enlarge a dam on the Majiahe. Comrade Gao Shusong was in charge of the project and the actual engineering work. After the mechanical engineering work was completed, a serious problem arose in the installation of electricity. The extension wires were made of aluminum, but the outlet in the electric engine was made of copper, and it was difficult to put the two elements together. Therefore, a welder was summoned from the county's agricultural machinery repair workshop. When he saw the problem, he said: "I have done work in aluminum welding, but not with aluminum and copper. Since the leadership wants me to do the work, I will give it a try, but I must have aluminum powder for the purpose."

When the aluminum powder was delivered, he welded the elements. However, when the switch was turned on, the welded elements started burning and smoldering, and there was a danger that the whole engine would burn up.

Comrade Gao and the head of the electricity bureau were nervous. They immediately sent people to get copper wiring. But they feared that they could not get the material or they might not have enough time, because the water was urgently needed to combat drought and for plant protection. How could they resolve the imminent problem? Then someone recommended a worker at the county's agricultural machinery factory who had graduated in the 1960's from Shandong Engineering College and whose specialty was electrical engineering. His name is Ji Hongliang [4764 3136 0081], a technician at the factory. Comrade Gao was happy at the news and immediately invited Ji Hongliang over on the phone. When Ji saw the problem, he said: "No welding is necessary in this case. We can simply resolve the problem by using aluminum pressure tubes."

Ji Hongliang used his lunch hour to remodel three aluminum tubes, which were then taken by the comrades of the electricity bureau for installation. The first installation worked and so did the second, but the same problem arose at the third stage. The comrades of the electricity bureau came to Comrade Gao and told him that it might be necessary to use copper wiring for the transformer. They borrowed some rather small-sized copper wiring from the county's fertilizer factory and used double wiring for the experiment, but in vain. Comrade Gao was very anxious. He said: "It seems as though we amateurs are unable to find out what the problem is. Let us call Ji Hongliang and seek his opinions." Accordingly, they called upon Ji at home and asked him why the elements could not be connected. Ji said: "It is likely that the frequency automation equipment did not fit the rest of the engine." Comrade Gao led the team of technicians, Ji Hongliang, and the head of the electricity bureau to the work site. Ji examined the problem and discovered that, indeed, the frequency automation apparatus did not fit the rest of the machinery. Going by the required technical specifications, Ji suggested that the reels of the frequency automation engine be reduced from 40 to 20 loops. The result was a success!

In the course of the event, Comrade Gao was inspired and educated. He told himself that in dealing with a relatively small project such as irrigation, they had wasted about half a year and a lot of money because none of the leadership cadres and technicians had the appropriate expertise. In order to accelerate the four modernizations, we must henceforth actively and boldly promote and employ young, energetic, and skilled people like Ji Hongliang.

Comrade Gao commended Ji Hongliang to the County CCP Committee. After investigating, the committee decided to promote Ji to the position of deputy head of the electricity bureau. The decision gained the support of the overwhelming majority of the masses and cadres.

9471
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

MANY CADRES STILL USING PUBLIC FUNDS FOR SELF-INDULGENCE

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 80 p 2

[Article: "It is Forbidden To Change Form and Eat and Drink Heavily"]

[Text] Recently, many letters from readers indicate that even though many cadres have indulged less in "heavy eating and drinking," after the promulgation of the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Life," the attitude is still rather rampant. Many instances have shown that many people who use public funds to indulge in heavy eating and drinking have merely changed their form and style and continued their habits, though much pressure has been put on them by the law and from public surveillance.

Reduced payment to escape public notice. Some comrades who were used to heavy eating and drinking are now paying a little. After they have engaged in heavy eating and drinking, some comrades pay a few coins or coupons, or in accordance with stipulated daily allowances. They then proclaim that they have corrected their old habit. Some of them said at the banquet table that they would not pay less next time they came, but they still ate and drank as much as ever. A certain deputy head of an agricultural machinery bureau took along his tractors and drivers to help do farm work in a brigade. They feasted for a few days. People were dispatched to fetch chickens and fish in the village, and everything was in an uproar. The bill recorded by the branch store of the brigade shows that in entertaining this deputy head, they consumed 45 cartons of cigarettes, amounting to 14.84 yuan, and 16 bottles of wine, amounting to 9.94 yuan. When the deputy head returned to his bureau, he only paid 11 yuan.

Bills not written to avoid investigation. Some units make use of various means to create "petty cash" accounts for the purpose of giving banquets and gifts. In managing the export of paulownia trees, the Tancheng County Export Company received more than 1,000 yuan from selling the nuts from the trees. They did not list the income but instead used the fund for themselves and for their eating and drinking. Over the 17 months from March of last year to July of this year, on the pretext of entertaining superiors and public relations personnel and sending off workers assigned to other units, the company held more than 10 banquets, spending a total of 517.49 yuan. The fund came from the maintenance fund for dealing with growths on the bark of commercial trees. In the course of the "three summers" production, a commune in Yanggu County penalized units which fell behind in production and used part of the penalty money to treat the investigation personnel. Other people sold the trees in their units and spent the money thus derived in eating and drinking.

Corrupting others so as to spread responsibility. In the past, only a small group of people indulged in heavy eating and drinking. But now, such groups have been widened to include people who have access to such information. Letters from the masses show that in July of this year, a certain bureau in a certain county gave two banquets on behalf of visiting superiors, at a cost of 200 yuan. One of the two banquets had two tables and costing more than 100 yuan. In addition to superiors, people at the host bureau and those from various companies, factories, and stations also participated, and none of them paid anything. In this way, all parties were involved and people had to protect one another.

Some letters point out that in spite of the various ways by which these cadres have hidden their indulgence in heavy eating and drinking, their habit is still known to the public. The [writers] think that such an attitude can be corrected only if the relevant leadership organizations continue to rely on mass surveillance, seriously penalize the concerned parties on every such occasion that is reported by the masses, remove the financial advantages of cadres, and exert severe economic sanctions on such people.

9471
CSO: 4005

EDUCATION IN MARXIST ECONOMICS CORRECTS ERRONEOUS VIEWS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zhang Jun [1728 6511]: "We Must Pay Attention to the Study of Theory"]

[Text] Some comrades once had different views regarding some current economic policies. They even had doubts about and ill feelings toward policies which they considered incorrect. Recently, these comrades have returned to their units after having been educated for several months in party schools in the theory of socialist economics. They now talk about such matters as "bonuses," "profits," "competition," "market economy," "letting some people get rich," and "increase in enterprise autonomy" as if they were different persons. When asked the reason, one comrade replied with a rather strong conviction: "Marxist economic principles have convinced me of my past stubbornness and cleared the fogginess of my thinking."

We have witnessed the role of theory from these examples. We often do not understand matters which we feel, and only after we understand their nature can we truly feel them. In order to really understand matters, one of the essential ways is to diligently learn theory through practice--especially Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is because the latter is the product of the proletarian class and of scientific knowledge gained through long-continued practice by the overwhelming majority of working people. This is the theoretical basis and the weapon with which we can examine, analyze, and handle all questions. Our revolutionary forefathers paid a very high price in the search for truth. Once the truth has been grasped, once Marxism-Leninism has been integrated with the reality of the Chinese revolution, China will change its face, and the force of revolution will be engendered, enlarged, strengthened, and launched on its way toward success.

However, since the 10 years of disaster, many comrades have lost their enthusiasm for learning theory. This is because there is still a lot of misunderstanding. "It is better not to learn than to learn, because we will still make mistakes after we learn, but we can still make revolution even if we do not learn." That is one such example. Admittedly, learning does not guarantee that one will not make mistakes, but if we can learn thoroughly, we can make fewer mistakes. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in control, many comrades were deceived. Is it not true that they either had learned a traumatic lesson or had never correctly grasped Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought? Now we must take supplementary lessons in order to turn chaos into order and to right the wrongs of the recent past. We must not clamor in an empty way, as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did. One of the sinister ways by which Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and Kang Sheng handled theory was to use good theory and change it into rigid dogma, which they then used as a tool to usurp the party and seize power. What they propagandized in terms of "sayings," "warnings," "truth," "mottoes," and "absolute authority," and such related metaphysical and platitudinous measures, were means to destroy theory. This is one of the main reasons that our comrades have lost their enthusiasm for learning theory. Therefore, we must further criticize the leftist, poisonous remnants of Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and Kang Sheng; correct our ways of learning and improve our methods of learning; and make an effort to really seek out the truth and to produce significant results in our work by raising the level of our theoretical understanding.

Some comrades say: "Today we say one thing and tomorrow another; there is no way we can learn!" After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially after the decision was made during the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee to emphasize the four modernizations, new developments have been arising quickly and new situations and conditions have come about by leaps and bounds. We must continuously conduct research, secure new understanding, and produce new solutions, doing all of this in accordance with the principles of objective observations and education. This is in opposition to the "theory" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their fictitious Marxism-Leninism. We are now correctly using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Of course, in this new situation we must adopt a serious and solemn attitude in dealing with major theoretical questions. After serious research and scientific verification in order to further raise the level and enhance the unity of thinking of the people, we must firmly put our policies into operation and avoid subjectivity in choosing our goals and policies. However, we must realize that we cannot resolve all the imminent problems of the four modernizations. Based on the trends of development and the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism, we must probe some of the major problems which have not yet been thoroughly understood and realized. The understanding we get and the conclusions we draw may not be entirely correct, and they may even be wrong. We should allow for such a possibility. This is because our understanding can never be comprehensive and direct. If we do not allow room for possible errors, we are not using the principles of dialectical materialism. Therefore, under different circumstances, discrepancies in our theoretical understanding are indications of our activity and progress toward the correct goal. The dogmatism of the past was nothing but mass suffocation and paralysis of theoretical understanding.

Some comrades think that in the course of the four modernizations and the acquisition of scientific knowledge and technology, it is not necessary to acquire theoretical knowledge. It is certainly right for scientific and technical personnel to devote their energies to acquiring expertise in their respective professions for the sake of economic development. However, all comrades have to learn the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. This is because, in the course of the four modernizations, not only should all comrades learn Marxist-Lenisist philosophy--dialectical and historical materialism--in order to have correct political thinking and to understand the nature of socialism, of basic contradictions, and 4 prospects, but also they should fully realize the superiority of the socialist system, firmly grasp their convictions, and struggle in support of the system for the rest of their lives. Currently, we must seriously dedicate ourselves to Marxist economic and political principles and understand socialism and its fundamental economic principles. Once we know the basis of economic management, we can continuously resolve the problems which arise from new developments and changing situations, and thus we can apply our principles to objectively handle our socialist construction. The experience and lessons we have learned over the past 30 years have also given us a negative example with regard to the importance of theoretical economic principles in developing a socialist economy. Therefore, this new period necessitates our working to acquire theoretical knowledge. The latter is not only important, but also very urgent.

In conclusion, we are facing a lot of problems, and we must use what we learn from theory to find out the causes of the problems. Evidently, we must humbly seek the truth in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

9471
CSO: 4005

STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO PREVENT CARELESS WASTE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Sep 80 p 8

[Article by Chen Fengxiong [7115 1409 7160]: "Waste and Deficit"]

[Text] In RENMIN RIBAO I read about the Beijing and Shanghai delegation to the third Plenary Session of the National People's Congress, in which one delegate after another addressed inquiries to the minister and deputy of the Department of Metallurgy in regard to the Baoshan Steel and Iron Plant capital construction problem, thus making the people very happy. We also noticed that the representatives of the NPC and committee members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference made several criticisms of the phenomenon of waste in capital construction. This is an affair of state with which the people are really concerned. The deficit of 17 billion yuan concerns the life of each one of us; each yuan wasted constitutes a part of the deficit.

Let's look at a few figures: the "Shift the Westward Water Eastward Project" used up over 90 million yuan. The sinking of the "Bohai No 2" sank over 37 million yuan, plus 72 lives which were lost. A piece of land with an ineffective oil pipeline wasted over 400 million yuan. One department spent over 2 billion yuan to import 100 pieces of machinery which had little use for production. As a result, several more million yuan had to be spent on building sheds to store the machinery.

These sums alone are enough to make the people frightened, not to mention the sporadic but fairly widespread throwing away of hundreds upon thousands of yuan. This kind of "competiveness" to waste money can be likened to spending money like it was water; I'm afraid that no wealthy capitalist country would dare to be so "generous."

Those "poor, ordinary" people in our nation know very well that only through thrift and hard work can we build up the country, that to increase income we must decrease expenditures, that the crazy idea that we can throw money away and expect it to return cannot be allowed to exist. Where does this country have a pot of gold? Doesn't the filling of the national treasury depend on the frugality of the people? Those producers of waste who frighten people may still have high-sounding motives, and although they have not taken advantage of the situation to benefit themselves, the results actually make people indignant. Presently, malfeasance is a crime, and some people have already been punished or sentenced to prison. This is good. It can stop those "kind-hearted" spendthrifts from their evil custom of squandering the wealth of the people, and it will give them a chance to clear their heads a bit and say with understanding that "waste is a crime," and to know it's not just empty talk.

Today, industrial and commercial enterprises all over the country are making up deficits and increasing surpluses, doing their best to hand over profits to the government, and making contributions in order to achieve an early realization of the four modernizations. Surpluses of tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of yuan are great news and raise the people's spirits. However, the people will also discover how much the wasting of just a small amount will gobble up their "spirit."

The idea that waste is just a kind of "tuition" for learning is no longer acceptable, but the fact that wrong orders are being issued by amateurs pretending to be experts cannot be denied. How can those who handle large sums of money "issue wrong orders?" How can they "give insufficient thought to the principles of doing what one is capable of doing" or "fail to make a detailed feasibility study?" How can they be in their position so long and still be content [illegible] being amateurs? Regarding these public servants, now is the time of urgent need for a thorough reform of the complete ignorance of economic laws and the lack of democratic style.

Exploring a bit further, how can the leaders who are responsible for the purse-strings of the people hastily approve with a flourish appropriations for expenditures amounting to millions and hundreds of millions of yuan? Of course, China is a big country; however, "being big has its problems," and so we should be even more careful. This is not a game. A pen is a mighty instrument; a little carelessness, a flourish of the pen, and the wealth which was created by the blood and sweat of hundreds of millions of people, and which is still not ample, may be lost.

9686
CSO: 4005

CADRES ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Sep 80 p 8

[Article by Ou Yang Shigao [2962 7122 2514 7559]: "Self-Punishment"]

[Text] According to a report in GONGREN RIBAO, Zhao Changye [6392 2052 2814], director of the Mudan Coal Machinery Factory, took steps to change [the attitude of] factory departmental managerial personnel who were slow in their work, were not responsible, and showed no regard for the achievements of enterprise management. Dealing with a coalcar workshop which produced 42 poorly made coalcars in one quarter, he drafted a self-punishment resolution on behalf of the general party branch, fining it 50 percent of its monthly wages, beginning in June, until such time as the quality of the coalcars is improved. This resolution was approved by the general party branch, and when it was announced at the worker's congress the workers gaaped in admiration and the managerial personnel were shocked. Thus, the sloppy habits of the cadres were changed, causing all factory managerial personnel to fulfill their duties and responsibilities.

Confucius said: "A ruler is upright." Yue Fei, a famous general of the Song Dynasty, with regard to generals taking the lead in enforcing the law, said it more concretely and clearly: "Make yourself upright, and then you will be able to make others upright; govern yourself, and then you will be able to givern men." It is easy to see how much importance statesmen and strategists of past dynasties attached to the ruler's "making himself upright."

The exemplary role of our leaders is a kind of invisible power. In the formulation of systems and discipline, the leaders have been 100 percent in the lead in enforcing the law. If the quality of products is low grade and the leaders punish themselves first, who will still perform his work in a perfunctory and careless manner? On the other hand, if one does not practice what one preaches, and even goes as far as to dis[illegible]is own words, then it will be difficult for his words to have any appeal. [illegible] correcting the customs of the party and of the people today, cadres at al[illegible]els should see the importance of implementing party discipline, national law, and all types of rules and regulations in an exemplary manner.

9686
CSO: 4005

INFLUENCE OF 'PETROLEUM FACTION' IN CABINET REVIEWED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 10-13

[Article by Su Jiong [5685 3516]: "Three Cabinets, and the Rise and Fall of the Petroleum Faction"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 11 November 1978, a female corpse was discovered on a path between fields in the Jinzhan Commune, Chaoyang District, in the outskirts of Beijing. After autopsy, it was discovered that the dead person had been raped and had 39 wounds on her head; death had occurred 24 hours earlier. Ultimately, after more than 2 months of investigation by public security personnel, the truth of this case was clearly revealed. The dead person was originally a girl from Shanghai who worked at the Xingkaihu farm in Heilongjiang. At the time she was on her way back to Shanghai by way of Beijing to get married, but at the train station she was coaxed into entering a passenger car by a middle-aged driver and thus eventually fell victim to his vicious hand. The culprit in this case was that very driver, named Li Bendong [2621 2609 2639]; he was the private driver of Petroleum Minister Song Zhenming. Prior to this Li Bendong had lured a woman from Loyang by the same method, but that woman was alert enough to sense his motive and stealthily escaped from his car.

A habitual criminal as cruel as this culprit should have been arrested and punished at the earliest opportunity; yet in the process of the investigation to solve the case, public security personnel were many times subjected to obstructive attempts by Song Zhenming and others. At first, Song Zhenming offered a guarantee in the name of the Party Group in the Ministry that, "insofar as Li Bendong is concerned, I can take the responsibility." Later, when the public security organ obtained control of the time evidence and demanded the immediate arrest of the culprit, Song Zhenming once more callously refused to allow public security personnel to arrest him in the Petroleum Ministry in Beijing. The reason: Li Bendong was a model worker at Daqing, and his arrest in the Petroleum Ministry would have had a bad influence.

At that time, the "petroleum faction" forces were very powerful, and even a public security organ had to yield to them a little; thus it was reluctantly agreed that he would not be seized in the Petrolaum Ministry in Beijing, but action was eventually taken in Tianjin.

The First "Cabinet:" "Petroleum Faction" Dominant

What kind of people make up the "petroleum faction?"

By way of an analysis of the rank and file of the "petroleum faction," a common characteristic can be discovered: They are not partisan followers of the "gang of four," but during the Cultural Revolution, especially during the late period of the Cultural Revolution, they were all in charge of production and in control of substantive power. Precisely because of this, after the fall of the "gang of four" and after the central authorities placed economic work in the forefront, their forces experienced a precipitous expansion. Since they were not partisans of the "gang of four," they were of course not subject to examination; as they had been in charge of production and the economy for a long time, they were now in an even better position to do what they were good at.

From the list of members of the State Council after the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the forces of the "petroleum faction" can be clearly seen. Of the 13 vice premiers, 5 or 6 are members of the "petroleum faction." At the time, Ji Dengkuei, Chen Xilian, and Chen Yongguei were "whateverists;" Xu Xiangqian and the like never bothered with economic matters; Zhao Ziyang and the like had not yet entered the cabinet. Hence, the "petroleum faction" made up the majority in the "cabinet." Besides, the directorships of the State Council's three most important commissions--the State Planning Commission, the State Economic Commission, and the State Capital Construction Commission--were all taken up by the "petroleum faction" and related personalities: they were Yu Qiuli, Kang Shi'en, and Ku Mu.

For this reason, during the first 2 years after the fall of the "gang of four," it was the economic thinking of the petroleum faction which controlled the Chinese Communists' economic orientation. The 10-year economic plan put forward at the Fifth National People's Congress in the spring of 1978 was nothing more than the crystallization of the petroleum faction's economic thinking.

At the time, because the situation with regard to industrial and agricultural production in 1977 and 1978 was relatively good (in 1977 the rate of industrial growth was 14.3 percent, and in 1978 it was 13.5 percent), the error of the petroleum faction's economic thinking had not yet been fully exposed. Under the guidance of this erroneous thinking in 1978, allocations for capital construction were increased by 50 percent and the accumulation rate was raised to 36.5 percent in order to improve the rate of production increase, and the latter figure was close to the average at the time of the "Great Leap Forward" (39 percent). As a result, the crisis of disproportionate development which had been latent in the national economy suddenly became exposed.

The Second "Cabinet:" The Two Sides Are Even in Strength

In the face of such a crisis, the Chinese Communists were forced to carry out an economic readjustment. In June 1979, Hua Guofeng delivered a Report on the Work of the Government at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and formally announced that China would concentrate her efforts for a period of 3 years to carrying out an economic readjustment; he proposed the eight-character policy of "readjustment, restructuring, consolidation, and improvement." In order to better proceed with this work of readjustment, the "cabinet" was also reorganized; the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress appointed Chen Yun, Bo Yibo, Yao Yilin, and Ji Pengfei as vice premiers. Shortly thereafter, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress appointed Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li as vice premiers and recalled Ji Dengkuei and Chen Xilian.

The number of members in this second "cabinet" showed an increase over the "cabinet" of the First Session of the National People's Congress, as there were now a total of 18 vice premiers. They were Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian, Yu Qiuli, Geng Biao, Chen Yongguei, Fang Yi, Wang Zhen, Ku Mu, Kang Shi'en, Chen Muhua, Wang Renzhong, Chen Yun, Bo Yibo, Yao Yilin, Ji Pengfei, Zhao Ziyang, and Wan Li. The "petroleum faction" still made up 5 or 6 of these, but the "economic renovation faction," which is opposed to the economic thinking of the "petroleum faction" and energetically advocates readjustment and restructuring, also obtained 5 or 6 seats. Thus, except for Chen Yongguei, and except for the vice premiers not in charge of economic affairs and those whose orientations were not clear, the two factions became two sides whose forces were just about even.

In the course of China's advance toward economic readjustment, differences and contradictions between the two sides gradually developed.

Focus of Contention: "Agriculture, Light Industry, and Heavy Industry;" "Disproportionate Development"

Their contradictions were first reflected in their views on the developmental order of "agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry" and their estimation of "disproportionate development."

The "petroleum faction" was opposed to the order of "agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry" and insisted on the prior development of big steel, big chemical, and big petroleum industries. At the same time, they held that disproportionate development in the past was not too serious; that is to say, it would be all right to work things out just like in the past.

The viewpoint of the "economic renovation faction" is contrary to that of the "petroleum faction;" its members insist on the developmental order of "agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry," and their proposition now is: energy, communications, buildings, agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry. Meanwhile, they hold that disporportionate development in the past has been very serious and that there must be thorough readjustment and restructuring.

In the production, development, and construction of Beijing Municipality, a conflict developed between the "economic renovation faction" and the "petroleum faction."

Beijing Municipal Party Committee Stands-Up Against the Central Authorities

The No 1 person in command in Beijing Municipality, Lin Hujia [2651 0039 0502], is one of the "petroleum faction" personalities. After his accession to office, he first grasped, for the sake of generating good feelings on the part of the masses, a few minor measures intended to ameliorate the people's living conditions, such as food-vending stations, buses, etc. As soon as some results were achieved, he immediately invested all his energies in the development of Beijing's heavy industry.

The Capital Steel Company and Yanshan Chemical Works (originally the East Is Red Oil Refinery) were the key points of his planned development. Because of such blind development of heavy industry, serious pollution appeared in Beijing Municipality; air pollution was seven times higher than the international standard, and the underground water level receded rapidly. The central authorities repeatedly criticized such approaches by Lin Hujia in Beijing Municipality and stressed the developmental order of "agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry," pointing out that, especially in the capital, heavy industry should not have been developed in such a vigorous way. But Lin Hujia refused to listen and stood his ground consistently against the central authorities. Finally, RENMIN RIBAO, which leans toward the "economic renovation faction," suddenly burst forth with the four suggestions on construction in Beijing that were proposed to Beijing Municipality by the Central Secretariat (in this Secretariat the "economic renovation faction" dominates). These four suggestions were:

(1) In respect to public security in society, social order and morality and customs, Beijing must serve as a model for the nation and should also be the best in the world. (2) Efforts should be made to transform the environment of Beijing Municipality, do a good job of covering it with greenery and providing it with sanitation facilities, take advantage of its good conditions such as hills, water, cultural relics and ancient remains, so as to build it into a fine, clean, first-rate, modern city. (3) We must make our capital the city where culture, science, and technology are the most developed and the level of education is the highest in the nation. (4) Its economy must continue to prosper, and the people's living conditions must be stable and suitable.

From the content of these four suggestions, we can see that the central authorities were making the emphatic point of wanting to develop Beijing into a cultural city and not a city of heavy industry--of hoping that Beijing would become the political center, cultural center, and center of international intercourse of the country, and not an economic center.

Publication of these four suggestions put Lin Hujia and others on the defensive; although they dared not air their opposition orally, they were very resentful in their hearts. In practice, therefore, they ostensibly followed but actually went against the suggestions, still placing their attention and focus of work on industries, and gleefully talking about aiming Beijing's industrial products and technical and economic targets at the world's advanced level.

Lin Hujia, a Man Dedicated to Escalation

Shortly thereafter, RENMIN RIBAO published a Commentator's article criticizing the Beijing Municipal Party Committee. The article said: "In carrying out the four suggestions of the central authorities, the attitude of those concerned must be clear, and their actions must be decisive....Some comrades do not feel like saying that the four suggestions are not important, but instead they continue to refrain from agreeing to regard the development of heavy industry as secondary and continue to feel that unless heavy industry is grasped, nothing can "satisfy their craving." How, under such circumstances, can they make up their minds to carry out the suggestions of the central authorities?" Beijing's masses also came to pass on the word: "Lin Hujia is a man dedicated to escalation," meaning that Lin Hujia intended to continue to escalate his efforts in the handling of heavy industry construction and investment.

The differences between the "petroleum faction" and the "economic renovation faction" thus became clearly exposed.

Apart from the question of Beijing, differences and contradictions also developed between the "petroleum faction" and the "economic renovation faction" on the question of the Baoshan Steel Company in Shanghai. The Baoshan Steel Company got started under the ideological guidance of developing heavy industry on a priority basis and "taking steel as the key link." At that time, the one who took the responsibility for negotiating and signing the relevant agreement with Japan was Metallurgy Minister Tang Ke. Originally, he worked at the Petroleum Ministry. When the Baoshan Steel Company got started, Lin Hujia was the responsible person in Shanghai Municipality; he did his best to advocate operating the Baoshan Steel Company on a grand scale. But after the Baoshan Steel Company did get started, many problems appeared--e.g., groundwork, harbor, ore...loopholes seemed to be everywhere. The "economic renovation faction" demanded that the Baoshan Steel Company slow down the speed of its development and reduce its scale. But the "petroleum faction" still insisted on continuing the operation, even saying that "a third-stage construction work must still be undertaken."

In a word, serious differences existed between the two sides on the opinion of the order of "agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry" and disproportionate development.

Discussion of Production Goals, Yu Qiuli Visits Deng Xiaoping To Engage in Big Quarrel

Another great conflict between the "economic renovation faction" and the "petroleum faction" took place over the discussion of the goals of socialist production.

Around November 1979, RENMIN RIBAO published in succession a special Commentator's article, "We Must Clearly Understand the Goals of Socialist Production," and Yu Guangyuan's [0060 0342 6678] "A Brief Discussion on the Question of 'Theory Concerning the Economic Objectives of Socialism.'" The paper also launched a discussion on the goals of socialist production. Economists of the "economic renovation faction" held that "we must begin with the satisfaction of the people's consumption needs in our attempt to formulate our national economic plans and arrange for social production," and [we must] "develop our production with improvement of the people's livelihood as our goal." They also pointed out: "Some comrades pursue only output value but do not consider the goals of production, thinking that, in terms of big projects, the more the better, and in terms of production targets, the higher the better. In some places, the capital construction front is still being extended, with no willingness to shorten it; large amounts of national wealth are spent on many projects which for long periods yield no economic results. This is an important factor hampering the rapid rise in the level of the people's livelihood; in the end, production also fails to gain the kind of development it deserves." Here, the behavior of "some comrades" means of course the line followed by the "petroleum faction."

Not long after this discussion got started, the "petroleum faction" was provoked to fly into a great rage. In great haste and anger, Yu Qiuli paid a visit to Deng Xiaoping to question him vociferously: "Who decided to carry out this discussion?"

In the meantime, the Petroleum Ministry also issued a bulletin censuring the discussion "on the goals of socialist production" as a slogan in opposition to "Production First, Enjoyment Later."

Under the powerful pressure of the "petroleum faction," this discussion, carried on for less than 2 months, was forcibly brought to a close at the end of December.

Not until June this year did this discussion, as a result of the gradual loss of dominance by the "petroleum faction," proceed anew with the approval of the Central Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party.

Bohai No 2 Incident: Deng Yingchao Personally Visits Tianjin To Investigate

The "Bohai No 2" incident was a rock that caused the ship to capsize in the course of the "petroleum faction's" loss of influence. How was this incident exposed through retroactive investigation?

On 25 November 1979, oil-drilling rig "Bohai No 2" of the Oceanic Oil Exploration Bureau, under the jurisdiction of the Petroleum Ministry, capsized. This incident resulted entirely from a lack of respect for science and blind commandism on the part of the officials in charge. During the incident, 72 persons died, and the loss exceeded 37 million yuan.

After this incident occurred, the "petroleum faction" did its best to cover up the true situation and refrained from tracing the cause and responsibility. Leaders of the Oceanic Oil Exploration Bureau even declared: "In order to struggle, there is bound to be sacrifice. In years of war, we pay a price; when working on the four modernizations, we must pay a price, too. Seventy-two persons are worth it; they are heroes, and a tuition must be paid!" On the third day after the incident, they chose to write a report which refrained from reflecting the true situation. They preferred instead to discuss the merit of "Bohai No 2" in being unafraid of sacrifice in the context of the overall situation and to launch the activities of so-called great comparison, great propaganda, and great exaltation, never mentioning the question of scrutinizing the responsibility for the incident, and forbidding even the use of the term "incident." Thereafter, they also used this report to put forward the demand to concerned leading organs for their retroactive recognition as heroic martyrs.

The way the "petroleum faction" disposed of the "Bohai No 2" incident provoked the people's strong resentment; this was especially the case with the families of the dead. The Petroleum Ministry, under the rule of the "petroleum faction," never really cared about the living conditions of the masses over the years. It easily resorted to slogans such as "Put Your Life on the Line and Work Hard" and "Renovation Plus Life-and-Death Struggle," but there had long been murmurs everywhere among the masses. The "Bohai No 2" incident led to a great explosion of feelings on the part of the masses. People started to write letters to RENMIN RIBAO from everywhere, exposing many things and demanding that the true situation of and responsibility for the incident be investigated retroactively.

In the past 3 or 4 years, RENMIN RIBAO has played a very important role in conveying public opinion in the Chinese people's political life and has won the due trust of the people. Many people have acquired the habit of sending letters to RENMIN RIBAO when they encounter cases of injustice.

RENMIN RIBAO relayed these letters to the departments concerned and also began to investigate. But during the course of this investigation, the "petroleum faction" took advantage of its influence and attempted to cover things up or interfere wherever it could. The Central Commission for Inspection of Discipline dispatched Deng Yingchao personally to Tianjin to ascertain the situation. After Deng Yingchao's careful and comprehensive investigation, the true situation was finally made clear.

In July 1980, RENMIN RIBAO publicly reported the "Bohai No 2" incident and aroused public opinion throughout the country to unanimously blame the "petroleum faction." Shortly thereafter, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress announced that Petroleum Minister Song Zhenming had been dismissed from office and that Kang Shi'en had been given a big share of the blame.

Downfall of the "Petroleum Faction" in Public Opinion

At the same time that the "Bohai No 2" incident was being investigated, certain other mistakes made by the "petroleum faction" also were exposed.

For example, the exploration and exploitation of petroleum are now in an extremely unbalanced situation, with the result that there is likely to be a reduction in petroleum production next and the year after that. It is said that there might be a progressive yearly reduction of 8 million tons in production. This makes it impossible for China to fulfill certain trade agreements signed with foreign countries. China has, for example, already notified Japan that, beginning next year, the agreement by which China was to supply 9.5 million tons, and in 1982 15 million tons, of crude oil to Japan will no longer be carried out. The "petroleum faction" had brazenly bragged about China's petroleum production, taking it for granted that many Daqings would be worked out; this made many of China's officials look at the country's oil exports as if they were an inexhaustible source of foreign exchange, and they have therefore loosely resorted to blind importation and blind investment. This was one of the psychological factors leading to the economic adventurism of 1978. But the "petroleum faction's" false, exaggerated, and empty words could never have been translated into reality from the very beginning; yet the foreign exchange already spent and the irrational investments already made can no longer be recovered.

The public exposure of these mistakes on the part of the "petroleum faction" caused the downfall of the "petroleum faction" in public opinion.

The Third "Cabinet:" "Petroleum Faction" Turned Underdog

At the recently convened Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the "petroleum faction" became the target of all the criticism. The "Bohai No 2" incident, the Boshan Steel Company incident, the question of pollution in Beijing... were all brought out. The matter of Deputy Petroleum Minister Yang Yibang's [2799 5030 6721] trip abroad, involving indulgence in malpractice to benefit himself and violation of the law and of discipline, was also revealed. Several personalities of the "petroleum faction" were even subpoenaed to the congress for questioning. Their once awe-inspiring reputation was dashed to the ground.

In the meantime, the "cabinet" also carried out a reorganization for the third time. Zhao Ziyang was promoted to Premier; this was the greatest victory of the "economic renovation faction." The composition of the group of vice premiers also underwent a major change: five vice premiers well advanced in age resigned, Chen Yonggui was dismissed, and Wang Renzhong would not longer serve as vice premier. Three others, Yang Jingren [2799 7234 0088], Zhang Aiping [1728 1947 5493], and Huang Hua [7806 5478], also filled in as vice premiers without taking charge of economic affairs. The line up of vice premiers now stands as follows: Wan Li, Yu Qiuli, Ku Mu, Geng Biao, Bo Yibo, Fang Yi, Ji Pengfei, Zhang Aiping, Huang Hua, Yang Jingren, Kang Shi'en, and Chen Muhua.

Numerically speaking, the "petroleum faction" still has four or five seats, while the "economic renovation faction" has only three or four seats. But analyzed substantively, the "economic renovation faction" has now achieved dominance. First of all, Zhao Ziyang has taken over the premiership. Next, Wan Li has become No 1 vice premier. Thirdly, Yu Qiuli has lost his post as chairman of the State Planning Commission and been reappointed chairman of the Energy Commission, with Yao Yilin filling in at the important post of chairman of the State Planning Commission. And fourthly, Kang Shi'en was marked with a big demerit, Yu Qiuli was forced to undertake a self-examination, and a great many mistakes on the part of the "petroleum faction" were exposed, dashing its reputation.

Hence, in the third "cabinet" produced by the Fifth National People's Congress, the "petroleum faction" has already been become the underdog, and the scale now tips to the side of the "economic renovation faction." However, the "petroleum faction" still has no small amount of strength, its members still make up the majority in the "cabinet," and Yu Qiuliu is listed as No 2 in the pecking order of vice premiers.

The differences between the "petroleum faction" and the "economic renovation faction" are mainly differences in economic thinking. Working toward modernization is an entirely new issue faced by the Chinese economy; in the process of solving this new issue, the emergence of various contradictions and differences is not at all strange but is even inevitable.

9255
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HANDLING ACCIDENTS SUCH AS 'BOHAI NO. 2' DISCUSSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 80 p 1

[Article by Chen Shucan [7115 2885 3503] and Wang Saiyin [3769 6357 5419]: "Drawing a Lesson From the 'Bohai No 2' Accident to Improve Leadership Workstyle, Guangzhou Unit's CCP Committee Standing Committee Integrates Practice for Diligent Study of State Council Decisions"]

[Text] On 2 September, a Guangzhou Unit's CCP Committee Standing Committee convened a meeting to hear reports from organizational units concerned on various accidents that have occurred during this year to their subordinate units, integrating practice into the study of State Council decisions on the handling of the "Bohai No 2" accident. Everyone realized that the decision of the State Council possessed teaching significance of universal applicability both inside and outside the armed forces, and that it's significance was particularly profound for the education of leadership cadres on all echelons. Formerly, whenever an accident happened in a unit, all echelons of leadership frequently placed a great deal of blame on those beneath them, but now that the State Council has taken the lead, we, too, should lead in looking for reasons.

As a result of its analysis of some actual accidents in units, the Standing Committee realized that the occurrence of these accidents, though possessing problems attributable to grassroots soldier cadres, also really revealed numerous problems attributable to leadership at all echelons in managing education, in mastering policies, in the rigorous enforcement of rules and regulations, and in adhering to the mass line, and that these accidents were also attributable directly to the existence in some leaders of serious bureaucratism, failure to discharge their responsibilities, and even to dereliction.

Why is it that after a serious accident occurs in a unit, there is never any thoroughgoing investigation of the responsibility of the leaders? Everyone believes that an important reason is a subjective desire to exonerate and an evasion of the objective conditions. For example, stress is placed on good intentions, lack of experience, special circumstances, etc. They pointed out that many objective mistakes occur frequently under specific subjective conditions. Under the law, the basis for a thorough investigation of responsibility is, first of all, the damage caused by and the consequences of the accident. If one is to stress only intentions, then what is the use of having laws?

Everybody also analyzed how in the aftermath of some accidents in units, there were protracted delays in reporting or no action taken for a long period of time. They felt that in the maintenance of law and discipline, some leaders were still sheilding and covering up, glossing over, resorting to deception, and such improper behavior. Consequently, under such circumstances, it was all the more necessary to make a strict investigation even while the accident was being quickly checked into.

In the course of discussions, comrades at the meeting said that they wanted to draw on the lessons of the "Bohai No 2" accident making them a "model" for real action and for regular personal study to increase conception of the law, to improve leadership work style, and to strengthen their sense of responsibility. They demanded, at the same time, that every echelon of leadership take the lead in studying the State Council's decision, and to further summarize the lessons of experience from major accidents that have happened in the past, and to undertake reinvestigation and rediscussion of accident questions that have not been satisfactorily settled.

9432
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

LASER WEAPONS RESEARCH BEING ACCELERATED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Wang Zhiming [3769 1807 2494], "'Death Rays' — Laser Weapons"]

[Text] In the color movie, "Death Ray on Coral Island," several soul stirring scenes graphically depicted the power of "death rays," causing viewers to think of the laser weapons that people call "death rays."

The ancients made illusions to death rays. Their chivalrous swordsmen had flashing daggers and flashing swords from which the glint could kill. More than 2000 years ago, the famous mathematician and physicist, Archimedes, used copper sheets to make huge parabolic reflecting mirrors that reflected the rays of the sun to incinerate the invading Roman fleet. Once lasers came into being, these illusions and legends became a reality. In the spring of 1975, deep in mysterious and silent space a strange battle erupted. When two American reconnaissance satellites flew at high speed over the Soviet Siberian missile launching range, all that was seen was a flash and the two "eagles in the sky" went out of control at once, becoming "blind men." The two satellites, valued at several hundred million dollars, were wiped out within a few seconds, becoming the first sacrifices to Soviet anti-satellite weapon experiments.

Laser weapons are a magical light weapon. Unlike common rifles and guns, what they shoot is not metallic cartridges or shells, but bundles of high strength laser beams that are 10 billion times brighter than the sun. Within an effective range, these unusual beams may be used directly to kill or wound the enemy, and to wipe out airplanes, tanks, missiles, satellites, and military installations of various kinds. Laser weapons currently being test manufactured include laser rifles, laser guns, anti-guided weapon lasers, and anti-satellite laser weapons. The United States Army tested laser rifles on Vietnamese battlefields. In the shape of a submachine gun and weighing 10 kilograms, they can totally blind a person within from 0.00 to 0.1 seconds at a distance of 5 kilometers, causing clothing to catch fire, ignite explosives, and render ineffective all kinds of optical instruments. Since 1970, laser guns have been tested on numerous occasions abroad. They have shot down drone planes. Directed against a 2000-meter high missile for less than a second, the warhead exploded into bits; a hole the size of a fist was made in a tank's armor plate at several hundred meters distance. Anti-missile laser weapons use high energy lasers to intercept intercontinental guided missiles. Since the skin of a guided missile is usually made very thin, the firing of a laser beam focused on it can destroy the guidance system in its major part or penetrate its guidance mechanism, thereby achieving its anti-guidance objective. Laser weapons used specifically to intercept satellites are called anti-satellite laser weapons. They use high energy lasers to shine on the satellites, causing the optical sensing equipment on the satellites, the solar batteries, and remote sensing equipment to go blind and become useless. When used on the ground, they are called surface anti-satellite laser weapons, and when installed on satellites or used in flight, they are called space laser weapons. In recent years, both the Soviet Union and the United States may have used surface anti-satellite laser weapons to attack the opponent's military satellites, either blinding them or causing them to fall.

Since the laser bundles have a rapid percussion (300,000 kilometers per second), impacting instantaneously, there is no need to calculate lead, nor is there any recoil. Their direction of fire may also be changed rapidly and at will. For these reasons, laser weapons possess outstanding tactical capabilities not possessed by conventional weapons. As compared with nuclear weapons, there is no radiation damage, and there are no problems from radiation contamination or damage in the course of their manufacture, storage, transportation, or use. At the same time, they can destroy or gasify an intruding nuclear missile head in the air or in the outer layer of the atmosphere, thereby greatly decreasing radiation contamination and damage from the intruding nuclear weapon.

But laser weapons also have their drawbacks. They can also be defended against and destroyed. Absorption or dispersal of laser beams by rain, clouds, fog, and dust open laser weapons to great meteorological impairment, and therefore they cannot entirely replace existing weapons systems. Currently China is also accelerating laser weapons research.

9432
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PROVINCIAL PARTY SECRETARY ON NATIONALITY POLICY IN GANSU

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITY UNITY] in Chinese No 8, 15 Aug 80 pp 9-12

[Article by Song Ping, first secretary of the Gansu Provincial CCP Committee: "Earnestly Implement the Party's Nationality Policy and Accelerate the Economic and Cultural Development of the Minority Nationality Areas in Gansu"]

[Text] Recently, the directive issued by the Party Central Committee on work in Xizang and the important speeches made by comrades Hu Yaobang and Wan Li when making their inspection of Xizang reiterated the party's nationality policy and stressed that Xizang reiterated the party's nationality policy and stressed that Xizang, under the unified leadership of the central authorities, must fully exercise its regional national autonomy rights; carry out on all economic fronts flexible policies that are specially suited to Xizang so as to fairly rapidly promote Xizang's economic development; to vigorously restore and develop Xizang's cultural, educational, and scientific undertakings in order as rapidly as possible to raise the material and cultural levels of all nationalities in Xizang; and to vigorously train minority nationality cadres in order to strengthen the unity between the people of all nationalities in Xizang. These instructions have not only greatly encouraged the people of all nationalities in the Xizang region, but also their fundamental spirit is totally applicable to other national minority autonomous areas. With the shift in emphasis of the party's and state's work, and with the people of the country heading for the new historical period of the four modernizations, this series of instructions from the Party Central Committee possesses even more weighty significance.

Gansu is a multinational province in which there are compact communities of over 10 minority nationalities, including the Hui, Zang, Dongxiang, Tu, Yugu, Bao'an, Meng, Sala, Hasake, and Man, altogether 1.43 million people or close to 8 percent of the province's population. The province now has the two autonomous prefectures of Gannan and Linxia and 18 minority nationality counties of which six are nationality autonomous counties. The minority nationality communities occupy a vast territory of about 180,000 square kilometers, which is 38 percent of the province's total area. Over 60 percent of the province's over 200 million mu of natural grassland is in the minority nationality areas, which annually account for about half of the province's total supply to the state of livestock products. In these minority nationality areas, mineral, forestry, and water conservancy resources are very rich and have great production potential. Therefore, doing good work in the minority nationality areas is of extremely great significance for developing the stable and united political situation in the province and for developing production and bringing about a prosperous economy.

In Gansu, the laboring people of the Han, Hui, Zang, and all other nationalities have a long history of getting along pleasantly and developing side by side. But, because successive ruling classes practiced policies of nationality discrimination and oppression, there still exists much misunderstanding in nationality relationships. After the liberation of the entire country, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the work in the minority nationality areas of our province achieved great successes. Agricultural production, livestock production, and industrial construction developed swiftly, and, as the people's life improved, the nationality relationships greatly improved. But, in the implementation of the party's nationality policy, there occurred fairly serious errors. The main error was that when class struggle was expanded many good people were harmed. Under the influence of the idea that "the nationality problem is in essence a class problem," especially the disruption and destruction caused by the ultra-"left" line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the special features of the nationalities were not considered and the religious beliefs, customs, and habits of minority nationalities were not respected. Many contradictions that originally belonged in the category of those among the people were indiscriminately handled as problems for class struggle, and many cadres and masses of the minority nationalities were attacked and harmed. In economic construction, natural laws were flouted, one-crop agriculture was practiced, grasslands were opened up indiscriminately, forests were destroyed, the ecological balance was wrecked, and the economy of minority nationality areas was damaged. In economic policy, there were excessive restrictions and the enthusiasm of the masses was dampened, which created great difficulties for agricultural and livestock production and for the life of the masses.

After the "gang of four" was smashed, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee, the Gansu provincial party committee has vigorously and thoroughly carried out the policies of the central authorities and has conscientiously done the work in minority nationality areas. While exposing and criticizing the crime of wrecking nationality unity committed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the committee brought order out of chaos; made a thorough overhaul; reversed and redressed a great number of grievances, trumped-up cases, and miscarriages of justice that occurred during the Great Cultural Revolution; earnestly solved some major problems left over from history; implemented the party's nationality cadres; and replenished the party and government leading groups at all levels in the minority nationality area and replenished the economic, cultural, and educational departments. The committee reaffirmed the party's policy of freedom of religious belief, restored the provincial Islamic society, the Buddhist society and other religious groups, and lifted the ban on mosques, temples, and religious centers. In rural policies, the committee took some measures to relax restrictions in the minority nationality areas. For example, in some places with fairly big difficulties, it reduced the state purchase quotas, put into effect various forms of responsibility systems for integrated output, converted some communes and production brigades to animal husbandry from agriculture and vice versa according to local conditions, and abolished quotas on livestock for personal needs in farming areas. It also allocated interest-free loans from local finances and helped commune members of nationalities whose religion bans pork to raise sheep for their personal needs. In stockbreeding areas, the committee has universally put into effect the production responsibility system of "fix the output according to the livestock, fix the work according to the group, give instructions to the group, place responsibility on the individual, reward overfulfillment of production targets, and punish underfulfillment of production targets," and relaxed the restrictive quotas on the herdsmen's livestock for personal needs. In order to comprehensively implement the party's nationality policy and conscientiously do good nationality work, in October of last year, the provincial party committee specially held a reeducation study class on the nationality policy for responsible persons of the prefecture, autonomous prefectures, and county party committees and also organized the broad masses of cadres throughout the province to restudy Comrade Zhou Enlai's important speech entitled "On Some Questions Concerning Our Country's Nationality Policy" and to be reeducated about the nationality policy. Recently, the committee also transferred over 100 cadres to form an inspection group that on a big scale inspected nationality work provincewide. With all of this, the committee has forcefully mustered the socialist enthusiasm of the great number of cadres and masses in the minority nationality areas, promoted the restoration and development of agricultural and livestock production in the nationality areas, strengthened nationality unity, and improved nationality relations. However, weighing the directives of the central authorities and the demands of the masses, there still exist in our work many problems and disparities. The main ones are that among a considerable number of cadres there still exists an insufficient understanding of the important position of nationality work in our province, that they have not studied sufficiently the autonomy of nationality regions and the special features of minority nationality areas. Thus, in guiding work, there still exists among these cadres the shortcomings of giving only vague general directions and of doing things in only one way, and there is a lack of effective, special measures for economic and cultural construction in the minority nationality areas and there is often insufficient consideration given to some special needs and interests of the minority nationalities. These problems should be conscientiously and earnestly solved by practical work in the future. With regard to problems that temporarily cannot be solved, we must give clear explanations to the great number of nationality cadres and masses so as to obtain their understanding and support. We must also take a positive attitude toward these problems and strive hard to create conditions for their gradual solution.

In line with the spirit of the Party Central Committee's directive and linking it with the actual situation in our province, the central tasks in the future for our minority nationality areas are: comprehensively and thoroughly implement the party's nationality policy; further develop and perfect nationality regional autonomy; unite the people of all nationalities to work with one mind and one heart; swiftly develop the economic, cultural, and scientific undertakings in the nationality areas; continually raise the material living standards and the scientific and cultural standards of the people of every nationality; and in a planned and step-by-step way gradually make these areas flourish, develop, and prosper. In order to realize this objective, we must do the following items of work well.

1. Conscientiously implement the party's policy on nationality regional autonomy and respect the right of nationality autonomous localities to make their own decisions. The practice of nationality region autonomy is a fundamental policy of our party with regard to the nationality question, and is clearly provided for in the constitution. Comrade Zhou Enlai once emphatically pointed out: "All rights to

nationality autonomy provided by the constitution, as well as all the laws, regulations, and decrees concerning the rights to nationality autonomy based on the constitution, should be respected. In this regard, from the central government to local government, there are some times when insufficient attention is paid to this. We should make more investigations and more criticisms." This directive of Comrade Zhou Enlai's, although given over 10 years ago, still possesses today practical guiding significance, and we should make regular inspections and insist that [the nationality policy] is carried out. The core of the policy of nationality region autonomy is autonomy, i.e., the right to make independent decisions. In this respect, in our province the main point is to grasp five things: First, respect the jurisdiction of the nationality autonomous localities. This is a precondition for the exercise of autonomy in nationality territories. The nationality territories' borders and their natural resources such as grassland, water, forests, and minerals should be conscientiously protected and respected. In these respects, the handling of problems left over from history and of controversial problems certainly must be in line with respect for the autonomous rights of nationality autonomous localities, and must be in line with the principle of being advantageous to nationality unity and to the development of production. We must educate people that there are two sides to a dispute, and, in particular, the Han cadres and masses should take the whole situation into account, in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accomodation, and, by means of democratic consultation, reach solutions as rapidly as possibe. Second, conscientiously insure that the autonomous organizations in the nationality autonomous territories, under the unified leadership of the party, fully exercise their autonomy. All general and specific policies, and systems formulated by the higher levels that are unsuitable for the minority nationality areas can be not carried out or can be flexibly carried out. But, with respect to important problems, they must ask for instructions beforehand and, with regard to ordinary problems, they must submit reports afterward. All leadership organizations at every level must respect the right of nationality autonomous localities to make independent decisions and cannot arbitrarily interfere with them. Third, party and government leading groups in minority nationality areas must gradually work toward the nationality cadres being the principal body carrying out autonomy. The first step is for the party and government leading groups to work hard for, within a period of 3 years, the local nationality cadres becoming about 60 percent of the toal number of cadres. Departments concerned at the provincial level also must appropriately deploy minority nationality cadres to hold positions of leadership work. Fourth, in order to protect nationality autonomy and the special interests of nationalities, the autonomous organizations of nationality autonomous localities can, according to the provisions of the constitution, formulate some concrete laws and regulations. Based on the special features of the localities themselves. Fifth, the facilities of the autonomous organizations in nationality autonomous localities can, based on the actual local situation, make decisions on their own, and it is not necessary for them to act in harness with Han areas. The upper-level leadership organizations and professional departments cannot impose uniformity on them.

2. Vigorously develop economic and cultural construction in the minority nationality areas. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "We must earnestly and sincerely vigorously help the minority nationalities to develop economic construction and cultural construction." Comrade Zhc Enlai also has said: "We must both treat all nationalities equally and make everybody prosper. The fundamental position of

our socialism on the nationality policy is the prosperity of all nationalities." The main problem in the minority nationality areas of Gansu are that the economy is very undeveloped, the culture is extremely backward, and the masses in some of these areas are still fairly poverty-stricken. Therefore, our main effort should be put on developing production and doing well in economic construction. Once production is developed, other problems can be taken care of. All party and government leadership organizations at every level in the minority nationality areas must shift the focus of their work to economic and cultural construction. In the minority nationality areas of our province, there is vast territory and abundant resources. There are vast prospects for the development of animal husbandry, forestry, agriculture, and industry. We should make full use of our distinctive features, and formulate, in line with local conditions, short-term and long-term plans for economic construction, gradually readjust the overall arrangement of production in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, and industry so as to give free rein to our superiority and to bring out the strong points and avoid the weak points. Counties in which there is a fairly large area of grassland should give priority to livestock. Forests cover a vast area in Tewo and Zhuqu counties of Gannan Zang [Tibetan] Autonomous Prefecture, and the two counties should be gradually transformed into forestry counties. In all the other counties, agriculture and animal husbandry should be developed simultaneously, and thus should be an integrated development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations, and fishery. We must further relax every economic policy in the minority nationality areas and allow the masses to recuperate and recover so as to benefit the restoration and development of production.

In order to change as rapidly as possible the backward state of affairs in the minority nationality areas, the provincial party committee has decided, for the next 2 years, to provide grants-in-aid to, first of all, the several key elementary schools and the one key middle school in the two autonomous prefectures and in the nine animal husbandry and half-agricultural, half-animal husbandry counties, and also to create conditions so that students in pastoral areas can board at school. For all those nationalities that have their own scripts, the ordinary elementary schools must teach in the nationality's script and language, and in the higher grades the Han language and script will also be taught. In order to quickly bring out talent, we are also preparing to select a group of outstanding students from among the junior and senior middle school students of minority nationalities to be sent to key middle schools in the interior for study (giving them grants-in-aid), so as to train students qualified for institutions of higher education and to lay a good foundation for training special talents.

3. Vigorously train minority nationality cadres. To select and train minority nationality cadres is one important aspect of the party's nationality policy. It is impossible to do well in constructing the four modernizations in the minority nationality areas without a large group of cadres of minority nationality background who can uphold the party's line, who are in the prime of life, and who possess specialized knowledge. The minority nationalities not only want their own nationality's party and government cadres, but also want their own nationality's military cadres and cultural and educational cadres and also scientists, artists, engineers, and doctors as well as people who are talented in other fields. This is a key to solving the nationality problem. In the over 30 years since liberation, following the development of the socialist cause, Gansu Province now has more than

12,000 cadres, of various categories, with minority nationality background, and among them are over 2,000 cadres who hold leading posts in the province, prefecture, county, and commune. The great majority of these minority nationality cadres are good or comparatively good. They are loyal to the party's cause, firmly carry out the party's line, uphold the socialist path, have close relations with the masses, and play an important role on each front. They are the backbone in launching the party's work in minority nationality areas, and are the party's and state's previous wealth. The main problem existing at present is that there are few minority nationality cadres and, among special technology personnel, there are even fewer. Gannan Zang Autonomous Prefecture now has 2,217 special cadres of all categories, and among them only 431 are minority nationality cadres, 15 percent of the total. And there are even fewer people with specialized talents at the higher levels, so that the cadres are far from being suitable for developing the economy, culture, education, and science in the minority nationality areas. The incorrect line delayed the training and maturation of nationality cadres, and, following the development of the construction of the four modernizations, the contradiction of lacking nationality cadres, particularly persons with all sorts of special talents, has become more and more prominent. In order to change this state of affairs, we have, in the past 2 years, in a planned way recruited over 2,000 minority nationality cadres to strengthen each front, and also selected a group of fairly outstanding nationality cadres to be part of the party and government leading groups at all levels. However, to fundamentally solve the problem of too few nationality cadres and their low level of specialized education still requires much arduous, painstaking work. In the future we plan, in addition to continuing to set special work targets and, in a planned way to recruit a group of minority nationality cadres. The focal point will be on getting a good grip on training nationality cadres. We intend to ask the Northwest Nationalities Institute and institutions of higher learning concerned to help train nationality cadres and to offer courses on nationalities at Gansu Agricultural University and Gansu Teachers University, and also to train by rotation in groups leading cadres and specialized cadres of the nationality areas at classes in party and cadre schools at all levels. In order to strengthen work in the minority nationality areas, we once in the past assigned large numbers of Han cadres to work in the nationality areas. They bore the great trust placed upon them by the party and the people of all nationalities and did highly effective work there. The great majority are well acquainted with local conditions and have established close relations with the minority nationality masses, and moreover, enjoy the masses' confidence, love and esteem. Provided their state of health permits, they should remain there and continue to strive to do good work so as to, as rapidly as possible, change the features there in line with the sacred duty given to them by the party. All cadres who came from outside to work in nationality areas must conscientiously learn the language and script of the local nationality, respect the local nationality's customs and habits, exemplarily carry out the party's nationality policy, unite as one with the cadres and masses of the local nationality, and, in order to change as rapidly as possible the backward state of affairs in minority nationality areas, to make new contributions to the construction of the four modernizations in these areas. At the same time, the cadres of each nationality must unite with them in fraternal love, mutual respect, and mutual study. With regard to the small number of cadres from the outside working in the minority nationality areas who truly have actual difficulties, they must be, in a planned and orderly way, transferred to the interior where they will be assigned work and have satisfactory arrangements made for them. From now on, the cadres transferred to the minority nationality areas, with the exception of key members of the leadership, will mostly be specialized graduates of universities and middle schools and talented people who have specialized knowledge or special capabilities, in order to accelerate the development of economic construction and cultural construction in the minority nationality areas.

4. Comprehensively implement the party's policy of freedom of religious belief. Among the great majority of minority nationalities, the influence of religion is fairly deep, and moreover these religious beliefs are frequently intertwined with the customs and habits of the minority nationalities. Therefore, the conscientious implementation of the party's religious policy, the correct handling of every kind of religious problem, and the earnest respect for the customs, habits and religious beliefs of the minority nationalities is extremely significant for the strengthening of nationality unity and the doing of good nationality work. We must comprehensively implement the party's religious policy, protect the freedom of religious belief, and respect the normal religious life of the religious masses. We must conscientiously protect the existing mosques and temples, and, based on actual conditions, also appropriately increase the number of centers for religious activities, making it convenient for the masses to engage in regular religious activities. At the same time, educating the religious masses to be on their guard against a small number of lawless elements who would use religion to engage in illegal activities. With regard to the patriotic figures in the upper religious strata of the nationalities, we must conscientiously do good work on unity and education. We must show solicitude for them politically and give appropriate consideration to their life, giving them an opportunity to learn and do good deeds for the people, so that they play the role they can play in the construction of the four modernizations and in the international struggle against hegemonism.

To accelerate the construction of the minority nationality areas is an honorable and arduous task assigned to us by the party and the people of all nationalities. Let us, under the unified leadership of the Party Central Committee, unite even closer, uphold the four basic principles, uphold the party's political line and its ideological line, and resolutely and thoroughly carry out the party's nationality policy in order to change, as reapidly as possible, the poor and backward features of the minority nationality areas in our province, and also struggle hard to make them, as rapidly as possible, flourish, develop and prosper.

9727
CSO: 4005

HOW FOUNDER OF TANG DYNASTY EDUCATED HIS CHILDREN

Hangzhou HANGZHOU DAXUE XUEBAO [HANGZHOU UNIVERSITY JOURNAL] in Chinese No 1, Mar 80 pp 21-23, 59

[Article by Wei Deliang [7614 1795 5328]: "How Li Shimin Educated the Crown Prince and Other Princes"]

[Text] Tang [Emperor] Tai Zong, Li Shimin, was one of the preeminent statesmen of our country's ancient period. He fully emphasized, and moreover was skilled at summarizing, historical experience and using it as a lesson on which to firmly build Li-Tang rule. The most outstanding manifestation of this was his education of the crown prince and the various other princes.

During the years of the Zhenguan reign, Tang Tai Zong and his court officials often discussed the problem, "Which among the tasks of an emperor is more difficult, to found or maintain a dynasty?" During the founding period of the Li-Tang Dynasty, Tang Tai Zong frequently risked his life and endured hardships, so he had a deep personal understanding of the "difficulties of founding." But it was only after he assumed the reins of power that he came to know the urgent and practical difficulties of "maintaining" the dynasty.

In reality, "maintaining" was a problem of how to preserve and strengthen Li-Tang political power. From history, Tang Tai Zong recognized not only that the length of Li-Tang rule would naturally depend on his own actions, but also that an even more important responsibility would fall on his children, especially on the person acceding to the imperial throne--that is, the crown prince. He said: "We have viewed the rulers who have, in earlier dynasties, put down disorders and established their dynasties, who because they were born and raised among the people recognized emotions and falsity and so were seldom defeated. But the succeeding cultured rulers, who had been born to wealth and did not know hardships, were brought to destruction."[1] Because of this conclusion, he took the education of his children very seriously.

First, he put special emphasis on teaching "the way of a ruler." Aside from asking the tutors always to teach the crown prince and other princes about "affairs that happen among the common people,"[2] Tai Zong himself often used [the precept that] "the way of the ruler requires first keeping the common people in mind" to educate his children. This was especially true after the original crown prince, Chengqian, having gone from excessive luxury and indulgence in women and song to forming a subversive faction and secretly plotting to seize the throne, was reduced to the status of commoner. Tai Zong's treatment of the new crown prince, the Prince of Pu, Li Zhi, was even more a matter of "one must instruct as things are encountered." Seeing the crown prince eating rice, Tai Zong taught him: "Do you know about rice? All the toils and hardships of a farmer's life are met with human effort, and yet if we do not steal his time, we will always have this rice." Seeing the crown prince mounting a horse, Tai Zong again taught him: "Do you know about horses? They are able to take the place of human labor. By giving them timely rest we do not exhaust their strength, so we then can always have horses." Seeing the crown prince boarding a boat, Tai Zong then advised him: "Do you know about boats? A boat can be compared to the ruler and water to the masses. Water can carry the boat, but it can also overturn the boat. Thus, if you are a ruler, can you not be afraid!" Seeing the crown prince resting beneath a bent tree, Tai Zong again admonished him: "Do you know about this tree? Although crooked, if this tree is tied up, it will become straight. A ruler, although without the way, will become sagelike if he receives remonstrance."[3] Tai Zong thus used trivial matters of daily life to teach his children the "way of the ruler," a way that entailed protecting the common people by not taking their time and not exhausting their strength, by restraining one's sensual desires, and by accepting remonstrance. In the year before his death, that is to say the 22nd year of the Zhenguan period, he also edited the "Difan" [Standards for an Emperor] in 12 chapters in order to give it to Crown Prince Li Zhi. The chapter titles of this work are: The Theory of Rulers; Bringing Up the Family; Seeking the Worthy; Examining Officials; Accepting Remonstrance; Warding off Slander; Admonition Against Waste; Honor Frugality; Rewards and Punishments; Serving Agriculture; Inspecting the Military; and Venerating Culture. This work, the "Difan," in reality then is a summation of Tang Tai Zong's lifetime of political experience. He enjoined the crown prince: "Cultivate yourself to rule the state; the rules are all in this book. Never violate them, for there is nothing it does not tell you." He also raised from his own lifetime "errors committed in action" to admonish Li Zhi: "You ought further to seek the ancient sage-kings as teachers, for to listen to me is not sufficient. If you pattern yourself after the best, you will certainly obtain their level; if you model yourself after the mediocre, you unavoidably will become inferior. Since I have been on the throne, I have done quite a few wrong things. Brocades, embroideries, pearls, and jade are previously unmatched; the palaces are being constantly built; and animals are collected without regard for distance. I travel everywhere and my every request is immediately imposed on someone. I have been deeply involved in all of these things, but you should not pattern yourself after me."[4] Originally he exploited the people and indulged himself, for pride, luxury, debauchery, and idleness are the real nature of the landlord class, and as a feudal emperor, Li Shimin was certainly unable to cast off the essential characteristics of his class. He was, however, able to open his eyes to the long-term interests of Li-Tang rule and to learn lessons from those rulers in history who had lost the state. At the same time as he strove to control his own excesses, he was able often and everywhere to use this spirit to instruct and restrain his own children. Objectively speaking, this still necessarily has a positive meaning.

Next, in the matter of his children, Tang Tai Zong also emphasized teaching "virtuous conduct." He personally admonished his children and brothers: "For a person to establish himself, only virtuous conduct is precious. Why seek "glory and riches."[5] Certainly for the family of an emperor, "honor and wealth" come naturally, so there is no need to worry or be apprehensive about these things. But we do need to worry and be apprehensive about whether we can permanently protect this "glory and riches." Tang Tai Zong, by unifying historical experience, knew that glory, wealth, and power without virtuous conduct, intelligence, and scholarship cannot be relied on. Since ancient times, the younger brothers and sons of emperors had been enfeoffed with land and had lived in incomparable wealth and glory, but very few of them had been able to protect their wealth and position for very long. The reason for this was that they were born within the palace and grew up entirely in women's hands and so were without ability, lacked virtue, and were given to personal arrogance and idleness. "Therefore they fell down calling on each other, and few were able to help themselves."[6] The fact that "Emperor Wen of the Sui had been harsh toward his sons and caused many to act without etiquette, so when he died they were all exterminated"[7] further triggered Tai Zong's vigilance. Because of this, he again instructed his children: "You all occupy places among kings and your families are fed by your fiefs of maintenance; . . . you ought to limit and encourage yourselves, causing your good deeds to become daily news, and not give yourselves over to your desires and unrestrainedly indulge your emotions." "If you do not honor my admonitions and guidance, and forget and abandon etiquette and law, you necessarily will end up being executed. And even though your father loves you, what could he do about it?"[8] At this time, he again especially ordered Wei Zheng to "record how, from ancient times on, the sons and younger brothers of emperors have failed. Call this work 'A Record of the Evil of the Nobility of Ancient Times' and give a copy to each of my children and brothers, for I want them to keep this book by their sides and use it as a basis for character development."[9]

Third, in order to strengthen the education of his children, Tang Tai Zong also emphasized the selection and effective use of tutors. Moreover, he considered "searching for the worthy and virtuous in order to assist the alternate palace (meaning the crown prince), and accordingly for the various princes to seek out upright scholars,"[10] to be directly related to one of the major issues of national security. Tang Tai Zong stressed education, study, and the assistance of tutors from birth. He said: "A man who attains knowledge without perseverance will deviate from what he has been taught." At the same time, he used King Cheng of the Zhou Dynasty and Emperor Ershi of the Qin Dynasty as examples to clarify that "a man's good and evil truly come from his recent training." When King Cheng of Zhou was young, "those whom the Zhou summoned to be palace guardians were all worthy, so he daily heard refined instruction, which was sufficient to give long life to his benevolence and to increase his virtue, causing him to become a sage ruler." Qin Ershi, Huhai, "employed Yue Gao as his teacher and was taught punishment as a method, so when he succeeded to the throne, he executed meritorious ministers, murdered his relatives, and was extremely cruel. Thus in a very short time he was lost."[11]

Because of these examples, [Tang Tai Zong] personally selected "straightforward and trustworthy" great ministers to assume responsibility as tutors to the crown prince and the other princes. Among these were Wei Zheng, Changsun Wuji, Fang Xuanling, Wang Gui, Li Baiyue, Yu Zhiyu, Zhang Xuansu, Du Zhenglun, Linghu Defen, Kong Yingda, and the like. Those who fulfilled their instructional duties were praised and rewarded, while those who failed in these duties were exiled or punished. Tang Tai Zong considered that serving as one of the crown prince's mentors--the "three masters" (that is to say, the crown prince's grand tutor, grand master, and grand guardian, who were together termed the Three Tutors to the Eastern Palace)--was to be "one who uses virtue to lead a person. If the teacher is himself base, the Crown Prince will be without the wherewithal to gain principle." Therefore he ordered compiled "The Annotated Etiquette for the Crown Prince's Reception of the Three Masters," which laid out the rules for the crown prince's meetings with his tutors, so that they fully met the requirements of decorum. He decreed: When the three masters go to the Eastern Palace, "the crown prince will greet them in front of the door to the palace hall. He will first bow to the three masters, who will bow in reply. At each door, the crown prince will make way for the three masters. When the three masters sit, then the crown prince may sit. When he reads with the three teachers, he will be apprehensive both before and after reciting, and he will bow again." At the same time, he also taught his children that whenever they met a tutor, "it is as if you were facing me, and you should be very respectful and not at all negligent."[12] Tang Tai Zong greatly raised the tutors' political status, establishing the tutors' reputation and dignity in order to make full use of their instruction. The crown prince's second tutor, Li Gang, had a diseased foot, so that it was uncomfortable for him to move about. Tai Zong especially bestowed on him a "sedan chair, ordered three guardsmen carry him into the Eastern Palace, and commanded the crown prince to place him at the head of the hall and personally bow to him, greatly raising Li Gang's prestige."[13] Tai Zong was able to see that his children were growing up deep within the palace and would spend their youths in riches, with the result that they would have the weaknesses of pride, idleness, and lack of restraint. Therefore he adopted these policies as measures to rectify the shortcomings of their character.

Historical experience, especially the lessons of the Sui's fall, had brought Tai Zong to recognize why "there was often disorder in going from the ancestral founding ruler to his descendants." It was not only because "the young rulers grew up deep within the palace and spent their youths in wealth and glory, not experiencing the emotions and falsities among the people, so that in governing the state they often threw the government into chaos," but, moreover, it was also because "the sons of meritorious ministers were often without ability and used their ancestors' coattails to obtain high office, while not cultivating their own virtue and righteousness, but rather were too fond of extravagance and given to licence." The result was that "the ruler was young and weak and his ministers were also without ability, so that they were at the top but were unsupported. How could there not be rebellion!" Therefore at the same time as he educated his own children, Tai Zong demanded that his officials also "admonish and encourage their sons so as to make them faultless."[14]

The ferocity of the popular uprisings in the late Sui had an extremely deep influence on Tang Tai Zong, as he had been on the battlelines of the anti-Sui struggle, giving him a comparatively clear understanding of the great power of the masses: "As for the Song of Heaven, if a man has the way, he is propelled by the people into being the ruler; if he is without the way, then the people will abandon him, for they do not need him."[15] Because of this, "keeping the common people in mind" was then his general motto for the tasks of governing the country, pacifying the borders, and educating his children. This explanation of the historical reality of feudal politics was, within a certain time period and at a certain stage, sufficient to accept the lessons of the peasant uprisings. Naturally, Tai Zong's purpose in saying "Keep the common people in mind" was not actually for the sake of the common people but rather to make firm the feudal autocratic rule and to preserve a long and peaceful reign for the Li-Tang Dynasty. It was exactly in this summarizing of the past and bringing it forward that he put forth his effort, summarizing historical experience and earnestly seeking lessons from the fall of the Sui.

But the historical experience of "to live in peace and think of danger" and "to govern while thinking about rebellions" could not be a thoroughly restrictive force on a feudal emperor, because of the fundamental character of the feudal landlord class. Even Tai Zong, who took himself to be "a ruler who suppressed rebellion and established a dynasty," and who said of himself that "there is nothing in the suffering of the common people with which I am unfamiliar,"[16] was no exception, for "after he came to the throne," and especially in the later period [of his reign], how could he not "indulge in pleasures that exhausted the people, so that the traces of his frugality changed with the years and the emotions of arrogance and extravagance daily became more remarkable!"[17] As for his several children, who "grew up deep within the palace and spent their youths in wealth" not knowing the emotions and falsity of the people, not knowing of the toils and troubles of the peasantry, naturally we need not say anything more. Because of this, even though Tai Zong emphasized the education of the crown prince and other princes, putting great effort into this task, the objective results can be visualized without difficulty. Wei Zheng pointed out, while analyzing the reasons Tang Tai Zong "was unable in the end to overcome his thrift and frugality:" How could he not receive the honors of a great state and have the wealth of the whole world, when none opposed what he said and people had to follow whatever he did. He indulged his desires and was lacking in etiquette because of his sensual desires.[18] Why did such a situation occur? This is a question that Wei Zheng did not answer, and was basically without the means to answer. Only with Marxism are we able to see clearly that the fundamental cause lay in the feudal autocratic system.

If that system is not changed and efforts are only exerted in the content and methods of education, there can be no fundamental solution. Naturally, when we expose and criticize the essential class character of Tang Tai Zong's education of his children, we can still see, based on the principle of historical materialism, that while being a feudal emperor, Li Shimin was still able to use the fall of the Sui as a mirror and concentrate his mental efforts directly on a line of approach that advanced the education of his children, using the idea of "keeping the common people in mind," and that this was a positive contribution to real needs. When compared to the many feudal emperors in our country's history, Tai Zong had areas in which he excelled the others. Speaking for today, the experience of his educating his children, and the lesson drawn therefrom, still should not be lost.

FOOTNOTES

1. Zhenguan zhengyao, 4 "Educating the Crown Prince and Other Princes."

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Zizhi tongjian [Comprehensive mirror for aid in government], 198.

5. Zhengyao, 4 "Educating the Crown Prince and Other Princes."

6. Ibid. "Respect for Teachers."

7. Tongjian, 194

8. Zhengyao, 4 "Educating the Crown Prince and Other Princes."

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid. "Setting Duties for the Crown Prince and Other Princes."

11. Ibid. "Respect for Teachers."

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Zhengyao, 3 "Warnings from the Past for the Ruler and His Ministers."

15. Zhengyao, 1 "The Political System."

16. Zhengyao, 4 "Educating the Crown Prince and Other Princes."

17. Zhengyao, 10 "Being Scrupulous About Funerals."

18. Ibid.

9504
CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76928

4 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 144

Selections from JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No. 11, 1980

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76928

4 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 144

SELECTIONS FROM JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No. 11, 1980

CONTENTS

Training in Radio Communication Warfare Described
[Zhao Fasheng and Zhou Yi] 1

Airborne Unit Training Described
[Li Qiaobin and Huang Danzhuang] 6

Recreation Center Offers Numerous Facilities
[Cao Xiafu,Wang Feng, et al.] 11

Rescue Training During 'Nuclear Attack' 16

'Defense' at the Point of Breakthrough 20

Fujian Vinylon Plant in Operation
[Ren Qishun and Zhang Dongfeng] 23

Exploiting the Helinhe New Coalfield
[Liu Hui and Zu Ruiting] 27

[III - CC - 80]

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

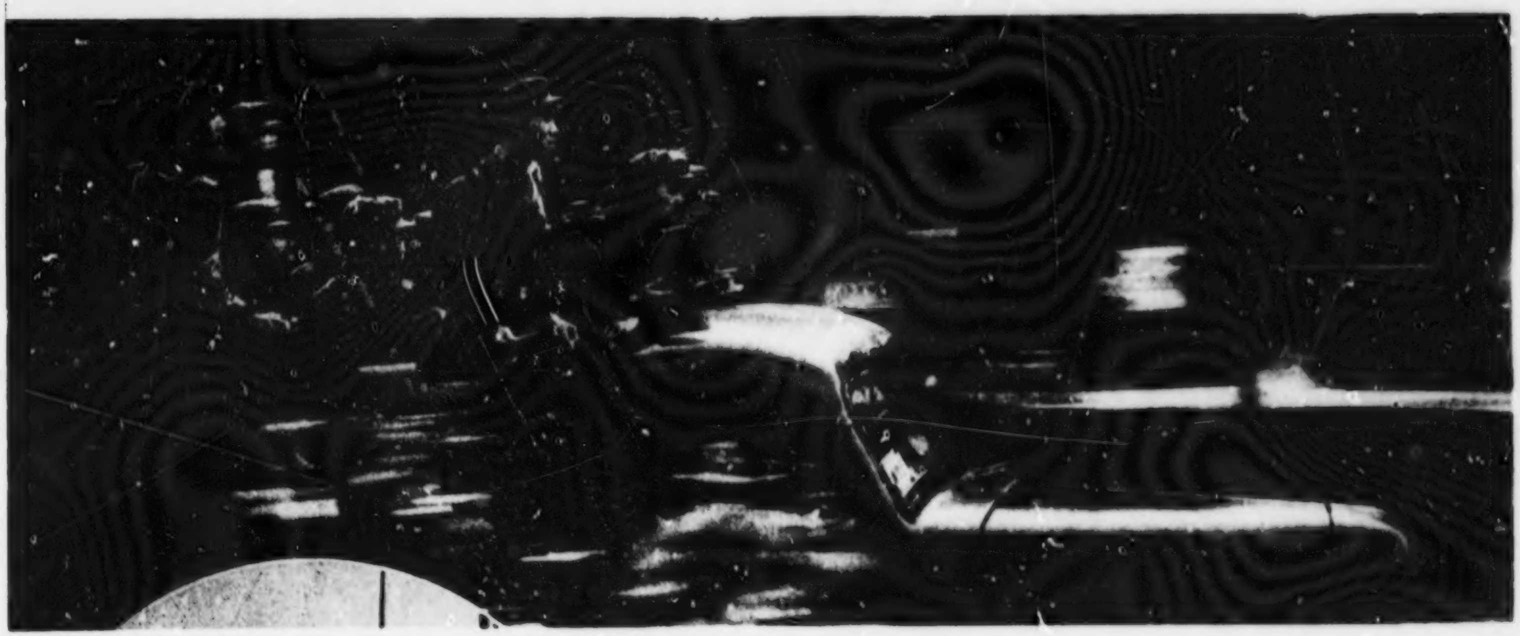
TRAINING IN RADIO COMMUNICATION WARFARE DESCRIBED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 11, 1980 pp 4-5

[Article by Zhao Fasheng [6392 4099 3932] and Zhou Yi [0791 1473]: "Radio Communication Warfare"]

[Text] In order to meet the needs of signal communications in a war against aggression, a radio company of an unidentified unit of the Nanjing Units has placed emphasis on training radio operators in how to counter jamming.

With the rapid development of electronic technology, the task of jamming radio signals and countering jamming in a future war will be even more highly sophisticated. To improve the radio operator's knowledge of this task, the radio company organized everyone to study specific battle examples and analyze various signal warfare operations of foreign armed forces so that they can see the importance of signal warfare. They also studied such technical materials as "An Outline of the Radio Communication Warfare of Foreign Military Forces" and "Several Methods of Jamming Employed by Our Jamming Detachment," came up with three types of multiple jamming signals, made arrangements to learn to distinguish and identify them and gained an understanding of the types and characteristics of jamming operations which strengthened their knowledge of jamming and anti-jamming operations. During basic training in anti-jamming operation, by grasping the weak link of signal copying in this operation, they relied mainly on breaking interference and key control operations to deal with the various types of interference the "enemy" employed. The company launched training activities in which a thousand unit groups were consecutively transmitted and received under interference conditions without any mistakes. Rapid operations in tuning, receiving and making contact are important technical measures in anti-jamming operations and they are also the key points in the transition from anti-jamming training to applied training. In carrying out the training of the "three rapid operations," they strongly advocated that they should think up ideas to increase the speed and find ways to simplify the operation so that they can take action quickly, perform the operation proficiently and use flexible methods to continue to achieve new successes in anti-jamming training.



Training in anti-jamming underway

Communication interference network

A 15-watt transmitter-received vehicle carrying out training in rapid tuning, receiving and making contacts while on the move

Setting up a jamming position to carry out training in rapidly changing frequencies

The time for erecting antennas is shortened from five to two-and-a-half minutes

Radio operator Wang Biao distinguishing signals under inferference conditions

Training in a mountain cave to increase the degree of difficulty in reception

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

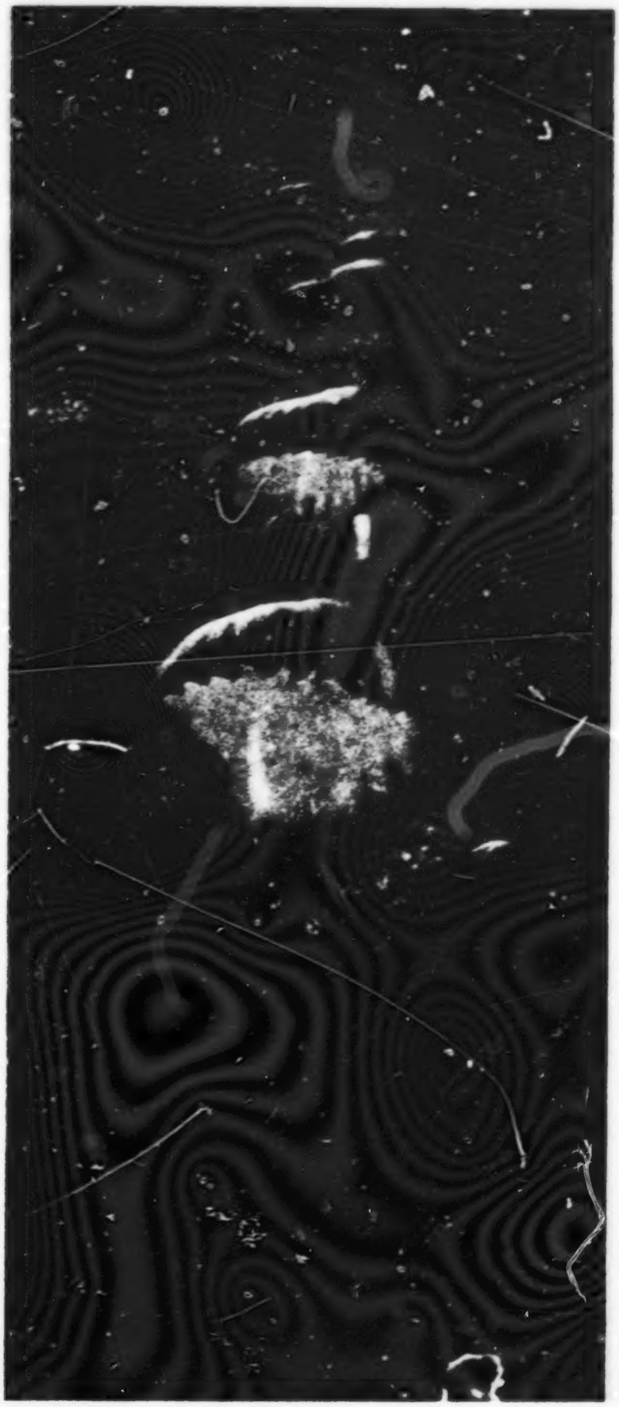
AIRBORNE UNIT TRAINING DESCRIBED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 11, 1980
pp 8-9

[Article by Li Qiaobin [2621 0829 2430] and Huang Daizhuang [7806 0030 8369]: "Forces Descending From the Sky"]

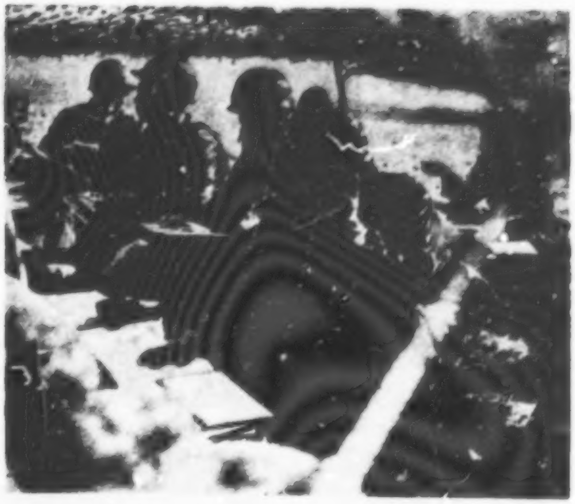
[Text] In view of the fact that airborne combat involves being exposed to enemy attacks on all sides and complicated conditions, an unidentified airborne unit has rigorously trained in combat skills under various types of situations. They organized cadres and fighters to study materials on airborne combat of foreign military forces and to become familiar with infantry-air, infantry-tank and infantry-artillery combined tactics so that the airborne forces' mobile and rapid strike role could fully be brought into play. During training exercises, numerous types of situations were created in a single training course and training in various types of fighting methods was done under each situation, thereby improving the cadres' command capability and strengthening the unit's combat skills.

Boarding an aircraft



Coming down towards a predesignated area

An airborne artillery appears in the "enemy's" rear are



Quickly setting up a command post

Taking advantage of dense fog to establish a favorable combat position

Ammunition and combat supplies being dropped along with paratroopers in the "enemy's rear area"

CSO: 4005

RECREATION CENTER OFFERS NUMEROUS FACILITIES

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 11, 1980 pp 10-11

[Article by Cao Xiafu [2580 7209 1381], Wang Feng [3769 6912] et al: "Fighters' Home"]

[Text] In an unidentified unit of the Nanjing Units there is a well-known cultural and recreation center called the Fighters' Home which has attracted the broad masses of cadres, fighters, staff members and workers and their family members. During after class hours, holidays and vacations, this place has people coming and going and is filled with talking and laughter....

This "Fighters' Home" was opened last October. Here, the facilities include a reading room containing various books, magazines and local newspapers and journals from the fighters' home villages, a recreation room which offers 18 types of recreational activities, a photo exhibition showing the unit's advanced individuals, a game room for chess, a music room, a table tennis room and others. An abundant array of activities has afforded the fighters a useful place for recreation and has also opened up a good educational front for the unit's political work.

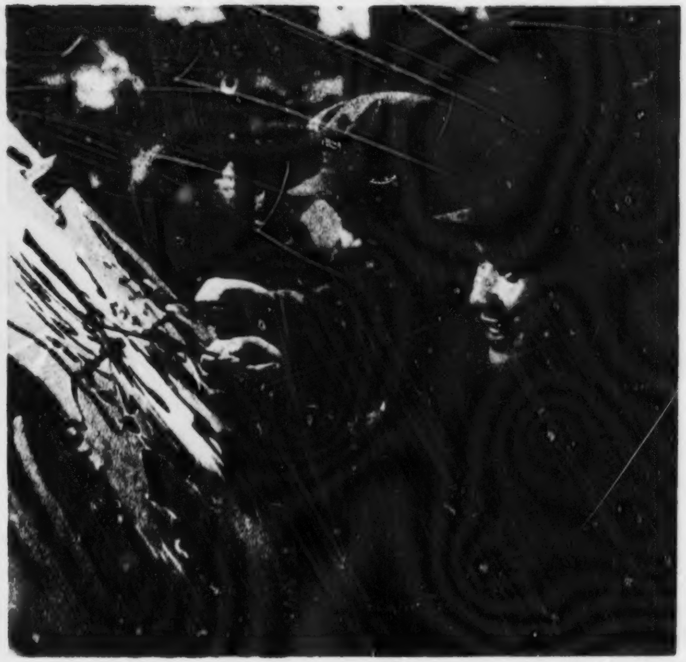
In recent years, almost 30,000 people have participated in activities at the "Fighters' Home" with good results. Based on their personal experiences, a large number of cadres and fighters have written letters to the upper-level organizations and newspapers and journals praising the "Fighters' Home." Squad leader Shen Yongchang said, "In the past my heart would pound when I saw a senior officer. Having taken part in activities at the Fighters' Home, I became acquainted with a number of senior officers and they have become my good teachers and helpful friends." Fighter Hu Huaqi said, "Previously, I thought of myself as stupid. But when I participated in such activities as solving riddles and math problems, I felt myself becoming quite sharp." New fighter Wan Hui said, "When I just joined the unit, I felt that life was dull. Once the Fighter's Home came into existence, I felt life was full of fun and felt at ease about life in the unit." Deputy political officer Yu Chengpin said, "With the establishment of the Fighters' Home, every comrade found a place with activities suitable for him and by engaging in these healthy activities resisted the corrosive influence of unhealthy ideology. This has brought new changes to our company."

Music enthusiasts playing sweet-sounding songs in the music room

Setting up a photo exhibition of the unit's advanced individuals

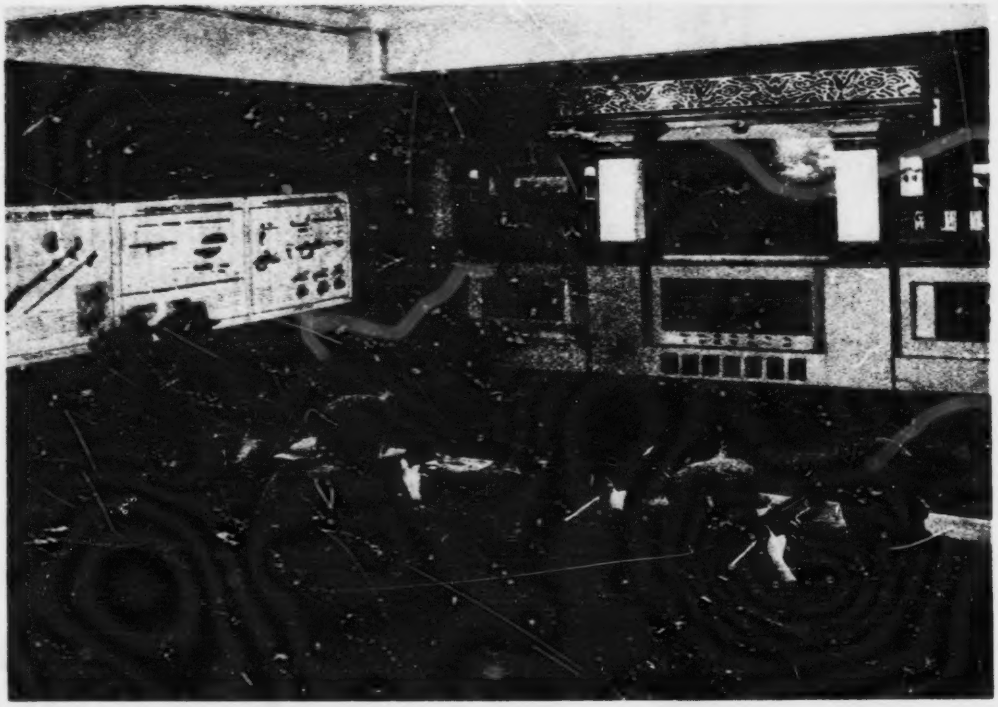
"Light the firecracker by looking in a mirror"--It is done by seeing through the appearance to get at the essence without being misled by the mirror image

A senior officer and a fighter, on intimate terms, match each other in a game of chess



A number of gentle and quiet fighters playing a "paint the rooster" game--doing it carefully and calmly so that the "rooster" will not crow

Just like a sea of knowledge, the reading room provides the cadres and fighters with a rich supply of interesting reading materials



In the air-rifle room, sharp shooters challenge each other in "shooting at tanks"

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

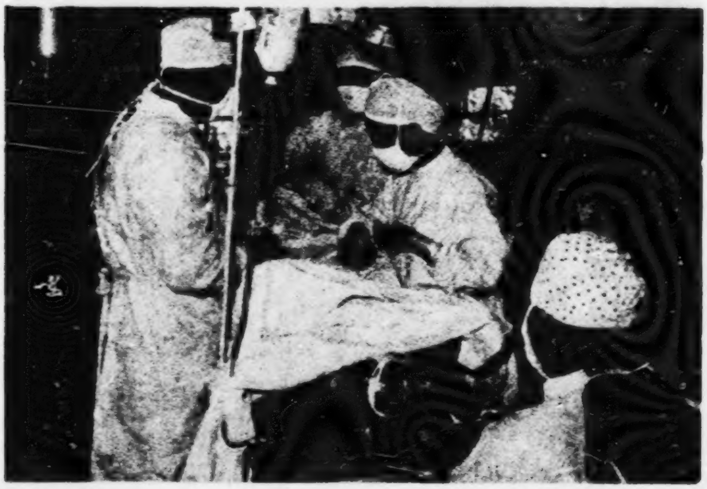
RESCUE TRAINING DURING 'NUCLEAR ATTACK'

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 11, 1980 p 12

[Text] A simulated nuclear bomb exploded! The field medical station of Hospital No 268 and the antichemical warfare detachments and engineering emergency detachments rushed to the "nuclear" casualty area. Tian Yuan [3944 0954], the "battlefield" rescue commander and head of the hospital, led his personnel and very quickly selected the area where treatment would be given. In only 14 minutes, they completedly set up more than 10 tents, more than 40 hospital beds and more than 150 medicine kits. After they got the command, the medical rescue personnel donned protective clothing and rushed off to the "nuclear" casualty area carrying medicines, equipment and stretchers. Through practice in such things as examinations, emergency treatment, decontamination and classifying war casualties they were tempered in conditions close to actual combat.

Emergency rescue of the "wounded" in the heavily hit casualty area

Eliminating decontaminants



Medical personnel doing "operations" in tents under tense conditions

White-clad fighters enter the "nuclear" casualty area in vehicles

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'DEFENSE' AT THE POINT OF BREAKTHROUGH

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 11, 1980 p 13

[Text] After a "nuclear" attack in a hilly area, the "enemy" used massed tanks to rush our positions. The commander of the defense units of an unidentified unit rapidly checked the situation of the "enemy" and decided to block off the breach made by the "nuclear" attack. The artillerymen used heavy firepower to carry out a blocking bombardment, fast-moving detachments to create obstacles, quickly mined the area through which the "enemy" wanted to move, the tank detachments savagely shelled the "enemy" tanks and the cool-headed infantry resolutely held its positions. The commander seized the favorable combat advantage and promptly organized the units to carry out a main attack to completely put the "enemy" out of action. Through this exercise, the cadres and fighters acquired some experience in the laws of combat under conditions of nuclear attack.

阻滞分队快
速布下地雷。

The delaying detachment quickly lays land mines

Cool-headedly engaging in combat by using the cover of defense works

Taking advantage of combat opportunity, infantry and tanks cooperate in the main attack

CSO: 4005

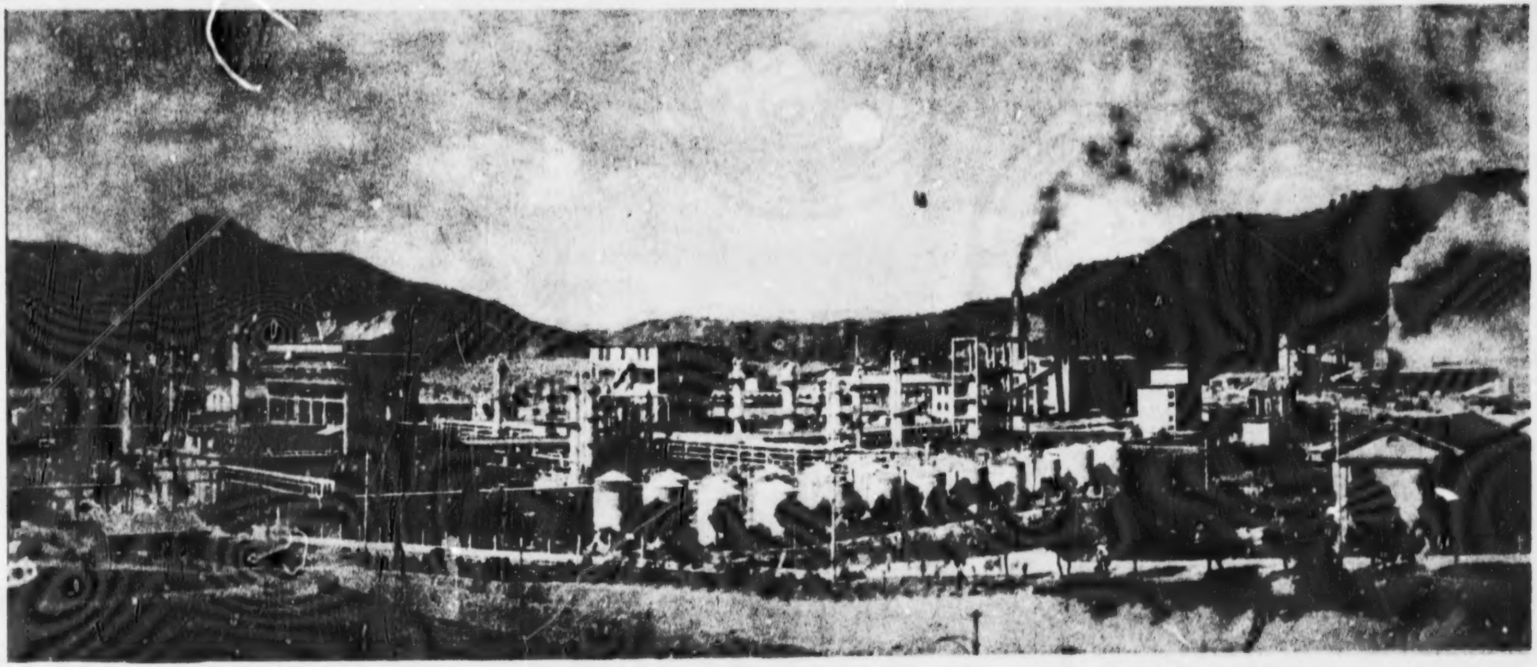
FUJIAN VINYLON PLANT IN OPERATION

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 11, 1980 p 24

[Article by Ren Qishun [0117 0366 7311] and Zhang Dongfeng [1728 5516 5358]]

[Summary] The Fujian Vinylon Plant was official put into operation in January of this year. It is a chemical complex engaged in mining ores to make vinylon short fibers. The equipment in its principal workshops was copied from imported technical equipment and is highly automated. During trial operations in the past few years, staff members and workers throughout the plant made efforts to master advanced techniques and corrected the irrational parts of some 50 projects, insuring stable production and raising output quantity and quality. In 1979 it produced 8,291 metric tons of vinylon short fibers, exceeding the originally designed output capacity of 7,000 metric tons. Quality, too, was up to advanced domestic levels.

In addition to supplying the textile mills in Fujian Province, the vinylon short fibers turned out by this plant are shipped to Shangdong, Guangdong, Sichuan, Jiangsu and Zhejiang.



A section of the Fujian Vinylon Plant

In the reeling workshop, large quantities of vinylon long fibers are waiting to be cut into short fibers before being spun into cotton shape

Xie Liangsheng, model worker of Fujian Province (second from right), is exchanging experiences in reeling techniques with the workers

Large quantities of raw materials are being shipped to other localities to support our country's four modernization program

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

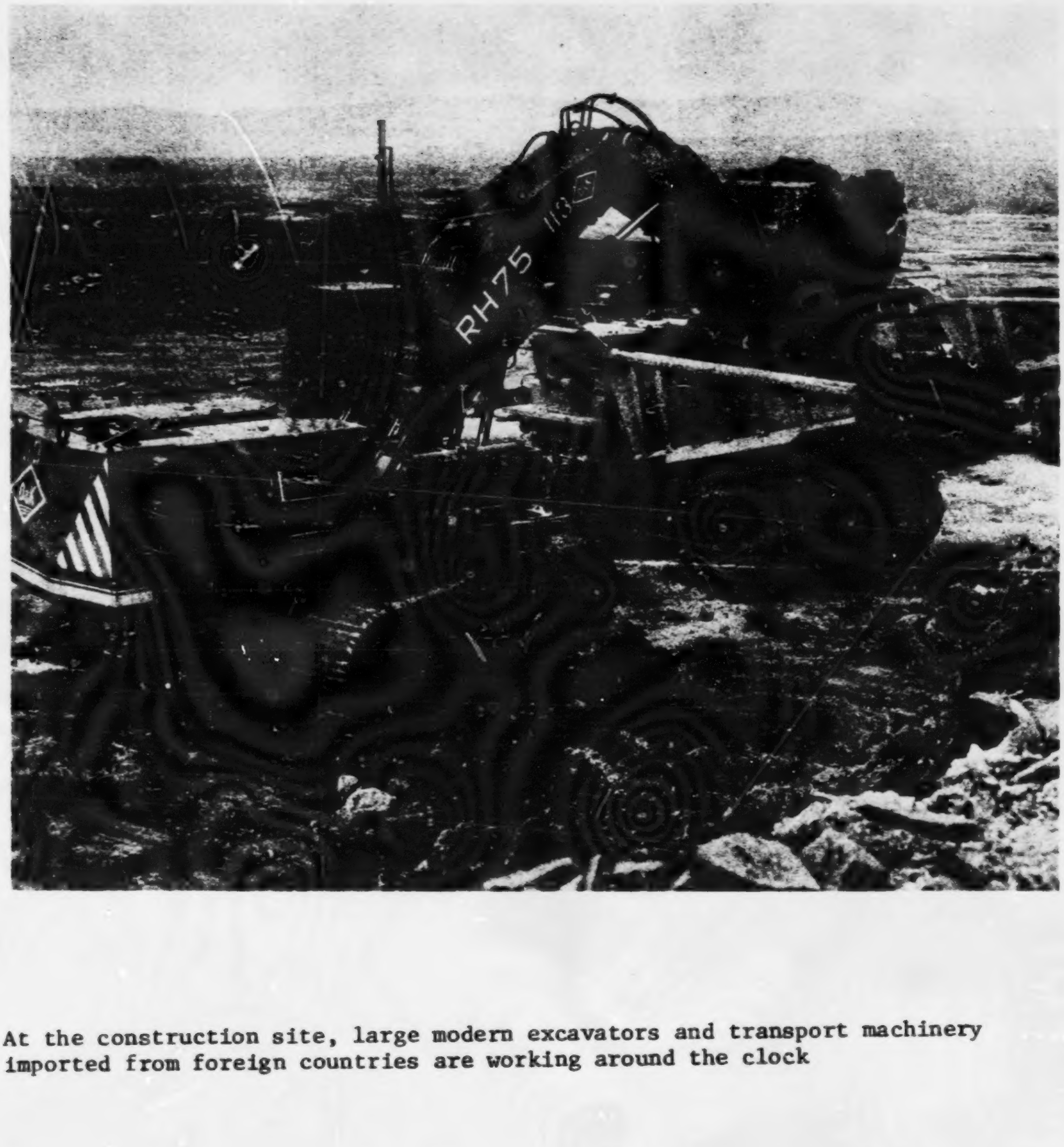
EXPLOITING THE HELINHE NEW COALFIELD

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 11, 1980 pp 25-27

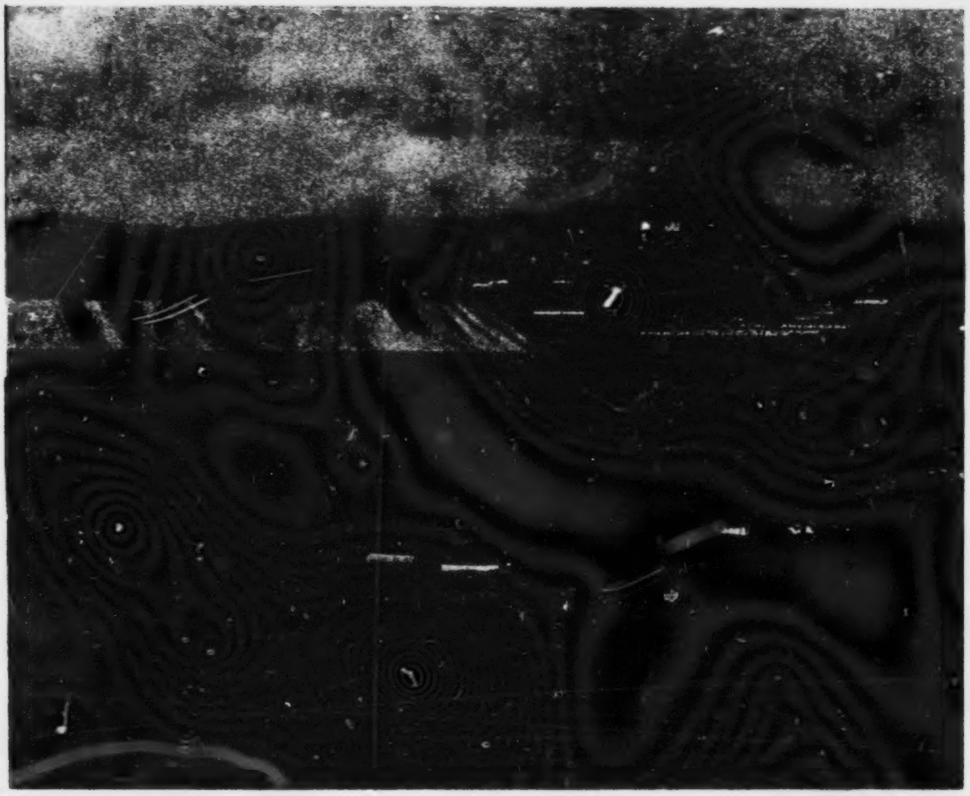
[Article by Liu Hui [0491 2585] and Zu Ruiting [0194 3842 0080]

[Summary] Located in the Keerqin Grassland, Nei Monggol AR, the Helinhe Coalfield is one of China's key construction projects of the eighties. It covers a vast area and has abundant reserves. The coal seams are thick, deposits shallow and the inclination gentle. Results of geological surveying and prospecting indicate that this coalfield is 60 kilometers in length and 9 kilometers in width and has 10 extractable coal seams. The cumulative total thickness is close to 75 meters. The geological reserves are 12.9 billion metric tons. It is one of China's largest coal bases.

In order to exploit the Helinhe Coal Mine, China imported machinery and equipment of advanced world levels in the seventies from the United States, West Germany, Sweden, Japan, Britain and Finland. The exploitation and utilization of this coal mine will play a major role in solving the fuel motive power shortages in the Northeast and a part of Nei Monggol, promoting industrial and farm production and animal husbandry, boosting the economy in the border regions and consolidating border defense. A certain unit of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps is responsible for exploiting this coal mine. Since April this year, stripping work has been in full swing. Despite the arduous tasks and difficult conditions, the commanders and fighters, working feverishly around the clock, succeeded in fulfilling their tasks for this year 5 months ahead of schedule.



At the construction site, large modern excavators and transport machinery imported from foreign countries are working around the clock



The exploitation and construction of the Helinhe Coal Mine will further promote the development of industrial and agricultural production and animal husbandry in the Keerqin Grassland

Chief operator Yang Fanglin has trained 16 operators with rich experiences. He has received favorable comments from foreign experts on his skills

Seize the day, seizing the hour and work around the clock

Young cadre Shi Guangde, who was recently promoted to assistant engineer, has browsed through pertinent data from more than 40 countries in order to be proficient in his work and has become an "electrical equipment expert" on imported machinery

RH75 111
110
75

In order to insure the successful fulfillment of the construction task, the commanders and fighters meticulously inspect and repair machinery and equipment

The excavators strip large tracts of earth to expose the coal seams before starting open-pit mining operations

CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76942

5 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 145

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76942

5 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 145

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE

Suggestions for Constitutional Revisions
(Qin Huaihe; ZHENGMING, 1 Oct 80) 1

Further Discussion of 'Everyone Is Equal Before the Law'
(Pan Nianzhi, Qi Naikuan; SHEHUI KEXUE, 20 Aug 80) 9

Eight Measures for Restructuring Economy Praised
(Feng Hua; ZHENGMING, 1 Oct 80) 24

Malfeasance of Cadres, Need for Discipline Discussed
(NANFANG RIBAO, 19 Aug 80) 31

Leading Cadres Discipline
Need for Party Discipline

Institute of Microbiology Accused of Defaming Researcher
(Yang Mo; RENMIN RIBAO, 6 Sep 80) 35

Zhejiang Party Officials Censured for Extravagance
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 30 Aug 80) 38

Revolutionary Courage, Realistic Working Spirit Urged
(Tan Tian; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 10 Sep 80) 40

Ideological, Political Work Must Not Be Overlooked
(NANFANG RIBAO, 1 Sep 80) 42

Elimination of 'Pernicious' Influence of Feudal Thought Urged
(Wu Yuli; DAZHONG RIBAO, 26 Sep 80) 46

Schools of Thought Making Up World Outlook Examined
(Ceng Bairong; BEIJING RIBAO, 25 Sep 80) 53

'Bohai 2' Incident Exemplifies Gang's Evil Effects
(Wen Zhu; TIANJIN RIBAO, 20 Aug 80) 55

Evil Deeds Cannot Change Into Good Deeds
(Su Donghai; BEIJING RIBAO, 20 Sep 80) 57

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Ranking Military Personnel, Cadres Voluntarily Step Aside
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 6, 21 Sep 80, JIEFANG RIBAO,
17 Sep 80) 59

Retired General's Reminiscences, by Chen Guanbo,
Jiang Ping
Division Staff Chief's Voluntary Demotion
Cadres' Retirement

Briefs
Admission to Military Schools 63
Work for Wounded Veterans 63
Militia Antiaircraft Unit Conference 63

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Recruiting Young, Educated Leadership Cadres Urged
(Teng Wensheng; GUANGMING RIBAO, 25 Sep 80) 65

Writers Must Portray the New People of Socialism
(Lu Guishan; GUANGMING RIBAO, 24 Sep 80) 70

Relationship Between Education, Economics Discussed
(Zheng Yan; RENMIN JIAOYU, 20 May 80) 77

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REVISIONS

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 30-33

[Article by Qin Huaihe [4440 3232 3109]: "Humble Suggestions for Revising the Constitution"]

[Text] As early as March 1979, ZHENGMING monthly had already issued an appeal that China's current constitution should be revised (as contained in the article "Communist China's Constitution Should Be Revised Now," by Li Yan [7812 1750]). Today, the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress finally passed the resolution on revision of the constitution and establishment of a Constitutional Revision Committee. On the afternoon of 15 September, the Constitutional Revision Committee held its first plenary meeting to declare its establishment. Its chairman id Ye Jianying; its secretary general, Hu Qiaomu; deputy secretaries general are Wu Lengxi [0702 0397 6007], Hu Shun [5170 4939], Gan Chisen [3927 4379 2773], Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342], Ye Duyi [5509 4648 5030], Xing Yimin [6717 0076 3046], and Wang Hanbin [3769 3352 2430].

The constitution is the fundamental law of a state. The work of revising the constitution is a major event in the political life of that state. Overseas Chinese and the brethren in Hong Kong and Macao are all concerned with this event. This writer would like to put forward some of his own views on those articles of the country's current constitution that should be revised, so that they may serve as a reference for the Constitutional Revision Committee.

Where Do the Problems in the Current Constitution Lie?

China's current constitution was revised and passed by the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress after the smashing of the gang of four; the second and third sessions of the Fifth National People's Congress revised some individual articles, such as removing citizens' rights to "speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates, and write big-character posters," etc.

But in this writer's opinion, the constitutional revision work to be undertaken by the Constitutional Revision Committee at this time should not be a revision of individual articles but a fundamental, systematic, and overall revision.

Why?

Because even though China's current constitution was formulated after the smashing of the gang of four, the savor of "whateverism" at the time was still rather thick, and the leftist line still penetrated the constitution, which thus still contains certain articles that reflect obsolete political and theoretical viewpoints and conditions no longer in accord with objective realities. Also, the prescriptions of many articles are far from complete, succinct, concrete, or clear. Even more important, since the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, and especially since the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, political life, economic life, and cultural life in Chinese society have all undergone tremendous changes and new developments. The current constitution is already fundamentally incapable of adapting to the needs of the new situation. Therefore it is very necessary to proceed immediately with its revision on a large scale.

The "Preamble" Must Be Systematically Revised

The "Preamble" indicates a country's orientation of development. On this, we must start a big operation and make a fundamental, systematic revision.

The second natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "Since the founding of the state under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, the people of all our nationalities have carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the political, economic, cultural and military fields and in foreign affairs and have won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction through repeated struggles against enemies both at home and abroad and through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has been consolidated and strengthened, and China has become a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity." This is a description of the process of the country's development and the country's outlook since the founding of the state. Quite obviously this is a bureaucratic composition that does not seek truth from facts. And it is definitely erroneous for part of this composition to devote so much space to the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and to affirm it positively. Nor is it appropriate to put "Chairman Mao" ahead of "the Chinese Communist Party." The way the "great victories" and "beginnings of prosperity" are broached also merits examination.

The third natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "Chairman Mao Zedong was the founder of the People's Republic of China." This approach definitely runs counter to the idea of the "Internationale" that "there never was any savior," not to mention the fact that Mao was not the only person who founded the People's Republic of China. There wer also Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and other revolutionaries of the older generation and countless revolutionary martyrs; there were also hundreds and thousands of revolutionary people. These merits cannot all be attributed to a single person. Therefore, this sentence should be revised.

The fourth natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "The triumphant conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has ushered in a new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction." Here, not only is "disaster" written as "triumph" but, even more erroneously, "the first" is emphasized; this suggests that later on there will be a "second" and a "third." Therefore, this sentence should be among those subject to complete elimination.

This section further reads: "In accordance with the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party for the entire historical period of socialism, the general task for the people of the whole country in this period is: To persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment, and to make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology by the end of the century."

Although the so-called "basic line" here is not further expounded, everyone knows that it means "the three exists" (there still exist classes, class contradictions, and class struggle; there still exists the struggle between the two paths of socialism and capitalism; and there still exists the danger of capitalist restoration), and they must be "discussed yearly, monthly, and daily." This "basic line" was the final refuge of the sins that caused all the struggles for 10 to 20 years in Chinese society, and it is an old tune that should no longer be played again. The "general task" that is derived from the basic line also chooses to make "class struggle" salient, but it is far from complete since it does not make salient the shift of the focus of the party's and state's work. In Ye Jianying's speech at the meeting held to celebrate National Day last year, the "general task" was broached in a new way--that is, "to unite the people of all nationalities and bring into play all factors so that we can work with one heart and one mind and go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results in building a modern, powerful, socialist country." Later, in the revised draft of the Chinese Communist Party Constitution, the general task was further changed: "To unite the people of all nationalities, so that we can work with one heart and one mind, develop our socialist economy in a planned, proportionate way and with greater, faster, better and more economical results, and build a modern, powerful, socialist country with a high degree of democracy and a high degree of civilization." The constitutional revision this time should have an even more succinct and clearer formulation on the "general task," so as not only to make salient the focus of the state's work, which is modernization, but also to realize the spirit of democracy and rule of law in the country's political life.

The fifth natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "We must persevere in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the struggle for the socialist road against the capitalist road...." This is the Chinese Communist Party's basic line as reflected in the constitution. The so-called "bourgeoisie" actually no longer exists--the bureaucratic, comprador bourgeoisie was long overthrown; the property of the national bourgeoisie was long ago confiscated by the state; national bourgeois elements have long been transformed into laborers living on their own strength. Under such circumstances, continueing to talk about persevering in the struggle is like shooting an arrow without a target. Above all, what is meant by the "capitalist road" is conceptually very vague and can easily lead to confusion. Therefore, the revised constitution should no longer have these two "perseveres."

The sixth natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "We should consolidate and expand the revolutionary united front, which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which unites large numbers of intellectuals and other working people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad." Here, the way intellectuals are excluded from the "worker-peasant alliance" as objects of the effort for "unity' is out of rhythm with the new point of view of the Chinese Communist Party, as expressed by Deng Ziaoping in emphasizing that intellectuals have already become part of the working class. It must be revised.

The seventh natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "Taiwan is China's sacred territory. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great cause of unifying our motherland." Everybody knows that the way to broach the Taiwan question now is "Taiwan's return to the motherland." Therefore, it is necessary to replace "We are determined to liberate Taiwan" with "Taiwan's return to the motherland."

The world is changing; international relations are also changing. The suggestion in the last natural section of the "Preamble" concerning the handling of international relations in accordance with "the theory of the three worlds" also warrants consideration. Although it is obviously rather difficult for all members of the Third World, such as China and Vietnam, to become "associated"--or "united," a trend of "association" between China and countries of the "Second World," and even United States of the "First World," has somehow emerged, and the formation of an "international united front" seems possible. Therefore, the principle and line concerning the handling of "international affairs" must also be revised somewhat.

"General Principles": Focus for Revision

The "General Principles" chapter prescribes the basic program for structuring the state and presents the overall outlook of Chinese politics, economy, and culture. Along with progress in the democratization of the state and the demand to further carry out democracy and the rule of law, and along with major reforms of the leadership system of the state and the national economic system that are in progress or are scheduled, the "General Principles" section of the current constitution would naturally become the focus for revision at this time.

Article 1 of "General Principles" prescribes: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." The state system of "a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat" prescribed here no longer is in accord with China's present conditions. Along with the new changes in the conditions of the classes in the country, the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie, and also those former landlords and rich peasant elements whose labels have already been removed, all belong to the category of the people. A relationship between those who dictate and those who are dictated to does not exist among the people. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" has fundamentally lost the objects of its dictatorship. And in political and economic life today, when the modernization of the state is being pursued, the question of people's democracy becomes very important; it is the principle aspect of the life of the state. Whether or not people's democracy is put into effect concerns whether or not the work of the four modernizations can be accomplished. Therefore, the suggestion of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" has become unecessary; it must be replaced by "people's democracy." This stroke should be one that concerns the fundamental blueprint of the future and the destiny of the state.

Articles 2 and 3 prescribe: "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the entire Chinese people"; "all power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at various levels." (And "The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power" -- Article 20.) Here, if Articles 2 and 3 are considered together with Article 20, there is quite a contradiction. "The highest organ of state power" is not "the core of leadership," and "the core of leadership" is not a legally prescribed "organ of power." Then what is the relationship between the two? According to past experience (or we should say lessons), this means "Substituting the party for the government"--"the core of leadership" rules over the "organ of power." But China's political system from now on should incline toward "separation of the party and government." People's congresses at various levels and their standing committees must genuinely exercise their functions and wield their power. Hence, it obviously will no longer do to put "the core of leadership" above the "organ of power." Consequently, the wording regarding "the core of leadership" should be revised.

Article 5 prescribes: "There are mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production in the People's Republic of China at the present state: socialist ownership by the whole people, and socialist collective ownership by the working people." Today, the state allows private individuals to run industrial and commercial enterprises, and allows the existence of individual economy and its development within certain limits. Therefore, the two kinds of ownership should be changed to three kinds of ownership, with the addition of private ownership.

Article 7 prescribes: The rural people's commune sector of the economy is a socialist sector collectively owned by the masses of working people. At present, it generally takes the form of three-level ownership--that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade, and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit. A production brigade may become the basic accounting unit when conditions are ripe.

"Provided that the absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune is ensured, commune members may farm small plots of land for personal needs and engage in limited household sideline production, and in pastoral areas they may keep a limited number of livestock for personal needs." Here, the idea that "a production brigade may become the basic accounting unit" is no longer suitable to the spirit of the time; it was a product under the influence of "transition in poverty" exemplified by Dazhai; this is point one. Point two, the Chinese Communists' economic policy in the countryside has already undergone considerable change; the "three self and one fix" (the extension of plots for private use, the extension of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on individual households), which used to be regarded as the "black model" for capitalist restoration, has now been reaffirmed. At present, a "fever for fixing output quotas" now prevails in China's vast countryside. Therefore, the prescription "provided that the absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune is ensured" should be revised. The "three self and one fix" should now be prescribed in the newly revised constitution, and be prescribed more clearly and more concretely.

Article 11 prescribes: "The state adheres to the general line of going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism...." This so-called "gerneral line," together with the "Great Leap Forward" and the "people's communes," make up what people have come to know as "the three red banners"; they were the representative products of Mao Zedong when he began to promote his "leftist" line in the late 1950's. The "Great Leap Forward" has already been rejected; "people's communes" are full of problems; and the general line has long been criticized as being representative of the fanaticism of the petty bourgeoisie. Regarding this line, words like "going all out, aiming high" are at best the nature of a poster or a slogan void of any substantive meaning. According to the new situation and new task under the state program for the four modernizations, it is fundamentally impossible for this "general line" to guide the Chinese people to their expected destination. Therefore, the revised constitution must prescribe a general line, in form as well as in substance, that can really become the criterion for action by the Chinese people to their expected destination. Therefore, the revised constitution must prescribe a general line, in form as well as in substance, that can really become the criterion for action by the Chinese people in their attempt to build socialism. It is necessary to incorporate the spirit of the new economic principles--"give full play to superior local conditions, exalt strong points and avoid weak points, protect competition, and promote association."

The same article also prescribes: "In developing the national economy, the state adheres...to the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation, and industry as the leading factor...." This, too, is no longer in accord with current conditions in the development of China's national economy. In the past, because of the emphasis placed on the principle of taking "industry as the leading factor," the foundation was "trampled underfoot." This seriously affected the development of the national economy of a China established on the foundation of agriculture. Hence, "industry as the leading factor" should no longer be suggested; instead, the proportionate development of energy, communications, the building industry, agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry should now be suggested.

The provision of Article 12 concerning the "development of scientific enterprises" must clearly add some wording on encouragement and rewards for scientific and technical workers who come up with inventions and creative achievements.

Article 13 prescribes: "...Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor, and it must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." This means that the education principle and the education work principle prescribed by Mao Zedong have been written into the text of the constitution. The question of education being combined with productive labor" and the question of training the "worker," which once was emphasized here, led to great deviations and brought great losses to the educational enterprises of the state. This made the schools neither civilian nor military institutions, and a considerable part of the students neither well nor poorly trained. Therefore, the wording about education being "combined with productive labor" should be discarded, and the training of the "worker" should be changed to the training of "competent personnel for the four modernizations."

Article 14 prescribes: "...All cultural undertakings must serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers and serve socialism." "The workers, peasants, and soldiers" are of course the principal players in the state, but they are not the only players. "Serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers" must be changed to "serve the people of all of China."

Article 15 prescribes: "The leading personnel of state organs at all levels must conform to the requirements for successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause, and their composition must conform to the principle of the three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged, and young." This article clearly must be amended: Repeal the lifelong tenure of cadres, recruit them young and make them professional, and carry out a cadre retirement system.

Article 17 prescribes: "The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy and ensures to the people the right to participate in the management of state affairs and of all economic and cultural undertakings, and the right to supervise the organs of state and their personnel." Whereas China in the past has not seriously practised people's democracy or insisted on the principle of democracy, and whereas for a long time it has subscribed to "rule of man" rather than "rule of law," and whereas, from the point of view of a basic blueprint to run the country, democracy and rule of law are fundamental, the principle of democracy and the principle of the rule of law are equally important, and the absence of either of them will no do: therefore, this article must be amended with the provision that the state adheres to the socialist principle of rule of law and insists on the equality of everyone before the law.

The provision of Article 18 on landlords, rich peasants, etc., is no longer suitable to the present conditions and may be discarded.

Article 19 prescribes: "The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the armed forces of the People's Republic of China." Such concentration of party authority and military authority in one person is a premise for "substituting the party for the government" and the key to the shaping of a dictatorship by the party leader. Since the Party Central Committee Chairman legally wields military power, it is easy for him to command everything, in the absence of all restraints. The reason Mao Zedong was able to carry out a "patriarchal system," to practise "only what I say counts," is fundamentally because he held the military power in his hands. Have people not often said so? The reason Mao Zedong was able to instigate the "Cultural Revolution," dared to start the "Cultural Revolution," and overthrow whomever he wished to overthrow was precisely because he held military power and firmly secured the military. This lesson has been painful! From now on, whether or not China's military power should continue to be wielded by the party chairman, and whether or not the constitution should still provide that the "Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the armed forces of the People's Republic of China," are things that really must be considered carefully! Besides, the military is ordinarily an important component of the state apparatus. The party is the party, the government is the government, and the military is the military; it is neither appropriate to "substitute the party for the government" nor permissible to "command the military through the party." From now on, China's military power should be rationally entrusted to qualified, prestigious generals well versed in military affairs (Mao Zedong would ordinarily be considered well versed in military affairs), but not necessarily to the party chairman in charge of ideological leadership. This question concerns matters of great and far-reaching importance; the Constitutional Revision Committee must treat it seriously!

(The above are this writer's views on the "Preamble" and "General Principles" of the current constitution. Other views will be contained in another article, to be published in the next issue.)

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

FURTHER DISCUSSION OF 'EVERYONE IS EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW'

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 80
p71-78

[Article by Pan Nianzhi [3382 1819 0037] and Qi Naikuan [7871 0035 1401] of the Shanghai College of Social Sciences, Legal Research Institute: "Further Discussion of the Issue 'Everyone is Equal Before the Law'"]

[Text] In our article "On 'Everyone is Equal Before the Law'" we pointed out that this principle of the socialist legal system is an all-embracing principle, incorporating not only the legal system but also the legislature. After publication of this article some comrades expressed agreement while others expressed opposition. Those comrades in opposition said that "everyone is equal before the law" is appropriate only for legal equality and cannot be "enlarged" to include legislation. The reason is that "law is a tool of class oppression while it itself has no class equality to speak of. The application of Marxist class theory to legislation can make no mention of class equality as this would produce class harmony and revisionism." This opinion probably refers to "there can be no talk of equality between anti-revolutionaries and revolutionaries." Anti-revolutionaries of course cannot be given any equal rights but whether or not the law itself has factors of equality or socialism has equality is altogether another matter and they cannot be treated together. To go from complete prohibition of saying "everyone is equal before the law" to permitting the explanation of it as no one is above the law cannot be called any great progress, but thought must be liberated and all taboos must be removed. We now present several topics which explain the implications of the slogan "everyone is equal before the law.

(1) A Discussion of the Concept

The main reason why there has been so much controversy over the slogan "everyone is equal before the law" is because everyone has different ideological viewpoints and at the same time the concept is unclear and also because surface meanings are given for some specialized terms so that divergent explanations thus occur. In order to clarify the concept and significance of "everyone is equal before the law" we first present here a quote from Lenin's ZIYOUPAI JIAOSHOU LUN PINGDENG [DISCUSSIONS OF EQUALITY BY LIBERAL FACTION PROFESSORS].

Lenin said: "While the bourgeoisie was struggling with the Middle Age, feudal, slave system of class privilege it made demands for completely equal citizen's rights." (LIENING QUANJI [COMPLETE WORKS OF LENIN] Vol 20, p 138)

First of all Lenin explains that the first use of the slogan "everyone is equal before the law" was in bourgeois opposition to the feudal system. This points out the goal and the historical background, which is of great help in understanding the content of this slogan. Next, and also very important, it explains the contrast between the class privileges of the feudal system and the completely equal citizen's rights advocated by the bourgeoisie. It actually opposed feudal privileges and demanded the implementation of equality for everyone as found in bourgeois democracy.

A reading of bourgeois documents on law proves that Lenin's thesis is absolutely correct. In the "American Declaration of Independence of 1776, "everyone is equal before the law" included the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The "French Declaration of Human Rights" of 1789 said "people are born with the right to lifelong feeedom and equality," "all citizens are equal before the law." The "Constitution of the Swiss Federation" of 1874 said "All Swiss citizens are equal before the law. In Switzerland there are no relationships of servant and master or any privileges of position, birth, status or family." The "Constitution of Japan" of 1946 said "All the people are equal under the law and there are no differences because of race, creed, sex, social status or family status in political, economic or social relationships." All of these passed through legistative processes and very clearly make legal stipulations regarding the equal status of citizens and oppose special privileges. However, the bourgeois democratic system ultimately is but a private ownership system and as far as the proletariat is concerned it is nothing but an empty form. Just as Lenin said, "Bourgeois democracy asserts that at all times and in all places all citizens have equality of sex, creed, race and nationality, but this equality has never been implemented anywhere and, moreover, capitalist dictatorship prevents it ever being implemented. A soviet government or proletarian dictatorship immediately implements equality of this kind because only through elimination of the bourgeois private ownership system and by opposing the division or re-division of the workers' rights over the means of production can this goal be attained." (GONGCHAN GUOJI DIYICI DAIBIAO DAHUI [FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL] in LENING QUANJI Vol 28 p 442) Lenin herein points out the emptyness of the so-called bourgeois equality, that only proletarian equality is real, and moreover points out the reasons underlying the discovery of these differences.

In ZIYOUPAI JIAOSHOU LUN PINGDENG Lenin said, "Socialist references to democracy awaays mean social democracy and equality of social status." "Politically it refers to equal rights and economically it eliminates classes." Lenin's equal rights "give all the masses true equality with general participation in all affairs of state." Elimination of classes "means that all citizen's have the same rights to make use of the public means of production, public land and public factories when engaging in labor. (LIENING QUANJI Vol 20 p 139) This gives a very clear explanation of the content and definition of the slogan "everyone is equal before the law" within the socialist system.

Comprehension of Lenin's statements given above provides a simple and clear concept of our use of the slogan "everyone is equal before the law." This is to say that the "equality"refers to equal rights and "everyone" refers to the legal code. The law must of course be implement d so it refers to the application of the laws. The complete meaning and content of "everyone is equal before the law" is opposition to all exploitive privileges and the implementation of socialist democracy. To this point in time which of our leaders and which of our party and state documents have favored privileges and opposed democracy? None of course. However, there are some comrades who refer to the "class nature of law" and "a dictatorship cannot speak of equality" to oppose the slogan "everyone is equal before the law." It appears that our article cannot be concluded here but must make an analysis of these statements.

(2) How to Comprehend "Elimination of Classes"

Some comrades say that classer are unequal so that in a class society there can be no equal relationships between people and that only after the elimination of classes can there be equality. Therefore, they not only denounce the bourgeois formulation "everyone is equal before the law" as empty and also say that our use of "everyone is equal before the law" is not practical (which entirely refutes this slogan) or is not completely practical (this partial approval permits legal equality but does not permit legislative equality). We do not entirely agree with these statements. "Equality means the elimination of classes" is a Marxist principle and the founders of modern social science Marx and Engels have said that if we do not understand equality as the elimination of classes it is merely an empty word. This of course is correct, the problem lies in understanding the "elimination of classes."

The class structure of each society is different and the class relationships are also different. There are several different conditions involved in making a connection between equality and class.

First, in countries with landlord-bourgeois dictatorships all property and all political power is in the hands of the property owners. They depend on their financial and political powers to engage in exploitation. The workers lack property and depend on selling their labors to earn a living and thus cannot escape repression and exploitation. "Since capitalists and landlords have financial and political power and the workers lack these powers there can be no true equality between factory owners and workers or between landlords and peasants." (GUANYU SULIAN XIANFA CAOAN [ON THE DRAFT OF THE SOVIET UNION CONSTITUTION] in SIDALIN XUANJI [SELECTED WORKS OF STALIN] Vol 2, p 402) This is one condition.

Next, when the proletariat has won political power and controls political power, yet the bourgeoisie continues to engage in a life and death struggle, then in order to suppress bourgeois resistance and defeat the bourgeoisie the proletariat cannot but eliminate their weapons and take away their rights. "Victory is complete," "in a transitional period and is a time of fierce struggle we not only do not permit freedoms but issue warnings that we will take away the rights of those citizens who obstruct the socialist revolution." (QUANE GONGHUE ZHONGYANG LISHIHUE QUANHUI [THE ALL RUSSIA CENTRAL UNION MANAGERS CONFERENCE] in LIENING QUANJI, Vol 29, p 265) This also is a condition.

Of course Lenin also said, "To win equality we must eliminate classes, so we must also eliminate the differences between workers and peasants."(QUANE SHEHUIJIAOYU DIYICI DAIBAIO DAHUI [FIRST ALL RUSSIA CONGRESS IN SOCIAL EDUCATION] in LIENING QUANJI Vol 29, p 322)

Just what is the elimination of class? What Lenin said was to place all citizens in a position of equal status in their relationship to the means of production, which is to eliminate the bourgeois private ownership system, eliminate exploitation and implement a socialist system of public ownership over the means of production. The key problem is the elimination of exploitation because to have exploitation means to have privileges which then prohibits equality. Therefore he said: "The exploiters cannot be equal with those exploited," "not until the possibility of one class exploiting another class has been completely eliminated can there be any true and practical equality." (WUCHANJIEJI GEMEING HE PANTU KAOCI [THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND REBEL (kaoci ji) [5072 5412 1015]] in LIENING QUANJI Vol 28, p 234) The reason why he made a connection between elimination of classes and elimination between the differences between workers and peasants was because at that time the peasants were private owners and part-time laborers and there is the possibility of the private ownership of the petty bourgeoisie becoming capitalism, so he "had to take the necessary precautions to avoid aiding the bourgeoisie." As for the private plots, household sideline occupations and individual village ecomomies now found in China as long as there is no exploitation then there is no variance form Lenin's concept of private ownership.

From this it can be seen that the key to eliminating classes is to eliminate the exploiting class. The phrase having classes prevents equality refers to the relationship between the exploiting class and the exploited class and is an opposition to class relationships. As for the time when the exploiting class has already been eliminated and three is no class opposition, that is a different condition.

Therefore, the problem is very clear. Under the dictatorship of the exploiting class the working people do not have equal rights and when elements of the exploiting class still are in opposition the proletariat cannot give them equal rights. Another problem also is very clear. When the proletariat has become the ruling class and won democracy, eliminated the private ownership system and the system of exploitation the workers wil then have broadranging, real democracy. When the exploiters no longer are in opposition and classes have been eliminated equality can then be broadly extended to the whole populace and it can truly and thoroughly implemented.

(3) The Question of Whether or Not Socialist Law has Equality

Some comrades say that both the law and the state are tools of class dictatorship and have class nature rather than equality. We believe that this problem cannot be treated as a whole but rather must be concretely divided up, as the question of equality in socialist law is one requiring special investigation.

Law expresses the will of the ruling class and it works in the interest of the ruling class. There is no error in this. The problem arises from the complexities of class interests and class consciousness as there cannot be one without the other. The common interests and will of the exploiting classes are to engage in exploitation but because of changes in the proportions between production relationships and class forces in different societies at different times, exploitation is carried out by a variety of means and methods. In order to carry out exploitation the ruling class adjusts the internal relationships and in order to distribute the spoils of exploitation the ruling class must make even greater adjustments to the internal relationships. The law simultaneously reflects the various social relationships, among them are the aspects of repression and the lack of it, the aspects of equality and the lack of it. There also is the condition of formal equality and actual inequality, and bourgeois laws are specially like this. So practically speaking all exploiting class laws serve to maintain the rights of the exploiting class to carry out exploitation and for the working class these laws are fetters and cudgels and there is no equality to speak of.

Socialist societies and the exploiting classes are fundamentally dissimilar. The proletariat opposes exploitation, eliminates private ownership of the means of production, eliminates exploitive systems and ultimately eliminates classes. Therefore there is no class opposition in a socialist society. In the early period of a socialist society there is an exploiting class and exploitive elements and there are antagonistic class relationships but these are remnants of the old society and are not fixed features of a socialist society and are to be eliminated rather than kept for any length of time. When the proletariat transforms the old society and builds a new one it does not need any privileges but uses the worker-peasant alliance as a base to unite over 90 percent of the people in combining their strength as one. In this way socialism eliminates exploitation and eliminates class and it struggles for equality and implements equality. Lenin never said that the proletariat ignores and does not want equality but said: "If equality is precisely understood as the elimination of classes then the proletarian fight for equality and the slogan about equality truly have great significance." (GUOJIA YU GEMING [STATE AND REVOLUTION] in LIENING QUANJI, Vol 25, p 458)

Socialist law embodies proletarian will and the protection by proletarian leadership of the broad people's interests and naturally has a class nature.

Socialist law is established on the basis of the socialist public ownership system and moreover serves this basis. It reflects the proletarian will, demands the eradication of all exploitative systems, eliminates traitors, counter-revolutionaries and other criminal elements, firmly supports socialist democracy, protects the people's legal rights, mobilizes all positive factors, and guarantees smooth, complete socialist construction. This is the class nature of socialist law and also is the task of the proletarian dictatorship. From the point of view of surrprssing the resistence of the exploiting classes and punishing criminal elements it is a tool of implementing dictatorship. However, socialist law also functions to protect democracy and the people's rights, so from this aspect it is a tool for implementing democracy.

Socialist law has a class nature and this is the elimination of exploitation and classes. Since the elimination of classes means to be equal socialist law then possesses equality. Both class nature and equality exist within socialist law, the two are the same and there is no contradiction. Lenin said, "Democracy is a national form, a sort of national attitude. Therefore, it is like any nation in that it systematically organizes the use of force on the people. This is one aspect. But from another aspect, it means the formal recongition of the equality of all citizens and recognizes that everyone has equal rights to determine the national system and manage the state." (GUOJIA YU GEMING in LIENING QUANJI Vol 25, p 459) When democracy (equality) and dictatorship exist within a unified national attitude there must be a change from excessive equality for some of the people to equality for all of the people. How then can it be said that laws which are a tool of class repression have no equality?

In a speech titled GUANYU ZHONGHUA RENMIN GONGHEGUO XIANFA CAOAN [ON THE DRAFT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA] given in June of 1954 Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The draft of our constitution has both principle and vitality. There basically are two principles -- democratic principles and socialist principles." According to these constitutional principles China has implemented broad ranging people's democracy not only of workers, peasants and intellectuals but also including national bourgeoisie, enlightened gentry among the rich landlords, Nationalist Party soldiers and officers who engaged in uprising and other Chinese nationals, and all of these equally enjoy citizenship rights under the leadership of the proletariat. As for the minority nationality areas, since they were areas of the peasant slave class and were not objects of the dictatorship they have always enjoyed equal citizenship rights. This principle if equality is related to the great democratic united front strategic thinking of the Chinese Communist Party. This democratic united front today includes the workers and patriots within the scope of the even broader revolutionary patriotic united front. Because of our concrete national situation and the party's correct policies there has been a weakening and reduction of resistence from the exploiting class, obstruction has been transformed into assistence and there is no need to exercise dictatorship over any entire class. Practice is the only standard for testing the truth and after undergoing practice is it implementation of the democratic united front policy that will benefit the nation or is it lifelessly hanging on to a theory of inequality that will benefit the nation? The equality of socialist law is an actual social condition, the manifestation of revolutionary practice and a development of Marxism. It cannot be refuted.

As for legislative practices, in 1954 China promulgated the first constitution, and article one of section three (the whole document consists of 85 articles) stipulates: "The citizens of the People's Republic of China are all equal before the law," which incorporates the general principles of rights and duties of all citizens. After this comes the citizen's rights which incorporates an affirmative statement of all political rights. Except for the article concerning voting rights and candidacy rights there are no "provisos." All of the rules of the constitution naturally are laws. Since the constitution rules that "everyone is equal before the law" how can anyone deny that this is a legal principle. After the proletariat came into power it opposed the bourgeois repression of the minority nationalities and of women and immediately promulgated equality for the minority nationalities and equality of the sexes. These principles were mentioned by Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong and moreover they were clearly stated in the Soviet Union constitution in 1936 and in the Chinese constitution. Since equality of the minority nationalities and the sexes are legal principles why isn't equal rights for all citizens also a legal principle?

There are two special regulations concerning voting and candidacy rights. One is that some former landlords and rich peasants have no political rights. The 1954 constitution says, "For a period of time the state laws shall deny political rights to feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists." The 1978 constitution says, "The state laws deny political rights to unreformed landlords, rich peasants and reactionary capitalists." The phrase "for a period of time" has become "unreformed" and among the landlords and rich peasants are a number of enlightened gentry whose political rights were never denied, so obviously this does not refer to an entire class. This is just like Stalin's GUANYU SULIAN XIANFA CAOAN of November 1936 wherein he quoted Lenin's words of 1919, "The Soviet government's denial of voting rights to non-workers and exploiters is not permanent but is temporary and for a limited period of time." Stalin also pointed out, "In 1919 Lenin said that in the not too distant future the Soviet government would realize the benefits of completely unrestricted general voting rights. Please take note -- completely unrestricted." (SIDALIN XUANJI [SELECTED WORKS OF STALIN] Vol 2, p 417) After Stalin made these remarks the Soviet Union constitution was formally adopted and with completely unrestricted elections.

In China the scope of denial to these various elements is being reduced daily and many people are no longer branded but have had their political rights restored. In 1975 the standing committee of the National People's Congress issued several rulings which gave general pardons to all incarcerated war criminals and former Nationalist Party elements above county and regimental rank and granted them citizenship rights. After the promulgation of the 1978 constitution a rather large number of officials who had "undergone educational reform and demonstrated good behavior" were no longer branded as landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries and bad elements and were granted citizenship rights. After developments in socialist construction are made the proletarian dictatorship becomes more secure and the persons undergoing reform are rehabilitated, perhaps never again to be exploiters to be branded and have their political rights denied them. In this way, except for those violators of the criminal code who have lost their political rights, hasn't the time arrived when there no longer will be anyone whose political rights are denied them by constitutional stipulations? Practice has proven that when the proletariat is already secure in its political power, and when the exploitive system has been eradicated then all those who favor socialism, all those who may not wholeheartedly favor socialism but who do obey the laws and all patriots can be granted equal citizenship rights and this not only does not harm socialist construction but is even beneficial to the revolution and to construction.

As for the differences between the cities and the countryside in the number of representatives from an electoral district this is another matter of an entirely different nature and cannot be used to make claims for any legal principle of class inequality. This is because, first of all, in terms of voting rights the peasants and workers alike have one vote per person. Next, in terms of candidacy rights the peasants are neither denied them nor have stopped using them. The reason for the difference in the number of representatives for the cities and the countryside is that at present China's total population is largely composed of peasants. An example of another election law is that which covers the minority nationalities areas which have an especially small population. The number of representatives is at a lower ratio that for other groups of people. This regulation should not be called a tendency toward inequality for minority nationalities but rather should be called a policy which implements equality for nationalities. This explains how our election laws regulate the selection of representatives for different population ratios and is not class inequality. Anyway, the rural population is not entirely peasants and not all town and city persons are workers. Almost all of the original bourgeois elements and other patriotic people live in cities and they participate in elections just as the workers do. So how can one say that the original bourgeois elements and other patriotic people have a class status superior to that of the peasants?

In his 1954 report titled GUANYU ZHONGHUA RENMIN GONGHEGUO XIANFA CAOANDE BAOGAO [REPORT ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA] Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "Because of the various actual conditions now found in elections, for a certain period of time we must use legal methods to deny voting and cnadidacy rights to feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists, must also regulate different per capita proportions of delegates for the city and countryside, implement a multi-grade electoral system and in the basic level elections must also use a system of majoirty opproval. Our electoral system must be gradually improved and after preparations have been completed a general, equal, direct and secret voting system must be implemented." The principle is that all citizens are legally equal and its vitality is that in a concrete situation within a certain time period it is flexible and adaptible and this felxibility permits it to change according to changing conditions. Isn't this a realistic application of Marx-Leninism?

(4) The Question of Equality for Everyone under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Some comrades say that China has a proletarian dictatorship which should be exercised over its targets and that political rights should be denied to these targets. The people and the enemy can never be equal. This naturally is correct. Marxism teaches us that without being subjected to proletarian dictatorship the bourgeoisie cannot be defeated, and there will be no building of socialism and communism. However, to correctly understand the theory of dictatorship it is first necessary to understand the tasks and historical changes of dictatorship.

According to the explanation of Chairman Mao Zedong the first function of proletarian dictatorship is to repress the nation's internal reactionary class, the reactionary faction and the exploitive elements which oppose the socialist revolution and to repress those destructive elements which oppose socialist construction. The second function of dictatorship is to prevent the nation's external enemies from engaging in activities to overthrow the revolution or from staging an invasion. The goal of the revolution is to guarantee that all the people can peacefully engage in their labors and build China into a socialist nation with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science. According to Stalin's explanation a socialist state has three functions. The first is to suppress internal bourgeous opposition, the second is to prevent external invasions and the third is to carry out economic and cultural construction. This is just what Chairman Mao said, although he made socialist construction a goal of proletarian dictatorship and made the two other functions into methods for accomplishing this goal, which is a clearer and more precise explanation. In addition to such negative methods of guaranteeing socialist construction as opposition and destruction by internal and external enemies there also is a positive function in the mobilization of all forces to carry out peaceful construction.

This line of uniting some and opposing others changes according to developments in the revolutionary situation and changes in the class structure. Chairman Mao always divided up the categories of the people and the enemy according to different countries and the different historical periods in the individual countries. During the periods of socialist revolution and socialist transformation the overthrown landlords, rich peasants, bureaucratic capitalists and other reactionary forces do not accept their defeat and oppose socialist transformation, oppose proletarian dictatorship and plot their restoration by carrying out various revolutionary activities. They must be strongly attacked and fiercely repressed and a violent large-scale class struggle cannot be avoided. At that time the target of proletarian dictatorship, the enemies of the people, will of course be those landlords, rich peasants, bureaucratic capitalists and other anti-revolutionary elements. However, a relatively long period of socialist revolution and socialist transformation has passed and conditions have already changed. Last year Comrade Hua Guofeng presented his analysis at the second session of the Fifth Congress. He said that because the party has adopted a very reasonable policy of which the great majority of people approves, the feudal system and the capitalist exploitative system have already been eradicated, the small-scale production system has been transformed and landlords, rich peasants and bureaucratic capitalists no longer exist. Since these latter groups no longer exist the ranks of the workers have also been enlarged. The new formulation is that intellectuals are workers, bourgeois elements have already been transformed into workers, and the original landlords, rich peasants and bourgeois elements have already been transformed into self-supporting workers. his historical task is fundamentally complete and is the major contribution of the Communist Party and Mao Zedong.

China has now reached a new era of modern socialist construction. The revolution has developed, the situation is the class struggle has changed and the object of the dictatorship has also changed. The system of exploitation has been wiped out and the exploiting class cannot return, which is to say that we have taken a large step toward the final goal of "elimination of classes" and the period of "implementing general elections without any restrictions whatsoever" is within sight. Today there are a number of comrades who still feel that under proletarian dictatorship there is no equality worth mentioning and who take the "legislative class inequalities" as eternal principles. Isn't this entirely without basis and hasn't it turned into target shooting minus the target?

Can we do without proletarian dictatorship whether or not here now is any class struggle? The answer is no. This, first, is because the primary task of proletarian dictatorship is socialist construction. This task is not only incomplete but is even more urgent and has become the focus of work for the party and state. Second, there is no lessening of the task of preventing outside aggression. Because of the strengthening of the socialist-imperialist nations' powers of aggression, our anti-aggression tasks have become more prominent and more important. Third, the internal class struggle still exists to a certain degree and the task of repression has not been completely eliminated. In the present period of building socialist modernization our society still has counter-revolutionary elements and enemy agents, still has some remnants of the "gang of four" and some unreformed old exploitive elements and still has new exploitive elements who engage in corruption, bribery, speculation and profiteering. They are capable of taking an anti-socialist stance and continuing to engage in activities which oppose and destroy the socialist system and socialist construction. A firm class struggle must be waged against them and it would be a complete error to relax the struggle against them. However, under normal conditions these anti-socialist elements cannot form a class. Therefore, the spearhead of proletarian dictatorship is today not pointed toward any class but rather is pointed toward those few anti-socialist elements, who are such major criminals. This class struggle against these major criminals, whether on a political, economic or ideological level operates entirely according to the law in following the legal processes of investigating to determine the facts and in following the laws to determine what crime has been committed and what the punishment should be.

Our constitution very clearly stipulates the "four resolutes" and stipulates that the basic task of the proletarian dictatorship of the state is to "protect the socialist system, repress all rebel and counter-revolutionary activities, punish all traitors and counter-revolutionary elements, punish the new bourgeois elements and all other bad elements," and "protect the socialist revolution and socialist construction." The constitution similarly stipulates the citizen's basic rights and duties, with equality for all, no class restrictions and no special privileges for anyone. Our new criminal code stipulates that for counter-revolutionary crimes, crimes against public safety, destructive crimes against the socialist economic order, crimes against the democratic rights of citizens, financial crimes, crimes against socialist managerial order, crimes against marriage and the family and dereliction of duty there will be punishment of a severity consonant with the seriousness of the crime and no matter what the class status of the criminal the punishment will be determined according to law. The criminal code is an extremely sharp and prominent tool of the dictatorship and one which does not determine punishment according to class status. This clarifies the point that the target of our proletarian dictatorship is serious criminals and what is important is whether or not they have endangered our socialist endeavors, whether or not there is evidence of crime, and not making destinctions based on class status. Dictatorship must be exercised over all major criminals elements and the policy that citizens are "all equal before the law must be implemented. This is the dialectical unity of proletarian dictatorship with the concept "everyone is equal before the law."

Some comrades still feel that for the proletarian dictatorship, in addition to repressing class enemies, there ought to be more equality between the leaders and those led. An example is that although peasants and the bourgeoisie both have the right to participate in the legislative process they have virtually no function in determining policy and law and cannot be on an equal footing with the workers. Such an explanation is entirely incorrect.

We know that in socialist countries proletarian leadership is accomplished through the communist party and that party leadership of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist endeavors has a history of 60 years of true Marxism, and that the party's correct policies and the party members' model actions exercise a leadership function for all the people. Our constitution stipulates that the proletariat is the leadership class and the Chinese Communist Party is the leadership core for the entire nation but it does not stipulate that the proletariat and the party or the workers and the party members have any special privileges. The workers and peasants as well as all other people are of equal status. In politics everyone has voting and candicacy rights and has the right to be chosen as a people's delegate or responsible person in a government organization. All those chosen as delegates have the right to make speeches, offer legislation and make decisions. There are no distinctions such as first and second class delegates and so such distinctions as delegates with or without rights. In our country the only distinction is that of type of labor and there are no distinction of noble or humble people. There are no slaves lower than others or nobles superior to anyone. Cadres of all levels are the people's public servants and their only duty is to earnestly serve the people. They have no special political or economic rights. All party members are equally comrades and fellow warriors and leading party cadres serve the people with an attitude of equality. The secretary of the party committee is on an equal basis with the members of the party committee, the secretary or first secretary should be good at providing a consensus of opinion rather than permitting any single voice to decide issues or the existence of any head-of-household style system. The party organization and party members should have close contacts with the masses, go among the masses, be observed by the masses and not be permitted to rise above the masses. There is complete social equality between the leaders and those led. If there is not true equality between the leaders and those led and the leaders rise one level above people then there certainly will be other levels of privileged people above them, just like the layers of a pagoda. Would therethen be any people's democracy or people's rights? Would there then be building of socialist modernization? This explanation of "everyone is equal before the law" is not only totally negative, it also destroys the worker-peasant alliance and democratic unity. It is of great danger and must be opposed.

(5) Several Points of Explanation

All the above explains the the significance of "everyone is equal before the law," opposes privileges and favors democracy. It is equal political rights and an absence of economic inequalities rather than any other sort of equality. After they become legislation and the law stipulates these principles of equality the people must demonstrate the spirit of equality. This sort of equality can be found only in a socialist society which has socialist laws and cannot be found in other societies with other legal systems. It can be completely manifested only with eradication of the exploitive system and with the elimination of the exploiting class. At that time society will already be without any opposing class, there will be no "class equality," and naturally there will be no "theory of class harmony." Such equality is equality in principle because the concrete problems of each age and each situation produce special conditions, such as in the case of the denial of political rights resulting from criminal offenses, but not denying the principle of legal equality, because equal rights are granted through laws and the denial of political rights is because of individual responsibility in breaking those laws.

Equality in application of the laws is also another type of equality though this is not the basic significance of "everyone is equal before the law" but is to operate according to the law (actually it only means to follow the law in making verdicts). To operate according to the law has no independent significance and has no equality or inequality , it is only that the laws that are followed can produce different results. Only if the content of the laws is equal do they have the potential for equality in application, if the content of the law is unequal there is no possibility of equality. For example, if the law stipulates that some people have special privileges while others do not and that different people receive different punishment for committing the same crime then in the application of the laws there is no equality for all people. If the law says that men deserve respect and women do not, that women should adhere to the three obediences and the four virtues, then observance of such laws will reinforce the inequality of men and women.

We would like to add here that in our last article we said that Marx revealed the stupidity of bourgeois scholars who do not oppose the partiality of the law and yet dream of getting just decisions, to which some comrades responded by saying that was wrong. We now repeat the quote and add a few more points so the people can see how things really are.

Marx said: "If one believes that there can be fair judges under the partiality of the legislators that really is a stupid, unrealistic fantasy. Since the laws are selfish and self-interested what then is the significance of those just and unselfish decisions? The judges can only go along with the expression of the selfishness and self-interest of the laws and give them unconditional support. Under such conditions a just decision is but a formality and embodies no justice, The substance of the decision is already determined by the law. If the legal procedure is ultimately nothing but a vain exercise then this empty formality lacks and independent value." (DILIUJIE LAIJUNSHENG HUIYIDE BIANLUN [THE DEBATE AT THE SIXTH (LAIJUN) PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE]in MAKESI ENGESI QUANJI [COMPLETE WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS] Vol 1, p 178)

Marx very clearly says that the application of the law (a verdict) is but a formality which is subordinate to the substance of the law. The substance of the legislature, judiciary and the laws cannot be separated from the application of the laws (we extend our thanks to a comrade for this point), even though there still are some bourgeois scholars who do not oppose the partiality of the laws and still have fantasies of just decisions. In illustration of this, we ask if Marx's revelation is not an excellent, fair and accurate criticism of the present-day division of the legislature and the juciciary which then only faces the question of legal equality and ignores legislative equality?

Since the founding of the country the party and the state have had three formal documents which utilized the slogan "everyone is equal before the law." In 1954 the constitution said: "The citizens of the People's Republic of China are all equal before the law," which is the general principle of rights and duties of the citizens. The 1978 public report of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Congress says: "The people are all equal before their own laws," and this is derived from the demands for "developing democracy and strengthening the legal system and "systemizing and legalizing democracy." The 1979 National Day slogans were "everyone is equal before the law" and "everyone is equal befo e the truth," which opposed anyone monopolizing law and truth and demanded that people equally discuss law and truth and equally obey law and the truth. Although the wording of these three is dissimilar the substance is exactly the same. Some comrades feel that the new formulation "the people are equal before their own laws" emphasizes a legal distinction between the people and citizens, but this is a mistake. Wasn't this matter cleared up 10 months after the party issued the National Day slogans? In his speech on the National Day of the 30th year celebration Comrade Ye Jianying said, " We must advance in improving the party record and the socialist legal system, truly protect the democratic rights of all party members and all citizens and systemize and legalize party democracy and socialist democracy." This is another instance wherein a leader points out the actual significance of "everyone is equal before the law."

As for our legal system right now, it awaits perfection in both the legislative and judicial aspects. What is more important is that some comrades use their status or individual will to implement head-of-household style leadership. They attack and wreck the laws, explain the laws according to their personal feelings, transform the laws, carry out so-called local policies, local laws and systems which are actually inequal, and severely damage socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. We are now explaining and implementing the principle "everyone is equal before the law," increasingly promoting the perfection of our legal system, making it more democratic and more equal, and more strictly operating according to the law to give the law more authority and greater significance.

Everyone is equal before the law is an old problem but it now has new significance, which is how to unite the anti-special privilege meaning found in this statement with the need for giving vent to democracy and strengthening the legal system; how to unite ideological liberation in theory and practice and explain the dialectical relationship between proletarian dictatorship and socialist legal equality; and how to eliminate ultra-leftism and dogmatism, be realistic, investigate the new conditions, solve the new problems, serve the government even better and serve economic construction. These are important subjects for present-day legal studies and we must strive to carry them out.

"Everyone is equal before the law!" We wish to give vent to democracy, eradicate superstition, suggest a few important legal problems in our current practices, carry out realistic, comradely debates, grasp the truth and correct errors and advance Marxist legal theory. Our views are not necessarily fully developed and we invite criticism from our comrades.

11582
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

EIGHT MEASURES FOR RESTRUCTURING ECONOMY PRAISED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 22-24

[Article by Fang Hua [2455 5478]: "China Adopts Eight New Measures To Restructure Its Economy"]

[Text] When Communist China's Vice Premier Yao Yilin made his report to the recently concluded Third Session of China's Fifth National People's Congress on the plans for the national economy this year and next, he expounded the eight measures China was going to adopt in order to restructure its economy:

1. Carry out an overall expansion of enterprise autonomy among state-run industries.
2. Actively organize various forms of economic association.
3. Widely develop competition under the guidance of the state plans.
4. Allow independent management on the part of the banks.
5. Gradually reform the taxation system.
6. Carry out market adjustment under the guidance of the state plans.
7. Continue to restructure the foreign trade control system.
8. Strengthen economic legislation and economic jurisprudence.

These eight measures may be said to be the summing up of the experience of practice in provinces of the interior, such as Sichuan, Anhui, Guangdong, Fuijian, and Jiangsu, where the pace of carrying out the restructuring of the economic system has been relatively fast during the past 2 years. The unequivocal proposing of these restructuring measures as the rubric of China's economic policies for the next 2 years was both concrete and clear, and it was welcomed by people in China as well as abroad.

Taking a careful look at these eight restructuring measures, we can see that they symbolize the Chinese Communist Party's great resolve and fortitude for carrying out the four modernizations. Two or three years ago, we should say, the proposing of these eight approaches aimed at reforms of a fundamental nature would have been unimaginable. The content of these few economic reforms has broken through certain taboo areas, transcended the conventions imposed upon the economic arena during the past 30 years, and daringly adopted entirely new approaches. Insofar as the Chinese Communist Party is concerned, this really amounts to a revolution--a revolution with the most earth-shaking power in the economic arena since the founding of the Chinese state. In the attempt to accelerate the four modernizations, these reforms are entirely necessary.

"Speed" Is Reflected

These eight economic reforms first of all reflect "speed": it is imperative to tightly grasp the time factor in order to develop the Chinese model of a socialist economy with greater speed, and thereby to enable China's relatively backward economy to achieve a breakthrough in a relatively short period and hence reach the takeoff point for economic development.

Practice is the only criterion for testing truth. Practice during the past 30 years proves that the economic management system enforced by the Chinese Communists in the past is no longer suitable to the developmental needs of this economy in China's present society; at least it does not demonstrate the superiority of the socialist economic system. There is reason to believe that this is basically because the policies relating to transformation of ownership were carried out too hastily after China's liberation. The old China before liberation was a semifeudal, semicolonial society with a small-farm economy as its mainstay. After the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the Chinese revolution instantly turned from a new democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, and the country began to carry out agricultural cooperativization, industrial cooperativization, and public-private joint management of capitalist industry and commerce, which was shortly further turned into pure public management. Leaping from a semifeudal, semicolonial society to a socialist society, China did not pass the stage of capitalist society. From the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, it looks as though the country did not need to pass through this stage of capitalist society. Precisely because of this, however, the speed of the fundamental transformation of ownership was far greater than that of the development of backward productive forces, whereupon a gap was created. That is to say, the productive forces fell behind their production relations, and they became mutually incongruous. Under such circumstances, economic measures more suited to the actual conditions of the time should have been put forward to allow the existence of a certain individual economy, and even methods colored by capitalist economy should have been adopted as transitional measures of expediency. The pity was that, after the antirightist campaign of 1957, Chinese Communist policies, including economic policies, became more and more leftist; the leftist wind blew harder and harder, with the result that, by the time of the "Cultural Revolution," it reached the unprecedented No 10 wind-warning signal and wiped all those relatively practical approaches away. This serves to explain why, 30 years after the founding of Communist China, the speed of its economic development has fallen far behind that of the two defeated states, West Germany and Japan.

In the past, especially during the 10-year Cultural Revolution, any doubts about or attempts to reform the existing system would have been unforgivable and inevitably taken as a case of "capitalist restoration," "revisionism," or even "counterrevolution." The fact that some Liu Shaoqi's relatively mild measures, such as the "three-self and one fix policy," etc., were ruthlessly deprecated as "capitalistic" is a typical example. This economic system of 30 years standing thus to have become a taboo area which nobody was supposed to touch. After the overthrow of the "gang of four," the higher leadership level of the Chinese Communist Party began to sense the seriousness of this problem: such an excessively leftist, unbending economic management system could only become a stumbling block. It is was pushed forward without change, they would have had to follow past steps and proceed into a blind alley. Three or four years ago the Chinese Communists, beginning with trade, started experimenting with certain reform measures, such as "combination of industry and trade," "combination of production and sales," etc., in the hope of promoting enterprise productivity. Looked at from today's standards, these reforms could only be termed most elementary, but at that time they represented great progress and even proved to be meritorious enough to arouse the deaf and the blind. In foreign trade, they first brought forth conventional practices in trade long followed by people in the outside world, such as "processing imported materials and imported samples," "assembling imported parts," "ordering goods by their brand names," etc. These methods, which were customary in other countries and areas, led to great commotion in the trade departments in the interior; at the time, reporters at the Canton trade fair even devoted long pages to such news reports and special interviews. Chinese and foreign businessmen also were extremely pleased, thinking that China's trade had somehow finally become more flexible. But these measures were only superficial and secondary; they were far removed from economic reforms. Among the high-level leaders of the Chinese Communists at the time, there were still certain people who worried quite a bit and who dared not touch upon certain questions of a fundamental nature; this affected the progress of economic reform.

Still fresh in this writer's memory was the fact that in the later half of 1978, the Chinese Communists began to relax a little in the restructuring of their foreign trade management system, promulgating several flexible modes of trade such as compensatory trade and others. Shortly thereafter, it was reported that it was possible for China to proceed with joint ventures and to welcome Chinese and foreign businessmen to invest and build factories in China. At that time, this news was most stimulating to Chinese and foreign businessmen, who regarded it as a harbinger of relaxation of Chinese policies, because joint ventures and the capital of capitalists obtaining a legitimate status for operations in China constituted a sensitive question--a question touching upon exploitation. Looking back now, general negotiations have already begun in the interior regarding joint ventures or even purely foreign ventures; they are no longer any sensational news. Two years ago, however, such negotiations would have seemed "out of the ordinary." It has become known that the official who first revealed this news to reporters was later subjected to great pressure and criticism, so that when he saw reporters again, he would turn away. This shows that at that time many problems were still not solved in the execution of economic policies, and that the conventions and taboo areas in people's thinking could still not be broken. Because of these reasons, China's economic development during the 3 or 4 years immediately after the overthrow of the "gang of four" did not turn out to be ideal. People overseas were disappointed, and the four modernizations seemed remote. Witnessing this situation, the Chinese Communists made up their minds to institute a fundamental reform. Beginning last year, they developed experimental areas in many provinces and municipalities for carrying out certain daring methods of economic reform. According to reports, there were about 6,000 experimental areas connected with the restructuring of the economic system throughout the country the first half of this year; they made up 45.5 percent of the output value of enterprises owned by all the people. From now on, they [Chinese Communists] are going to accelerate the process of restructuring the economic/management system on the basis of these experimental areas develop their strongpoints, protect competition, promote association, and mobilize enthusiasm in all aspects, with a view of speeding up and speeding up still more in order to obtain economic results as soon as possible.

Economic Competition, Chinese Style

Secondly, the eight economic reform measures have broken through certain taboos and paved the way for China to develop the Chinese model of socialist economy from now on. This writer is of the opinion that, in this regard, the most interesting is the third measure of reform: "Widely develop competition under the guidance of the state plans."

In the past, competition was invariably taken as a capitalist gimmick; in reality, competition is one of the economic laws of capitalism. Marxist economic theory holds that competition, the anarchial state of production, and the absolute impoverishment of the working class are the laws by which capitalist production relations exist, whereas under the socialist system, along with the disappearance of such capitalist production relations, these laws disappear from the economic process. Marx did not go into any detail as to whether or not there can be different kinds of competition. Competition under capitalist production relations is free conpetition. Its ultimate goal is to seize the sales markets, the sources of raw materials, and the places for investment in order to control the production and sale of commodities, and it ultimately develops into monopoly. Therefore, free competition is reflected in the anarchical state of production, and it is drastically destructive. Viewed from its essential purpose, China's championing of the protection of competition today is altogether different from that of free competition under capitalism. What China has brought forth is competition under the guidance of the state plans; that is to say, the competition and development of the enterprises are included in the state's economic plans, and they constitute a component part of the development of the national economy. For this reason, such competition is planned, is proportionate, and as a result cannot lead to blind production or blind development. Hence it is both positive and constructive.

Because of competition, there are bound to be the good and the bad; if measured by the law of free competition under capitialism, the fittest would survive. In the final analysis, there are but two outlets for bad enterprises: bankruptcy, or absorption by the triumphant ones. Under such circumstances, monopoly gradually results. The outcome of competition in China looks similar to that of free competition--that is, the good ones develop and the bad ones become reorganized, with those enterprises which turned out to be inferior in competition and which foresee no future in their development being merged into those enterprises which triumphed in the competition, and with some of the former being converted to other lines of production, such as the production of parts for those enterprises that have strong competitive capability. The fit survive; the unfit are eliminated: this is the inevitable law of competition. But under conditions of socialism, elimination should be "reorganization" under the guidance of the state plans. The forms of reorganization cannot depart from the following three kinds: (1) annexation; (2) combination; (3) conversion to other lines of production. Also, in stressing competition, China wishes to promote the spirit of socialist cooperation and to develop technical exchanges. Although enterprises assume the status of rivals in competition, they share the same goals and they all serve socialism. Hence, matters of mutual cooperation and mutual support still exist. This is what free competition lacks.

Generally speaking, socialist competition means that under the uniform planning and guidance of the state, and on the basis of developing the national economy and production, various enterprises compete among themselves and compare their economic results. Their purposefulness is consistent, and there is no such phenomenon as endlessly struggling to annex one another, as exists among capitalist enterprises.

Expansion of Enterprise Autonomy

Thirdly, the eight reforms generally exhibit a dedication to the spirit of democracy. The Third Session of China's Fifth National People's Congress fully stressed democracy; it proposed to build a modern China with a high degree of democracy and a high degree of civilization. The reform of the political system gave scope to democracy; the reform of the economic system was also permeated with the spirit of democracy.

In the past, the old economic system, like the political system, was one of centralized authority. The central government directly ordered local governments to carry out various economic activities, and the opinions of local governments could hardly affect the overall situation. In other words, the control was too rigid, and the whole economic management system operated like an iron board, both inflexible and stiff. But today the eight measures exude an atmosphere of democracy in general.

The quintessence of economic reform is expansion of enterprise autonomy. Although the enterprises are still under the guidance of the state plans, with regard to their own personnel, finances, resources, production, supplies, and sales they now enjoy far greater autonomy that in the past. The atmosphere of democracy is reflected in three aspects of enterprise management. The first is the relationship between the enterprise, under the condition that it assure the fulfillment of the task of supplying goods as prescribed by the state, may arrange its production plans or take on obligations of cooperation according to market needs, and, in addition to the resources provided by the state according to existing plans, it may buy the materials it needs according to the principle of securing the best. That is to say, in the conversations between the enterprise and the central authorities from now on, there really can be a mutual addressing of points with each other. The practical, developmental needs of the enterprise itself are respucted, and the enthusiasm of the enterprise hence becomes elevated. The second is the relationship between the enterprise and the outside world. In the past, an enterprise could not deal with a foreign concern independently; everything had to be done under the guidance of the leading organ at the higher level. Today, a large enterprise and its associated bodies, upon approval, may begin to experiment with direct management of foreign trade. The establishment of general trading companies in various provinces and municipalities for the sake of developing their foreign trade is also a reflection of this measure. The third is the enterprise's internal relations. In the past, the party committee secretary ruled supreme within the enterprise; the secretary became the reincarnation of the party committee and of the party itself. Only what he said would count, and he would follow a patriarchal system under which ordinary workers and or even cadres would have no right to express any opinions. The enterprise became the party committee secretary's enterprise. Whether management of the enterprise entailed gains or losses, and whether it was good or bad, nobody had any right to interfere. Now it is prescribed that each enterprise and establishment must install a congress of staff and workers or a staff and worker representative assembly. Members of such congress or assembly have the right to make decisions on important questions of their own unit, to recommend to the superior level the recall of incompetent administrative leading personnel of their unit, and to elect step by step the leading personnel in the appropriate categories.

The establishment of these congresses of staff and workers or staff and worker representative assemblies serves the same function as Yugoslavia's workers' committees. Insofar as China is concerned, the establishment of these congresses and assemblies is an unprecedented, refreshing event that represents the approach of the Chinese Communist Party in making up its mind to carry out democracy. On this point, it has enabled the Chenese workers to really realize the spirit of becoming masters of their own house.

Guiding Economic Activities by Economic Means

In the fourth aspect we see reflected the fact that the Chinese Communist Party has begun to realize that the guiding of economic activities by political means in the past was a failure; the six [as published] reforms indicate that the Chinese Communist Party now has made up its mind to guide economic activities by economic means, to respect objective economic laws, and to stress economic results.

The second of these reforms clearly suggests that an enterprise must establish independent accounting and cannot "eat from the common pot." The practice of letting an enterprise "establish independent accounting, allow the state to collect pertinent taxes, and take the responsibility for its own gains and losses" has actually been promoted at certain experimental places for some time, and has been done effectively. The light industrial machinery company of Shangahi, for example, has had a good taste of this practice while experimenting with it; it has proved far more effective than in the past, when [the company] knew only how to carry out the plans assigned by the higher level. Under this [new] practice the 40 enterprises within the jurisdiction of this company reportedly see to it that their staff and workers do the best they can to open up new avenues of production, increase products suitable for consumption beyond given plans, calculate meticulously everywhere, augment their income, and cut down their expenses. In a short period of time a conspicuous change has taken place within the entire company: the profits and tax monies realized between January and July this year turned out to be more than 70 percent higher than those of the corresponding period last year. The result is that the state collected more taxes, the enterprise retained more profits, and the staff and workers made great gains.

The fifth of these reforms--gradually reforming the taxation system--is meant to encourage the enterprises to run their affairs according to economic laws by making use of the economic means of taxation.

To guide the enterprises to develop by the economic means of profits, taxation, pricing, credit loans, etc., is to be China's approach to enterprise management from now on.

The eight economic reforms will be the norms of China's economic activities for a fairly long period. But these constitute merely a beginning. In order to reverse

China's backward economic outlook even faster, many problems remain to be explored and solved. We can definitely say that the evolution of the country's economic system will continue to deepen in the years ahead, that new measures of reform are bound to be put forward, and that all reforms are going to be tested in practice, just like the case of the eight economic reforms today; they are ultimately elevated to the level of policy measures and promoted in practice across the country only after they are proved, through 1 or 2 years or an even longer period of practice, to be genuinely suitable to China's economic development today.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

MALFEASANCE OF CADRES, NEED FOR DISCIPLINE DISCUSSED

Leading Cadres Disciplined

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 80 p 1

[News report: "The Secretary of the Party Committee of Yuanchengmai County, Wang Yueqing [3769 1471 7230], Is Removed From Office"]

[Text] The party has taken disciplinary action against three county-level leading cadres for violating party discipline, for abusing their authorities, for building luxurious residences for their private use at the government expense, and for resettling a large number of rural households in urban areas in violation of the related policy. They are Wang Yueqing, secretary and chairman of the Yuanchengmai County Party and Revolutionary committees; Zeng Xiangji [2582 4382 6549], deputy secretary and vice chairman of the county party and revolutionary committees; and Wu Xianming [0702 7359 2494], former standing committee member and vice chairman of the county party and revolutionary committees. Wang Yueqing has been removed from his office as secretary of the county party committee, while Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming have been reprimanded by the party for committing the aforementioned mistakes.

This disciplinary action was initiated by the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee and taken by the Guangdong Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission with the approval of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee.

Wang Yueqing and two other comrades originally lived in comfortable government-provided houses with floor space ranging from 80 to 130 square meters of land, with which they were still not satisfied. In October 1978 they began to dream of building more luxurious homes for their families. To translate that dream into reality, they selected 42.49 mu of land located in Zhongzhai brigade of Chengcheng commune as sites for building their new homes under the pretext of housing projects for city dwellers and retired old cadres. In compensation for the land acquired, they promised to reduce the Zhongzhai brigade's annual grain taxes by 41,052 jin. Of the 42.49 mu of land, 339.56 square meters of land went to Wang Yueqing, who later built a 20,800 yuan home covering 228.17 square meters in floor space; 328.9 square meters of land went to Zeng Xiangji, who constructed a home occupying a floor space of 157.55 square meters at a cost of 14,000 yuan; and 387.79 square meters of land went to Wu Xianming, who spent 24,000 yuan building a home covering 254.8 square meters in floor space.

Wang Yueqing and two other comrades also obtained, free of charge, enormous amounts of building materials, and manpower from factories, communes, state farms and other government organizations, along with motor vehicles which were used to move materials to the sites where their cozy nests were under construction. When motor vehicles were used to move building materials, they paid only for their gasoline costs.

When they acquired the public land and construction got underway, the general office of the provincial revolutionary committee and the Hainan Prefectural Revolutionary Committee sternly warned them against building private homes in real estate of public ownership. Responsible comrades of the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee also repeatedly dissuaded them from building private homes on public land in violation of the related government policy.

After receiving instructions from the higher authorities or leading groups, they ordered the county revolutionary committee to issue a circular to cadres at the bureau chief and higher levels advising them to stop building private homes on public land, while stepping up the construction of their own homes in gross disregard of the government policy. Their attitude toward the instructions from the higher authorities was actually one of overt compliance and covert opposition.

In an attempt to obtain adequate building materials, and manpower for building their projected homes, Wang Yueqing, Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming abused their authorities by approving a migration of a sizable agricultural population from the countryside to the urban areas in violation of the State Council's and Guangdong Province's household migration policy. They also promised to provide the new urban settlers with free food grains in exchange for their labor needed for the construction of their homes. From January 1978 to August 1979, they approved a transfer of 135 rural households or 455 persons to the urban areas. Under their influence, other leading cadres in Chengmai County also followed suit by giving similar approval to the migration of a large number of households from rural to urban areas in violation of the government's longstanding policy. According to incomplete statistics, they approved the requests of 738 rural households or 2,104 persons for resettlement in urban areas from January 1978 to August 1979, along with applications for food rationing. The overwhelming majority of them moved into the city through back door deals in violation of the related policy.

In order to teach Wang Yueqing and his two accomplices a lesson, and to educate other comrades in strictly observing party discipline and in rectifying the party's workstyle, the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee has decided to confiscate the newly built homes and turn them over to the government real estate management department as part of public property, in addition to taking appropriate disciplinary action against the aforementioned three comrades. Their construction costs will be reimbursed on the basis of actual estimation. The cases of those rural people who have been permitted to settle in the urban areas and have since become workers entitled to the food rationing in violation of the related policy will be seriously and properly handled by the authorities concerned in accordance with the related regulations put into effect by the central and provincial authorities.

Need for Party Discipline

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 80 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Enforce Party Discipline, Strengthen the Party's Workstyle"]

[Text] The Guangdong Provincial Party Committee has taken disciplinary action against three leading comrades for violating the law and discipline, for abusing power and for promoting bad workstyles. The three are Wang Yueqing [3769 1471 7230], secretary and chairman of the Yuanchengmai County Party and Revolutionary committees; Zeng Xiangji [2582 4382 6549], deputy secretary and vice chairman of the Yuanchengmai County Party and Revolutionary committees; and Wu Xianming [0702 7359 2494], former standing committee member and vice chairman of the Yuanchengmai County Party and Revolutionary committees. That disciplinary action taken by the party against them was absolutely necessary and correct. We hope that the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" will be more thoroughly implemented, the party's workstyle will be further improved, party discipline will be more strictly observed and the leading groups of the party committees at all levels will be further strengthened as a result of the official announcement of that disciplinary action.

In addition to betraying the interests of the state and people, undermining the party's fine workstyle, and dampening the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses for promoting the four modernizations, Wang Yueqing and two other comrades have caused otherwise unnecessary damage to the cause of the party. Their mistakes are so serious that they deserve the great attention of our party cadres, especially those leading cadres.

As the vanguard of the proletariat, our party requires that all its members devote the rest of their lives to serving the people's interests, and they should never try to seek any privileges to enhance their private interest. Clearly, this fundamental requirement was disregarded by Wang Yueqing and two other comrades when they decided to build more luxurious homes for themselves, with floor space ranging from 200 to 300 square meters. They originally lived in homes with floor space ranging from 80 to 130 square meters, living conditions which were far superior to housing units occupied by the masses. To satisfy their insatiable desires, they abused their authorities so that they could acquire public land, building materials, motor vehicles, manpower and everything else they needed in building their new homes free of charge. They even unscrupulously and illegally approved the migration of households from the rural to urban areas and their requests for food rationing in exchange for their services and building materials needed in construction of their homes. This fraud reminds us that if every communist party member or party leading cadre is unaware of his responsibility as the people's servant, and pays no attention to their interests and plight, and if he cares only about his own comfortable life, he may be unable to resist the temptation to use his authority to enhance his private interest at the expense of the public interest in violation of party discipline and in betrayal of the public trust. For this reason, we must guard against the erosive influence of the bourgeois ideas and feudal ideologies and foster a world outlook of whole-hearted dedication to the people's interests.

Communist party members must strive to increase their awareness of the need to foster strong party character and strictly observe party discipline as a guarantee for a correct implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, and as an insurance against committing mistakes. As leading members on the county party committee, Wang Yueqing and his two accomplices were well aware of the regulations governing the construction of housing projects on public land issued by the Guangdong Provincial Revolutionary Committee long ago, as well as the policies of the State Council and other central authorities concerning the resettlement of agricultural households in the cities, the rationing of food grains and the recruiting of workers. As leading cadres, they should have acted as models in implementing these policies and regulations. On the contrary, blinded by the lust for private gains, they have deliberately violated these policies and regulations, and thrown them into wastebaskets along with party discipline in order to build some cozy nests for themselves. When the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee tried to stop them after their wrongdoing came to its attention, they adopted a double-dealing attitude by promising the obey its order in public but continuing their malpractice in private. Finally, their lust for private gains led them to commit more mistakes in violation of the laws. Believing that "bureaucrats are interested in protecting one another," Wang Yueqing and his two accomplices divided their newly acquired land and property up among themselves and others associated with them on the basis of their ranks, by way of dirty back door deals. They did so on the assumption that since "all partners have a fair share of the property," they would do their utmost to protect their common interests that they have secured. Nonetheless, they terribly underestimated the ability of ordinary cadres and the masses to expose their back door deals. Their "partnership for mutual protection" eventually went broke when the cadres and the masses armed with the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" strove to expose their back door deals to the public. Facts show that party members or leading cadres cannot avoid making mistakes and cannot correct their errors unless they consciously welcome inspection and admonition from the higher level party organizations and the party discipline inspection commissions, and accept criticism and supervision from the masses.

Since the proclamation of the "guiding principles," party organizations at all levels throughout the province have made great efforts to strengthen party discipline and improve the party's workstyle. But this marks only the first step forward during a long march. We must realize that malfeasance still exists in varying degrees in many localities and units; the fact that authorities were abused by leading members on the Chengmai County Party Committee to build their new homes and to approve the migration of households from rural to urban areas in violation of the related policy is not an isolated case which deserves the great attention of party committees and leading cadres at all levels. To avoid similar mistakes, we must check our ideas and workstyle against the "guiding principles" ignored by the three erring principal leading cadres on the Yuancheng County Party Committee, consciously draw lessons from our past experiences, strengthen party character and our sense of organization and discipline, eliminate the influence of the feudal system in which cadres are granted privileges, and voluntarily accept supervision from the masses. Only in this way can we resolutely wipe out all forms of malpractice and make ourselves qualified communist party members.

9574
CSO: 4005

INSTITUTE OF MICROBIOLOGY ACCUSED OF DEFAMING RESEARCHER

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 80 p 4

[Letter to the Editor from Yang Mo [2799 3106]: "This Instance Occurred Today as China Is Marching Toward the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Dear editor-comrades:

I want to reflect to you a serious instance of retaliatory attacks against a scientific researcher with an intent to discredit his work.

It occurred when I spent the winter of 1978 in Tianjin doing some writing and building a friendship with Comrade Liu Yaguang [0491 0068 0342], a researcher of the Institute of Microbiology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. We lived in the same guest house when he was on a lecture and scientific experimental tour at the Tianjin Public Health Bureau's request. He spent day and night working diligently on a project aimed at combining advanced science--microbiology with herb medicine. I was deeply moved by his hard working spirit. One day in that winter, I suddenly received an unexpected long-distance telephone call from one of my relatives. He did so at the urging of someone working at the Institute of Microbiology who was aware of my growing friendship with Liu Yaguang. The caller relayed a message accusing Liu Yaguang of being a "swindler trying to deceive people everywhere," and imploring me to alert the departments concerned in Tianjin not to be fooled by Liu Yaguang any more. The caller also revealed that the Institute of Microbiology was withholding his salary for the reason of misconduct. Although I was surprised to hear this, I did not act as "instructed" by the caller. From that day on, I began to watch Liu Yaguang more closely than ever in order to satisfy my curiosity and fulfill my responsibility to the people. To get a deeper insight into the significance of Liu Yaguang's research project and his personality, I later visited some leading members of various Tianjin public health centers and hospitals, and his associates at the Institute of Microbiology. They unanimously told me that his advanced scientific research work is valuable, from which they themselves have also benefited. None of them thought that he has ever done anything wrong. Nor did anyone accuse him of being a "swindler." On the basis of this investigation, I can say for sure that Liu Yaguang is a young and resourceful scientific researcher wholeheartedly devoted to the four modernizations. Later, I continued to investigate his activities when I was in Beijing and Zhejiang. I ended almost a year-long investigation with literary reportage entitled "He is that kind of person," an article that appeared in ZHEJIANG RIBAO of 25 December 1979. In that article, I emphasized the significance of his scientific research work, his efforts to overcome innumerable difficulties in scientific research, and his hard working spirit. At the same time, I criticized the Institute of Microbiology without mentioning its name for suppressing and attacking Liu Yaguang, for falsely accusing him of being a "swindler" and "politically unreliable," and for unreasonably withholding his salary. Upon learning of this criticism, its leading members flew into a rage and retaliated by printing and circulating in the name of their organization a message to the nation (in three installments), attacking my literary reportage as a challenge to the scientific circles and charging me with "misleading the central authorities, deceiving the masses and spreading rumors and slanders" for which they hold me legally responsible. The message also falsely accused Liu Yaguang of being a "swindler" and "trumpeter," and calling his experiment with the Chinese medical nostrum aimed at "resuscitating the muscle of the heart" a "fraud." This message has had the effect of vicious slander on the nation. Is there any truth to such charges? I have learned that since Liu Yaguang's transfer to the Microbiological Medical Research Institute affiliated with the Zhejiang College of Chinese Medicine, his innovative research work has commanded the attention of the Ministry of Public Health and the Zhejiang Provincial People's Government, which submitted a joint report on his work to the Party Central Committee and the State Council with a suggestion that funds be earmarked in support of his research. In response to this suggestion, the State Council has provided funds for the purchase of equipment for the Microbiological Medical Research Institute after Liu Yaguang achieved a breakthrough in research in controlling cardiovascular disease. At the same time, his published essays have also received commendations from the medical circles at home and abroad. For example, he has received a letter from an American professor inviting him to give lectures in the United States. In that letter, the American professor said: "We earnestly look forward to directly learning from your outstanding work on Chinese medicine and especially your technical application of microbiological pharmacology. We consider your work most outstanding of all, comparing with a few other systematically organized studies in this field." He has also received letters from a number of colleges in Japan, inviting him to visit Japan to explore the possibility of his cooperation with them. A biochemist with doctoral degrees from Hong Kong recently came to Hangzhou to confer with Liu Yaguang on the prospect of their cooperation in research and in jointly publishing books.

A nationally and internationally known Chinese language publication recently carried an article written by someone in the assumed name of Shi Xiyuan [4258 1585 0337] pouring cold water on this meaningful research work. This article spreads rumors that Liu Yaguang's "heart resuscitation" experiment is a fraud, and his statistical estimation based on it means nothing as a result of his misuse of the labeled isotopes. As a matter of fact, this charge is unfounded, because Shi Xiyuan based his article neither on experiments nor on any investigation of laboratories associated with Liu Yaguang. The Hospital No 262 Laboratory where Liu Yaguang worked revealed that over 7,000 guinea pigs and over 200 rabbits have been used in this experiment which has provided the medical profession with a large amount of reliable information; only one right kind of labeled isotopes has been used in the experiment; the information resulting from this experiment has been checked out and endorsed by related medical authorities at the request of the Beijing Military Region's health department. In addition, Liu Yaguang has made public the outcome of his experiment in an article published by a medical journal with the blessing of the Hospital No 262.

In addition to the "heart resuscitation" experiment, Liu Yaguang has adopted the same experimental method to check out the effectiveness of another ancient Chinese medical nostrum in reviving the msucles of the heart. The outcome of this scientific experiment was also verified last March by a group of 11 associated professors headed by Professor Zhang Yi [1728 3015], honorary chairman of the All-China Society of Pharmacology, at the request of the Chinese Medical Bureau of the Ministry of Public Health. In their joint statement, the 11 professors said: "Applying the advanced microbiological technology to study the effectiveness of the Chinese medical nostrum in resuscitating the msucle of the heart is an advanced and correct method, which has come up with convincing results. The nostrum called 'heart revival liquid' can speed up the chemical process of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) after the muscle of the heart is deprived of oxygen supply and damaged. Such results are good news to patients suffering from the hardening or blocking of the coronary arteries, and a contribution to the research project for controlling the cardiovascular disease." Not long ago, a study group of specialists and cadres organized by the Zhejiang Provincial Scientific and Technological Committee also agreed through discussion that this experimental method is scientifically sound. In view of this, I feel that if the Institute of Microbiology disagreed with this experimental method and related essays, it can feel free to make its opini-ns known in various medical publications. Unfortunately, it did not take this course. In addition to disseminating slanders against Liu Yaguang, it recently published a big-character-type article in an ordinary journal with the aim of misleading the general public. More absurd is that Shi Xiyuan's article likens ordinary scientific researcher Liu Yaguang to the Soviet Union's Lesechko, drawing a parallel between our central authorities' support of Liu Yaguang and Stalin's support of Lesechko. More intolerable is that in addition to disseminating misleading information on Liu Yaguang, a leading comrade of the Institute of Microbiology has talked some newspapers and journals into rejecting all articles written by me and other comrades who want to present to the public a true picture of the aforementioned experiments. This suppression of different opinions occurred at a time when the need is being emphasized to strengthen democracy and the legal system in our country, in the wake of the downfall of the "gang of four." Can we call this a flagrant violation of the citizens' right to discuss science and art in a democratic way? As a deputy to the People's Congress conscious of my responsibility to the people, I presented to the public that literary reportage on the four modernizations only in the capacity of a conscientious writer. It is contrary to my wishes that the publication of that literary reportage would drive Shi Xiyuang and other people of the Institute of Microbiology to launch fiercer attacks against Liu Yaguang and to go all out to defame him as an individual and to distort his experiments, thus creating numerous difficulties for the modernization of scientific research in herb medicine. As a result of the publication of my article, I have also been subjected to a series of criticisms and even have been forced to shut my mouth, depriving me of the right to openly answer their charges. This has occurred at a time when our country is embarking on a march toward the four modernizations. I think that this is a serious violation of the democratic rights. For this reason, I implore RENMIN RIBAO to support the victims of this violation. I also hope that the Ministry of Justice and other related departments will conscientiously initiate an investigation into this case, and will mete out necessary punishment to those found guilty of deception, reprisals for personal reasons and undermining the scientific research work, in accordance with the provisions of party discipline and state laws.

9574
CSO: 4005

ZHEJIANG PARTY OFFICIALS CENSURED FOR EXTRAVAGANCE

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Infringing on the Interests of the Masses Is Absolutely Forbidden; the Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline Has Taken Strict Action Regarding the Extravagant Eating and Drinking of the Group for Conveying Greetings and Appreciation on the Old Liberated Areas of Leqing County, Ordering the Responsible Leaders of the County Party Committee to Make an In-Depth Criticism and Instructing the People Involved To Return Expenses Incurred in Violation of the Guiding Principles"]

[Text] In order to flaunt its style, the Leqing County group sent to convey greetings and appreciation had many banquets during its tour. The eating and drinking wasted a large sum of national and collective assets. The masses expressed a lot of criticism about this kind of behavior, which disregarded the party Central Committee's repeated orders, infringed upon the masses' interests, and violated the "Guiding Principles." Recently, the provincial commission for inspection of discipline undertook an investigation and took the following strict action: The Leqing County Party Committee was instructed to follow the "Guiding Principles" and make serious conclusions on their experience and lessons, and leaders concerned were instructed to make a public criticism. Public funds that were used by the committee leaders for entertainment should be repaid, in line with the principle of "the one who initiates the idea should pay for it." Members of the group for conveying greetings and appreciation and nonproduction cadres of the communes who participated in the eating and drinking should repay their share of the cost, and the excessive allowance received in violation of regulations must be returned.

In April of this year, Leqing County organized a group for conveying greetings and appreciation for the old liberated areas. It was led by three members of the Standing Committee of the county party committee, and 30 people of the departments, committees, offices and bureaus concerned took part. From 17 April to 6 May, they went to 34 communes and production teams in the old revolutionary districts to undertake consolation. Wherever the group for conveying greetings and appreciation went, the majority of communes and production teams mobilized cadres and the masses to welcome them. Public funds were used and people were sent especially to buy liquor, food, candy, and cigarettes, etc, in order to set up banquets to entertain them. Everywhere they went, they ate and drank with cadres and caused financial and material waste. Statistics from Chennan and 4 other communes alone showed that over 1,000 yuan was spent. On 17 April, the group for conveying greetings and appreciation, some cadres, and over 30 representatives ate lunch and dinner at a production team in Chennan Commune. There were eight tables; desserts and cigarettes were also consumed. The total cost was 229.40 yuan, averaging over 7 yuan per person, but members of the group for conveying greetings and appreciation donated only 1 yuan per person. The excess 215.40 yuan was paid out of the production team's common reserve fund. On 24 April, the group for conveying greetings and appreciation and cadres of communes and production teams, totaling over 50 people, ate lunch and dinner at another commune. There were 8 tables and the total cost was 203.10 yuan. The group for conveying greetings and appreciation did not pay a penny; the entire cost was covered by the production team. In order to flaunt their style and extravagance, they violated the financial system, arbitrarily used public funds to buy radios with cassette recorders, expensive liquor, cigarettes, and candy, and to make group flags, streamers, and badges. They also arbitrarily raised the group members' food allowance from 0.80 to 1 yuan. The excess expenditure was 1,535.54 yuan. Besides, this consolation was undertaken during the busiest spring plowing season. Many commune cadres were busy attending meetings, studying the selection of representatives, sending people to put up posters, buying goods, and organizing welcoming groups; therefore, production was affected. To make matters worse, all this was done when some of the people of the old liberated areas were enduring unusual hardships. For example, Sidi Commune suffered drought last year, and in order to alleviate the masses' hardship, the state had granted relief food and funds. Its individual production teams did not even have money for school windows and desks. When the group for conveying greetings and appreciation came to this commune on 26 April, it had neither money nor food, so it borrowed 90 yuan from the credit coop's mountain highway construction funds and 10 yuan from office funds to pay for the eating and drinking expenses of over 80 people. The masses were extremely displeased with this kind of behavior, which ignored the masses' hardships and infringed upon the commune members' laboring income and collective interests. They even called the group for conveying greetings and appreciation "eating and drinking group" and "trouble group"; some also asked: "Is this group for conveying greetings and appreciation consoling us people of the old liberated areas, or are we people of the old districts consoling them?"

After this incident, the Disciplinary Committee of the Leqing County Party Committee followed the advice of the provincial and district disciplinary committees and undertook an investigation. It had made reports to the county party committee. At the beginning, the county party committee did not have a sufficient understanding of this problem, and some of its comrades did not have a correct attitude, so the problem was postponed and not handled. Recently, after the provincial committee for inspection of discipline issued its opinion on the handling of this problem, and with the instruction and help of the district committee, the Party Committee of Leqing County stated that it would undertake measures to rectify this improper practice.

9539
CSO: 4005

REVOLUTIONARY COURAGE, REALISTIC WORKING SPIRIT URGED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Tan Tian [6223 1131]: "Combining Revolutionary Courage With a Realistic Working Spirit"]

[Text] Stalin pointed out that there are two special characteristics of the Leninist work style, "1, the Russian revolutionary courage, and 2, the American realistic spirit." He said, "The Leninist work style is simply the combination of these two special characteristics in party and national work." This combination is one excellent traditional work style formed by our party through long revolutionary struggles. It heightened the fighting capacity of our party. It is essential to restore this excellent tradition and work style. The combining of revolutionary courage and realistic working spirit is the unification of the class nature of the proletariat and objectivity, the unification of theory and practice. We of the Communist Party firmly believe in the dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and are dyed-in-the-wool idealists who are afraid of nothing. This fearless spirit is one kind of revolutionary courage. Materialism is "from the object to awareness to thought," it is everything starting out from objective reality. This naturally demands a scientific attitude of a realistic working spirit. When speaking of what revolutionary courage was, Stalin said, "Revolutionary courage is a force that moves men's hearts, it stimulates thought, launches advances, destroys old things, and opens new frontiers." If we have revolutionary courage, in the field of revolution and reconstruction, especially when coping with major turns of events, or when we meet seriously difficulties or set-backs, we will be able to be farsighted, we will have heroic proletarian spirit, will be confident of success in the future and we will dare to make firm decisions for the people. What is a realistic working style: It is seeking truth from facts. Comrade Mao Zedong explained: "Facts are everything that exists objectively, truth is the internal connections of objective things, seeking is to investigate." Simply stated, it is to begin from reality and work from objective laws. To combine revolutionary courage and a realistic working spirit is the embodiment of the party spirit of the proletariat. The proletarian party spirit is the combination of these revolutionary and scientific natures.

Dialectical materialism holds that all world developments must follow objective laws, and that these laws cannot be changed by the desires of man. If man wants to change nature, to change society, he must follow these objective laws, and work within these objective laws. To combine revolutionary courage and a realistic working spirit means that in the face of these objective laws we are neither slaves to these objective laws nor can we violate these objective laws, but we must give full play to the combining of man's subjective mobility and strictly adhere to the objectivity of these laws. We have had many bitter lessons in this area. We will not mention things that happened a long time ago, but just take the sinking of the Bohai No 2 drilling platform and the construction projects to turn the "Western water Eastward" for example. They were ignorant, subjective "workings in violation of nature." They were in violation of objective laws.

We must understand that subjective perversity is not "revolutionary courage." Such things as "the earth can produce as much as man has the courage to make it produce," "fear only that you do not think of it, do not fear that you can not do it," as well as not respecting the autonomy of the production units in agriculture activities and forcing them to all harvest and plant at the same time is really "there are many ways of doing things when there is no plan, and a lot of resolution when the situation is unclear." This kind of "blind leadership," "boasting," and "communism" has delivered serious set-backs to our national economy. Just like Engels said, "Disdain for dialectics must be punished." The realization of the four modernizations will be a great change. Facing us on many fronts is the realm of necessity which is not yet familiar. If we are successfully to implement the four modernizations it is even more critical for us to combine revolutionary courage with a realistic working spirit. There are two trends that must be overcome. One is a small number of cadres with petrified thinking. They follow the old ways and habitually do things according to established methods. In their work consciously or unconsciously they become the Monk Tang (of the Westward Journey) reciting the Incantation of the Golden Hoop and not Sun Wukong who dares to do and say and to upset the Palace of Heaven. These comrades need a little more revolutionary courage, like Stalin said, "Revolutionary courage is the tonic for purging ideological blockage due to habits, old style thinking, and conservatism, as well as traditional attitudes of blind obedience." The other trend is some comrades only know bragging, lying, and empty talk. They don't understand investigation and research, starting from objective reality, studying new situations, and solving new problems. They do not do something which obviously can be done in a short time, but persist in complaining about some things which can not be done in a short time. This is actually a departure from reality, it is a bureaucratic style divorced from the masses. Lenin pointed out, "The use of nice words and phrases to cover up an unpleasant situation, as far as the proletarian revolution is concerned, is the most injurious and most dangerous thing for the work of the laboring masses. Boasting, lying, and empty talk will not solve the problems of the four modernizations. It will, however, nourish and foster bureaucracy and seriously damage the prestige of the party. There is a common saying that 10 idle talkers are no match for 1 doer, and 1,000 mouths are no match for 1 working hand. We are placing total emphasis on practice and "one practical action is more important than a dozen programs." If we are to really combine revolutionary courage with a realistic working spirit in all of our work, then we must relate theory with practice, practice what we preach, speak and act in an honest fashion, strive to work in accordance with objective laws, and advance along one step at a time.

9559
CSO: 4005

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK MUST NOT BE OVERLOOKED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 80 p 1, 3

[Article by staff commentator: "The Entire Party Must Pay Close Attention to Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] The All-Province Propaganda Work Conference has discussed the question of how to strengthen ideological and political work in the new era, analyzed present ideological trends within and outside the party, and put forward the tasks and requirements of ideological and political work. This was entirely necessary. At present, when our country is undergoing profound changes in all aspects, and in the face of ideological problems that still largely exist in society, not only must the propaganda departments grasp ideological and political work well, but we must emphasize that the whole party needs to pay close attention to ideological and political work.

How to look at the ideological trends in society in our province at present, and how to appraise them, are questions we must first explore when we proceed with our ideological and political work.

Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the ideology of the vast ranks of cadres and masses in our province has undergone fairly great improvement; it has become more and more unified under the spirit of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. The party style and social customs have both been developing in a desirable direction. The people's thinking has been greatly emancipated and has become very lively. But we should also see that, in the ideological realm, some problems really exist at present, and they are fairly serious problems. These problems, fundamentally speaking, all constitute a question of perception concerning the party's general line centered on the work of the four modernizations. Among the cadres and masses, not a few people wish to realize the four modernizations but, at the same time, they also half believe in but half doubt the four modernizations, tag along but also look around, and lack confidence. Either they lack ambition, attach too much importance to the difficulties we face and the unavoidable secondary problems in the process of our reform, fail to see beneficial conditions, and fail to see the overall situation, or, because some practical problems in their lives cannot be solved, they have come to feel discouraged; or, because they see that bureaucratism and the style of particularization cannot be quickly rectified, they have become impatient. Some people not only harbor doubts about the four modernizations, but they also feel antagonistic in different degrees toward the restructuring of the economic system and certain new policy measures. Because they have been influenced fairly deeply by the extreme left line, they take as manifestations of the superiority of the socialist system certain practices carried out in the past which exceeded the current level of productive power, which violated economic and natural laws, which hampered the development of production, and which restrained the enthusiasm of the masses. And if we proceed to reform these irrational practices, they think we are being "rightists," "revisionists," and "retrogressive." Still other people mainly certain youths, doubt the very superiority of the socialist system. Political views pertaining to bourgeois democracy and freedom, the ideology of extreme individualism, and the psychology of envying Hong Kong and Macao and worshiping foreign ways of life have sprung up and spread among them. Apart from these people, there are also a few hostile elements who hate the four basic principles and the party's general line, and who take advantage of contradictions among the people to create confusion and sabotage our stability and unit. To sum up: Different ideas and contradictions exist in the ideological realm at present, but the fundamental question is the struggle between those trends adhering to the party's general line, centering on the work of the four modernizations, and those trends doubting and resisting this general line.

Concerning the problems which exist in the ideological realm today, if we go a bit deeper to explore their cause, we will see that these problems have already existed for a long time and are the continuation of the consequences of the 10-year turmoil. Some problems existed even before the 10-year turmoil. During the 10-year turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" messed up our ideology, messed up our system, messed up our policy, peddled the goods of sham socialism as genuine socialism, and brought the national economy to the brink of collapse. Thus they seriously sabotaged our party's fine traditions. This turmoil enabled the influences of feudalist ideology, bourgeois ideology, and petty bourgeios ideology to greatly extend their front, leading to the emergence of various complicated trends of thought and the emergence of all kinds of views concerning the superiority of the socialist system, concerning the party's leadership, concerning Marxism-Leninism, and concerning Mao Zedong Thought. A good many people not only did not have enough confidence in the building of socialism, but they also worried about the future of the Party and the state. It was only because of the feudal, autocratic rule of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that people generally dared not discuss their real thoughts openly, and hence such problems became concealed. After the smashing of the "gang of four," people have dared to speak out and have dared to bring out problems. The Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee reiterated the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, and the people's thinking has once more become lively. The congested, simultaneous appearance of previously concealed, half-clear, half-obscure trends of thought is what has contributed to the complex, complicated situation in the ideological realm.

The appearance of these various trends of thought at present is also closely related to the entry of our country into a new historical era. In order to triumphantly proceed with our work of socialist modernization, we are seriously summing up the positive and negative experiences of our 30 years of socialist revolution and socialist construction and are exploring the correct path for building socialism. The 10-year turmoil did not arise from imagination. Therefore we must, through practice, examine various principles, policies, systems, and theories since the founding of our state; inherit and develop those which are correct; and change those which are incorrect, old, and not in agreement with our new task. At such a turning point, when the old is eliminated and the new is deployed, diverse reactions are likely to be aroused and a struggle between new and old thoughts is bound to emerge.

To sum up the above, we can see that it is inevitable that certain complicated situations should emerge in the ideological realm at present. Some are the remnant poisons of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; some are affected by the erosive influences of external bourgeois ideas; some are remnant poisons of feudalist thinking and reflections of the ideas of the small producers; and some reflect the shortcomings in our work. Insofar as these situations are concerned, we must pay close attention to them, seriously do a good job in our ideological and political work, provide relevant guidance according to propitious conditions, and direct the people's thinking onto the correct course. On the other hand, we must not exaggerate their seriousness or fail to distinguish between the main current and the side currents--between the whole and the parts. Some think that a certain confusion which exists in the ideological realm at present has resulted from our failure to do a good job in propaganda work or from the emancipation of our thinking. This view does not accord with facts.

The complicated, complex interaction of diverse thoughts at present includes both interference of remnant poison from the extreme left and influences from the rightist direction; it includes struggles between the advanced and the backward, between renovation and conservatism, and between the correct and the erroneous; it likewise includes class struggle. Hence, in pursuing our ideological and political work we cannot adopt "the same cut." We must proceed from the actual situation in our own localities and our own units, and thereby opposition to whatever erroneous ideas exist--emphasizing opposition to whatever erroneous ideas are found to be the principal ones. We must not indiscriminantly put forward opposition to the "left" or to the right.

In line with the actual situation in our province, together with the continued elimination of remnant poisons from the extreme left, we must at the same time stress the importance of opposing the erosion of bourgeois ideology. Because of the geographical position that Guangdong occupies, and also because of historical factors, the influence of bourgeois ideology has always been relatively great. In recent years we have strengthened our external activities, our exchanges with the outside world have expanded, and our contacts with the capitalist world have been more frequent. All this is necessary. But at the same time, the bourgeois idelogy and its way of life have started to seep in through various channels. We cannot take this lightly. This is a new condition appearing in the ideological realm under the new situation. We must carry out patriotic education among the cadres and masses as well as education on the ideal future, education on moral character, education on democracy and rule of law, and education on hard struggle, so as to build a great wall in our ideology and resist the erosion of bourgeois ideology, we must at the same time pay attention to eliminating the remnant poison of feudalist ideology.

In regard to the current discrepancy in ideological perception within the party and among the people with respect to the party's line, principles and policies, the substance is what kind of society, after all, a socialist society should be. Different views have always existed with respect to this question ever since the founding of our state. Our country has advanced from a semifeudal and semicolonial society into a socialist society. The level of our productive power is very low, however, and the country is therefore in a low stage of socialist society. But in the past, we had erroneous views as to what kind of society the present stage of our socialist society should be. For instance, it was thought that we could ignore the developmental level of our productive forces and artificially change production relations, thereby speeding up our effort to make ownership public and carry out uniform ownership by the whole people. Efforts were made to carry out egalitarianism in the realm of distribution; efforts were made to implement a high degree of concentration in the realms of production and circulation, leading to dead rigidity, etc. At present, the controversies that have emerged in our country about the long-term coexistence of elements of many different types of economy, about the use of market adjustment, about the development of commodity economy, about protection of competition, about restructuring the economic management system, and other such problems have, in the final analysis, all arisen from those different views as to what kind of society a socialist society should be. Therefore we must educate the cadres and educate the masses anew, and understand our socialist society anew. We must take ideological and political work in this aspect of our economic construction as the central task in our propaganda work, strengthen our economic propaganda, strengthen our propaganda on the economic theory of socialism, and help everybody understand the objective economic laws of a socialist society. Only in this way will everybody stop feeling stunned by our economic reform and the party's policy measures.

Our party has a fine, longstanding tradition in ideological and political work, and plenty of successful experience in it. But during the 10-year turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" resorted to an expansion of class struggle, confused the two kinds of different contradictions, criticized at random, struggled at random, and thereby seriously sabotaged our ideological and political work. And today, some comrades have again partially understood how to manage the economy by economic means but have overlooked how to mobilize the people's enthusiasm through ideological and political work and of thinking that ideological and political work is something we can take or leave. On the basis of the characteristics of the new era, they must launch ideological and political work, eliminate the interference of all erroneous trends of thought, and enable the vast ranks of cadres and masses to struggle with one heart and one mind for the building of a modern, powerful, socialist country.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

ELIMINATION OF 'PERNICIOUS' INFLUENCE OF FEUDAL THOUGHT URGED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Wu Yuli [0702 3768 7812]: "Eliminate the Pernicious Influence of Feudal Thought"]

[Text] In the real life of our country, the pernicious influence of feudal thought continues to exist in various forms. This is a publicly recognized fact. Through 10 years of fomenting disorder, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" stirred up despotism, cultism, factionalism, and the notion of special privilege, and even unscrupulously instigated literary persecution. These are the stuff of feudalism. During the days when they were running wild, such feudal remnants, like settled dregs which float upwards--an ill wind which spreads like a plague--brought upon our party, country and people a great calamity of unparallelled severity. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," this kind of thinking met with further criticism, but it still did not disappear without a trace. There continues to be a bad odor emanating from every corner of socialist life, poisoning the people's minds and becoming an obstruction to the realization of socialist modernization and the democratization of political life. Because of this, eliminating [illegible] pernicious influence of feudal thought has become one of our great tasks on the ideological battlefront.

I

The feudal society of our country had a long history of 2,000-3000 years. And semi-colonial feudal rule lasted more than 100 years. This has given feudalistic thinking a long heritage, leaving it deeply entrenched and allowing it to penetrate extensively into every aspect of social life. Some things have already become a force of habit. The feudal despotic system and the system of feudal thought which emerged from the natural economic base of small-scale production, developed to relative maturity and completeness in our country. Its outstanding characteristics were:

1. Feudal rulers personally held absolute power. Beginning with the Qin Dynasty, our nation formed into a united, autocratic country with centralized authority. The emperor was the supreme ruler and enjoyed absolute power. Simply by being "the magnificent Son of Heaven" one then "possessed the wealth of the world." The will of the emperor was law. His emotional states determined the personal fates of the people, their rise and fall, glory and disgrace.

All the people of the country were the subjects of the emperor. They had to follow completely the orders of the emperor and could not resist. To do otherwise was to be labeled "traitorous." Rivers and mountains became personal property, as in "The emperor in the country." The emperor had the authority to reward any person by giving them noble rank, official position, property, special privileges, or the honorific titles of religious clergymen. He could also put anyone to death on "fabricated" charges. The actions of those on high were imitated by those below. For the country as a whole it was the emperor who decided everything; for the localities or the ministries it was the officials who decided everything. Each level of feudal officialdom relied on the protection of the emperor. And by utilizing the power that came into their hands, feudal officials were able to oppress the people at will and seize the wealth of society. Sayings such as: "magistrates are free to commit arson, while the common people are forbidden to even light lamps," and "three years as a Qing Dynasty magistrate, 100,000 pieces of silver," are profound indictments of this kind of despotism.

2. A rigid stratification system and wideranging feudal privileges. During the long period of feudal society in our country, from beginning to end a rigid system of stratification and special privilege was practiced. The feudal ruling class made use of each of the multilayered, pyramidal levels of bureaucratic organs to govern and control the entire country. The emperor implemented the systems of heriditary nobility and lifetime tenure. The officials, in accordance with the level of their rank, enjoyed varying degrees of political and economic privilege. To become an official was to strike it rich, as in the saying "To have authority is to have everything." Ever since the system of "reward nepotism" [The rewarding of officials with positions for their sons] began in Han times, "once one man entered officialdom, his descendants and relatives could all receive official rank." If princes, nobles, or bureaucrats committed crimes, under the law they all enjoyed special privileges which allowed them to lessen, avoid, buy their way out of, or use official rank to mitigate punishment. The employment of feudal officials generally followed a system of appointment and discharge in which authority ran from the top down. The basic principle in employing persons was "instate only relatives." Because of this, elevation of the mean to respectability, rigidity of rank, mutual deception and distrust, battles for rights and advantage, manipulation of the law for personal gain, acceptance of bribes for official services, following the beaten path, and corruption and incompetence became inherent features of feudal, bureaucratic politics.

3. Promotion of cultural despotism and obscurantism. The feudal rulers, in order to maintain political unity, also needed to establish a single pattern of governing thought and to promote a cultural tyranny. Qin Shihuang carried out the "burning of the books and burying of the scholars" which set the precedent for cultural despotism; but Qin Shihuang and others like him did not realize that the Confucian doctrines were actually very useful tools for maintaining despotic, centralized rule. Only Jong Dongshu in Han times, through his historical and practical experience, recognized this point and raised the idea: "Do away with the Hundred Schools and respect only the Confucianism." Having passed through the editing and explication of Jong Dongshu, the Confucian

doctrines were subsequently utilized by monarchs throughout history. By Sung times, "The Four Books, Collected and Explained" by Ju Xi became required reading for the intelligentsia of the feudal society and supplied the standard answers for the feudal imperial examinations. Schools and teachers were limited to teaching "The Four Books," "The Five Classics," "The Historical Lectures," and the like. Whoever did not operate according to this set of regulations would be charged with "departing from the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy" and would meet with persecution and dismissal. This type of ideological and cultural tyranny is intimately associated with political oppression. It was particularly severe during the literary persecutions which arose during the Ming and Qing dynasties. If the emperor was offended by so much as a single book, a single poem, a single line, or even a single word, then the originator would be labelled "traitorous" and be put to death; guilt by association could fall on the family as well, bringing misfortune to both relatives and friends. The cultural despotism which the feudal rulers promoted was, by its very nature, a kind of obscurantism. Among the things which the feudal rulers and their agents did their utmost to propagate, and which had the greatest influence on society, were these three: First was the theory of the Mandate of Heaven. There appeared in China, beginning in the Yin and Zhou periods, a religious concept of Heaven's will. Based on this idea, Confucius suggested that "life and death are ordered, the determination of wealth and nobility rests with Heaven," thereby viewing "Heaven" as a "God" with a will and the ability to direct all events in the human sphere. Jong Dongshu of the Han era restructured the Mandate of Heaven theory and created a teleological and theological system of philosophy. He did his best to advocate that "heaven" was "the great sovereign of all gods," "the ancestor of all things"; and that all things were purposefully arranged by "heaven." Further, Heaven's son was called the "Son of Heaven," and "the Son of Heaven received his mandate from Heaven, the world received its mandate from the Son of Heaven." The sovereign's authority was divinely given. In this way the emperor was "deified." Due to the fact that the emperor was the "Divine Son of Heaven," his revered divinity was inviolable. From Han times this point was written into law. Second was the idea of loyalty to the sovereign. In feudal society, the sovereign-minister relationship was, in actuality, a "master" and "slave" relationship. "The minister serves the monarch with loyalty." Loyalty to the person of the emperor became the highest standard of virtue and the highest political principle of feudal society. As such, "if the sovereign desired the minister's death, it was disloyal for the minister not to die." A man could only praise the monarch and could not speak of his slightest imperfection. In this kind of a situation, sycophancy and fawning flattery were rampant in every feudal dynastic period. Those accomplished and outstanding figures in history who expressed critical opinions of the emperors who abused their despotic powers frequently met with tragic ends; whereas those ambitious, scheming sorts, on the other hand, would use "superficial loyalty," flattery and other means to deviously secure trust and snatch power. Third was the "three nets and five constants" patriarchal concept of ethics. At the heart of this patriarchal concept of ethics were the "three nets." These were explained as: "The sovereign is the net of the minister, the father is the net of the son, and the husband is the net of the wife," and "The three nets of the Way of the King can be sought in Heaven." In this way divine right, imperial right, the right of nobility, and the rights of the husband were all cast in the same furnace and together embodied the thought and system of feudal patriarchal ethics. They formed a complete framework of enormous ropes which maintained the feudal despotic system and bound the thought of the people. For a long period of time, this conception of patriarchal ethics, along with the Mandate of Heaven theory and the idea of loyalty to the sovereign, combined to form a kind of traditional force of habit, and produced an extremely evil and penetrating influence in our country.

After the 1940 Opium War, China step-by-step became a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. In the old China, during more than 100 years of semi-colonialism, and semi-feudalism, the feeble bourgeois class never once carried out a serious, penetrating criticism of feudal thought. On the contrary, feudal thought and the slavish thought of imperialism formed a reactionary alliance and became the ruling thought of society. The Revolution of 1911 nominally established a republican system, threw out the emperor and replaced him with that of president. In fact, however, things remained much as before: dictatorial rule by both large and small feudal warlords. The May Fifth Movement of 1919 was a forceful attack on the ideology and culture of feudalism. It aroused the masses from the suffocation of several thousand years of feudal despotism, but, as before, did not touch the foundation of feudalism. As such, feudal thought in every area of life in our society continues to have a vast and profound influence.

II

In overthrowing the feudal reactionary rule and the feudal system of ownership, the New Democratic Revolution led by our party was successful and thorough. But it did not really complete its task of eliminating the pernicious influence of feudal thought. During the course of the socialist revolution, our criticisms of the bourgeois notions of harming others to benefit yourself, planning based solely on profit, and opportunism, and of their decadent lifestyles were completely necessary; but in the course of our actual work, we underestimated the extent of the influence of the insidious remnants of feudal thought, and we did not firmly grasp the struggle to eliminate the pernicious influence of feudal thought. This was so to an extent that the insidious feudal remnants and the forces of habit they engendered have quietly grown, obstructing and damaging the consolidation and development of the socialist system. During their 10 years of fomenting disorder, the reason that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were able to rampage in such a manner and carry out their unscrupulous perversities lies in the fact that the poisonous effects and influence of feudal thought not only existed in the minds of the masses, but had also penetrated into the party. If it were not for this state of affairs, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," these dregs of feudalism, could not possibly have put into effect such an enormous counterrevolutionary capacity.

For a long time now, due precisely to our neglecting to carry out a serious and systematic criticism and elimination of the pernicious influence of feudal thought, we have, in the course of our actual work, frequently been unable to throw off the influence of such thought. This is so even to the point that, in regard to certain problems, we have promoted feudal things, taking them to be socialist things. For example, some of our comrades, being unable to draw a clear line between proletarian centralism and the system of feudal patriarchy, have preserved the system of feudal patriarchy, taking it to be proletarian centralism. As a consequence, in the course of actual work, they demonstrate a deficient understanding of the concept of democracy and place the individual above the group or the masses. They become egotistical and act arbitrarily. Because of not clearly drawing the line between self-reliance and isolation, they frequently advocate isolation, taking it to be self-reliance. The result is that they sink into conservatism, backwardness, and arrogance. Feudal despotism; the concept of patriarchal ethics; feudal, patriarchal styles of leadership; as well as feudal class distinctions; special privilege mentality; and the force of habit are frequently manifested by our cadres and the masses in various forms.

In addition to the reasons analyzed above that enable the residual poison of feudal thought to continue to influence every aspect of life in our society, there remains a two-sided situation worthy of our attention: First, the existing concrete institutions are not perfect; many defects exist. For example, the existing system of lifetime tenure for cadres has developed into a force of custom which allows cadres to rise but not to fall; the employment of cadres basically continues to follow an appointment system with authority running from the top down. One seldom hears the opinions of the masses in regard to the selection of cadres. This leads to cadres with improper thinking who are responsive to those above and not responsive to the masses; thus reversing the relations between the individual and the masses, between the public servant and the masters. Consequently, it is easy for these cadres to become infected with the perverse style of feudal sycophancy, seeking the favor of their superiors, acting arbitrarily toward those in lower positions, and being unconcerned with the hardships of the masses. Second, in our country small-scale production has been as expansive as the oceans, with a history of more than 2,000 years. Through socialist reform and construction this situation has been greatly changed, but by and large, the level of development of our productivity remains very low. Especially in agricultural production where hand labor continues to be the basis in most areas, there remain certain special characteristics of small-scale production. The influence of the styles of thought and living of small-scale production remains widespread. All of these are important reasons why the pernicious influence of feudal thought can continue to exist and, under certain conditions, can stir up great troubles and poison the cadres and the masses.

III

Both the perversities of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the lessons of experience we have received in our actual work show fully the depth of the influence and the extent of the danger that the residual poison of feudal thought holds for the social life of our nation. Therefore, we must work hard in the areas of thought and politics to eliminate the remaining influence of feudal thought and liberate the vast number of cadres and the masses from these spiritual shackles. Otherwise, completion of the ongoing process of democratization of political life will be obstructed and all aspects of the line, direction, and policy of the Central Committee of the CCP cannot be thoroughly carried out. And this will directly influence the smooth development of the work on the Four Modernizations.

This being the case, how then should we go about criticizing and eliminating the pernicious influence of feudal thought?

First, lines must be clear, attitudes must be firm. We must use the tools of Marxist-Leninist and Mao Zedong Thought to seriously analyze the social and historical roots produced by feudal thought. We must summarize the practical lessons we have learned on the ideological battlefront through 30 years of nation building and clearly draw the lines between proletarian thought and feudalistic and bourgeois thought; between democratic centralism, the authority of our leaders, and despotism; between the role of the individual and the cult of personality; between appropriate distinctions in the treatment of others and notions of special privilege; between the democratic essence of our cultural legacy and the feudal dregs; and between the pernicious influence of feudalism and the unscientific methods and flawed systems produced in our work owing to a lack of experience. We must also raise our self-awareness in opposing the influence of feudal thought. In clarifying these lines and accurately spotting the influence of the residual poison of feudal thought--and its manifestations--we must aline ourselves with reality and carry out serious criticism. In this respect, we must hold fast to the scientific attitude of seeking the truth in facts and not rouse a storm of activity and label everything feudalism without analyzing it.

Second, we must vigorously perfect our party discipline and national law, as well as the regulations in each area of our system. Eliminating the pernicious influence of feudal thought, as far as the masses and cadres are concerned, involves a kind of self-education and self-reform. Therefore, we must make use of the methods of thorough reasoning and calm discussion. At the same time, in eliminating the influence of feudal remnants, the important thing is to thoroughly reform and perfect every aspect of the party and state systems.

As for those system regulations which do not fit the demands of the four transformations, that continue to retain traces of feudalism, and that leave holes which make it easy for feudalism to grow and exist, we must firmly implement reforms. For example, doing away with the system of lifetime tenure actually in use for cadres and leaders at every level, and establishing and perfecting cadre management systems for dealing with the selection, evaluation, supervision, commendation and censure, recall, rotation, and retirement of cadres are important aspects of carrying out such reform.

Third, we must be tenacious. Because the long history of feudal thought has had a profound influence on the social life of our country, also on the political life of the party, some things have already developed into a stubborn force of habit. Therefore, the criticism and elimination of the pernicious influence of feudal thought is both an urgent task, and a long-term process. The kind of attitude which does not fully recognize the long-term nature of this kind of struggle; which lacks tenacity; which, upon meeting obstacles or setbacks, presses for quick completion or gets discouraged and loses determination is not correct. Nor is it advantageous to bringing this arduous task to completion.

The reason we say that criticism of feudal thought is a long-term struggle lies in the fact that thorough elimination of the pernicious influence of this kind of thought, in the final analysis, depends upon developing society's productivity to a high degree and greatly raising the scientific and cultural level of all the people. This is because all the thoughts, styles, traditions, ideas, customs, and the like which are created by specific material conditions can, in the end, only be thoroughly changed through the creation of new material conditions. Therefore, for the moment, we must strongly cherish and protect our excellent situation of stability and unity, with common minds and hearts, proceed with the four transformations. During the New Long March to realize the Four Modernizations of Socialism, we must create the material base and social conditions to thoroughly bury the pernicious influence of feudal thought.

9705
CSO: 4005

SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT MAKING UP WORLD OUTLOOK EXAMINED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Ceng Bairong [2582 4105 5816]: "Exactly How Many Schools of Thought Make Up a World Outlook"]

[Text] Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, there has been one type of statement: "As far as a world outlook is concerned, if you are not a member of the proletariat then you are a member of the bourgeoisie." Does this type of thesis correspond to the real situation?

A world outlook was originally a reflection of the existence of a people's material society. However, with regard to Chinese society there are already many people who argue that "the society of the past 3,000 years was a feudal society" and that even after the overthrow of the emperor, and during the long period before liberation, China was no more than a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society and that "the big imperialist powers" who caused China to become a semi-colony, "also caused China's feudal landlord class to become the mainstay of their domination of China." How could a feudal class which was this powerful suddenly disappear along with its remnants and influence within only one night after liberation?

There have been articles which have analyzed this by saying of China's national bourgeoisie that "their power was very weak." But in the socialist period it seems that the bourgeoisie changed from being weak to being extremely strong, with bourgeoise rightists numbering in the several hundred thousands. This still only refers to politics; when we talk about world outlook, their number is countless. Therefore, if today there is an anti-bourgeoise rightest trend, tomorrow the bourgeoise white flag will be raised again. The result was that several hundred million peasants all grew bourgeois tails and they repeatedly had to be cut off on a nationwide scale. Because of this, class struggle could only become more and more intense and more and more complex. It is as if everyone, in complete madness, wanted to restore the lost bourgeoise heaven. In the end, this stirred up a 10-year calamity, and as many as 100 million people could not escape in the face of this inexorable doom.

The bitter lesson is that we forgot that the dregs of the bourgeoisie still exist. Those patriarchal systems, the condition of what one person says goes, bureaucracy, the condition "large and complete and small and complete," the lack of contact even with neighbors--aren't they the brands of feudalism?

The dregs of feudalism headed by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, made deliberate misrepresentations, caused Marxism to be capitalism, falsely accused the proletariat of being capitalists, said the revolution was counterrevolutionary and said the great counterrevolution was the great revolution. Given their world outlook this is natural and not surprising, otherwise how can you explain it?

How much blood, how many lives and how many tears were expended? It is because the evil shadow of feudalism still exists.

From the 1940's right up to the present, historians have been unable to explain clearly exactly when the dividing line between China's 3,000 years of feudal society and slave society occurs. Yet, early feudal lords and slave owners, early peasants and slaves, in many respects must be clearly distinguished, but to do so is really hard. For example, during these years the "three nots" were consistently advocated. The first one was not to come down with the big stick. Who came down with the big stick? Was it the feudal class? I think it must have been the slave owner class.

Therefore, I think that in regards to a world view, if you are not a member of the proletariat, then you are a member of the bourgeoisie, if you are not a member of the bourgeoisie, then you are a member of the feudal class and if you are not a member of the feudal class, then you are a member of the slave owner class.

9480
CSO: 4005

'BOHAI 2' INCIDENT EXEMPLIFIES GANG'S EVIL EFFECTS

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by Wen Zhu [2429 4554]: "We Must Never Again Engage in Sham Ideological Political Work"]

[Text] The sinking of the Bohai No 2 drilling boat is an incident that causes one to ponder deeply. This painful lesson makes one think about many questions, and how to strengthen our ideological political work is one of the questions we must think about.

Right now, some comrades in ideological political work feel that it is difficult to do their job, because no one listens to what they say, and every time they try to reason, people think that it is only empty verbiage. Some comrades associate this with the evil wind that is blowing in society, and think that ideological political work must be strengthened.

Due to changes in objective conditions, ideological political work has also encountered new problems. The tendency to overlook ideological political work does exist. Some people lack a correct understanding of ideological political work, and think that "political study is useless." If you try to reason with them, they say it is verbiage; if you try to talk facts, they talk nonsense. All of these situations do in fact exist; therefore, ideological political work must be strengthened, not weakened.

But comrades who are leaders and who are doing ideological political work should also pause and reconsider why nobody wants to listen. How can we improve and strengthen ideological political work?

The sinking of the Bohai No 2 drilling boat typically reflects the fact that the evil effects of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still exist in ideological political work.

This incident caused 72 deaths, and the direct economic loss was 37 million [yuan]. At the time, the people's thinking must have been greatly upset, ideological political work should have been followed up. But how did the leaders in the Ocean Petroleum Exploration Bureau grasp ideological political work? Summing it up with the one word "sham" is not too excessive. The incident, which was due to being irresponsible and unscientific, was described as having happened "because of a sudden strong wind that could not be resisted." In order to standardize thinking, they even forbade any mention of the word "incident." And they even proclaimed that we should "pay attention to the new trend of class struggle" and "prevent others who have a particular intention of confusing the situation." How could they explain the 72 deaths? They still talked as if they had good reasons: "Where there is struggle, there is sacrifice; where there is a price to pay for a war, there is a price to pay for the "four modernizations"; "the 72 deaths are worth it." The loss of 37 million [yuan] was described as "tuition" that was paid to the ocean. One of the characteristics of sham ideological political work is loud noise followed by "great conclusions," "great criticism," "great propaganda," and "great praise."

It would be very strange for anyone to listen to this kind of ideological political work, unless there is such delusion that it seems flawless or one is under heavy pressure. Our party once had very high prestige, and one of the important reasons was that we were practical and realistic. The sham, big, empty wind blown by the "gang of four" seriously damaged our party's prestige; and sham, big, empty words were what leaders of the Ocean Petroleum Exploration Bureau told the masses regarding this sinking incident. You said it was "paying tuition," but wouldn't others wonder how could we afford this kind of tuition? You said they were heroes, but wouldn't others wonder how could we afford losing our heroes this way?

Ideological political work should also be realistic and practical. Ideological political work needs reasoning; it is necessary to talk reason, but it must be related to facts. Newspapers have been openly reporting the incident of the sinking of Bohai No 2 drilling boat. They have analyzed the true situation from the facts, and have clarified the responsibilities, and have handled it seriously. They also have talked a lot about respecting science and the masses. People do not feel that these are empty words, because they are true and are related to facts. Sham and empty words cannot strengthen ideological political work. We must not blame others for not listening, but must ask ourselves whether we believe it or not.

Some of our ideological political work makes people feel that it is not pinpointed at issues and is not sincere, and therefore the results are not ideal. It is not like the sinking incident, where some people were trying to cover things up, but it still lacks overall consideration and clear purpose, and so it is unpersuasive. Sometimes this situation gives people a feeling of sham. For example, after an incident in the past, leading bodies of some units would describe the problem as being very serious, and a general incident would be classified as a political incident. It would seem as though they were very serious about ideological political work, but in fact the result was just the opposite.

As to how to strengthen ideological political work, there are many problems to be studied. The incident of the Bohai No 2 sinking reminds us that we should do this task well, pay attention to cleaning up the evil effects of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and not engage in sham ideological political work any longer.

9539
CSO: 4005

EVIL DEEDS CANNOT CHANGE INTO GOOD DEEDS

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Su Donghai [5685 2639 3189]: "An Accident Can Only Be an Accident"]

[Text] The correct handling of the "capsizing of the Bohai No 2 oil rig" was carried out to the immense satisfaction of the people. Some people say that this was an evil deed changed into a good deed. If the matter can be seen in this way, I feel it is worthy of further study.

What is an evil deed that is changed into a good deed? Some say that it indicates a thing which has transformed from its evil aspect to its good aspect. Good and evil are a pair of contradictions which can mutually transform. When the evil aspect overcomes the good aspect it is called an evil deed but otherwise it is called a good deed. Yet, a thing always possesses its determined character and the struggle of contradictions always has an outcome. If the outcome is a good deed then it is a good deed and if the outcome is an evil deed then it is an evil deed. If the matter already has an outcome which is an evil deed, then how can it change into a good deed? The capsizing of the Bohai No 2 oil rig has already become "an accident." It can therefore only be an accident and cannot turn into something meritorious.

However, for many years, people often lumped evil deeds and the handling of evil deeds together without distinguishing between them. It seemed that if an evil deed was handled well--for example, a lesson was learned, mistakes were overcome, or work was improved, and so forth--the evil deed was changed into a good deed. I think that this is incorrect. This is confusing the inner and outer contradictions of things. The good and evil of a matter form a set of contradictions which decide whether the matter is a good deed or an evil deed. For the handling of good deeds or evil deeds, there are also the contradictions of good and bad and this forms another set of contradictions. This set of contradictions decides whether the results of this matter are good or evil. The latter is a contradiction induced from the former and although both are connected, yet they have the relationship of outer contradictions. No matter how well the party Central Committee and the State Council handled the capsizing of the Bohai No 2 oil rig, they could not change the intrinsic nature of this accident. Evil deeds are after all evil deeds. To say that if an accident is handled well, the accident becomes a good deed is obviously a type of confusion of thought.

It is not only a matter of errors in thinking. For many years, it has often become a subterfuge for concealing mistakes, causing people to not face up to mistakes. Since evil deeds can change into good deeds, then what is there to fear from making mistakes? If the making of mistakes can even "spur on" the improvement of work, it therefore becomes a great good deed. Methods of thinking like this which are similar to A Q's spiritual method were prevalent for more than 18 years and the mistakes did not change into good deeds. Furthermore, greater and greater mistakes were made, and it was not known where it would all end. Fortunately, the "gang of four" was smashed, the party again returned to the scientific ideological line of dialectical materialism, and these idealistic modes of thought were exposed one by one. In acclaiming the correct handling of the capsizing of the Bohai No 2 oil rig, should we not again examine this topic of evil deeds changing into good deeds?

9480
CSO: 4005

RANKING MILITARY PERSONNEL, CADRES VOLUNTARILY STEP ASIDE

Retired General's Reminiscences

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 80 p 1

[Interview by Chen Guanbo [7115 0385 2672] and Jiang Ping [3068 0988]: "What Are the General's Thoughts?--Interview With an Old Warrior of the Red Army, Former Deputy Commanding Officer of Provincial Military District Zhou Changsheng"]

[Text] The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress just concluded has solemnly put forward the question of making the ranks of our cadres young, intellectual, and professional. As our party proceeds to select large contingents of youthful and able cadres, what do the old comrades think about it?

In order to find answers to this question, we interviewed Comrade Zhou Changsheng [0719 7022 0524], former deputy commanding officer of the provincial military district, in front of a quiet building at the sanitarium for retired cadres of the provincial military district.

As soon as we met each other, Zhou Changsheng spoke high-spiritedly: "I joined the revolution over 50 years ago, but this is the first time I have heard about old comrades at the central headquarters taking the initiative to make way for others; this is a terrific event. The reform of China's cadre system is going to make a good beginning now!" With the magnanimity representative of a fighting general, he started to guffaw openly.

He especially mentioned Deputy Chairman Nie Rongzhen and his letter of resignation. As political commissar of the First Red Group Army in the early days, General Nie always remembered that he had under his jurisdiction a model company commander by the name of Zhou Changsheng, who fought heroically. After liberation, General Nie would always call for Zhou Changsheng each time he came to Hangzhou and would ask about his work and about his health, showing utmost care. Not long ago, Zhou Changsheng saw General Nie receive "the little Japanese lady" on television when he was weak with illness, having to be supported by two persons before he could stand up. He had worried ever since about the health of his old chief. He had even thought of telephoning General Nie to comfort him somewhat. At this session of the National People's Congress, he read General Nie's letter of resignation, and he was moved to tears. Although the old chief was old and often sick, he still frequently thought of successors who must carry on the cause of the party; now he was setting an example for us, [Zhou] thought. We were now also nearly

70 or 80 years of age; if we still refused to vacate our positions and let young people take over, then "with the person lying in the hospital, and his title upheld at commanding headquarters," how could we realize the four modernizations? Thinking along this line, my life in these years since my retirement has proved really worthwhile.

As a general, Zhou Changsheng fought countless battles. Since he joined the revolution in the Jiangxi soviet area in 1929, he has spent more than half of his life in the military ranks. He sighed as he spoke these words: Everybody has a period of youth in his lifetime; when we took on the title "commander" and started to lead troops, we were but young lads less than 20 years old. Even when we became cadres at division and army levels, we were not much older than 30, and we were then already directing "thousands of troops." During the war years, the emphasis was always placed on promoting young cadres. When I first became a battalion commander, the regimental commander at the time, Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807], was the very one who had taught me how to lead and command troops, and he did so with his own hand guiding mine. I remember during the battle at Sandingbao in northern Shaanxi, our regiment commander was wounded, our political commissar was martyred, and the whole regiment only had myself left as chief of staff. The enemy was right in front of us, and the situation was urgent. At the time, political commissar Xiao Hua [5618 5478] at division headquarters decisively issued an order for me to shoulder the burden of commanding the whole regiment, and he also dispatched the chief of staff from division headquarters to bring me several directives for fighting the battle. I started to work on the job, and the battle, it turned out, was not fought too badly. Today, there are not a few fine young cadres in our army. Not only the "1938 model" and the "liberation model" cadres during the years of revolutionary wars, but after the founding of our state we had a very rich experience in fighting during the resist-America and aid-Korea campaign. Those who participated in the war of self-defensive counterattack last year also fought very well. All cadres of these categories need old comrades to help the party organizations select them correctly. And just selecting others still will not do; it is also necessary for them to vacate their positions in favor of younger comrades and to let themselves retreat to the second or third line. Only thus will such cadres become lively in their work.

At this point, we interrupted him to say: Today, some old comrades are still mindful about becoming advisers and about retiring. Zhou Changsheng said: This requires them to look from the point of view of the overall situation. If you wish to ensure the continuity and stability of the party's leadership, those old and sick comrades will have to retire gradually. They must not wrangle too much about their salaries and cling to a telephone, a passenger car, and a small foreign-style building. Communists cannot run after such things. We have had so many comrades-in-arms who died fighting and enjoyed none of these material comforts. They died in the grasslands, they died on the snowy mountains, they died in the rivers, and they died under the gun barrels of the enemies: they did not even see socialism. We cannot forget them.

The sunshine of early autumn beamed into the guest hall. The general waved his hand and said: Let us go out and take a look in the yard! With one hand resting on his waist and the other pointing at rows of flowers and bushes thriving under the autumn sun, he said, crisply: Actually, life in retirement is not bad at all. We have a chance to read all the prescribed documents, to read newspapers regularly, and whenever we have some leisure we can plant some vegetables here and some flowers there. Once in a while, we go to a hospital to rest for a few days and have our "old machinery" examined and repaired somewhat. Life is very severe but we are by no means idle. When I relax, I always think about my war life, write memoirs, or analyze examples of guerrilla warfare. He thereupon asked a family member to bring a copy of "Life in the Military Ranks," which includes memoirs written by him and other old comrades. As he flipped through its pages, he said: Perhaps this can also be regarded as an inheritance bequeathed to posterity! Living such a restful life, our spirit and our health both fare well. Some comrades even joked that if he had not retired, we probably would have gone to see Marx long ago. As he spoke at this point, he once more let forth unrestrained laughter.

In the yard in the vicinity of Hangzhou, surrounded by serene fields, the general's heart still beats in close synchronization with the pulse of the times.

Division Staff Chief's Voluntary Demotion

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 80 p 4

[XINHUA dispatch from Nanjing: "Division Chief of Staff in the Provincial Military District Voluntarily Asks To Step Down"]

[Text] XINHUA reporter Wu Dongfeng [0702 2639 1496] reports: Zheng Renbo [6774 0088 3134], chief of staff of a certain division in the Zhejiang Provincial Military District of the People's Liberation Army, voluntarily asked to step down and make way for a competent comrade.

Since joining the army in 1960, Zheng Renbo has performed many years of leadership work at the basic level. In 1967 he was promoted from regimental commander to division chief of staff. Along with the development of modernization work among the troops, he has increasingly felt that the command of various armed forces to fight a coordinated war touches upon a great deal of military science and cultural knowledge. His own cultural level is rather low however, and feeling he could not competently handle the job himself, [he feared] this might well damage the cause of the party. Consequently, he voluntarily submitted to the higher organ a request that he no longer serve as division chief of staff, and expressed the hope that he might be used at a lower post.

After Zheng Renbo's request for demotion was submitted, many people felt dumbfounded. Some comrades said: There is a great difference in living standards between division-level cadres and regimental-level cadres; this approach is rather stupid. Other comrades said: Only when one has committed errors does one ask to be demoted. Chief of Staff Zheng Renbo has not committed any errors, so he should not be demoted. Countering these discussions, Xheng Renbo explained patiently. He said: I am not suited to serve as division chief of staff. To vacate this position in favor of a comrade with a strong professional capability is beneficial to the revolutionary cause.

In August last year, Zheng Renbo was dismissed from his post as division chief of staff, and he is once more serving as regimental commander. During this past year, he worked together with a "squad" of regimental party committee members with one heart to conduct investigation and study, to seek truth from facts while attempting to solve "old, big, and difficult" problems, to mobilize the masses, and courageously to renovate education and training, thereby conferring an inspiring new look on regimental work. Cadres and fighters all praised Zheng Renbo, saying that even though he was demoted, his zeal was not reduced; he is a good cadre and a good party member who understands and upholds the overall situation.

Cadres' Retirement

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 3

[Report: "Nanjing Military Unit Looks After Retired Cadres: 138 More Division-Level Cadres Retire This Year"]

[Excerpts] The party committee of the Nanjing military unit respects and looks after retired old cadres and makes it possible for one group of retired cadres after another to happily embark on their new life. From January to August this year, 138 more division-level cadres from the whole unit have been given permission to retire to rest.

Among the retired old cadres this year, many fighters are old models and old heroes who have always enjoyed the respect of the vast ranks of commanding officers. Among them are Li Yenfu [2621 5888 4395], senior division-level consultant to the Nanjing Garrison District and member of the old Red Army, who struggled hard for a total of half a century and who was recently appraised as a fine communist; Li Peizhen [2621 0012 2823], third-class people's hero of East China and deputy division-level consultant to the Nantong Military Subdistrict; and so on. These old cadres understand and support the overall situation. They have voluntarily obeyed the organization's decisions, and not a few comrades have taken the initiative to recommend talented successors. Their lofty style and fine quality have been encouraged and exalted by the leading organ of the unit.

The party committee of the Nanjing military unit actively adopts measures to look after the livelihood of retired old cadres. Principal responsible comrades of the military district regularly go down to the basic level to understand and solve the practical problems of retired cadres.

9255
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

ADMISSION TO MILITARY SCHOOLS--In early August, nine fighters of a certain antiaircraft regiment of the naval unit stationed on Hainan Island received admission notices from military schools. They elatedly declared: This is inseparable from the fact that the leaders of the unit are paying attention to cultural study and grasping it well. This regiment has always paid greater attention to cultural study by cadres and fighters, and has achieved good results. Last year, seven fighters passed the entrance examinations of universities and military schools. This year, the regiment party committee paid even greater attention to grasping well the cultural study of cadres and fighters in order to make early preparations for the training of personnel by schools at military units. On the basis of the requirements of these schools, they specifically sought to grasp the study of fighters with a junior middle school and senior middle school level of culture. The whole regiment conducted 27 junior middle school level classes and 9 senior middle school level classes, and selected 90 comrades with definite teaching competence from the cadres and fighters as teachers, while the party committee allocated one standing member to take charge. Because the leaders paid attention and the methods adopted were appropriate, the cultural level of the cadres and fighters of this regiment has been rising steadily. During the student recruitment operations of the military schools this time, 16 comrades from this regiment registered to take the entrance examination; 9 fighters have already been formally admitted, and 2 more comrades are still awaiting their notices. This is the regimental-level unit in which more fighters than elsewhere have passed the entrance examination to military schools. [Excerpts] [Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 80 p 3] 9255

WORK FOR WOUNDED VETERANS--The Tianzhu County Revolutionary Committee has properly placed [in work posts] the gloriously wounded and maimed veterans of the war of self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam. Of the 23 veterans in the county, except in the case of one on account of a particular situation, the other 22 happily walked to their posts of work. In order to handle this job well, the county delegated a vice chairman of the County Revolutionary Committee to be in charge and to hold many meetings of responsible persons of the People's Militia Department, the Personnel Bureau, the Bureau of Civil Administration, etc., which conducted case studies on the question of their specific placement. The placement office also convened a forum to seriously listen to the [veterans'] demands and opinions. [Excerpts] [Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 80 p 2] 9255

MILITIA ANTIAIRCRAFT UNIT CONFERENCE--The provincial military district's militia antiaircraft gun construction on-the-spot experience exchange conference lasted

4 days. It was concluded on 13 [September] in Daqing Municipality. The more than 140 delegates from the province listened to the presentation of Daqing Municipality's experiences, watched the division-regiment-battalion three-level drill exercise of the Daqing militia, witnessed the demonstration of actual firing by the militia's antiaircraft guns, and visited the militia's armory, gun positions, three-level command headquarters, and training corps facilities. At the conference, the provincial military district deployed the militia's antiaircraft gun construction tasks. The general staff headquarters, the Military Commission artillery corps, the Shenyang Military District, and Liaoling and Jilin provincial military districts all sent representatives to participate in the conference. [Text] [Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 1] 9255

CSO: 4005

RECRUITING YOUNG, EDUCATED LEADERSHIP CADRES URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Teng Wensheng [3326 2429 3932]: "Strive To Lower the Age of Leading Personnel and Provide Them With Intellectual and Professional Training"]

[Text] One of the very important and pressing issues in our current national political life is to actively rejuvenate various leadership organizations, gradually lower the age level but raise the level of professional expertise of our leadership personnel. Whether or not this issue will be well handled is related to whether or not we can truly develop the superiority of the socialist system and the progress and failure of the socialist modernization programs.

We must adhere to the policies and goals stipulated during the Fifth Plenary Session, firmly persist in rejuvenating the various leadership organizations, gradually lower the age level but raise the level of professional expertise of our leadership personnel. In order to achieve the latter, we must liberate our thinking in a big way. By liberating our thinking, we mean that we should liberate ourselves from the obsolete views and thinking as mentioned in the following.

Firstly, we must liberate ourselves from our prejudice against education and intellectuals and similar leftist thinking. Scientific and cultural knowledge is an indispensable force in the advancement of socialism. In the course of the four modernizations, a leader has to have certain expertise and specialized knowledge, no matter which position he holds. We cannot perpetuate our socialist system on the basis of illiteracy of semi-illiteracy. As Engels put it nicely: The enterprises of a proletarian, socialist society need lawyers, as well as "doctors, engineers, chemists, agricultural pharmacists and other specialists. This is because we not only have to handle our political apparatus but also the entire production system; and for this purpose we have no need for pompous words but a wealth of knowledge." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," No 22, p 487). However, owing to various historical reasons, especially after years of destruction and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there still exists among our peer groups the leftist tendency towards devaluing education and intellectuals. Some comrades consider intellectuals politically apathetic when they bury themselves in pursuit of research work for the benefit of the people and society. Some consider them arrogant when these educated people show that they think independently and express different opinions. Still others consider the mental work of intellectuals as something which alienates them from the masses. They even consider their lifestyles bourgeois. As a result of such an attitude, intellectuals have neither been entrusted with responsible positions nor have they been recruited. This leftist tendency to devalue education and intellectuals is without doubt an indication of the fact that feudal ideas and small peasant mentality have not yet been eradicated. If our comrades, particularly those who hold responsible positions, cannot rid themselves of this leftist ideological trap, our goal to create a class of leaders with professional expertise and specialized knowledge is nothing but empty talk.

Secondly, we must liberate ourselves from the reins of bureaucracy. The recruitment of talented people is mainly a matter of organization and management. We do have great talents. Since the founding of New China, we have trained more than 3 million college graduates and 5.3 million high school graduates. After one or two decades of revolutionary training and experience, most of them have acquired a modicum of political and professional status, and these people are young and energetic. There is also a group of young and middle-aged cadres who came from the working class and peasant families and who have, by diligence and self-discipline, acquired a literacy level equivalent to that of college or high school graduates. In conclusion, we can find talented people everywhere who are qualified to handle the tasks of modernization. The problem is that our leadership cadres are imbued with bureaucratic ideas and they have never made an effort to seek out or recruit these people. Some of our leadership organizations and cadres are unable to understand the current situation. They occupy high-level positions but work by the book, and they recruit those whom they know or people who are older. Their vision is limited and they do not pay attention to the issue of training or creating a class of professional specialists among cadres. Only by forsaking such a bureaucratic attitude and extending our vision to include the masses can we recruit talented people in all walks of life who are young and energetic. We should also boldly recruit these people into the ranks of the party, government, economic bureaus, and scientific and educational institutions.

Thirdly, we must liberate ourselves from the old habit of promotion based on seniority. The credentials of a person indicate his experience and history of struggles. However, titles and credentials per se do not necessarily indicate the depth of one's education or expertise. In the course of recruiting and appointing cadres, we should consider their credentials but in no way can such credentials be considered as the sole criterion. We should understand that the backward notion of seniority is still pervading the minds of many people, and it seriously affects our work in personnel reorganization. If we do not achieve a breakthrough in this respect, our distinguished young and middle-aged people will remain ignored for a long time and our enterprises will suffer great losses. We have learned many similar lessons in the past. Take the factory as an example. If we do not appoint someone who has a relatively high level of professional expertise as well as management capabilities as the head of a factory, but rather we select someone on the basis of seniority or credentials alone, it will be impossible to run the factory well. We have currently witnessed such incidents. In some units and enterprises, the workers select their own cadres. But there are cases of people with lesser background experience and qualifications but who have quickly demonstrated their capabilities by transforming the nature of their units. They have done so merely by self recommendation. Can we not consider these people? Of course, by attempting a breakthrough in the matter of seniority, and boldly recruiting and appointing distinguished and talented people, we do not mean to repeat our experience during the Cultural Revolution when people secured high positions overnight. Rather, we should do as Lenin said when he was advocating recruitment of new cadres: "We must boldly discontinue our old ways," "train these people and help them quickly gain access to suitable posts," and "let them have the opportunities in practicing their talents in their professions." ("Collected Works of Lenin," No 4, p 81).

While liberating our thinking, we must reform and perfect our organizational and cadre systems so as to ensure that young and energetic people who possess expertise can exercise their talents at their positions. Herein lies the key in realizing the rejuvenation and professionalization of all leadership cadres. Whether or not our organizational system or cadre system is good or perfect depends on its ability to fully develop the wisdom and talents of our cadres. It also depends on its ability to rejuvenate the various leadership organizations, so that distinguished, talented people will not be ignored and forgotten. Using the latter as a criterion, it is obvious that our present organizational and cadre systems are very imperfect, and that they are blighted by many defects and inefficiencies, which are unfavorable to the recruitment of young or relatively young and distinguished, talented people into responsible positions. We must reform these systems.

For a long time, our various departments and units have rarely applied entrance examinations and recruitment tests in appointing cadres. Rather, the organization or the personnel department assigns positions to individual applicants depending on their capabilities. Evidence shows that sole reliance on assignment is no longer able to meet with the requirements of our modernization programs. Therefore, we must reform our assignment policy and gradually elaborate our recruitment system to include testing, advertising, and selection procedures. We must reduce the number of cadres hired by assignment to a minimum.

The tenure policy for leadership cadres is not only prevalent in all of our organizations but also it has become implicitly accepted as a rule. This policy has seriously hindered the possibility of creating a class of efficient, forceful, and distinguished leadership cadres, and it is one of the reasons leading to the senility of our leadership personnel. In order to change this situation, it is important that we should specify the length of tenure for all cadres, but not let them think that they can hold their positions for an indefinite length of time.

We must review our past lessons and experiences while keeping in mind the history and present conditions of our cadres, and devise a practical and concrete policy with regard to examination, review, training, promotion, appointment, supervision, reward and punishment, retirement, and dismissal of cadres. With a concrete policy of examination, review, and training, we can make cadres learn diligently, move ahead, and raise their levels of education and professional expertise. With a concrete promotion and appointment policy, we can guarantee that we can promote talented people who have distinguished themselves in their work; and we will make room for these people. With a concrete supervisory and reward and penalty policy, we can tell the right from the wrong and dismiss those who are not capable at work. With a concrete retirement and dismissal policy, we can make proper arrangement for weak and old cadres. In conclusion, only with a comprehensive and healthy policy can we guarantee that our cadres will meet the requirements of the four modernizations, frequently rejuvenate and reform themselves. We can also guarantee that cadres at various levels are people who adhere to the four principles, who are rich in experience, and who have a revolutionary zeal and who possess specialized knowledge and leadership talents.

Old cadres shoulder an important and honorable position in the course of rejuvenating and creating a class of professional specialists at various levels among our leadership cadres. Many comrades have keen insights in this matter. They are willing to retreat to the second rank for the sake of the four modernizations. By allowing younger people with specialized knowledge to serve as the successors of the revolution, these old cadres are doing a service to the party and the people. They have served as commendable models and hence are well respected and praised by the people and society. However, we must see that, though some old cadres understand that their first task is to fulfill the responsibility to train and promote younger successors, many are still not enthusiastic in carrying out their task because of various misgivings.

Some comrades are paranoid because of their experience during the Cultural Revolution, and they are worried that they may not be able to recruit the right young people. Will they recruit people who belong to factions or who have factional ideas or who are undesirable? This is because there are still areas, departments, and units in which the leadership hierarchy has not yet been reorganized. Some factional groups will want to use the pretext of promoting young people in order to recruit their own kind. However, we will not make the same mistakes that we did during the Cultural Revolution so long as we maintain a high degree of vigilance, insist on the right ideology and political and organizational lines, rely on research and the masses, and perform our task boldly but meticulously.

Some comrades feel uncomfortable at the possibility of recruiting young cadres who do not have adequate experience or who cannot do their job. The worry is unnecessary. In fact, we can understand this issue better by reviewing the experience of our old comrades. How old were our old comrades when they first shouldered important responsibilities? They were merely in their 20's or 30's. Some of them became team leaders, group leaders, or generals when they were in their 20's. It is a fact that our young comrades are rather lacking in training and experience. It is natural that they are so because they "have not been in such positions and hence do not know the business." Just because they lack training, we must give them the opportunity. Just because they are lacking in experience, they need help and guidance from old comrades.

Some comrades say that since they are no longer on the front rank, why should they keep struggling for the party? This is a misunderstanding. Having tenure as a leadership cadre is not the same as struggling for socialism for the rest of one's life. By changing the tenure system, we do not change the fact that one has to work for socialism throughout one's lifetime. Insofar as a Communist Party member is concerned, even if one is relieved of all party responsibilities, one's honor of having been a party member will never be disregarded. As members, we must forever fight on behalf of the party of its own sake and for the sake of the people.

Some comrades worry about the complaints of their families and relatives as well as social pressure once they retreat to the second rank. It is true that such a condition is commonplace, but it all depends on how we look at it. As Communist Party members, we should not be hampered by old values and habits and public opinions. We must have the magnanimity of communism, and we should dare fight against old values and habits and the incorrect views of the public. Of course, our party and government should make proper arrangement for retired cadres or cadres who have retreated to the second rank in terms of their political living, and learning conditions. This is because we have to be responsible not only to these old cadres but to history and the people.

To realize the recruitment of young leadership cadres who have specialized expertise and high educational levels is an urgent task in our country's socialist modernization programs. The latter is a necessity based on objective conditions. If we work hard to implement this reform, our country and people will have a great future, and our modernization programs will come to fruition.

9471
CSO: 4005

WRITERS MUST PORTRAY THE NEW PEOPLE OF SOCIALISM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 80 p 4

[Article by Lu Guishan [7120 6311 1472]: "Project the Images of New People in the New Long March"]

[Text] After studying the literary works of the past year or two, I have made a salient observation: Not a few literary works choose to combine the projecting of the images of new people with the reflecting of social contradictions. Especially in the case of certain new authors in literary circles, they dare to expose various social contradictions in the new era with the courage of an artist by means of projecting the images of new people in the New Long March, and thereby they carry out daring explorations on how to project the images of new people and reflect social contradictions.

I.

It is possible for an artist who observes life with the Marxist world view to combine the projecting of the images of new people with the reflecting of social contradictions better, more clearly, and more consciously. Just as Gorkiy pointed out in his letter to Chekhov in his day, an author should stand at "the height of life," aim accurately at the empty spaces in life, and "drive deep into life like driving iron drills into the shell of the earth." True heroes are not vain and stern deities, nor are they strawmen without blood and flesh, without life. They are deeprooted in the soil of life; to put it in the words of Balzac, "these people are conceived in the viscera of their time." The heroes of the ages usually rush back and forth on horseback on the battlefield and charge forward in the front of the fight, where sharp, major social contradictions are solved. As the people's representatives, they shoulder the heavy tasks of the time and cry out the heartfelt words of the people. Their ideas and actions are not accidental, not determined by their narrow individual senses and selfish goals but, just as Engels pointed out: "Their motives do not come from their trivial individual desires, but are derived from the historical trends in which they are situated." The character Li Jian [2621 0256], in "Report the Blossoming of the Spring Flowers," says: In the 30 years since the founding of our state, our economy has been very backward. Can I sit still? This impulse and excitement of "not being able to sit still" are precisely "derived from the new historical trends." This expresses the fiery, flaming emotions of millions upon millions of the Chinese people to revive China.

Chekhov said: "A new writer should forever begin his career with works he has created independently." These images of new people come largely from the pens of the new literary personalities who are active in the forefront of creative work. These new literary personalities live among the characters they describe; they can display their shining dispositions with their sensitive observing and captivating power and, by means of their singular discoveries, can accurately manage the contents of their ideas and actions, endowing them with the brilliance of the time.

Only by understanding new life and struggles and by revealing new social contradictions can one provide a characteristic, typical environment for projecting the images of new people. The characteristic, typical dispositions of socialist new people are shaped precisely in the concrete social environment which is full of given social contradictions. Apart from revealing the social contradictions in realistic life, one would have no way of describing the typical personalities in a typical environment. A typical environment is not abstract or singular; it is always lively, concrete, and tied to definite class relations and all kinds of social contradictions. The so-called typical environment should be understood as an environment structured by typical social contradictions. Socialist new people are really living and struggling in a typical environment structured by given social contradictions. Their heroic behavior and lofty thinking are both determined and aroused by definite social contradictions, and at the same time they are expressed in the process of solving these contradictions. Only by revealing new social contradictions fraught with feelings of the time can one provide a given typical environment for the projection of socialist new people, thereby exploring the ideas and actions of the socialist new people marked by fresh characteristics of the time and enabling them to play out one act after another of the drama in the overcoming of hardships and obstacles.

II.

The author of "Factory Director Qiao Takes Office" says: "The need for courage is sometimes more urgent than the need for genius." An author must face the stern life, participate in life, discover life, and dare to dig out highly meaningful social contradictions from the viscera of the time, and then generalize the important and urgent social problems with which millions upon millions of the people are concerned, in the hope of arousing the party and the people to ponder on them.

The play in cinematic literature "The Tower Is in Their Hands" (DIANYING CHUANGZUO [CINEMATIC WORKS] No 1, 1980) may be characterized by a certain naivete on the part of a new writer, but it has somehow succeeded in revealing in time the diverse irregularities in our ideology, our leadership style, and our cadre system: certain leaders who are tinged by bureaucratism and the style of officialdom [are seen as personalities who] give orders blindly; they take wasteful extravagance as something "required by revolution"; they take not paying attention to work efficiency as "carrying on steadily"; they cover the "will of the superior" with the cloak of the party's leadership; and they put the armor of rules and regulations on redtape and scholasticism.... By revealing new contradictions in the process of the four modernizations, this work points out that the four modernizations are scientific undertakings. A magnanimous revolutionary cause must proceed from the interests of the people and follow scientific laws in its operations, and must not take upon itself the position of a "mother-in-law" and throw its weight around at random. Being responsible to science is consistent with being responsible to the people. Whoever brags about being responsible to the people apart from being responsible to science is only resorting to smart but harmful, empty words. In the struggle against vain, benighted bureaucratism and subjectivism, the work dexterously projects this image of a new person, Chen Zhenhua [7115 2182 5478], who combines in one personality the courage and fortitude of a revolutionary and the strict, scientific attitude of a professional. It fairly successfully describes the practical spirit and scientific attitude of Chen Zhenhua as a youthful revolutionary, as well as his foresight and adaptibility in gaining control over objective laws, and thus it demonstrates his assertive style and aptitude in rising at the slightest suggestion of opportunity and taking action with alertness and poignance.

The novels "Public Servant" (XINWAN [NEW COLLECTION OF EXTRACTS] No 3, 1979) and "After the Promotion" (CHANGJIANG WENYI [CHANGJIANG LITERATURE] No 2, 1980) suggest to people the question of how cadres who assume leading posts anew can take control of power and exercise power well on behalf of the people. These two works project the images of two likable, respectable party member cadres who serve as public servants. They forget about themselves and are honest and devoted, with a fiery character and a crystal-like heart. The attitude with which they resist and eliminate the base conduct of those who take advantage of their office to secure privileges for themselves and show how they hate evil as if it is their enemy, and the measures by which they proceed to remove evil as thoroughly as possible, reflect the deeply held desires of millions upon millions of people. The principal character of "Public Servant," Gu Xingchen [7357 2502 6591], who resumes office as the old chief of the Shuangfenghe Farm Management Bureau, has the style of an explosive mine and the spirit and vigor of spring. He serves as the renovator for the development of modern agriculture with a problem-solving capability unencumbered by trivial details, and as a trailblazer sweeping away thorny obstacles. He seeks to streamline institutions and cut off the tumors on the body of the leading organ. He respects the talented and seeks out the virtuous, and he recommends specialist personnel well versed in agriculture and technology to important posts. He energetically works for the "exploitation of intelligence" and organizes staff members and workers at the farm to march toward science and technology.... These firm and decisive measures fully demonstrate the political foresight of Gu Xingchen as a leader for the modernization of agriculture. "After the Promotion" projects the image of a respectable servant of the people. The novel describes how Shen Huaide [3088 2037 1795], quiet and subdued for 20 years, was suddenly elevated to the post of secretary of the County Party Committee like a new star rising in the sky above the yard of the County Party Committee. Shen Huaide sheds all vulgarities associated with the "newly rich whose complexion changes." He takes the power which the people confer on him not as a means for fishing for praise and reputation but as a burden and responsibility on the shoulders of a public servant. The novel fairly profoundly reveals the root cause of why cadres fail to fulfill their duties. The reason why people's power is trampled underfoot is because some cadres are superstitious about power, just like that which is believed in and promoted by Yu Jinzhong [3266 6651 1813] in the novel. The power in his hand is used as the fragrant bait to draw people to his side, the opium to corrupt people, and the especially effective and very reliable weapon to conquer people's souls. At the same time, certain masses with narrowminded ideas about small production also worship power. With a penetrating eye and a vigorous and poignant pen, the author sketches and anatomizes the faces and souls of those worshipers who surround Shen Huaide after his promotion. From his sides, which have been cold and quiet for 20 years, there now seems to burn a fire that can really warm people's hands. Shen Huaide suddenly becomes noble. His acquaintances and relatives seem to have become suddenly more numerous; these people, humbly bowing, tendering deferential handshakes and ingratiating good wishes, and even mystifyingly flirting, all converge on him from different angles. How badly the people need a hero who remains unmoved in his lofty posture, in the face of the power-worshiping disease and the foul air of fawning and obsequiousness! Coldly holding his ground vis-a-vis such vulgarities in his mundane world, Shen Huaide "begins to grin cheerlessly in his mind as a matter of course, his bushy eyebrows join in a knot, and his peaceful face suddenly becomes gloomy." Such a sketch not only indicates the concern and contempt that a helper of the people feels in the midst of such a foul atmosphere of power worship, but also, in contrast, it forcefully illustrates the true spirit of Shen Huaide's firm, pure, and lofty political ideology as a servant of the people. Being superstitious, worshipful, or abusive in respect to the power conferred by the people is tantamount to committing a crime against the people. Shen Huaide thus prudently and sparingly uses the power the people have conferred upon him. In order to "rectify the official style and mollify the people's feelings," he suggests that the party's leading organs must pay attention to the following points: guard against erosion by social diseases and poisons, so as not to allow the deformation of the yardsticks for judging people; be vigilant vis-a-vis the fact that some people perhaps have many false masks up their sleeves and always stand ready to put one of them on at the right time and according to the relevant need. Thus, one must rely on one's own discerning eyes and one's own Red heart that cannot be blackened, so as to recognize people's true faces, penetrate their foul or pure character, remain conscious at all times of possible illness or change among the ranks of our cadres, and thereby assure a blood-and-flesh relationship between the people's regime and the masses.

"The Love of the Big Wild Goose," "When a Man Reaches Middle Age," and "Expectations" bring out in a timely way the major issue now attentively considered by the whole society as to how, in the process of the four modernizations, talented persons should be discovered, trained, cared for, and used. "When a Man Reaches Middle Age," in particular, not only shows the uncontrollable anger that scientific and technical personnel's hard-up circumstances have provoked in the author, but also penetratingly sketches the true conditions of life. The issue it raises is channeled to the social trend, so that it touches the hearts of hundreds and thousands of people and therefore has earned the heartfelt liking of the vast ranks of readers. This novel contains a suggestion to improve the living conditions and salaries of scientific and technical personnel, and also a criticism of such erroneous attitudes as indifference toward the special needs of complicated labor and even scorn or abuse pertaining thereto. While public opinion has been aired day in and day out about how talented personnel should be discovered and respected, the exits for braindrain somehow are not stopped: this is really a rather poignant and satirizing situation. The principal character of the novel, eye physician Lu Wenting [6424 2429 1250], succeeds in restoring to health people's diseased eyes by means of her consummate skills and sophisticated techniques. The author of the novel also plays the role of an eye surgeon; through her writing, she operates on society's "diseased eyes" and performs a successful "cataract removal," enabling society to reopen its eyes to see the importance and urgency of paying close attention to talented personnel, and also to see the happily surprising outlook of socialist new people with an outstanding, resilient character like Lu Wenting. Lu

Wenting does not shout great empty words, but is practical and meticulous and serious and responsible in her work; she lets the blood flow quietly. She accepts life's trials and shoulders the heavy burden of her work like a lone, unassisted warrior who is bold and resolute, stubborn and faithful like a camel in the desert, unmindful of hardship, and aiming at a distant destination, despite the heavy task involved. Her boiling patriotic blood never coagulates; her burning enthusiasm of devotion to the motherland never cools off. She longs to receive the motherly love, understanding, and comfort of the motherland, but she never gives up her kindred love for the mother just because the mother happens to be poor, weak, often sick, and hence unable to look after her as carefully as she would like. In turn, then, does such a good daughter of the motherland like Lu Wenting not deserve the party's and the people's precious care and love? Does she not deserve the respect and support of all of society?

III.

Through the projecting of the images of new people and the reflecting of social contradictions, one can more directly and more forcefully participate in life, touch on shortcomings of the time, and also point out the direction for solving major social contradictions and social problems in the interest of consolidating our faith in sure victory and enhancing our courage in struggle. Through the exploration, pursuit, and aspiration of the new people in respect to the solution of new social contradictions and social problems, and through the demonstration of their blueprints, measures, and various efforts to face squarely and change irrational things, one can hint at the bright future of struggle and the trend of history in the interest of exalting uprightness, fostering the spirit of revolutionary heroism and revolutionary idealism. Even more important, the socialist new people of the era of the New Long March, as a new reality, already exist in the soil of our life. Their images and achievements are vivid and believable. These new people have inherited and given scope to the revolutionary ideas and traditions of the older generation of our proletarian revolutionaries. They have also stamped on them fresh imprints of the new era and garnered the poetic feelings of the new era; they have achieved a lofty spiritual state of mind. The strengthening of the character and ideology of these new people of the new era fully reflects the great power and vitality--solid and unshakable, and indestructible by any force--which are poured forth by our party and people in their attempt to solve the new social contradictions and social problems. Their very existence is a challenge and a protest to such negative emotions in our society as emptiness, downheartedness, listlessness, self-abandonment, and misgivings.

Creative literary works should facilitate the eradication of the gloomy atmosphere of pessimism and nihilism and help stimulate a revolutionary spirit, light the fire of idealism in the minds of the youths, and strengthen their faith in socialism through a demonstration of the brilliant achievements of the socialist generation of new people, through a demonstration of their wisdom in discovering, studying, and solving new problems and their courage in facing reality squarely and changing their own environment, through a demonstration of their fortitude, audacity, and truth-seeking spirit as revolutionaries, through a demonstration of their pursuits and explorations in respect to the new world, and through a demonstration of their longing and aspiration for the programs, measures, and blueprints for changing irrational social phenomena and toward their future life.

For example, the question of opposing bureaucratism and improving and strengthening party leadership is a matter of concern to millions upon millions of people. Not a few persons adopt a guarded approach to this, or lack confidence, or even feel completely discouraged. Many works have daringly, yet prudently, proposed this sharp social question. The authors have provided this and that kind of answer to this with their ever-burning, fiery excitement for the party and the people's cause. A simple expose is not easy to grasp accurately, and it can even evince mishandling or cause confusing contradictions of different kinds, making people feel puzzled and unable to see the outlet for solving this question. Propagating the ideas of anarchism knowingly or unknowingly may constitute a punishment for bureaucratism; however, not only is anarchism not the way to overcome bureaucratism, but on the contrary it is likely to be used as a pretext. Only by taking the correct standpoint, penetratingly analyzing the root causes of the rise of bureaucratism, and pointing out the correct path for overcoming bureaucratism can one succeed in achieving the real goal of improving and consolidating party leadership. For this reason, the key to the correct demonstration of this major thesis lies in discovering the new people rooted in the life of the new historical era. In the recent period, images of the new people projected by literary works have offered new explorations as to the root causes of and the solution for bureaucratism. Around the question of improving and developing the people's regime, the authors have made commendable efforts. They have projected the images of new people as [examples by which] servants of the people are best able to profoundly sense the earnest hopes on the part of the vast ranks of the people for the people's regime. They have grievously felt the erosive and disintegrating effect that bureaucratism has had on the people's regime, and they have fully understood the urgency and importance of eliminating the system and style of bureaucratism during the construction of the people's regime. They have exposed the fact that the root causes of the rise of bureaucratism, apart from other important factors, also have a very important relationship to the irrational nature of the cadre system and institutions. "The Small But Lingering Heart" describes the cruel story of how persecuted old cadres who have resumed their leadership posts once more become isolated from the people. The new person in "The Tower Is in Their Hands," Chen Zhenhua, was originally a trailblazer in opposing bureaucratism and the style of officialdom. However, when he occupies an important position, he somehow becomes inevitably affected by a heavy dose of bureaucratism and the style of officialdom, thus turning himself from an anti-bureaucratic hero into a captive of bureaucratism. Can this have nothing to do with our cadre system at all? Such a thought-provoking, artistic description points up the importance of improving the leadership system. Shen Huaide in "After the Promotion" puts it very well: "The absence of superb cadres occurs in direct ratio to the falling off of their working style." This opinion shows considerable insight. In order to maintain the organic health of the people's regime, it is necessary to cut off the superfluous tumors attached to the body of the leadership, remove the heavy burdens from the people's shoulders, and uproot the weeds of bureaucratism. The understanding of bureaucratism and the various adopted measures pertaining thereto, as exemplified by the images of new people projected by these works, have directly molded public opinion on how to improve the party's leadership system, reflected the principal contradiction in the construction of our regime, and cried out the heartfelt words of millions upon millions of our people in wishing the power wielders in our party's and government's leading organs of various levels to really become "servants of the people."

How to reflect new social contradictions through the projecting of the images of new people is an important issue in literary theory and literary practice. The images of new people have already poured forth from a realistic life full of new social contradictions. Since creative works in this regard are still in their infancy, it would be unrealistic to think of summing up any theoretically mature experience therefrom. But authors must penetrate the various realms of socialist modernization to discover new people, and they must play a necessary role in bringing out and solving new social contradictions through their energetic reflection of the spirit of exploration and pursuit on the part of these new people, so as to promote the speedy and vigorous development of the undertakings of the "four modernizations."

9255
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION, ECONOMICS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN JIAOYU [PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] in Chinese No 5, 20 May 80 pp 11-14

[Article by Zheng Yan [6774 6056]: "Correctly Understand and Handle the Relationship Between Education and Economics"]

[Text] How to correctly understand and handle the relationship between education and economics is a question that urgently awaits solution in our socialist modernization work. The Fifth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee put forward the "definition of educational plans and educational systems suited to the needs of the development of the national economy" for inclusion on the important agenda of work of the whole party as a major issue in our march, toward the four modernizations, and demanded that it be speedily solved without any loss of time and opportunity. This was a major strategic decision after the summing up of international and domestic experience in economic construction. In order to correctly understand and handle the relationship between education and economics, we must do a good job of carrying out penetrating work of propaganda and persuasion.

I.

After the Second World War, a trend toward an increasingly closer combination of education, science, and economics has emerged in the world's developed countries; the role of education and science and technology in economic development has become even more salient. It looks like this is a phenomenon in the nature of a law. Marx said with foresight long ago: "The development of fixed assets indicates the considerable degree to which general social knowledge has become direct productive power...and hence the considerable degree to which the process of social life itself has come to be subject to the control of general intelligence and to transformation by such intelligence." The development of modern society proves that this dictum on the part of Marx is entirely correct.

The development of economics determines the development of education; the developing conditions of education may also promote or delay economic development. In a situation in which social productive forces are not yet quite developed, education cannot have a high degree of development. Even though as early as the middle of the 18th century, classic economist Adam Smith had already discoursed on the economic effects of education, this did not arouse the attention of the bourgeoisie. By the 19th century, because of the development of large machinery industry, the bourgeoisie began to sense that to carry out compulsory elementary education was a necessary condition for developing production. But because what the bourgeoisie cared most about was how much profit were involved, it was willing only to put up a pathetic amount of money to administer education at the time. By the late 19th century and early 20th century, capitalism had developed to the monopolistic stage, society-wide large-scale production had made new developments in science and technology, and people who had mastered science and technology increasingly revealed their formidable role in the development of production and the elevation of labor productivity. Only then did the bourgeoisie begin to pay attention to education. Many bourgeois statesmen came to realize that talents were also a kind of wealth; it was necessary to invest in the "exploitation of human capabilities." International competition was a technological competition; technological competition was educational competition. Only by energetically "exploiting the resources of manpower" and elevating the scientific and cultural level of the workers would it be possible to gain great profits. Hence, during the recent decades the bourgeois in the capitalist countries have demonstrated great enthusiasm for the training of learned laborers and the development of educational enterprises. The emphasis placed on the training of scientific and technological talent and the energetic development of educational enterprises constituted a major reason why the economies of certain countries were able to gain speedy recovery and development after the Second World War.

Lenin paid close attention to the formidable role of science and education in developing the economy. While personally presiding over the formulation of the electrification plan in the RSFSR in the 1920's, he tied the development of the economy and the development of science and education closely together. When Stalin grasped the Soviet Union's educational reform in the 1930's, he put forward the well-known slogans "Technology determines everything" and "Cadres determine everything." Because of his energetic efforts to develop education and train scientific and technological talent, he accelerated the process of the country's industrialization and made it possible for the Soviet Union's science and technology to achieve leading positions in the postwar world in certain important fields. The launching of the Soviet Union's first sputnik in 1957, in particular, shook various countries of the world. The great practice of Lenin and Stalin enabled people to understand the formidable role of education and science and technology in promoting the development of the social economy.

If the socialist system is to triumph over the capitalist system, it must in the final analysis create a labor productivity higher than that of capitalism. The improvement of social labor productivity is determined mainly by the development of science and technology and the improvement of the people's educational, scientific, and cultural level. Developing educational enterprises and improving the level of education are both very important strategic measures for the realization of the four modernizations and the ultimate triumph of the socialist cause.

The economically developed countries in the postwar world have been paying close attention to the study of the relationship between economics and education and to the calculation of the economic results of educational investment. According to the view of American educational economist Schultz, the ratio of the effect of the capital spent on education in the United States in 1967 among all the factors augmenting the national income was 33 percent. According to an estimate in the Soviet magazine ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, the national income obtained through education and the improved skills of working personnel increased threefold from 1960 to 1975 and made up 30 percent of the sum total of the national income in 1975. Our scholars have not yet found out the economic returns of education. But if we simply look back somewhat at the history of the past 30 years, it is not hard to see the formidable role of education in economic construction. In the 1950's, our education enjoyed greater development and succeeded in training more than 2 million high-ranking experts and medium professionals; by the 1960's, they played a major role in education, scientific research, and production. After the 10-year sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we still have a contingent of several million professional cadres. Those who are playing a core role on various fronts today are mainly the students trained during the 17 years after the liberation of the whole country.

Ours is a big country of more than 900 million people; our manpower resources are very abundant. As long as we pay attention to the exploitation of our manpower resources and continue to elevate the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation, we shall have an endless supply of talent. Marxism holds that labor power is the important factor of productive power, and the instruments of production are created and wielded by the workers. The higher the scientific and cultural level of the workers is elevated and the more special talents are trained by the educational front for society, the more new productive forces will be created. Therefore, we must make up our minds to energetically develop our educational enterprises; only thus can we accelerate our socialist modernization work.

II.

Both positive and negative experiences in our socialist construction indicate that the development of education and the economy must be maintained in appropriate proportion to each other in order to have the two develop harmoniously. Otherwise, both education and the economy will come to play a destructive role.

People all think that arrangements during the First Five-Year Plan period were fairly well made, so that education and the economy developed quite harmoniously. From 1953 to 1957, total industrial and agricultural output value increased by 67.8 percent, and the number of students enrolled in higher institutions increased 130.9 percent, at middle professional schools 22.3 percent, and at ordinary middle schools 152.3 percent. Except in the case of the middle professional schools, which developed more slowly, the development of higher institutions and ordinary middle schools far exceeded the rate of increase of total industrial and agricultural output value. This was because old China was a "poor and empty" country; when the building of socialism got started shortly after the founding of the new state, a salient problem was the realization that competent personnel were sorely lacking. Hence it was taken into consideration that, since the cycle of training competent personnel was going to be long, it was not only necessary to satisfy the needs of the First Five-Year Plan period in this regard, advance arrangements to meet the needs thereafter must also be made.

During the 3 years after 1958, excessively high and urgent demands were made on the development of education because of erroneous estimates of the economic situation and mistakes in work guidance. All this resulted in an overall shortage of school facilities and competent teachers, and the quality of education was also lowered for a period. After 1960, a very difficult situation occurred in our economy; there was insufficient foodgrain, and the number of people consuming commodity grains had to be reduced. Hence, the schools that were developed after 1957 were forced to beat a retreat. After 1964, our educational undertakings scored a recovery pursuant to readjustment and rectification. Not only were quantitative increases steadily scored, but the quality of education and main aspects of scientific research all approached, and were catching up with, the world's advanced levels. This resulted in a fairly harmonious development of both education and the economy.

The 10-year sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brought the national economy to the brink of collapse and also pushed education toward the point of destruction. They resorted to "suspension of classes for the sake of revolution," so the universities stopped recruiting students; in 10 years they trained over 1 million fewer university students for the state. They went all out to criticize the so-called "revisionist educational line of Liu Shaoqi" and the "two kinds of educational systems," and thereby almost wiped clean all middle professional schools, half-work and half-study schools, agricultural middle schools, and professional technical schools. They fanatically persecuted the leading cadres and teachers in the schools and criticized the teaching materials compiled during those 17 years as being "feudalist, capitalist, and revisionist." Large numbers of school buildings were occupied, teaching equipment and library materials were nearly all subject to destruction, and the quality of education was brought down precipitously. They sent middle and elementary school [children] down to the countryside, to the communes and production brigades, and thus lowered the rate of elementary schooling attendance in the countryside and at the same time greatly increased the number of illiterates. The livelihood of middle and elementary schoolteachers was very harsh, and the ranks of teachers failed to achieve stability for a long time. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the focus of work on the whole nation was shifted to socialist modernization. The salient contradiction was once again the shortage of competent personnel, and educational enterprises could not keep pace with the development of economic construction. Students trained at higher institutions were found to be seriously dislocated, both quantitatively and qualitatively, relative to the demands of the four modernizations. The large numbers of medium technical personnel and technical workers required by economic construction lacked sources of supply. A shocking amount of waste was found in the development of production. The scientific and cultural level of economic management cadres was found to be too low to adapt to the demands of modern large-scale production. Elementary education in the countryside was not sufficiently popularized, technical personnel in agriculture were sorely lacking, and both of these [deficiencies] were seriously affecting the development of agricultural production. This disproportionate development between education and economics served to pull the legs from under the four modernizations; if effective measures are not adopted, the situation is bound to create still more serious consequences.

The seriously disproportionate development between education and economics today, apart from the sabotage by the "gang of four," also has to do with problems in our work which mainly are reflected in too little investment in education. The ratio of our educational funds in relation to our gross national product, calculated according to comparable measures, is not only far lower than that of the economically developed countries, but even lower than that of economically backward countries. According to UNESCO statistics, in 1975 the ratio of U.S. educational funds to the Gross National Product was 6.2 percent; those of Japan, 5.5 percent; those of India, 2.8 percent; and those of Egypt, 5.7 percent; but ours in 1978 was only 2 percent. Viewed in terms of the average educational funds per person according to national population, ours is also extremely low. In 1975, average educational funds expanded per person in the United States was US$471.40; in Japan, US$247.70; in Egypt, US$15.00; and in India US$3.90; but in our country the figure was only US$2.70. Because the investment that the state has made in education has been relatively lower, conditions for running schools have become worse and worse; this has seriously affected the quality of education.

For a long time, our investment in education and investment in production have not been in proper proportion to each other. In order to develop the national economy more speedily, we must raise the ratio of educational funds in the national income and the state budget. At a time when the state is experiencing difficulties in finance and in the economy today, taking out a sum of money to use on educational undertakings might seem to affect the speed of economic development. But from the long-range point of view, laying the foundation of our educational enterprises, expanding the number of trained personnel, and raising the scientific and cultural level of technical personnel, technical workers, and peasants would enable us to achieve high-speed, sustained development. In this sense, correctly handling the relationship between education and economics is a major decisionmaking question that affects the future and destiny of the state. Therefore, educational funds should be given a relatively stable and rational rate in relation to the national income and the budgeted financial expenditures of the state. This ratio must be defined after serious study, in line with our economic and education situation and with reference to foreign experience, so that it can be made the basis for the formulation of programs and plans.

III.

In order to correctly handle the relationship between education and economics, we must also make the internal structure of education adapt to the changes in economic structure, and thereby cause education to adapt to economic development.

In 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically pointed out in his "Speech at the National Educational Work Conference" that the plans to foster and train experts and labor reserves should adapt to the planned, proportionate development of the national economy; they must not only visualize short-term needs but also foresee long-term needs; they must not only be based on the demands of the development of production and construction but also fully estimate the developmental trend of modern science and technology. The present situation, whereby the internal ratio of education is not adapted to the economic structure, must be gradually changed.

First of all, if we look at the ratio of development between all-day universities, middle schools, and elementary schools, we can see that it is not quite harmonious. Neither quantitatively nor qualitatively are our university students able as yet to meet the demands of our socialist modernization work. From now on, we may base ourselves on needs and possibilities and gradually develop collegiate short-term universities and middle professional schools in order to satisfy the urgent needs of economic construction. In the case of all-day universities, we must pay attention to qualitative elevation while taking steady steps to develop them. We must make up our minds to concentrate our limited manpower, material and financial resources to manage a few key universities and the key specialties of certain universities well, so as to truly turn them into educational centers and scientific research centers that will play a model role among all-day universities.

The number of students at all-day general middle schools, especially senior middle schools, is too large today. Those senior middle school graduates who can hope to be admitted to higher institutions make up only 4 percent of the total; most of these students must find employment. Because they have not undergone professional and technical training, they cannot adapt to the demands of economic construction after they find employment. Therefore, in the case of general senior middle schools, we should control and compress them from now on in order to have more middle professional schools and technical professional schools. We should also increase professional and technical courses in the senior middle schools so that after the students graduate, they can more speedily adapt to the demands at work.

How to popularize all-day elementary schools, mainly elementary education in the countryside, as soon as possible is a major problem requiring urgent solution in the modernization of our agriculture. The key to popularizing elementary education in the countryside today is to transfer those teachers who are at schools run by the people, and who are found to be qualified through examination and turn them into state employees group by group and period by period according to the financial capabilities of the state. All countries of the world take education as a state undertaking, and most countries generally practise compulsory education. Our country should give timely consideration to the means to carrying out a compulsory educational system and popularizing a 5-year system and 8-year system of education in a planned way.

Secondly, from the structure of our secondary education, we can see that the middle professional schools, agricultural middle schools, and professional technical schools constitute a weak link. Our socialist construction requires a large number of specialist personnel and middle-level technical personnel, and it should keep the two contingents in a rational ratio to each other. At present, the ratio of the number of students enrolled at universities and colleges to the number of students enrolled in middle professional schools is about 1:1; the number of students enrolled in general senior middle schools makes up 86 percent of those at all senior middle schools. This is irrational. The largest number needed for economic construction is middle-level technical personnel and technical workers. Therefore, the structure of secondary education (mainly the senior middle school stage) needs to be revamped, the middle professional schools and professional technical schools must be greatly reinforced.

Thirdly, from our present educational system we can see that adult education also constitutes a weak link. Among our staff members and workers today, 70-80 percent have a cultural level below that of junior middle school, and 5 percent are illiterate. Not a few responsible cadres at factories do not understand how to manage their affairs, and there are still many basic-level cadres in the countryside who are illiterate. In some provinces, 95 percent of farm machinery operators have never received any professional training; when the machines break down, no one knows how to repair them. The condition of low cultural level, low technical level, and low management level which generally prevails among our staff members and workers and countryside cadres is an extremely great obstacle to the realization of the four modernizations. We must make up our minds to strive to raise the cultural level of those staff members and workers with relevant conditions and cadres from those of the people's communes in the countryside up to a plane higher than that of junior middle school before 1985 through off-worksite studies and spare-time studies. We must also raise the scientific and cultural level, management level, and Marxist theoretical level of our in-service staff members and workers through the use of higher institutions for staff members and workers and peasants, television universities, correspondence and evening schools, or training classes so as to adapt to the developmental needs of our socialist modernization.

Fourthly, from the internal structure of higher education we can see that reform is needed. At present, the specialties at our higher institutions may be divided into 12 categories; the ratio between students enrolled in these various categories of specialties is irrational and needs to be adjusted. We do not have enough specialist personnel. None of those graduating in these specialties can yet meet the needs of our economic development. But we are even more short of specialist personnel in agriculture and forestry, finance and economics, and government and law.

At present, our agriculture is still relatively backward. The modernization of agriculture plays a decisive role in the four modernizations, but the number of our specialist personnel in agriculture and forestry falls far short of meeting our needs. At present, the number of students enrolled in the specialties of agriculture and forestry at schools is not even quite 70,000, or only 6.81 percent of all students enrolled in higher institutions. In order to adapt to the modernization of agriculture and make a go of scientific research in agriculture, agriculture and specialties serving agriculture must be strengthened from now on.

Scientific economic management is an important link in the realization of the four modernizations. All of the world's economically developed countries pay close attention to the training of economic management talent and have established many related subjects and new specialties such as information science, operations research, systems engineering, computer application, etc. The number of students enrolled in the specialties of finance and economics in our higher institutions today is scarcely more than 21,000, making up only 2.1 percent of the total of all students enrolled in such institutions. In order to make a go of our economic management science and realize the modernization of our economic management, we must energetically train management personnel and develop management science.

Strengthening the legal system is an important condition for maintaining social stability, protecting the people's interests, and realizing the four modernizations. Today, students in the specialties of government and law presently enrolled at schools number only slightly more than 3,300, making up a poor 0.3 percent of students of all higher institutions. Therefore, strengthening the specialties of government law in the higher institutions and speedily training personnel in government and law really constitute an urgent task.

To sum up the above, we must still undergo long, hard struggles in order to have the structure of our education adapt to the developmental needs of our national economy and to have education and the economy develop harmoniously. If we can do a good job of adjusting the proportionate relations between education and economics before 1985, do a good job of reforming the internal structure of our education, and firmly establish our socialist educational system, then we shall have created even more beneficial conditions for the four modernizations. In order to achieve this, it is necessary for the whole party to pay attention, and especially for leading comrades at various levels to look ahead, so that the development of education will be taken as an important condition for the realization of the four modernizations, and so that the relationship between education and economics will be correctly understood and handled. As long as comrades throughout the party can exert themselves and advance in the direction pointed out by the Fifth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, we are definitely going to be able to realize the four modernizations by the end of the present century.

9255
CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76971

10 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 146

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76971

10 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 146

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE

'Separation of Party, Government' Explained
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 9 Oct 80) 1

County-Level Direct Election Begins in Hainan
(Pan Qiongxiong; HAINAN RIBAO, 16 Aug 80) 3

Masses Urged To Recommend Candidates for Leading Posts
(Li Shitai, He Shisheng; SICHUAN RIBAO, 21 Sep 80) 7

Sichuan Marks Anniversary of Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
(SICHUAN RIBAO, 2 Sep 80) 9

Commemorative Meeting, by Kang Zhengxiang
'SICHUAN RIBAO' Editorial

Minister Criticized for Seeking Special Privileges
(RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Nov 80) 13

Lenin's Collective Work System Said Worthy of Emulation
(Lin Jishou; RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Oct 80) 18

Hu Qiaomu on Important Role of Journalists
(Hu Qiaomu; XINWEN ZHANXIAN, Apr 80) 22

Cases of Miscarriage of Justice Disclosed
(Cui Min; RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Oct 80) 33

Need To Distinguish Felony From Misdemeanor Emphasized
(Zhang Zhiwen; RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Oct 80) 35

Halt To Practice of Interceding on Behalf of Friends, Relatives Urged
(Zhou Zongkui, Chen Xiande; BEIJING RIBAO, 3 Sep 80) ... 38

'LIAONING RIBAO' Defends Policy of Going Back to Old Road
(RENMIN RIBAO, 13 Oct 80) 41

Possibilities, Actuality in Materialist Dialectics Analyzed
(Ran Yulong; ZHEXUE YANJIU, 25 Feb 80) 43

Four Modernizations in Need of All Kinds of Talent
(Xu Dianbin; RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Nov 80) 52

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Use of Air Raid Shelters for Peacetime Purposes Urged
(Xiao Huo, Deng Yuhe; TIANJIN RIBAO, 7 Aug 80) 54

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Nationality Issue, Class Issue Are Not the Same
(Xu Liming; MINZU TUANJIE, 15 Sep 80) 57

Changchun's New Comprehensive University for Day Students
(Wu Fengyi; GUANGMING RIBAO, 18 Oct 80) 63

Academy of Social Sciences Opens New Institutes
(Jia Shumei; GUANGMING RIBAO, 10 Sep 80) 65

Hubei Cannot Afford To Hire Agriculture School Graduates
(Yu Zhongfeng; RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Aug 80) 67

Yunnan Solves New Problems in Rural Education
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 8 Oct 80) 68

Local Teachers of Yunnan Province Become State Employees
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 8 Oct 80) 70

College Enrollment System Revamped
(Zhao Sheng; RENMIN JIAOYU, 20 May 80) 71

Causes, Solutions for Juvenile Delinquency Discussed
(Xu Jian; SHEHUI KEXUE, 20 Aug 80) 74

University, Middle School Teachers To Teach in Tibet
(WEN HUI BAO, 23 Aug 80, GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 Sep 80) 84

Shanghai University Teachers
'One-on-One' Tutoring System
Middle School Teachers

Minority Students From Xinjiang Pass College Entrance Exams
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 25 Sep 80) 86

Briefs
Minority Student Training 87

PARTY AND STATE

'SEPARATION OF PARTY, GOVERNMENT' EXPLAINED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 80 p 4

[Party Members' Mailbox Column: "The 'Separation of Party and Government' Aims at Strengthening Party Work"]

[Text] May the "Separation of Party and Government" Weaken Party Work?

Dear Comrade Editor:

Recently, we the lower basic level, begun to understand that some of the comrades engaged in party work are very much concerned about the "separation of party and government" when they are studying documents of the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. Some of the comrades are worrying about whether party work will be weakened or even be minimized after the separation of party and government. It is understood that a great number of the leading cadres of the grass-roots level party organizations think this way. We hope that an answer will be given in the special column "Party Life."

Dai Beijun [2071 0271 6511], a Communist Party member of the Political Department of the Provincial Economic Commission.

Dear Comrade Dai Beijun:

Your letter has been forwarded to us by our editorial department asking us to speak out our viewpoint on this question. We have learned from practice: Since the separation of party and government, party work has not been minimized, nor has it been weakened, but on the contrary, it has been strengthened.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have preliminarily practiced the separation of party and government. All administrative work of and important technical problems encountered in scientific research are studied and resolved by the director in charge of division of labor, and by the regular academy council and the administrative meeting chaired by the director. It is in this way that our general party branch has been relieved from specific professional work to make it possible to implement party lines, principles, and policies, to play an exemplary vanguard role of a party member, and to unite and organize the masses of cadres within and outside the party, striving for the accomplishment of the mission of our unit in a realistic way. We at first concentrated our efforts to look after party members of the whole institute. We encouraged and supported them in bringing about professional and technical innovations and creations to enable party members to give full play to their role in their respective posts. At present, 25 of the 45 party members of the whole institute hold leading positions at all levels and have become the mainstay of the institute. For the purpose of making the leading groups at all levels young, knowledgeable and specialized, we have successively promoted 14 intellectuals to leading posts at institute and division (section) levels to fully develop their initiatives and thereby guaranteeing the development of scientific research work. In recent years, 20 achievements have been won by us one after another, and 5 of them filled the gaps of our country. Our institute has been successively elected to both the provincial and municipal "advanced unit of scientific research" and "red flag unit." Last February, the general party branch of our institute was rewarded a certificate of merit of "the fighting fortress having brilliant exploits in the four modernizations."

Since the separation of party and government, our general party branch has been relieved of some routine duties, making it possible for it to concentrate its efforts on conscientiously working on political ideology of party members and on supervision of organization. This is to penetrate ideological work into scientific research activities in order to ensure that scientific research work is carried out smoothly. We have conscientiously worked on party member education, for which the system of learning at party schools has been reinstated. At the same time, what the party members and the masses think are usually analyzed so that ideological work can be done without delay. A division chief in charge of special subjects, who has for long been comparatively practical and hardworking, has for a certain period of time become dispirited. He showed no interest in monographic experiment, and progress in it was directly affected. At first, we tried to talk to him in person, but that produced little effect. Later on, we found the reason through a thorough investigation and study. We then acted to "suit the remedy to the case," and his ideological problem was quickly resolved. At a later time, this director of special subjects achieved better results in experiments. In the course of doing a good job in ideological work, care has been taken to help solve practical problems of the masses by paying attention to protecting their economic interests in an effort to improve their material as well as cultural life. Party organizations have in this respect played their part in promoting and guaranteeing practical work. In the past 2 years, our institute has built 2,000 square meter family quarters with self raised funds, in addition to renovation of the old houses, which helped relieve 50 households of dwelling problems, and bachelor workers are provided with separate rooms. The dining room has been renovated, and the mess hall has been put in order. A nursery is provided to take care of the children of workers and staff members. Grain supply centers and briquette shops are coordinated to deliver grain and coal door to door. A total of seven married couples living in two different places have been reunited through our help. These are the 10 good deeds we have accomplished successively. And all of these have directly aroused the enthusiasm of the masses.

In short, the separation of party and government is not to minimize the work of party organizations, or to deprive or weaken party leadership, but rather to avoid over concentration of authority. By doing so, leading cadres of the party can be relieved from routine duties, bureaucracy can be overcome, and party work can be strengthened. This is an excellent measure for improving and strengthening party work.

Party General Branch, Hangzhou Institute of Chemical Engineering

9560
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTY-LEVEL DIRECT ELECTION BEGINS IN HAINAN

Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 80 pp 1, 4

[Article by Pan Qiongxiong [3382 8825 7160], deputy secretary of the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee and head of the Election Work Office of the Hainan Prefectural People's Government: "Do a Good Job of County-Level Direct Elections, Strengthen Political Power"]

[Text] In accordance with the "Electoral Law" and the "Organic Law" adopted and proclaimed by the Second Plenary Session of the Fifth NPC, and the instructions of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and the Guangdong Provincial People's Government, the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee and the prefectural government have basically concluded county-level direct elections in three selected counties, notably Qionghai, Qiongzhong and Wenchang. Using their experiences as a guide, the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee and the Hainan Prefectural People's Government are preparing to hold similar elections in other counties of the prefecture, and to bring them to a successful conclusion. The holding of the county-level direct elections is a very significant step in spurring the personnel of the state organs to adopt the viewpoint of the masses more consciously and firmly, and to serve the people in a better way, and in inspiring the people to work hard for the realization of the four modernizations. Various county and municipal party committees must fully understand its significance, draw lessons from those selected counties' experiences in holding elections, and effectively strengthen their leadership in order to elect deputies to the people's congresses and county-level leading groups welcomed by the masses.

The experiences of the three selected counties--Qionghai, Qiongzhong and Wenchang tell us that conscientiously doing a good job of training cadres is a key to success in holding county-level direct elections. The election work which involves policies and laws is a complicated process that cannot be successfully concluded without securing the services of a large number of cadres skilled in this work. For this reason, the election work must begin with a crash program to train the cadres of counties, municipalities, communes (townships), brigades (neighborhoods), production teams and state organs in charge of the election work, and to help them grasp the basic spirit of the "Electoral Law" and the "Organic Law" and understand the significance of the election work and related regulations and approaches. Various selected constituencies have successfully concluded the training of cadres who form the backbone of the election work force. A total of 8,182 such cadres were trained in Qionghai County; 92 percent or more of brigade- and production-level cadres there have undergone training in the election process. Qiongzhong County has completed the training of 2,000 cadres, two-thirds of whom are a minority nationalities. These cadres have played a great role in bringing the elections to a successful conclusion. They have learned to strictly observe the laws and have actively persuaded the voters to go to the polls. After the elections were over, they organized the newly elected deputies to contact the masses and gather proposals from them. It is this election work force that should be relied upon to bring the elections to a successful conclusion.

A propaganda and educational campaign must be launched to make the "two laws" widely known to the masses and to teach those in charge of the election work to strictly observe the laws. The new "Electoral Law" and the "Organic Law" which draw their essence from China's 30-year experiences in this field form a guideline for expanding socialist democracy and for strengthening political power for this new historical period. The majority of the constituencies of the selected counties have permeated the entire election process with a propaganda drive to educate the voters in the "two laws," and have learned to apply the "two laws" as a guideline for mobilizing, organizing and inspiring the cadres and people to increase their consciousness of the need to enforce and defend the "two laws." During the elections, the provisions of the "two laws" dealing with the functions of the election organs, the division of constituencies, the registration of the eligible voters, the nomination and recommendation of candidates, the election of deputies, the convention of the county people's congresses and their standing committees and the formation of the leading groups of the county people's governments have been strictly observed by cadres in charge of the election work, who have been praised by the masses for a job well done.

A successful county-level direct election means giving full play to socialist democracy and realizing the aspirations of the voters. In other words, socialist democracy holds a key to success in elections. When the elections were being held in the three selected counties, many constituencies gave the masses the privilege of deciding who were qualified to run for deputies, in addition to providing them with opportunities to fully exercise their democratic right and to freely express their will. During the county-level direct elections, more candidates than the actual number to be elected were nominated, so that the voters could choose the ones they liked most as their representatives to form the county and commune-level leading groups. In short, elections provide a good opportunity to educate cadres and the masses. Following elections, Huang Yongkun [7806 3057 0981] of the Li nationality, director of the Heping commune general factory, Qiongzhong County, has been unanimously nominated by the newly elected deputies to be the chairman of the commune executive committee for his energetic and professional performance and "dedication to the four modernizations." This has come after the deputies turned down a suggestion from the commune executive committee to appoint a deputy secretary of the commune party committee to that position. The elections that took place in the selected counties emphasized not only the advanced character of deputies but also the broadness of their representation. Following a process of nominating and recommending candidates and repeated consultations about their qualifications for running for the deputies to the people's congresses, the masses in Wenchang County have elected 516 deputies, of whom 337 are party members, accounting for 65.3 percent; 179 are representatives without party affiliation accounting for 34.7 percent; 112 women accounting for 21.7 percent. Representatives of educators, public health workers, scientists and technicians, urban dwellers, industrialists and businessmen, democratic parties, retired servicemen, families of martyrs, returned overseas Chinese, compatriots of Taiwan origin and Kuomintang personnel who have defected to our side also account for a specific percentage of the total.

A successful county-level direct election does not mean neglecting the development of the four modernizations program and interrupting the current process of production. The primary aim of the county-level direct election is to bring democracy into full play, strengthen the political power, and mobilize the broad masses to enthusiastically work for the realization of the four modernizations with one mind and one heart. For this reason, we must make the election go hand in hand with production. Great efforts have been made by the three selected counties to combine the election with production, and to insure that production would not be interrupted by the election. During the election, the responsibility was evenly divided among all units concerned in the county, communes and brigades and was discharged by them under the guidance of a unified leading group so that both the election and production could go on simultaneously. Production was emphasized by Qionghai County as its central task during the election. In other words, the election was held in close coordination with production; workers were organized to spend spare time engaging in the election campaigns. As the election progressed, Qionghai County called on the cadres and people to promote production and to greet the opening of the county people's congress with outstanding achievements in production. As a result, it succeeded in promoting not only production but also other work as well. To bring the county-level direct elections to a successful conclusion, party and revolutionary committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over the election work. As everyone knows, our election work has been suspended for years as a result of sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." At the same time, we must confess that the provision of the "Electoral Law" dealing with the county-level direct election in which more candidates can be nominated than the actual number to be elected is new to us. For this reason, this election work should be listed as an important item on the agenda of party and revolutionary committees at all levels. To make the election proceed without a hitch, every county party committee is advised to nominate one of its secretaries or deputy secretaries to head its election committee, which must be formed by responsible comrades of various departments concerned, social figures without party affiliation and PLA representatives in accordance with Guangdong Province's related regulations. The election committee must go into operation immediately after its inauguration. Under the committee there should be an executive office with staff transferred from other departments concerned. Two or three able and competent comrades must be selected to head this office. At the same time, a considerable number of cadres must be selected by the county party committee to help communes lay the groundwork for the elections. Cadres in charge of the election work must be organized to study the "Electoral Law" and "Organic Law" until they can understand and enforce the laws. Only in this way can they resolutely act according to the laws, struggle against their violators and defend the sanctity of the judicial power. Before the county-level direct election begins, every county or municipality is advised to try it out in one of its communes and then conscientiously sum up and extend its experiences to other communes through meetings attended by responsible persons of their election committees.

Some cadres and people now seem to be losing interest in our election process since it has been suspended for so many years, and after watching democracy and the legal system trampled under foot during the 10 years of catastrophe. For this reason, we must educate the people in the basic spirit of the "Electoral Law" and make it widely known to every household in connection with the election campaigns. At the same time, an educational program must be instituted in order to overcome factionalism, sectarianism and all forms of interference that have emerged in the election process; those who have taken a scornful attitude toward the election must be severely criticized, along with violators of the "Electoral Law," in order to insure success in the election. Every propaganda department, newspaper and radio station must also play a role in educating the public in the "Electoral Law," and strengthen the ideological education of cadres in this field. We must do a good job of registering the voters in order to get more of them to go to the polls on the election day. Serious and conscientious efforts must be made by cadres in charge of the election work to register the voters and verify their eligibility in accordance with the related regulations. Various ways of registration must be devised at their convenience. The eligible voters should be registered on a unit-by-unit basis and their names must be listed and posted at public places in individual constituencies not later than 30 days before the election day. After their names are posted, eligible voters must be mobilized to verify whether there are any errors and duplicates or any eligible voters whose names are left out. When schools are closed for vacations, their registration of voters can be postponed until students return. Every possible effort must be made to urge voters to go to the polls on the election day. A successful election depends on how many voters will go to the polls on the election day. The returns on the elections in the selected counties of our prefecture indicated a lower turnout rate than that in other selected counties of the province. In some constituencies of the three selected counties, only 60 percent of voters showed up at the polls on the election day. Furthermore, absent voters must be allowed to cast their ballots by proxy, or are advised to return to their original units before the voting date. Before the election day, absent voters who are away from home on business trips should be contacted and informed about the elections through newspaper advertisements or by correspondence. More polls must be set up or even polls on wheels should be devised for the benefit of the voters in the sparsely populated rural areas on the election day. These are the only effective ways we can devise to get 95 percent or more of voters out of their homes and cast their ballots at the polls on the election day.

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

MASSES URGED TO RECOMMEND CANDIDATES FOR LEADING POSTS

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 80 p 1

[News report by Li Shitai [2621 0013 1132] and He Shizhong [0149 0057 1813]: "CCP Committee of Kai County Urges People To Nominate Cadres to Leading Positions"]

[Text] The CCP Committee of Kai County has departed from past practice and followed the mass line in selecting and appointing cadres to leading posts. At its urging, party members and people throughout the county have been mobilized to recommend able and competent candidates for positions such as secretary and deputy secretaries of the county party committee, chairman and vice chairman of the standing committee of the county people's congress and head and deputy heads of the country people's government.

Kai County will hold its next party congress and people's congress in late October and December, respectively. During the party congress, a new county party committee will be elected. When the county people's congress is in session, new members will be elected to its standing committee and a new county people's government will be formed. In order to encourage resourceful people to enter government service, to appoint outstanding cadres to the leading posts and to speed up the tempo of the four modernizations, the county party committee has called on party organizations at all levels and mobilized party members and people to fully exercise their democratic right to recommend candidates for the county party committee, the county people's government. The county party committee has also emphasized the need to appoint to leading posts those robust, long-tested, and outstanding young cadres of fine ideological and political standing who are armed with professional knowledge and able to provide fine leadership.

To this end, the county party committee has publicized information on the numbers of leading county-level positions to be filled and the qualifications for them. These positions include secretary and deputy secretaries of the county party committee, chairmen and vice chairmen of the standing committee of the county people's congress and head and deputy heads of the county people's government. In addition to announcing the procedure that should be followed in recommending the candidates, the county party committee has also advised the party organizations at all levels to carry out the following tasks: first, they must effectively strengthen their leadership and recommend persons in an openminded manner. Second, they must conscientiously mobilize party members to seriously study related documents until they can fully understand the significance of this democratic process of recommending county-level cadres and standards to be met by the candidates recommended. Third, they must urge party members to strengthen their sense of responsibility to the people and to follow a correct procedure in exercising their democratic rights. Fourth, commune party committees, party organizations of industrial and mining enterprises, and party branches of county-affiliated organs must hold meetings attended by party members and forums attended by the masses. At such meetings, candidates can be recommended and nominated through repeated consultations and discussions. Recommendations of candidates for the aforementioned positions should be sent to the county party committee for consideration, along with statements of why they are recommended and what positions are most suitable to them. Fifth, leading comrades at all levels should warmly welcome recommendations from the masses without prejudice. In response to the county party committee's appeal, party members and people throughout the county have decided to recommend those leading county-level cadres they like and trust the most.

9574
CSO: 4005

SICHUAN MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE

Commemorative Meeting

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 80 p 1

[News report by SICHUAN RIBAO reporter Kang Zhengxiang [1660 2973 4382]: "Kangding Celebrates the 30th Anniversary of Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture"]

[Text] On 1 September the people, dressed in their holiday best in this ancient city of Kangding, greeted with colorful buntings and placards the arrival of representatives attending the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

The event also drew groups of congratulators from Beijing, Chengdu, Chongqing, Liangshan Prefecture and snow-covered regions and pastoral areas throughout the country. The NPC Standing Committee and the State Council sent their respective congratulatory messages.

In his speech to a celebration meeting, Xie Hechou [6200 7729 4693], vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, extended warm greetings and cordial regards to the people and cadres of all nationalities, patriotic democrats, public security cadres, and PLA commanders and fighters stationed in Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. He did so on behalf of the NPC Nationalities Commission and the State Nationalities Affairs Commission. Hailing Garze as one of the PRC's earliest minority autonomous prefectures dominated by the people of Tibetan nationality, he said: The exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Tibetan nationality here means that they have become true masters of their home prefecture. We firmly believe that under the leadership of teh CCP Committee of Sichuan Province and its people's government, and with the help of local cadres, they can play a great role in building Garze into a new, united, affluent and cultured prefecture.

He Haoju [0149 6787 3515], secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee and vice governor of Sichuan Province, was the second speaker extending congratulations and greetings to the people and cadres of all nationalities and PLA commanders and fighters in Garze. He delivered his speech on behalf of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, the provincial people's congress, the provincial people's government, the provincial military district, and the Sichuan Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In his speech, he said: The people of all nationalities in Garze are known for their glorious revolutionary tradition and industriousness. Their contributions to the democratic revolution and socialist construction will be remembered by us all. We must grasp the most favorable current opportunity to study and implement thoroughly the central authorities' instructions on work in Tibet. In doing so, we must take into account the local actual conditions.

Qin Rao [2953 4935], head of the Garze Prefectual People's Government, also addressed the meeting. In his speech, he said: Since its establishment on 24 November 1950, under the leadership of the party Central Committee, the State Council, the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee and the provincial people's government, the people of all nationalities in this autonomous prefecture have worked with one mind and one heart to end feudal serfdom, realize a socialist transformation, develop production and bring about earth-shaking changes in the outlook of society. An initial success has been scored by the departments of agriculture and animal husbandry in changing primitive and backward modes of production. In 1979 the gross value of agricultural production, total grain output and the gross value of livestock production registered increases of 250, 220 and 160 percent, respectively, over the 1950 figures; the number of domestic animals in all categories increased by 140 percent; and there was a noticeable improvement in the marketability of livestock products. At the time of liberation, industry was nonexistent in this prefecture. But 30 years later, enterprises engaged in the production of woolen textile goods, leather, leather shoes, building materials, chemicals, farm machinery and mica have sprung up along with pharmaceutical plants, sawmills and hydroelectric powerplants. Some 5,600 kilometers of highways crisscrossing the prefecture have been constructed and are open to traffic. And with the development of production have come demands for improvements in cultural life, education, physical education and health care. Indeed, there have been great improvements in the people's standards of living. Comrade Qin Rao emphasized that during the past 30 years, as a result of the conscientious implementation of the party's nationality policy by party committees and local governments at all levels, a new socialist relationship of nationalities based on the principle of national equality, brotherhood, unity and mutual assistance has taken shape. This prefecture has devoted years to training a great number of cadres of minority nationalities who now form the backbone of the work forces on all fronts. A large number of cadres of Han nationality have also made considerable contributions to the construction of the Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture since their arrival here years ago. In coordination with minority cadres, they have struggled and worked hard and have persevered in keeping the work going at this high plateau. In conclusion, he pointed out: During this new historical period, our prefecture's central task is to strengthen unity between the cadres and the people, mobilize all positive factors to accelerate the tempo of economic and cultural construction and raise the cultural level of the people of all nationalities and their material living standards, so that the people of this prefecture can enjoy prosperity and affluence.

The meeting was followed by theatrical programs performed by various amateur troupes from counties in Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. A large-scale trade fair was held by the Garze prefectual commerce department in connection with the commemorative event. On display were 170 kinds of commodities, which were welcomed by local consumers.

'SICHUAN RIBAO' Editorial

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 80 p 1

[Editorial: Strengthen National Unity; Establish a New, Socialist, Modernized Garze Autonomous Prefecture"]

[Text] The 30th anniversary of the founding of the Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture is being celebrated in connection with the long march undertaken by the people of all nationalities throughout the country to carry out the general task for this new historical period. We are full of joy in extending our warmest congratulations to the people of all nationalities in Garze on this festive occasion.

Garze's revolutionary tradition dates back to 1936. That year, the Boba government—the first people's political power in the history of the Tibetan nationality—was established with the CCP's help and with the support of a visiting column of the Red Worker-Peasant Army. In 1950, after nationwide liberation, Garze became the first minority autonomous prefecture dominated by the people of Tibetan nationality, thanks to the support of the party Central Committee.

During the past 30 years, under the guidance of the party's nationality policy, and under the leadership of party committees and governments at all levels, cadres and people of all nationalities in Garze have worked hard with the top-echelon patriots of local religious sects to win great victories for the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution, and the cause of socialist construction. They have also worked together to end the feudal serfdom and slaveowning system, thus making vast numbers of former serfs and slaves masters of their home prefecture. Like people in other parts of the country, the people of all nationalities in Garze suffered miserably from the 10 years of catastrophe and from the implementation of the ultraleft line by Lin Biao and the gang of four, in gross disregard for the party's nationality policy. Since the downfall of the gang of four, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, party committees at all levels have conscientiously implemented the party's political line, principles and policies and have scored successes in all fields of endeavor. But we must realize that for various subjective and objective reasons, our progress remains too slow and the level of production is still relatively low. The glorious task now facing the people of all nationalities in Garze is to implement conscientiously the party Central Committee's recent instructions on work in Tibet and the guidelines of the work conference of the three prefectures called by the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee; to rally the people of all nationalities behind a common endeavor to accelerate the tempo of economic and cultural construction, to raise their cultural level and material standards of living, and to bring prosperity and affluence to this multinational society as soon as possible.

It is not only possible but also absolutely necessary to realize those objectives. Garze is a prefecture with over 70 million people of Tibetan, Yi, Hui and Han nationalities known for their industriousness, heroism, intelligence and revolutionary tradition. In the future as in the past, they can be expected to make great contributions to the four modernizations program. Garze is also a vast rural area known for its abundant natural resources, which can be developed to brighten the prospect of its economy. Garze now has nearly 100 million mu of natural pastureland, dense forests covering 10 million mu or more of land with inexhaustible water resources, rich mineral deposits, large quantities of precious medical herbs, and rich varieties of native products. All these form an important material basis for promoting the four modernizations. During the past 30 years, a great number of well-trained minority cadres and scientists and technicians have emerged in Garze and can be expected to play a decisive role in all fields of work in the future.

It is necessary to strengthen unity among the people of all nationalities in order to insure success in developing the local economy and culture. Party committees and local governments at all levels must continue to reeducate the people in the party's nationality policy and must spare no effort to implement it thoroughly. At present, under the unified leadership of the central authorities and the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, they must conccentrate their efforts on creating a situation in which autonomous prefectures such as Garze fully enjoy the right of self-determination and the people of minority nationalities are granted the privilege of controlling their own affairs as masters of their home prefecture. To meet the nee s of autonomous prefectures, a great number of minority cadres with communist consciousness and professional knowledge must undergo training so that in future they can play a greater role in the government. Attention must be given to the thorough implementation of the party's policy toward religions. Under this policy, normal religious activities will be respected, unlawful activities in the guise of religions will be banned, and control over all religious activities will be strengthened. We must continuously do a good job of uniting, educating and remodeling the top-echelon patriots of the national religious sects and of consolidating and expanding the revolutionary and patriotic united front.

Building Garze into a prosperous and affluent prefecture is a rather difficult task. To realize this objective calls for common, pioneering efforts by party committees and governments at all levels and cadres and people of all nationalities in Garze. We must pay tribute to the cadres and workers of Han nationality who came here from the interior years ago and who have ever since cooperated with local minority cadres and people in developing this plateau; they have contributed greatly to success in socialist revolution and socialist construction in Garze. We hope that these comrades will continue to work with local minority cadres and people to develop the excellent situation of stability and unity and swiftly change the outlook of poverty and backwardness with the kind of enthusiasm, ingenuity, revolutionary spirit, and wisdom they displayed during the democratic reform period. At the same time, all provincial-level departments and units in other parts of the country are urged to give material, financial and technical support to this endeavor. We hope that, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, the people of all nationalities in Garze Prefecture will be united as one so as to make still greater contributions to the prosperity of Garze and the modernization of the motherland.

9574
CSO: 4005

MINISTER CRITICIZED FOR SEEKING SPECIAL PRIVILEGES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 80 p 4

[Article: "Beginning of a New Era of Democracy: A Cook Criticizes a Minister"]

[Text] Lots of new things are happening in the China of the 1980's. A few days ago, a young cook, Chen Aiwu [7115 1947 2976] revealed to our party a criticism of the minister of commerce for demanding special privileges whenever he went to the Fengzeyuan Restaurant to eat. The young cook's being praised by the central Commission for Inspection of Discipline is one of these new things.

In the old society, it would be unimaginable for a young apprentice in a shop even to think about accusing a minister, not to mention being successful. Even after liberation such things were rare. After the news was released in the newspapers and over the radio, the news agency phones never stopped ringing, there were heated discussions everywhere, and there were telegrams of congratulations from abroad. The intensity of the reaction to this affair is worth some serious thought.

Special privileges are residual poisons from the feudal system. Although the emperors have been gone from China for half a century, the concept of class privileges set up by the emperors is like a ghost that still runs around in peoples' minds. When someone becomes a leader, he feels he is a little bit better than the common man. If he wants to ride in a sedan chair, then there must be someone to carry the sedan chair. Therefore the various sorts of special treatment, so-called "serving the leaders," have come to be viewed as natural and correct. In follow-the-leader fashion, this has expanded to the degree where one need only have a little authority to be able to "pluck a few feathers from a passing goose." The practice of "use it, look at it, or enjoy it on a 'trial' basis" has become very respectable. "Family relationships" serve as a pretext and disguise for taking advantage of the state, and "private use of public funds" is a disguised form of graft. These dishonest practices have already become a social evil which is seriously eroding the body of our party and our society and poisoning the hearts of our people. With regard to this kind of danger, if we sin in our sedan chairs with the curtains drawn, no one will ever see it or be aware of it. Those leaders feel: I have worked very hard for the people. What does it matter if I get a little special consideration? Therefore, although the "Guiding Principles for Political Life Within the Party" has been in print for more than 6 months, it has not moved them to compare themselves against the standards to to work according to the "Guiding Principles."

If this evil is not removed, there is no hope for the four modernizations. It must start with the self, and with the leaders taking the initiative. The special privileges and bureaucratic activities of some leadership cadres have caused some people who had hope for the four modernizations to feel discouraged. "The arm cannot twist the leg, and it will do no good to talk about it," sigh some people. "That is just the way society is and there is nothing we can do about it" is the excuse used by some people.

"We just have to see if the leaders have the determination." This is the reason for the enormous reaction to the news that the central Commission for Inspection of Discipline supported the cook in criticizing the minister. The masses are happily running around telling each other: "They really mean business."

After that, a number of comrades heard the news and went to restaurants to pay full cost for meals they had eaten at a discount.

Then everyone everywhere began setting up systems to plug the loopholes that allowed petty advantages be given to "special guests," correcting these dishonest practices.

How encouraging this is!

In the past we have worried about some young people who felt hurt and were disillusioned with this world. Some comrades have even blamed young people for being unreachable with ideological work. Please note how the cook criticizing the minister will move the hearts of the young people who have become disillusioned with this world. Fan Baishun [2868 2672 7311], a young person from Shaoxing in Zhejiang, said in his letter that he had [previously] set guidelines for himself: "Read more, think less and be inconspicuous." After he read about Chen Aiwu, he felt that this was not just "a lot of thunder with a little rain." But he was worried about Chen Aiwu. He had offended a high-ranking cadre of the state, his own immediate supervisor; that was really something! He had never thought that practical action to correct these mistakes would come so fast. The communique of the central Commission for Inspection of Discipline and [Commerce Minister] Wang Lei's personal self-criticism destroyed [Fan's] "guidelines." In the first letter he had ever written to a news agency, he said, "I now believe that if we have the courage to challenge dishonest practices and rely on the party and the people, then and only then will we be able to change the disillusionment of the young people. I hope that many of the young people who are taking part in the debates on the philosophy of life will learn from those who have the courage to join and change the real world, and that they will not just sigh in lament but will go forth and struggle!"

We can see from this that if you want to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism, then you must set yourself up as an example and "start by correcting your own mistakes." By no means can you view special privileges and petty advantages as a trifling matter. Even less can you underestimate the importance of public self-criticism by a minister and his going to the restaurant to pay up his shortages, or the hope, confidence, and strength this gives the people. It is just like another young person said: "This is more effective than the issuing of 100 documents."

Our young people are really worthy of our love and trust. Read a little of what Chen Aiwu had to say and you will really be moved: "To tell the truth, Comrade

Wang Lei has helped me a lot. He is my boss. He has paid attention to my growth and encouraged my progress. When I revealed his mistakes, I was not attacking him personally but was trying to help him. It was not an attack on him individually, but it was done to expose certain leading comrades who practice dishonesty through special privileges. I was practicing my right as a party member through organizational procedures. I was making a stand for carrying out a reform in our system."

We can see from these words that the concept of strict feudal classes has been eliminated and that in its place there is a cadre-masses relationship of a camaraderie, equality, and mutual support and help. The people support their public servants. The public servants require supervision by the people. With such a relationship, we need not worry that evil cannot be corrected. Some comrades cannot get used to the idea of such things as a cook criticizing a minister by name, and they are worried that this sort of "offending higher levels" might incite the masses to dissatisfaction toward the government. This goes to show how difficult it is to rid the mind of old ideas, and it also shows their lack of understanding of the awareness and feelings of the masses after 10 years of enormous hardships. If one's ideology and feelings are widely divorced from those of the masses, then one will see what is clearly a great and good thing as something bad.

This is absolutely something good, and not only because it arouses the faith of the masses toward correcting wrong practices and realizing the four modernizations. Of even greater significance is the fact that it ties in with other things, such as the delegates exercising consultative powers at the National Peoples' Congress, launching a new trend in democracy. It lets us take one more step toward our high goals for socialism and democracy. This typical example makes two things vividly clear to the masses:

1. Every public servant has to accept the supervision of the people. "In our China, people do different kinds of work, but no one is more honorable or more humble than anyone else. No one is a slave, a class lower than anyone else, and no one is a nobleman, a class higher than anyone else. The kind of thinking that one has unlimited privileges is the corrupt philosophy of feudalistic privileges. This kind of thinking must be criticized and corrected." ("Guiding Principles for Political Life Within the Party") To effect a high level of democracy, it is necessary for the people to have the right--and execute that right--to supervise, criticize and appoint and remove public officials.

2. The supervision of public officials, the praising of good deeds, and the criticism of mistakes in the newspapers are necessary means of developing criticism and self-criticism among the people and of establishing proper democratic life. For the past many years the extreme left ideological tide of cruel struggle and heartless attacks sabotaged the excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism in our party. It seemed as if criticism were nothing more than a means of taking care of an enemy. Once someone was criticized by name in a newspaper, then it was a call to topple him, make him stink. If he were not overthrown, however, then even if he made mistakes he could not be criticized. "Respect for the prestige of the office" turned criticism of high-level leadership cadres into even more of a forbidden area. If you were to publicly criticize someone by name, "Comrade, you make a mistake there," he would jump up and say, "Who authorized you to criticize me by name? Why don't you work inside the party first, and then outside the party?" It sounded like his "organizational concept" and "party spirit" were very strong. But how

would these comrades answer if someone were to ask them: "Who authorized you to have special privileges? When you assumed your special privileges, were you thinking of the party or of the bad influence you were having outside the party? Were you thinking of protecting the prestige of the party?"

The setting up of these two lines of defense really is "insurance" for the protection of the prestige of honorable persons. Unfortunately, over a period of time this could lead to the belief that "if you have privileges and do not use them, after a while they will be forfeited." "Just a little won't hurt." No attention will be paid to your "principles." Also, it could lead to "mutual protection and collusion among officials," which could result in its being impossible or difficult to expose special privileges. Public servants would become the masters, and there would be nothing that the people could do about it. The actual situation in China now is not that there is less guarantee for the respectable, but that there are fewer avenues for public supervision of public officials and less guarantee that there will not be victims of retaliation. An education minister in Denmark was publicly criticized and dismissed because he overstepped his authority and wasted public funds. After he had replaced the wasted funds, he gradually regained some leadership duties. If the capitalists can have this sort of democracy, should it not be even better under communists?

Some comrades are afraid that if the people are allowed to criticize leading cadres by name in the paper, it will lead to a lack of organization and a promotion of the "four greats." Democracy is not anarchy. Democracy is orderly, regulated, and organized. 1) Criticism must be in accord with the facts. 2) If criticism is allowed, then rebuttal must be allowed. 3) False accusations must be punished. 4) The handling of cases must be done by the organization: if there has been a violation of party discipline or national laws, then it must be handled by the Commission for Inspection of Discipline and the procuratorate organs. It can thus be seen that the development of criticism in newspapers is something completely different from the irresponsible pasting of big-character posters in the streets. Experiences and lessons in foreign countries and the facts during our 31 years as a nation prove that there are internal conflicts in the societies of socialist nations, too. To keep these conflicts from intensifying, we must go through broad democratic means to alleviate and resolve them. The newspaper is one major democratic avenue that can be used.

If the people's supervision of public servants is to be preserved, then the position and function of the Commission for Inspection of Discipline must be respected. As I see it, it should be a prestigious organ for the maintenance of party discipline and the party's ways of doing things. It should be the equal of the party committee and be at the same level. Both should be generated by elections at the party congress. Stalin once abolished the censorship committee and replaced it with a Ministry of Supervision. As a result it led to the destruction of democracy and an expansion of the elimination of counterrevolutionaries. The histories of the Soviet Union and China prove that even leaders who have long been tempered make big mistakes if they are not supervised by the people. Have these lessons not been painful enough for us? Can we allow any leadership cadre not to be under the supervision of the Commission for Inspection of Discipline, or allow him to brood over the fact that he is being supervised?

If we are to develop modern socialist construction, then politically we should create a democracy that is greater and more solid than that of the capitalist nations. This should be one of the great superiorities manifested by our socialist system. We are living in a period of great changes. Our party is advancing. If we want to create a high degree of democracy, there is a lot more work we have to do. There is a long road we have to travel. But just because of this, we must not cling to established customs and become victims of petrified thought. Democracy, democracy: the basic point is that the people must become the masters of the state. People today are becoming increasingly disgusted with feudalistic practices. They are making increasingly stronger demands for democracy. When they achieve some advance, some breakthrough, some creation, can any communist not be elated? When the great situation develops smoothly along with the desires of the people, how can one "profess fear of what one fears," or ever pour cold water to dampen enthusiasm? Therefore, the good episode of the cook's criticizing the minister by name, which has far-reaching significance, must be praised, must be supported. Now that our party is supported, there is great hope for our cause.

9559
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LENIN'S COLLECTIVE WORK SYSTEM SAID WORTHY OF EMULATION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 80 p 5

[Article by Lin Jizhou [2651 1015 3166]: "How Did Lenin Preside Over Collective Work Conferences?"]

[Text] An important task now facing the party organizations at all levels throughout the country is to strengthen their leadership, and overcome their bureaucratic and dilatory workstyles. To this end, they must put into effect the collective work system, adopt new methods that can help bring every meeting to a successful conclusion, and improve the efficiency of work. Some measures taken by Lenin to speed up the proceedings of the Collective Work Conference when he acted as its chairman are worthy of our emulation.

Lenin was appointed chairman of the People's Council in October 1917 and concurrent chairman of the National Defense Council (renamed National Defense Action Council in 1920) in November 1918, and held these two positions until his death in January 1924. The People's Council and the National Defense Action Council were two collective leadership organs. The former was the supreme state executive organ and the latter was charged with overseeing the national defense affairs, coordinating and directing the activities of various ministries under the direct leadership of the former. In the "resolution concerning the establishment of the worker-peasant government," drafted by Lenin in November 1917, he called the collective leadership the principle of the highest order for the Soviet government. In his December 1918 draft of "the regulations concerning the administration of the Soviet organs," Lenin further stipulated: "All administrative problems facing the Soviet organs must be resolved through collective discussion; the Soviet government must clearly specify responsibility for all its staff members. This regulation must be put into effect immediately so that an efficient supervising system can be truly set up and the most qualified people can be selected and appointed to various posts." Lenin's guiding thought can be summed up this way: Is it necessary to discuss problems collectively, and specify responsibility for everyone in public service.

When Lenin was their chairman, the People's Council and the National Defense Action Council often brought up their problems for discussion at their Collective Work Conference, and decisions could be adopted by a majority vote before being submitted to their chairman for a signing into law. If the chairman did not agree with the decisions adopted by the majority vote at the Collective Work Conference, he had two options open to him: send them to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (equivalent to our NPC Standing Committee) or the Central Politburo for reconsideration. If they were approved by the two organizations, the chairman had no other alternative but to sign them into law. These were regulations which were consistently observed by Lenin. He never made any decision on major policy matters without going through collective discussion, nor interfered in the affairs of other offices which were beyond the power delegated to him by the laws governing the operation of the executive branch of the government. Lenin felt that acting this way could avoid mistakes and confusion in the government, giving the collective leadership members due respect. For example, when the acting director of the General Fuel Control Bureau wrote a letter to Lenin on 22 Feburary 1922, seeking his approval of a rider to the budget of the Coal and Water Resources Development Bureau or an alternative proposal for its retrenchment, Lenin sternly said: this action was initiated by a person unfamiliar with the rudimentary regulations regarding the government operations, a request for such actions should be submitted to the People's Council for approval instead of its chairman. Lenin consistently upheld the collective work system. During the early stage of the Soviet government, it had no administrative experiences. At that time, all matters, both significant and insignificant, were brought to the attention of the People's Council, which was in turn forced to meet almost daily from 8 pm to 1 or 2 am. On its daily agenda were several scores of problems that needed to be urgently solved. To change this situation, the People's Council adopted regulations governing the proceedings of each meeting as suggested by Lenin. When the state began to shift the emphasis of its work to the economic construction in 1921, as a result of the implementation of these regulations, all meetings were reduced to the minimum; regular plenary sessions of the People's Council and the National Defense Action Council were held only once a week, with the exception of the emergency meetings; each meeting was not permitted to exceed 4 hours (which later were cut to 2 hours on Lenin's recommendation). According to statistics tabulated from 1921 to 1922, the People's Council met 5 times a month on average and could solve at least 10 problems at each meeting; the National Defense Action Council met 8 times a month on average and could solve at least 22 problems at each meeting. This indicated that the Collective Work Conference chaired by Lenin had a reputation for high efficiency. Lenin usually attached great importance to the pre-meeting preparations. The regulations governing the preparation of agenda for each meeting drafted by Lenin stipulate: Each People's Council member is required to submit a written request for putting his proposal on the agenda of the next scheduled meeting along with a brief statement of its content attached with necessary reference information and accompanied by written statements from its other cosponsors. When the agenda was completed, it should be distributed to participants not later than 24 hours before each meeting was convened. Lenin often had high respect for other People's Council members' opinions. To enable them to get acquainted with what was to take place at the coming meeting, he would like to carefully pore over the agenda item by item and then added his own opinions to it for their benefit. In the event of too much to be read, Lenin would underline the most important portion of the agenda and instruct them to go over it carefully. If he encountered any item that needed clarification, he would personally summon its sponsor for a face-to-face discussion. In the case of a problem that involved several units, he would advise them to schedule a pre-collective work conference meeting to thrash it out and come up with a common proposal, so as to prevent them from dragging their feet and passing the buck during the conference, thus delaying the search for a solution to the problem. A typical example was the problem of how to prepare to meet the needs of major textile mills in the Ivanovo-Voznesensk region on the agenda of the People's Council session scheduled for 12 April 1921. Before the session, Lenin personally met a delegation from that region in order to acquaint himself with the general situation there. Later, he suggested that nine central organs concerned with the textile industry meet with visiting comrades from there so that they could work out specific assistance measures and figure out how much financial aid, fuel, equipment and food were needed in developing the textile industry. As a result of this thoughtful preparation, the draft proposal for the development of the textile industry in the Ivonovo-Voznesensk region quickly passed the floor of the People's Council following a minor revision. In the event of a dispute, Lenin would first like to hear out opinions from both sides. When confronted with the important policy-matters concerning finance, economics, science and technology, he would first hand them over to a special committee for study before seeking advice from individual scientists and specialists. Before matters of prime importance were listed on the agenda, he would repeatedly exchange views with related individual colleagues by correspondence or through face-to-face meetings. In this way, the situation of endless discussion without decision could be avoided; decisions that take into account actual needs could be quickly made.

To shorten the meeting time, the People's Council adopted the "regulations governing the convention of the People's Council" specifically drafted by Lenin. Included in the regulations were specific requirements for bringing each meeting to a successful conclusion, and the specific length of time allowed each speaker in the meeting. This set of regulations was strictly observed by Lenin in all meetings chaired by him. In discussing problems, Lenin made it a rule that everyone would speak within the length of time allowed and not beyond. At each meeting, he always laid before him a watch for monitoring the length of time each speaker was allowed. He always urged his colleagues in meetings to express their views in a clear and laconical way so as to avoid wasting time. In other words, all meetings chaired by Lenin were tightly scheduled.

The members of the collective leadership were niether omnipotent nor omniscient. For this reason, the People's Council and the National Defense Action Council often invited representatives of other state organs, specialists, scholars and other experienced and professional workers to their collective work conferences so that they could pool their wisdom to help solve problems. When a proposal was put to vote, only the People's Council members (or alternate members) had voting rights. As soon as the discussion of one problem was over, persons not involved in the upcoming discussions would normally be asked to leave the meeting.

Although Lenin placed strict demands on others, he cherished the democratic work-style. As a leader and good listener who never considered his views final, Lenin always encouraged others in meetings to feel free to debate him and to express their views without reservations. People attending meetings chaired by Lenin never felt ill at ease with him because he could enlighten them to fresh ideas which merited further discussions. Lenin welcomed clear, accurate and elucidative statements of facts and statistic figures and positive suggestions while opposing pointless, ambiguous, ambivalent and meaningless rhetorics. As a matter of principle, Lenin never forgave inexcusable mistakes. Whenever he heard anyone deliver a good speech full of valuable suggestions, instead of summing it up in his own terms as every other chairman normally did at the end of each speech, Lenin would ask the speaker to repeat it once more so that the stenographer could take it down accurately as reference. In short, Lenin always urged those who attended the Collective Work Conference to freely and fully express their views so that they could come up with some realistic decisions based on careful analysis.

Lenin emphasized that the collective leadership should be adopted as a method for overseeing the state affairs. But he also pointed out: "Any overstatement and distortion of the collective leadership system may result in dilatory and irresponsible workstyles and may turn collective leadership organs into places of aimless talks. This negative aspect of the collective leadership which is bound to have a bad effect on society should be eliminated as soon as possible at any price." Lenin never stopped urging the collective leadership to specify responsibility for everyone in government service at all times and under all circumstances. He also wanted to specify responsibility for leading cadres and other lower level personnel in every state organ so that no one could pass the buck around. He advised that problems that could be resolved by the lower level authorities should not be submitted to the People's Council and the Central Politburo for solution. In May 1922, Lenin received a telegram addressed to the Politburo for approval. That telegram was a reply to an inquiry from two Russian negotiators overseas about the quantities of fuel and scrap iron involved in the trade and lend-lease agreement under negotiation. After reading that telegram, Lenin told Stalin: "This telegram should not be addressed to the Politburo for approval in the first place. The Soviet government regulations should be observed in handling similar problems in the future. This telegram should be signed and sent by two vice chairmen of the People's Council and chairman or vice chairman of the Lend-Lease Committee and director of the General Fuels Bureau, who can verify whether the figures involved are accurate or not, and who can make sure whether this instruction to the two negotiators follows the Soviet laws and Soviet government regulations. It is their duty to check out this telegram. For this reason, I refuse to sign it." In Lenin's opinion, the party organizations should refrain from directly interfering in the affairs of the government and economic organizations which should do everything possible in their power to solve their own problems.

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HU QIAOMU ON IMPORTANT ROLE OF JOURNALISTS

Beijing XINWEN ZHANXIAN [NEWS FRONT] in Chinese No 4, Apr 80 pp 2-9

["Comrade Hu Qiaomu's [5170 0829 2606] Speech at the Inaugural Meeting of the Beijing Journalists Association, 6 February 1980"]

[Text] Members of the senior generation in journalistic work, colleagues in journalistic work, comrades, and comrades-in-arms present:

Comrade An Gang [1344 1511] has just mentioned that the inauguration of the Beijing Journalists Association at this time is a propitious occasion in the 30-year history of our journalistic circles. Let me first of all extend my congratulations on the establishment of the Journalists Association. The date of this inauguration happens to be the eve of the first spring festival in the first spring of the 1980's. Let me wish all comrades present good health and good work!

Not long ago, before the establishment of this Journalists Association, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered an important speech. Part of that speech touched upon journalistic work; other parts of the speech also were closely related to journalistic work. Therefore, the date for the establishment of the Journalists Association was very timely and well selected, and this indicates that the work of the Journalists Association is definitely likely to develop forward smoothly, as everyone wishes.

I have had some ties with journalistic work. But, honestly, I should say that I am not a formal journalist. After joining the revolution, I ran a little tabloid in Peiping. This little tabloid could not be considered a formal newspaper. But from that period of work, I gained some experience. Running to and from the printing plant frequently, I came to know what editing and typesetting were all about, and what proofreading and printing were all about. After that, I also ran a similar little tabloid in Shanghai. Apart from these [experiences], what I have done has been only indirectly related to journalistic work. Therefore, when you want me to serve as honorary president of the Journalists Association, to give me this honor, I really do not feel equal to it. There are many members of the senior generation present; they are the real pioneers in China's journalistic enterprises. It is they who have participated in pioneering journalistic enterprises or in the pioneering enterprises of revolutionary journalistic work, progressive journalistic work. I wish to learn from them.

Now, let us skip superfluous words in this regard. Since you have conferred upon me this incongruous honor and want me to speak a few words, let me just say a few words about my hopes in respect to journalistic work that come to my mind.

In his own speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically mentioned the question of stability and unity and leadership of the party. When he talked about stability and unity, he also mentioned the role of journalistic work. In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping hoped that our newspapers and journals would become the ideological center contributing to the stability and unity of our entire state and entire society. I think this is a very important matter that lies before us. What I wish to talk about in terms of my hopes in respect to our present journalistic work is namely how to put into effect satisfactorily the call that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has issued to us.

Since we wish to work on the four modernizations, we must have a political environment of stability and unity. Why would stability and unity constitute a problem? This is because there are still certain factors of instability and disunity prevailing in our society; certain factors of instability and disunity still exist in the thinking of part of the people. All action takes place under the guidance of a definite kind of thinking. I remember that in Gorkiy's recollection of the situation after Lenin encountered an assassination attempt, when Gorkiy went to see him Lenin had this to say: Everyone takes action according to his thinking. This means that no matter how bad the person who made the assassination attempt on Lenin might be, she followed her own thinking in carrying out such a base, vicious act. Therefore, in wishing our state, our society, to make continued progress in the process of the four modernizations and to advance a thousand li each day, as everyone wishes, if we fail to make efforts to solve the question of stability and unity in our thinking, and hence let certain factors hampering stability and unity continue to become a kind of serious problem, then we are bound to encounter difficulties. Our work will not be smooth. And when we cannot smoothly arrive at our expected destination, many more problems will arise. People will argue: Why are we making such slow progress right now? They will argue that it is because of these reasons or those reasons, etc. Therefore, in hoping for the realization of the four modernizations, in hoping for the rapid, smooth realization of the four modernizations, we cannot but emphatically consider the need for a political situation of stability and unity, as well as the need to lay the ideological foundation for such a political situation.

The 10-year history of the Cultural Revolution has already taught us a very agonizing lesson. But for part of our comrades, for part of the people and part of the youths in society, this lesson did not seem agonizing enough. Some even think that they should still go on denying everything as they did in the past, forming certain factions, and continuing to carry out activities against the leadership of the party. Among these people are first of all various forms of remnants of the "gang of four" who in certain places still constitute a force detrimental to stability and unity that should not be underestimated. But generally speaking, this segment of people have a rather limited influence on journalists. Or we should say that comrades in our journalistic circles maintain a high degree of vigilance toward them and have achieved great results in struggling against them in the past few years. On the other hand, there are people who are forming small factions of various kinds; although they are not remnants of the "gang of four," they actually also advocate "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," and while some among them even oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat, they nevertheless advocate continued revolution. I think all comrades present will probably agree that this slogan of the so-called "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" is rather preposterous. Everybody knows that it was proposed by that adviser; he belongs to the same company as the "gang of four," and he is one of those who committed serious crimes against the Chinese revolution. Proposing this slogan is itself a crime. Today, for some people, the people we have just mentioned--those who have not yet learned the lesson they should have from the 10 years of sabotage--this problem is still not solved. Do you wish to realize the four modernizations? In those people's eyes, the present leaders are incapable of guiding the four modernizations. Then what is going to be done? [In their view,] this requires a change of this leadership; this requires "continued revolution." Various principles, various systems, and various leading organs must all be appraised anew, debated anew, and begun anew. If you oppose this, then you are opposing democracy. The number of these people is very small; but their capability cannot be considered very small. They have created an important ideological trend of instability and disunity, and the views and attitudes of our journalistic workers toward this ideological trend are not necessarily entirely consistent. Therefore, I wish to say a few more words on this.

Comrade Xiaoping has said that we must not underestimate this group of people. Really, we really must not underestimate them. Although their number is very small, they have many characteristics: They are organized. Their organizations are secret. These secret organizations of theirs are in turn connected with one another throughout the country. They also have pertinent programs and "theories." Although the programs and "theories" of various organizations are not all the same, many in fact are the same. For the realization of this [common] program, they also have various strategies. Also, they continue to study and adopt different strategies according to different situations. These people are not entirely isolated in society; there is a fairly large number of people who harbor sympathy toward them or who even support them, even though such people may not understand, or not entirely understand, their internal situation.

Our society has undergone great changes; our socialist cause has undergone great vicissitudes. Even though today, as Comrade Xiaoping said in the beginning portion of his report, we have already achieved great progress in the past 3 years, not all people perceive such progress, understand such progress, or acknowledge such progress. Nor do all people know that the realization of every step of such progress has taken great struggle and plenty of hard work. Of course, 3 years are a short period of time, and it is impossible to accomplish many things within such a short period of time. Also, the situation during these 3 years has been so complicated that under the circumstances, nobody could have avoided making this or that kind of mistake. We cannot say that our work during these 3 years has always been correct and has satisfied everyone. This is impossible. Furthermore, our work during these 3 years has of course not been sufficient to make all people in society remove the doubts, disappointments, and dissatisfaction caused by the vicissitudes we experienced during the past 10 years. It is not easy to remove the lack of confidence, the doubts, and the dissatisfaction that all kinds of people in society have harbored toward our socialist cause on various grounds. We need a much longer period of time, we need to do a lot more work, and we need to achieve many more results. Unquestionably, such a day will come. By that time, an overwhelming majority of people and an overwhelming majority of youths in our society, not to mention an overwhelming majority of communists and journalists, are bound to be able to remove the doubts, disappointments, and dissatisfactions that have occurred in the past. They will sense anew that in our state, in our social life, all aspects are full of hope, and an overwhelming majority of people are bound to have full confidence in the future. Our problem today is that we have not yet reached that day. Today, some difficulties, some problems, some things that dissatisfy and disappoint people still exist. Of course there will be such things any day, but there happen to be more of them today. This causes stability and unity to become a serious problem.

I have just spoken of this problem in a relatively large realm. But this is still not enough. We must observe the factors of instability and disunity which exist in our society and in our politics; we must see the still larger realm.

We often hear comrades with these kinds of questions, who say: Since we say that our socialist society has already eliminated the classes, yet at the same time we also say that in a certain area class struggle still exists, how can these two statements go together? Is this not a contradiction in logic? Let us not bother for the time being about whether or not this constitutes a contradiction in logic. But first of all, this is a fact. It is not because, since we have talked about class struggle for many years in the past, we have to continue to talk about it, so that even though the way we say it now is different, it will not seem to do if we refrain from mentioning it completely. This is not the case at all; this is an objective fact. In our society, the exploitative class as a class really no longer exists. But our country must have relations, many kinds of relations, with many other countries, many capitalist countries. The scale of such relations today is something that we had never reached since the founding of our state, and it is going to develop further from now on. These relations are going to penetrate and influence various realms of our social life continuously. They of course are also going to influence the remnants of some old classes in our society. And in our country, there are still certain special conditions. For instance, Taiwan is China's territory; do classes not still exist on Taiwan? Hong Kong and Macao are also China's territory; do classes not still exist there? The exploitative classes in those places are not just remnants, but still constitute a class which is engaged in exploitation; those classes also have various kinds of relations with us. Along with the passage of time, these relations will also become more and more numerous. Take Tibet, as another example: a group of people escaped from Tibet; this group of people was organized. They have not disappeared; they still exist. They are having these and those kinds of relations with our state, different kinds of relations. Therefore, when we say that in our country the exploitative class no longer exists as a class, what we are saying here does not necessarily include places like Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao. These places are not within the realm of our control right now. Those groups wandering abroad are also of this nature. Of course, we are not saying that people of these exploitative classes are all opposed to socialism, but neither can we say that all of them will accept socialism. All of the above is what we cannot help but consider when we talk about our country's classes.

Around our mainland are deployed various kinds of espionage organizations. The Kuomintang's espionage organizations exist not only on Taiwan, nor just on Quemoy and Matsu, nor just in Hong Kong and Macao, but similarly in the border areas beyond Yunnan and Tibet, and they are active every day. They are engaged in a life-and-death struggle against our state, against our socialist system, against our socialism, and against our people. How it be said that there is no class struggle? What else can this be if it is not class struggle?

Even in terms of domestic conditions, we cannot help but acknowledge that class struggle still continues to exist from various different sources and in various remnant forms, and there is a certain degree of relationship between them. We cannot say that all class struggles are interrelated, but neither can we say that they are not interrelated at all. In the case of certain secret groups, they declare that they have established this party, that party, or this association, that association. But among them, there actually are such groups, and certain people thereof not only carry on certain exchanges with all kinds of people from capitalist countries who enjoy legitimate positions in Beijing, but some of these exchanges are not so legitimate. And, they are also interrelated with some of the espionage organizations in Taiwan, Hong Kong, or others in areas beyond our border. Of course, such problems do not exist among certain people among these organizations, but they too are related to the above-mentioned people. Up to now, they still have not cut their ties with those counterrevolutionary and antisocialist elements, be they Chinese or foreign, whether or not in each case they themselves have understood such relations. Certain people among them are secretly plotting terrorist activities, and sharp class struggle is taking place between these people and the vast ranks of people in the whole country. This is something that any person who is willing to objectively treat and understand this world cannot help but acknowledge.

As has been observed above, there are historical conditions, there is a historical basis, which turn stability and unity into a problem. The fact that we are struggling for stability and unity is also a task put to us by history. Stability and unity are not something that can be advanced in any society, under any historical conditions. In a capitalist society, or in the class society before capitalism, no problem of stability and unity existed. In those societies there could be no stability, let alone unity. In other developmental stages of socialism, or in its future stage of higher development—communist society—such a problem of stability and unity is still less likely to arise. It is in the present specific historical conditions that we are confronting such a problem. This is objective reality which confronts us. We cannot but acknowledge the existence of such a problem, and it must be solved. Our comrades pursuing journalistic work especially cannot help but see, acknowledge, consider, study, and treat such reality as properly as we can in our work. These factors of instability and disunity have of course come to be greatly reduced, compared to 30 years ago or still earlier. But they still cannot be belittled or underestimated. As I have just said, in the past 3 years we have done not just a little work; but can we hope to cure all the wounds left over by history on the basis of the work of these 3 years? It cannot be done, has not been done, and is not yet possible. Once there is a wound, it can well become a factor of instability and disunity. If germs and poisons have set in, that would be still more of a foregone conclusion.

If our newspapers, journals—and in this regard, newspapers are even more important than journals—do not calmly and comprehensively consider this situation, consider how we should cope with this situation, then it is inevitable that some errors are going to appear in our work. Hence, this problem is worth studying. In attempting to solve this problem, we are not going to avoid it in a negative way, but we must first of all strengthen the forces of stability and unity in our society in a positive way. The Party Central Committee has declared many times that we have basically realized a political situation of stability and unity and liveliness; we must first consolidate and develop this situation, and especially consolidate and develop this situation ideologically. Comrade Xiaoping's report suggested that our newspapers and journals--what he meant was the party's newspapers and journals--should become the ideological center for realizing stability and unity. How to achieve this goal? Can this goal be achieved? Are we capable of undertaking this task? We are completely capable and definitely capable. Our newspapers and journals will definitely become the ideological center for consolidating the political situation of stability and unity and liveliness, as the Party Central Committee has hoped and called for, and they will also further promote the development of this political situation of stability and unity and liveliness.

In order for our newspapers and journals to accomplish such a task, many things need to be done. Right now I am thinking of making this wish--that we should seriously study a little, systematically propagate some of the foundations, bases, for stability and unity in our socialist society in a planned way and on a long-range basis. Once the ideological perception of the people throughout the whole country and of the youths throughout the whole country becomes consistent, many factors of instability and disunity will disappear. Not all the factors, of course; as I have just said, this is predicated on all kinds of factors, and some are factors which the strength of our newspapers and journals cannot eliminate. But no one shall underestimate our strength. If some of the factors of instability and disunity cannot be underestimated, then our own strength can still less be underestimated.

How is it that our socialist society can achieve stability and unity while a capitalist society cannot? This is first of all because our socialism is built on the basis of the fundamental consistency of the interests of all the people, or of almost all citizens. We have common interests and common consequences; that is to say, we not only have common interests, but we also have common dangers. We need to explain this point fully in our newspapers and journals. The interests of this part of our people and that part of our people are interrelated and basically consistent, apart from the bad elements. The interests of our people and our government, of our people and our party, and of our people and our army are basically consistent. Although certain minor contradictions have occurred, and there still are and will continue to be such minor contradictions, these do not hamper our basic consistency. This is something we can never overlook, and we must absolutely not weaken our propagation to our whole society sharing such common interests. Therefore, even when we wish to expose certain contradictions, if those contradictions must be exposed, then they will not weaken such propagation with regard to the consistency of our interests, either. This is because we have common interests, and these interests are of a fundamental nature of interests which govern not only our today but also our tomorrow as well as our future--our very, very distant future.

Our society has common ideals; this is also something a capitalist society is incapable of having. So-called ideals are namely pursuits of our future interests, our future common interests. Not only must our interests today be pursued and realized, but we must also pursue our future interests and make up our minds to realize them. In this way, our society is bound to have common ideals. Such ideals on our part are realizable; they have a scientific basis. That is to say, the realization of such ideals is inevitable; hence we also have common beliefs.

The fact that we have common beliefs and confidence includes both the present and the future. When speaking of belief, people often mean the future more than they do the present. If some people do not have enough belief in the future, then at least we ourselves, all our journalistic workers, all our revolutionaries must have such belief, and our belief in this regard is unshakable. Only thus can we persuade others. Some of our friends, some of our comrades, have sometimes said something like this: "I just don't have confidence." I wish these comrades would refrain from saying anything like that. Saying such a thing is spreading a kind of influence and spreading a kind of thinking, and it is bound to arouse a chain reaction. "Even so-and-so said he did not have any confidence," so then how could he make others have confidence? During the 4 May period, Lu Xun wrote in the "Improvisations" section of XIN QING NIAN [THE NEW YOUTH] expressing the hope that our youths would all have full confidence, eliminate the atmosphere of coldness and [encourage the idea] where there is a ray of warmth, there is a ray of light, and refrain from spreading the atmosphere of lacking confidence. It is harmful to spread such an atmosphere of lacking confidence; it may even be said to be immoral! This especially is not in accord with Communist Party members' revolutionary morality! Because it hinders the efforts of all of us; it hinders the common struggle of the people of our entire country for the realization of the cause of our modernization. If people have an opinion about something or about some person, then by all means present it. They can present it through all kinds of means, but do not let them spread this atmosphere of lacking confidence.

Because we have common interests, common ideals, and common beliefs, we therefore also have common moral standards. I have just said that spreading the atmosphere of lacking confidence may be said to be a violation of our present moral standards. We have many moral standards, and they do not of course mean one single thing. Our moral standards have been subject to sabotage, but they are being restored. For example, some time ago it was reported in the press that when a student at middle school No 108 fell in icy water, three comrades from the Liberation Army and several worker comrades all rushed forward to rescue him, and the rescue was successful. The teachers of middle school No 108 also exerted themselves to a certain extent in this matter. But at the time some people really did certain things they should not have done and said certain things they should not have said. But after reading this report, I still felt a kind of consolation. When some students said, "Members of the Liberation Army, the time for you to establish merits has arrived," or when they told the workers, "Perhaps you are thinking of joining the party," their attitude was wrong. But they also inadvertently acknowledged this premise: they acknowledged that the Liberation Army is the true defender of the interests of the people; they acknowledged that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the people. Therefore, even though they were but backward students, they still acknowledged these two points. Hence, I cannot say that our society today no longer has common moral standards, or that such standards have all fallen to the ground. Our moral standards are being restored, and everyone's effort is required. Yesterday's RENMIN RIBAO published a news item which indicated that Zhang Bin [1728 2430], the director of a factory in Qiqihar, was dismissed from party membership. A report in RENMIN RIBAO had prompted the disposal of this matter. RENMIN RIBAO's report was correct; Qiqihar's treatment of Zhang Bin was also correct. This shows that our society is undergoing changes, really undergoing changes every day. Even though such changes do not take place fast enough and need to be prompted every day, we must first of all acknowledge that our society is changing daily in the right direction, and our moral standards are also daily recovering their strength. I hope all our journalistic workers can come forward to propagate this kind of common morality. Our newspapers have already done no small amount of work; what I am saying today is that I hope we not only can report many things but also can discuss and prove them logically, ideologically, and theoretically.

Since we have common interests, common ideals, common beliefs, and common morality, this also leads to our having common action and common struggle. Without what I have just said, a society can have common actions. We cannot say that a capitalist society does not have common action; nor can we say that there is no common action in a factory run by capitalists, because their factory sometimes acts even better then ours. But what I term common action is different from the common action that takes place in a capitalist society, because we act on the basis of common interests and for common goals. This means not just action in a small arena, but common action in the entire society, and this is something that cannot be realized or achieved in a capitalist country or in a country prior to capitalism. The reason why we can act together and why ours is a very effective kind of common action is because we have common leadership. In other countries, in capitalist countries, it is impossible to have this kind of common leadership. Sometimes, for example during the Second World War, we cannot say that Roosevelt did not lead the entire United States to struggle against fascism. But this kind of common leadership cannot be mentioned in the same vein as our common leadership. Our kind of common leadership penetrates all realms of our social life. It is possible that today in some corners this kind of common leadership is still not realized or not correctly and fully realized, but this by no means negates our common leadership. Our common leadership was sabotaged during the Cultural Revolution period, and sabotaged in a most serious way; but at that time the people still acknowledged in their minds the authority and power of this kind of common leadership. They therefore cherished this kind of common leadership and made efforts to restore this kind of common leadership; this was what led to the Tiananmen Incident. The Tiananmen Incident did not occur in order to sabotage our common leadership but to rebuild this kind of common leadership. When people cherished Comrade Zhou Enlai, they cherished not just him personally but also his cause, the party to which he dedicated himself, and the principles he followed throughout his life. Apart from these things, why should the people cherish Premier Zhou Enlai? If Comrade Zhou Enlai had not been a communist, if he had not been an outstanding leader of the Chinese Communist Party, if he had not struggled all his life according to the principles of the party and the principles of communism, then how could we explain the fact that he was cherished by the people? How could we explain the Tiananmen Incident? If some people wave the banner of the Tiananmen Incident but insist on opposing the leadership of the Communist Party, wish to dissolve the authority of the Communist Party in the minds of the people, and wish to stop the people from advancing toward the goals of struggle put forward by the party, then these people are practicing deception. They are not propagating the Tiananmen Incident but slandering it.

The reason our socialist society is powerful is because, just as we have said, it has so many common things; only on the basis of this consisten can there be common leadership. Even though this kind of common leadership was sabotaged during the

Cultural Revolution period, it has already been restored, and restored very well; it is acting and working very effectively. Today, the thinking of our party's leaders is very liberal. We must emancipate our thinking; this is not in any way a contradiction with our need to unite around the Party Central Committee, nor should there be any such contradiction. If some persons should forcibly create some contradiction, then this does not mean emancipating our thinking but, it may be said, it means casting our ideology with the liberalism of the bourgeoisie and becoming its slaves.

Our people have common action, common leadership, and common discipline. Discipline can be interpreted differently in different areas. To citizens of the whole country, this means the law; to the party, the Youth Corps, or other revolutionary organizations, it is called discipline; in some other areas, it may be said to be a kind of common norm of behavior. In a word, because we have such disciplinary rules under which we can carry out common action under a common leadership for a common goal, we not only have common moral norms, but such moral norms are materialized through the discipline of the common organization. It is in manner that the august power of socialism, to which nothing else in human history is comparable, is structured. Therefore, our socialist society has its superiority; our socialist society can advance faster than capitalism, and it is definitely going to be faster than it. We cannot reach the conclusion that socialism is not as good as capitalism just because we see in some aspects, and at some times, that capitalism advances faster and that socialism, in these same aspects and at these same times, advances slower. This is simply not the case. Socialism is still very young; during the course of its growth, it has suffered many hardships and gone down many tortuous roads. But even so, socialism as a whole still develops faster than capitalism. Today, socialism has not yet reached the level of the developed capitalist countries in many aspects--technology, labor productivity, and management. This is first of all because our point of departure has been too backward, too low. At the same time, it is also because, apart from the mistakes we have committed, many things which we should learn have still not been learned. But we are bound to learn them, and after we have learned them we of course are going to advance even faster. In some years in the past, the capitalist world has made certain faster advances. Comrade Huan Xiang [1360 6763] has interpreted this by saying that West Europe is already past its golden era. Not only is this the case with West Europe, but the entire capitalist is now experiencing a crisis; the spread of its development has already been reduced; and at present it is still not easy for it to find a way to escape that crisis. Many economists in capitalist countries also foresee that even after it gets out of the present crisis, the speed of development of capitalism will not be very fast. Therefore, we cannot harbor skepticism toward socialism just because some countries at some times in the past have enjoyed faster development whereas, in contrast, certain misfortunes have occurred in our own socialist state.

Comrades who have joined the Journalists Association! You are the guides of public opinion in society. Public opinion in society depends on comrades present today for its guidance. We hope that, through the comrades who have joined the Journalists Association—comrades working on revolutionary newspapers and journals and progressive newspapers and journals, we can all work together to propagate socialism's various kinds of superiority which capitalism is incapable of possessing. Our state has undergone difficulties, and today it still faces difficulties;

our comrades present must genuinely unite around the Party Central Committee and help the Party Central Committee quickly overcome such difficulties. The weapons in the possession of our comrades are all very powerful, and our comrades are very good at using the weapons in their hands. Therefore, as long as our comrades are determined to do so, are determined to do a good job of propagating these fundamental, essential strongpoints possessed by our socialist society--our society with its common interests, common ideals, common beliefs, common morality, common action, common leadership, and common discipline--then we should be in a position to make a very great contribution to the stability and unity of the whole society, and to greatly reduce certain factors of instability and disunity which still exist in our society.

After we have discussed so many common things, would there be a problem arising in our minds like this: All this being so, are we not going back to the days of "uniform public opinion"? Are we not going to lose our "freedom of expression"? Are we not going to be deprived of our "double-hundred principle"? Are we not going to lose our liveliness? This problem does exist among some of our comrades. In conclusion, therefore, we need to speak a few more words about this problem.

It is not that "uniform public opinion" is not needed in any sense. If by "uniform public opinion" we mean that uniformity is required in discussing any problem, any specific thing, then that would be inappropriate, impossible, not in accordance with the principles of socialism, and not in compliance with the requirements of socialism. But we cannot advance from this to the other extreme and think that public opinion in our socialist state, in our socialist society, should not be uniform on any problem and in any sense. For example, is socialism better or capitalism better, after all? Should China insist upon socialism or should she not, after all? For the sake of building socialism and for the realization of the four modernizations, do we or do we not need the leadership of the party, after all? If anyone thinks that on problems like these we should not have uniform public opinion, then from my point of view that kind of thinking is not correct. On fundamental questions such as these, we are in fact "uniform." Precisely because of this, we are powerful. If we were not uniform even on these questions, then our steps would be confused. Some would be going east, some west, some south and some north, and our rank and file would not be able to march forward. Then we would not be able to unify our forces into a consistent body and speed toward our common destination; we would become split into fragments and could accomplish nothing.

Does the "freedom of expression" we advocate include counterrevolutionary freedom of expression? According to Article 102 of the Criminal Law passed by the National People's Congress last year, if someone calls for the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship or opposition to the socialist system by way of posters, handbills, or other forms, he should be sentenced to 3 or more years' imprisonment. This is listed in the section on "counterrevolutionary" crimes. This means that, according to the Criminal Law passed by the National People's Congress, there is no freedom to proclaim counterrevolution. The view that proclaiming counterrevolution may also enjoy freedom is erroneous! Our newspapers should not publish such erroneous expressions and especially should not defend such erroneous views!

One opinion suggests that counterrevolutionary expressions should be allowed to be published freely. "You can debate with them! Why not refute counterrevolutionary views with revolutionary views?" This suggestion seems to "sound reasonable," but this "reasoning" is not the reasoning of the proletariat and not the reasoning of Marxism; it is the reasoning of the bourgeois. If we were to let counterrevolutionary expressions spread freely and then seek to offset them with revolutionary expressions, this would, by analogy, be like allowing someone to commit arson and then dispatching the fire brigade to fight the fire. If this can be the case, and there are 100 persons setting fires, how many fire brigades should we have? How many people must join this kind of work? Take another example: If 100 persons spread 1,000 rumors in one day, how many people would we require in order to clearly investigate the facts related to those rumors and then declare that they are rumors and not facts? How much time would be needed for this? Perhaps even 10,000 persons spending 10 days would not be sufficient. Nay, before old rumors are cleared away, new rumors may be forthcoming; however hard you may work, your efforts would not suffice. In addition, even if you succeeded in correcting the rumors, how could you get all those who have heard the rumors to listen to your corrections and to believe your corrections? Therefore, for the sake of enabling our state to have sufficient strength and to concentrate this strength for the realization of the four modernizations, we cannot grant freedom to counterrevolutionary expressions. Our society is not a park where you can say things this way and someone else can say things that way, and after that nothing would happen, no flowers would be injured, no grass would be injured, no trees would be injured, and everyone would leave the park and go home. This is absolutely not the case. We absolutely cannot waste so much time and consume so much energy on such kinds of problems. Therefore I think the prescription of our Criminal Law is correct in this regard; we cannot grant freedom to counterrevolutionary expressions. That would be of benefit to none of us except those counterrevolutionary elements. In order to prove that our revolution is just, that socialism is just, and that socialism is superior to capitalism, we do not need to invite a number of people and let them proclaim that socialism is no good, that capitalism is good; and then refute them one by one. If we really proceeded this way, then it would be very difficult for our society to achieve stability and unity; nor would it be easy for us to give full scope to the superiority of socialism. Our country is very backward. The reason we are able to have certainty and confidence that we will catch up with the capitalist countries in a relatively short period (so-called relatively short is of course not very short) is because we have this kind of superiority which the capitalist countries cannot have. This being so, we certainly should not abandon our superiority or any part of it. We should not prove the superiority of socialism by adopting the method of granting freedom of counterrevolutionary speech.

We must propagate the superiority of our socialism. We call upon the people of the whole country to proceed with our common action on the basis of our common interests, for the sake of our common ideals, under our common leadership, and according to our common morality and common discipline. Only thus can we attain our goals and attain them relatively speedily. Otherwise, we will remain backward. Carrying out such a policy and propagating such a policy will not hinder our liveliness. The liveliness we demand is socialist liveliness--the kind of liveliness over which we need not debate with counterrevolutionary elements. Although we are sometimes forced to carry out such a debate, we do not expect to demonstrate our superiority in this regard, because we need to do too many things. We cannot waste our time on this. Hence, it is my hope that after this Journalists Association is thus established, it will be able to follow the principles put forward by Comrade Xiaoping in his report, unite, and give full play to the august revolutionary power of the weapon of journalism that is in our hands. Our cause is just; we are bound to be victorious. Thank you, everyone.

9255
CSO: 4005

CASES OF MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE DISCLOSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 80 p 5

[Article by Cui Min [1508 2404]: "Violations of Law Must Be Investigated"]

[Text] Newspapers recently reported rulings on a number of cadres charged with violating law and discipline. Although the majority of the cases were handled properly, justice was not done to a few others. For example, some of the cadres who were found guilty of committing crimes were disciplined by the party and government actions but not tried by the court in accordance with the due process of law. The masses have complained that the punishment meted out to them seemed too light, saying that "handling criminal cases this way is a miscarriage of justice, which will incur the great wrath of the masses and will make the evil spirit prevail over righteousness." Such complaints from the masses have brought to light this sharp question: What should be done to preserve the dignity of the legal system and truly make all people equal before the law? This question should be dealt with seriously rather than lightly.

Disciplinary action and penal arrangement have nothing in common. The former is only a warning or an admonition to those who committed a misdemeanor, while the latter is a punitive action against law-offenders. Since few can entirely avoid making mistakes, it has long been our party's policy to permit people to commit and correct mistakes. Our party has consistently emphasized education as a principal measure to help comrades who have erred correct their mistakes. If necessary, it may also take disciplinary action against them as a supplementary form of ideological education aimed at helping them "learn from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones, and treat the illness in order to save the patient." But extremely stern measures should be taken against law-offenders. Under no circumstances should we tolerate or condone criminal acts. Punitive legal actions should be taken against criminals with the aim of protecting the people. For this reason, a clear line needs to be drawn between those who commit crimes and those who make mistakes, and between disciplinary action and penal arrangement. It is wrong to impose penalty on those who committed a misdemeanor which merits only disciplinary action. Nor is it right to just lightly discipline or reprimand those who committed felonies which deserve server punishment.

It is also wrong to exempt a party member, a cadre or a leading cadre from criminal liability if they are found guilty of crimes. Doing so is a manifestation of the pernicious residual influence of the feudal system once opposed by the bourgeoisie which was the first to suggest that "all be equal before the law." As everyone knows, the idea of dividing society into classes was at the core of the entire feudal government system, which put into effect laws openly granting privileges to certain sections of people, thus creating social injustice. At the heart of its judicial system was the notion that "senior officials are above the law." This system which was handed down from one dynasty to another is still deeply rooted in China. Its principal role was to exempt any noble bureaucrats from criminal liability and punishment.

The existing laws in our country represent the interests and will of the working class and the broad masses of people. Once a law is enacted and signed into effect, it will carry a judicial power that will affect all regions, departments, units and individuals. Before the law, no one is an exception. The socialist legal system knows no classes and privileges. Anyone who is found guilty of violating the law and committing crimes should be dealt with according to the law, no matter how long his service, how high his position or how great his contributions to his country. Only in this way can the socialist legal system be consolidated and order and peace can long be maintained in our country. But ours is a country evolved from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial old society, a country where the residual influence of the centuries-old feudal ideology still holds sway over our party and society at large. This being the case, no one should underestimate its destructive effect on the development of our socialist legal system. Under this influence, some people still consciously and unconsciously defend the idea that "senior officials are above the law," assuming that the laws are enacted to control the people alone and therefore have no binding effect on those leading cadres in authority. Some leading cadres who were found guilty of violating the law and committing crimes still believe that they can reasonably expect to have their sentences reduced or their crimes acquitted because of their length of service, positions and contributions to the nation. Perplexed by this argument, some of our law enforcement organs have become reluctant to indict them or bring other leading cadres and their children to justice after they were found guilty of violating the law and committing crimes since they have been disciplined by the party and reprimanded by the government. This idea is actually a variant of the notion that "senior officials are above the law." This muddle-headed idea or wrong way of thinking is bound to have detrimental effect on the interest of the party and our modernization program. We must insure that "violations of law are investigated" and all are truly equal before the law.

9574
CSO: 4005

NEED TO DISTINGUISH FELONY FROM MISDEMEANOR EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 80 p 5

[Commentary by Zhang Zhiwen [1728 0037 5113]: "Farewell to 'Do Not Do It Again'"]

[Text] A recent report on the State Council's dispassionate and swift handling of the incident of the capsized "Bohai No 2" oil drilling platform represents a radical departure from the past tradition which made the people believe that "senior officials are above the law." This report has also given the party and people throughout the country a profound education and has provoked deep thought among them. Excited by this report, some comrades have asked: Can this good example set by that central authority be followed by all lower level units? This question is not unjustified, because some leading cadres who were found guilty of violating discipline and law have been covered up with some seemingly reasonable and indisputable allegations and have henceforth been acquitted. Clearly, resolute and vigorous efforts have yet to be made to remove the obstacles that still stand in the way of our endeavor to eliminate such malpractices and to do people justice.

One of the obstacles that still prevents us from strengthening law and discipline is the seemingly plausible admonition "do not do it again" now being widely used by some units and departments to acquit law-offenders. For example, there are leading cadres who have been found guilty of building homes for themselves in violation of financial and economic discipline, abusing their power by winning special favors for their families through the "backdoor deals," aiding and abetting their delinquent children in showing contempt for law and justice, soliciting valuable gifts from foreign businessmen in disregard of our national dignity, using foreign exchange money to import merchandise for themselves, and dereliction of duty which has resulted in serious accidents causing damage to property and loss of lives. These are malpractices which cannot be tolerated by party discipline and state laws and are deeply resented by the people. Nevertheless, some higher leading organs assigned to handle such cases have shown reluctance to do anything about them, and have emphasized leniency rather than law and order in dealing with such cases. They even have resorted to all kinds of tactics to cover up and exonerate law-offenders, and have gone all out to defend them so as to prevent the law-enforcement organs from bringing them to justice. As a matter of formality, such cases often end up with a pledge "not to do it again" from the law-offenders after they have undergone some criticism. After taking note of this situation in which "the legal system is applied only to the masses but not the leading cadres, and party discipline is effective in controlling only those at the bottom but not those on top," many people have expressed skepticism over whether our laws and discipline can be completely and genuinely enforced throughout the country.

As a matter of fact, it is not only unreasonable but also illegal to acquit violators of law and discipline in exchange for their promise "not to do it again." This practice itself is not only an epic contempt of the law but a serious violation of our legal system. In this connection, a clear line needs to be drawn between violations of law and discipline and the general misdemeanor of shortcomings. For this reason, there should be different approaches to the handling of these two categories of legal cases. There are some cadres who may have committed ordinary mistakes. Such misdemeanor can be exonerated after they have undergone education and criticism and expressed their willingness to correct it. Yet, this policy is not applicable to the criminals who must be dealt with according to the due process of law, which cannot be replaced or nullified by their pledge "not to do it again," because all criminals must bear political, economic and legal responsibilities for what they have done. By emphasizing that all are equal before the law, we mean that the laws must be observed, and strictly enforced, and their violations must be investigated. In a sense, this stipulation is a reminder to the leading cadres that they cannot enjoy the privilege of standing above the law that has binding on all people. Further, any intention of deliberately acquitting a leading cadre found guilty of violating the law or sentencing him to less severe terms than necessary in consideration of his high position and strong backing is also a violation rather than an observance of the law. If we behave this way, how can we make the people trust us and how can we preserve the dignity of justice? It was said that the trend of seeking law-breakers' pledge "not to do it again" as a way of settling criminal cases is thriving on the reason that "it has long been our policy to permit the people to commit and correct mistakes." True, there has been a code of conduct for our party members that they should correct their mistakes as soon as they know they have committed them, and that they will be forgiven as soon as they do so. In other words, they are permitted to commit and correct mistakes. But this should not be regarded as an excuse for condoning and exonerating violations of law and discipline. But offenses must be dealt with according to the law on a case-by-case basis. The process of penalizing violators of law and discipline is in itself an educational measure to teach them to learn from their past mistakes, and to punish one as a warning to a hundred others. Punishment of violators of law and discipline is also not an indication that they have been deprived of opportunities to mend their ways. If we throw away the party discipline and state laws and if we only take a law-breaker's promise "not to do it again" at its face value, in lieu of any other legal actions, we will fail in our duty to teach him a lesson, give the masses an education, and uphold the social order. If we allow this practice to take the place of the law, the crime rate is certain to rise, thus making a mockery of our laws and discipline. It appears likely that some offenders who pledge "not to do it again" after being subjected to criticism may go back on their word and may commit crimes again and again because they feel that they can profit from this kind of illegal business at the expense of the party and people. At the same time, the inferiors may follow suit after noting that their superiors found guilty of crimes were exonerated. If a leading cadre is not brought to justice after offending the laws, he will set a bad example for others to follow, crime will run out of control, and law and order will become an empty slogan. For this reason, the view that the admonition "do not do it again" can take the place of law and discipline as the only measure to help the people mend their ways is entirely untenable. Facts show that some leading organs and leading cadres who know the law well have deliberately used the admonition "do not do it again" as a good excuse for condoning and exonerating crimes committed by their subordinates. By doing so, they can also conceal their own wrongdoings from the public. Of course, every cadre must hold himself responsible for what he has done. But the problem is that those leading organs and leading cadres who want to cover up crimes committed by their subordinates are not clean themselves in every sense. This is why those lower level cadres associated with them have become so bold to commit crimes and violate the law without fear of being caught. This being the case, in order to cover up their own mistakes and absolve themselves from any responsibility, those high level leading organs and leading cadres are willing to use that graceful and ingenuous admonition "do not do it again" as a measure to acquit their subordinates so that they can reduce major issues to minor ones and minor ones to naught. In view of this, the admonition "do not do it again" can be used not only as a coverup of their mistakes and unlawful acts but also as a haven in which they can enjoy mutual protection. To strengthen law and discipline, we must give up the admonition "do not do it again" as a way of condoning wrongdoings. No one should be permitted to enjoy the privilege of standing above the law no matter how high his position and how great his power. This is the only right thing we must do.

9574
CSO: 4005

HALT TO PRACTICE OF INTERCEDING ON BEHALF OF FRIENDS, RELATIVES URGED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese [illegible] Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Zhou Zongkui [6650 1350 1145] and Chen Xiande [7115 6343 1795]: "Stop the Practice of Interceding for People"]

[Text] If the "best work" is to be selected from among the novels that criticize present-day evils, we shall cast one vote for Wang Meng's "Shuo Ke Ying Men (A Houseful of Persuasive Visitors)."

When a manager of a paste factory imposed punishment on an employee according to regulations, people came to intercede for him 199.5 times within a 12-day period due to the fact that this employee was the son of a cousin of the District Party Committee' Secretary. A theoretician who happened to be the manager's older brother-in-law hung around for a total of 21 hours. In addition some interceded by telephone, totaling 33 times; and there were 33 intercessions by telephone and 27 by letter.

The novel has apparently been written in an exaggerated way but, in real life, there are truly quite a few phenomena like this. During a period as short as one week, namely, from the 9th until the 16th of August, there were, in two newspapers, three pieces of news about intercession were reported: BEIJING RIBAO reported on 9 August that, after the exposure of the criminal activities of the three children of some high-ranking cadres, the mother of criminals Xu Yu Wan and Xu Yu Qi, Wang Yong, who was also a state cadre, not only failed to expose and report them to the authorities but, on the contrary, went around to all the places to intercede on their behalf.

JENMIN RIBAO reported on 11 August that a young worker of a certain refining and compressing plant, named Sun Li Qiang, had committed robbery and had thus been sentenced. his father, Sun You Liang, a state cadre, took advantage of his office to seek help from his former leaders, colleagues and associates, totaling 28 men, to intercede for his son in various ways so as to free him from the responsibility for his crime.

BEIJING RIBAO reported on 16 August that, after the Security Bureau's Zhao Yang Branch Office had exposed through its detective activities a case of a smuggling band organized chiefly by the children of cadres, some of the parents of the band members wrote, some telephoned, and some begged their relations and friends to contact the public security organs to intercede on their children's behalf. There were 20 cases of some of these parents visiting the public security office to intercede in person.

The energies of such enthusiastic interceders have reached astonishing proportions. The masses look on it askance; public opinion is confused. Its influence is extremely bad.

When did intercession start? It requires further study. Nevertheless, there is one thing we are sure about: it started in ancient times. "The History of the Three Kingdoms" recorded: Zhou Yin, Zhou Yu's second son, happened to be married to a member of the imperial family. He was later given the title of general and marquis. Because of a crime he committed while "indulging in sensual pleasures" he was removed from his post and awaited further punishment after due investigation. Thereupon Zhu Ge Jin and Bu Zhi took the lead to intercede for the marquis and memorialized the throne jointly. Quoting classics, they implored Sun Quan to consider Zhou Yu's case and to show mercy and release Zhou Yin. Subsequently, Zhu Ran, Quan Zong and many others followed suit. Sun Quan at first was obstinate but could not stand a houseful of persuasive visitors and in the end bent the law out of consideration for relatives. Anyone can intercede as long as he has a mouth. Among the interceders we find both patricians and plebians. In so far as their efficiency and accomplishment are concerned, however, there is a great difference between the two. The minimum requirements for one to succeed in interceding are: a) having special privilege, b) having connections, c) having a high degree of feelings, and d) being shameless. What is especially important is the first factor. A common citizen, without support from someone who possesses special privileges may find his words ignored by his party completely notwithstanding that he has a face full of mouths. Intercession by those who have power and influence are easily successful because influential officials can "protect each other". It is thus clear that intercession is, from the outset, linked with special privilege. In the feudal ages, the feudal class' special privileges were shown not only in its members' taking government positions generation after generation but also in the fact that "laws were not applied to influential and officials." Often the safeguarding of such privileges was inseparable from the art of intercession. When a certain influenctial feudal official or his relatives happened to violate the criminal law and had to be investigated, the other influential officials would set out one after another to intercede for him with great effort and repeatedly. A major problem could be explained as a minor one, and a minor one explained away, with the result that a matter might be left unsettled. Although sometimes the were "upright Mr Bao's", this was extremely rare. All in all, "to intercede for people" was a product of the feudalistic special privileges. At the same time, it served to protect these special privileges. The practice of interceding for people in our society today is actually a tradition we have inherited from the distant past. This tendency has become more severe because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wreaked havoc for 10 years. It seems that, if we want to stop the practice of interceding, we must uproot the feudalistic ideology of special privilege.

The crux of the matter in checking the practice of interceding for people, I am afraid, besides scolding and punishing the interceders, is to grasp those who practice favoritism. In fact, intercession is like flattery. The reason why the interceder can succeed, besides the fact that he has skill at wagging his tongue is chiefly because there are men who practice favoritism. Imagine, if a man is impartial and incorruptible, upright and does not flatter, does not practice favoritism and does not bend the law, even if interceders flock through the door, what good will it do? Some leading cadres have said, "It is certainly good for a man to behave like this, but I am afraid that he will probably be divorced from the masses." This alibi is, in fact, groundless. If a man can be divorced from the masses by enforcing the laws impartially, then wouldn't bending the law out of favoritism be the best means of strengthening ties with the masses? Is this a logical argument at all? To be impartial and incorruptible will definitely mean being "divorced" from an extremely small number of interceders and will offend some people whose special privileges mentality is strong. But what's wrong with this sort of "divorce?" The broad masses will surely give warm support to it. All in all, to be a member of the Communist Party, a leader and enforcer of laws, one must have the spirit of "not being bent by power and force" as well as the spirit of "as an official if I cannot support the people, I would rather go home and sell my sweet potatoes," i.e., the willingness of acting like the "upright Mr Bao." Otherwise, all such slogans as "any law that exists must be obeyed; any person who violates the laws must be dealt with" will become empty phrases. "The members of the Communist Party are steel, not paste!" The expression made by the main character in "A Houseful of Persuasive Visitors" is quite worthy for some of our comrades to give deep thought to. When confronted with the practice of intercession, are you a piece of "steel" or a pot of "paste"?

4950-R
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'LIAONING RIBAO' DEFENDS POLICY OF GOING BACK TO OLD ROAD

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 80 p 5

[Commentary by LIAONING RIBAO commentator originally published by LIAONING RIBAO of 6 October 1980: "On 'Returning to the Old Road'"]

[Text] When the "gang of four" were in their heyday of power, there were many political labels in circulation. Today, a few remain in circulation although most of them have been consigned to the garbage heaps of history. One of these political labels termed "returning to the old road" is still darting around to sting the people in the back these days.

For example, we heard this "gunshot": "They are leading us back to the old road again," when many localities this year scored fruitful results from the trial implementation of the system of division of responsibility for production designed to fully mobilize commune members to spur the development of agriculture. In the dictionary of the "gang of four," "returning to the old road: means restoring capitalism, or an inexcusable crime. A "gunshot" like that could send shivering cold waves through the bones of those people with lingering fear, silence those relatively outspoken people and provoke others determined to defend that system with this remark: "We are not led back to the old road; we are now on the move forward."

As a matter of fact, "returning to the old road" is not dreadful at all, for people sometimes may find themselves in a position where they will have no alternative but to turn back. This is a kind of life. It is humane for the people to return to the old road when they find that they have been following a wrong way for too long. Otherwise, they may get lost. People moving past their destination must also trip back a few miles or so. Otherewise, they may move too far away from their destination. Even a foot soldier engaged in close fighting has to move backward a few steps before he can thrust forward. Only a fool or the insane will unreasonably thrust forward after reaching a dead alley or impassable swamps which may cost him his life, and will call this "an heroic act in defiance of storms," or "revolutionary advance." The same is true of building socialism. Our socialist practice must go through a period of trial. In this connection, there is no straight road laid out for us. This road always follows a zigzag pattern. Sometimes, we may have to retreat if we want to make progress. Only in this way can we accumulate experiences and find a right path. There is literally no point of no return in this world. Everyone sometimes has to go back a little bit before he can make progress. This was true in the past and is still true today. This truth is also applicable in the future. "The road ahead is winding and long; one has to explore it carefully all the way." This proverb also presents a sense of the inevitability of returning to the old road.

The proponents of the system of division of responsibility have been accused of leading the people back to the old road. One of the accusers' main reasons is that this system was old stuff of the 1950's and the 1960's and therefore cannot be applied in the 1980's. They asked: if this is not a "restoration of the old order and retrogression," what is it? This question seems sharp. Nevertheless, they have consigned this basic Marxist principle to oblivion: Whether a relation of production is progressive or not depends on whether it spurs or hampers the development of the productive forces and whether it is in harmony with it; the question does not lie in whether "it has been used or not ever before." The fact that this system was effective in the past and remains so today clearly indicates that it meets the desired standards for developing the productive forces, and is welcomed by the masses. How could anyone call it a "retrogression"? We will be guilty of glorifying capitalism if we call everything useful capitalist stuff.

This political label obviously still holds sway over those comrades who have proven incapable of smashing the shackles of the left-deviationist ideology. For a long time, this theory has been in vogue: The progressive, revolutionized and socialized relations of production must be large in scale and all-inclusive. This mistaken idea has driven many people to embark on adventures in violations of the objective laws. Under its influence, they even tried to accomplish things, that in Lenin's language will take years to complete, in a few days or a few months. Capitalizing on this mistaken idea to their advantage, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" blatantly called on the nation to "continuously revolutionize the relations of production," to "persevere in moving forward and opposing retrogression," to "tide over the period of poverty," and to "promote the Dazhai experiences." Consequently, they did serious damage to the social productive forces, bringing the national economy to the verge of bankruptcy. Could we blindly go on after we were misled for such a long time? Should or should not we go back to the socialist road? Few know the naswer better than the masses, who said: "The problem is not that we must return to the old road but that we have passed and missed the point of our destination long ago." Only by coming to grips with this philosophy can the vast numbers of cadres and people further emancipate their minds, deepen their understanding of the party's new policies and new measures, and reform our systems with courage. In short, when we are talking about "returning to the old road," we must be aware of what kind of road is laid out for us to go back to. It goes without saying that we will resolutely resist going back to capitalism. We will be pleased to see our country return to the embrace of scientific socialism. To those who attempt to use the term "retrogression" as a magic weapon to intimidate and inhibit us from reforming our system, we want to pass along this message: "What you said is damn right! We certainly want to beat a quick retreat whenever we find that the road we follow leads to a dead alley. However, we want to assure you that we will never return to the capitalist road. Just as Lenin taught us, 'a retreat is designed for a better and more forceful leap forward!'"

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

POSSIBILITIES, ACTUALITY IN MATERIALIST DIALECTICS ANALYZED

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 2, 25 Feb 80
pp 27-31

[Article by Ren Yulong [0117 3768 7127]: "On Possibilities"]

[Text] Possibilities and actuality are a pair of basic categories in materialist dialectics. Here, we shall inquire primarily into the category of possibilities.

(1) Relationship between possibilities and impossibilities. What are called possibilities are tendencies toward certain types of development of things that have not achieved complete maturity on an objective basis and under prerequisite conditions. "Objective basis" indicates an internal contradiction in a thing, an internal contradiction being an internal cause of the development of thing. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Internal causes are the bases of change." "Prerequisite conditions" indicate the external contradictions of a thing, i.e., that there is a relationship of unity and opposition between this thing and other things. They are the external causes of the development of things, "external causes being the conditions of change." Internal causes and external causes are present at the same time and exert their effects at the same time. The combining of internal and external causes with internal causes being dominant provide the two types of causes of the development and change of all things. It is also the inherent basis and the essential external condition for the production of possibilities. Possibilities are the tendencies that are produced in the process of development and change of things. Although there are definite bases and conditions for them, these bases and conditions have not yet matured. Before the problem of who is to win and who is to lose in a struggle between two sides of a contradiction has basically been resolved, the destruction of old things and the birth of new things serve merely as possibilities and do not determine an invariant reality. The category of possibilities only reflects the direction and prospects of development of two sides of a contradiction in the process of strugge and there is an essential distinction between it and actuality: Possibilities indicate the struggle between two sides of a contradiction and tendencies toward

development, whereas actuality indicates the results of who achieved victory and who was defeated in a struggle between two sides of a contradiction and is the resolution of a contradiction. Actuality indicates that a thing in which life exists is a possibility that has been realized, whereas a possibility indicates that a thing that may emerge in the future is at present something that does not exist.

There is not only an essential distinction between possibilities and actuality, but there is also an essential distinction between them and impossibilities. The distinction between them and impossibilities lies in the following: There is not an objective basis for them. When in the course of development of a thing it cannot be transformed into a corresponding thing because because it lacks a definite objective basis, we say that this phenomenon is not possible. There are two types of impossibilities. The first type are those impossibilities which, because they lack all objective basis, cannot rise to become possibilities under any conditions and which cannot be transformed into actuality, being forever unrealizable. These are called "absolute impossibilities." For example, a stone can never hatch a chick. "Perpetual motion" is something that can never be achieved. The inherent nature of imperialism and reactionary classes can never be changed. Because the intrinsic qualities of a thing are inherent internal determinative characteristics of a thing, it cannot remain itself if its intrinsic qualities change. The boundary between impossibilities of this kind and possibilities is absolute and cannot be changed. The second type are those impossibilities that originally do not have an objective basis and that are basically impossible at a given time. However, as things develop and as social practive and the level of consciousness of the people become elevated, these original impossibilities can become transformed into possibilities. For example, "Chang'e Runs Away to the Moon" is a magnificent popular traditional fiary tale that has been well-known for several thousand years. "Running away to the moon" was basically impossible in the past. But now, because of the rapid development of industry and scientific technology, more than ten human beings have in succession have flown in space vehicles and have succeeded in landing on the moon. They have even brought back several hundred kilograms of rocks and soil from the moon, thus realizing the fantasy of "running away to the moon." As another example, in the age of laissez-faire capitalism, it was not possible for the socialist revolution to obtain its first victory in a nation. However, in the age of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution, this impossibility was transformed into a possibility. Thus, it can be seen that the boundary between some impossibilities and possibility is not absolute and invariable but is, rather, relative and variable. These are called "relative impossibilities."

On the other hand, can possibilities be transformed into impossibilities? There are two situations here as well. The first type is one in which the essential tendencies of the development of a thing have been embodied, indicating that the old thing has died out and that there is the possibility of the birth of new things. From a long-term standpoint, this possibility cannot be transformed into an impossibility. For example, the possibility of the realization of the Four Modernizations in our country and the possibility of a final world victory for communism are possibilities that are inevitable, that conform to law and that can never be altered. The second type are those possibilities for which there was a certain objective basis at the time of their production but of which the bases were not established on the basis of objective laws and which were brought about because of various chance factors. For these reasons, they are very unstable and can disappear very easily. When the original objective basis has disappeared, possibilities that have been established on such a basis also disappear. Thus, possibilities can be transformed into impossibilities. This type of phenomenon is also very frequent. For example, after the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, a situation developed in which two regimes were present at the same time. Lenin, on the basis of the circumstance that the provisional government of the capitalist class lacked the means of force, raised the slogan, "All political power to the soviets," foreseeing that there was the "possibility for peaceful development of the entire revolution." Later, the provisional capitalist government, having made thorough preparations, got control of such apparatuses of force as the armed forces and the police, and, in July carried out a bloody suppression of the demonstrations of the masses, thus terminating the state of two regimes being present together. This resulted in the disappearance of the possibility for the peaceful development of the revolution, a possibility having been transformed into an impossibility. Without delay, Lenin changed the tactics of his struggle and proposed a policy of armed uprising, in the end using violent revolution to overthrow the provisional capitalist government and to obtain the great victory of the October Revolution.

(2) Analyzing possibilities from the standpoint of quality and quantity. All things and phenomena have the determinative characteristics of both quality and quantity and are unities of quality and quantity. Simply be carrying out qualitative and quantitative analyses of things, it is possible to get an overall grasp of things. What are quality and quantity of possibility?

First, let is consider its quality. Possibility itself is not matter. Rather, it is a basic mode whereby material things are commonly related to each other. It reflects the relationships between material things in terms of tendencies toward development and change and is a bond linking things in the past, the present and the future. Actual things existing in the present are the results of transformations of possibilities of the past, while existing things contain the possibilities for the production of new things. Once their bases and conditions have matured, these types of possibilities can become transformed into new actualities. This type of mutual transformation between possibilities and actualities repeats itself in endless cycles. With each cycle, a thing can develop to a new stage. This is the dialectical process of the development of things.

Why is it that things develop the possibility of transformation to actuality? This is the result of the struggle between contradictions. The insides of all things are permeated by contradictions. Each contradiction is divided into two antitheses and there is unity and struggle between these two antitheses as a consequence of which impetus is given to the movement and transformation of things. The two antitheses of a contradiction are, qualitatively, basically antagonistic to each other, and, in tendencies of development, are completely relative to each other. Consequently, at the same time and place and under the same conditions, a thing has two relative possibilities of development. One of these represents the inevitable tendency of development of the thing and is a progressive and good possibility. The other runs counter to the inevitable laws of development of a thing and is a regressive, bad possibility. A seed that is planted in the earth may sprout or it may not sprout. A person who comes down with a serious illness may be cured or may not be cured. These two types of qualitatively relative possibilities are both produced on definite objective bases. All that is necessary for them to be transformed into actuality is for the essential and sufficient conditions to be present. The key lies in ascertaining of which possibility the bases and conditions are more adequate and more mature. Of these two relative possibilities, there is only one possibility that becomes transformed into actuality. Both of them cannot become transformed into actuality at the same time. The realization of one possibility signifies the destruction of another relative possibility. However, from the standpoint of the objective historical laws of the development of things, the possibilities that represent the inevitable tendencies in the development of things are ultimately certain to triumph over bad possibilities. This victory is inevitable and irresistable. For example, in a socialist society, there is the contradiction that new communist factors and old remnants of capitalism exist together at the same time. Consequently, there are two relative possibilities for development in a socialist society. One of these is a gradual transition toward communism. This is historically inevitable. The other is a backwards retrogression toward restoration of the old order. Retrogression toward restoration of the old order is nothing more than a temporary, chance phenomenon and is an exceptional manifestation of the tortuous character of the development of things. Even if a bad possibility becomes transformed into actuality, in the course of its realization it will come to contain new factors that negate it. These new factors have the possibility of final victory.

In the foregoing, I have distinguished between two types of relative possibilities in terms of their basic dissimilarities in character. However, among possibilities of the same character, one can also differentiate between the two types, direct possibilities and indirect possibilities, on the basis of differing degrees of maturity of their objective bases and prerequisite conditions. There are some possibilities which, because they are basically endowed with objective bases and various conditions, can quickly be turned into actuality simply through subjective effort. These are called "direct (or actual) possibilities." There are other possibilities that are still very far from the bases and conditions of realization and that can only be realized at a later stage of development. These are called "indirect (or nonactual) possibilities." For a possibility to become transformed into actuality it must undergo a process of development and is always realized gradually from the remote to the near. First, there is an indirect possibility that undergoes development to become a direct possibility, after which the direct possibility is then transformed into actuality. The transformation from possibility to actuality is a qualitative change and is a leap. However, before this there must be a cumulative process of quantitative change. An indirect change at first is no more than something latent that is an embryonic stage. All that is necessary is for it to undergo continuous consolidation and development and uninterupted expansion of its own position for it to undergo a gradual transition from an abstract, indirect possibility to a direct possibility. We cannot separate indirect and direct possibilities nor can we place them on a par with each other, ignoring the intrinsic relationships between them. Further, we cannot solidify them as if a direct possibility is a certain way from the outset without undergoing a process of development or that an indirect possibility is forever distant and indistinct and cannot be realized. Food must be eaten mouthful by mouthful, a road must be walked step by step and the tasks of revolution and construction must be completed in sequence. During the period of the democratic revolution in our country, the indirect possibility for a socialist revolution lay latent. Each time the democratic revolution took a step forward, the possibility for a socialist revolution increased slightly. The victory of the democratic revolution resulted in the indirect possibility for a socialist revolution becoming elevated to a direct possibility.

Next, we shall analyze possibility from the standpoint of quantity. The quantity of a possibility refers to the magnitude of a possibility and to the extent of its magnitude. The magnitude of a quantity of this kind can be measured mathematically using the theory of probability. For example, if cotton seeds are planted in the earth, we can say that there is the possibility that they will germinate and emerge. But just how great is this possibility? Is it a matter of a small number of individual germinations or is it a matter of a large number or total germination? If there were 400 cotton seeds and all of them germinated, then the frequency of this event would be 400/400 = 100%. The probability that a seed would germinate would be 1, i.e., 100 percent. If many repeated tests are conducted under similar conditions of air temperature, soil and moisture content, the greater is the number of tests the more accurately they will express the magnitude of the possibility. If all of the seeds germinated in each test, then there would be a transformation from the initial "chance event" to a "necessary event," with what was originally only possible becoming necessary. Under conditions of this kind, possibility and necessity coincide with each other. Necessity can be seen as a special condition of possibility. It is one-hundred percent possibility and it is absolute necessary possibility. Judged from the standpoint of quantitative relationships, it is the possibility of a probability of 1. At the same time, there is the possibility of "not germinating," the probability of which is zero. This type of possibility declines to become an impossibility. Thus, from the quantitative relationship, it can be clearly seen that the complete transformation of a possibility into an actuality means the complete disappearance of another antagonistic possibility.

The contradictions in the world are complex and the development of and changes in things are subject to the restrictions of many-sided factors. One-hundred percent possibility without any chance necessity does not exist either in the natural world or among social phenomena. Even if one has the most excellent seed and even if its possibility of germinating is very great, it is nevertheless subject to such chance factors as natural conditions in its environment, with the possibility existing that it will not germinate. Suppose that we plant 400 cotton seeds and that 390 seeds germinate, while 10 do not germinate. Then, the frequency of germination of the 400 cotton seeds would be 390/400 = 97.5% and the probability of germination would be 0.975. The frequency of not germinating would be 10/400 = 2.5%, with the probability being 0.025. When the two are compared with each other, it is evident that the possibility of germination is far far greater than the possibility of not germinating. If 200 seeds germinated and 200 did not germinate, then the possibilities of germinating and of not germinating would each be one-half. These are "events of equal possibility," i.e., the two opposite possibilities are equal. If not one seed comes out, then the frequency of germination is zero. In this case, the possibility of germination becomes transformed to an "impossible event." Impossibility is the complete opposite of necessity. If two incompatible, diametrically opposite possibilities exist in the same thing during the same process of development, they are called "mutually antagonistic events." The sum of the possibilities of this type of event is a necessary event and their probability is 1, i.e., $P(A + \bar{A}) = 1$. Thus, to analyze this in terms of quantitative relationships, an increase in one type of possibility means a relative decrease in another relative possibility. The complete realization of one possibility means that it has been elevated from a possibility to a necessity and that it has become an "absolute possibility." However, the other possibility that is opposed to it is completely eliminated and falls from being a possibility to being an "absolute impossibility."

Analyzing the magnitude of possibilities in terms of quantitative relationships is very important to us in getting a grasp of the basic tendencies of the development of things. In whatever activity we undertake, we must "have numbers in our brains." For example, in checking the quality of the products of a factory, it is generally considered that there are two possibiltiies, i.e., that there are products that meet the standards and that there may be products that do not meet the standards. But which of these possibilities is greater? One cannot make a general estimate; rather one must carry out a detailed quantitative analysis in which spot checking of the products is carried out. The greater is the frequency of the spot checks and the greater is the number of spot checks each time, the more accurate the results of the tests will be. If the frequency of products that meet the standards comes closer and closer to a constant, for example, 99.9%

(ratio of products meeting standards and number sampled) as the result of repeated sampling, then we can say that the probability that the products of the factory will meet the standards is 0.999, thus conforming to quality requirements and indicating that the product is excellent. If it is 85-90%, this is a generalization. If the probability of defective goods is equal to or greater than the probability of goods meeting the standards, then there are serious problems regarding the products of the factory that must be rectified within a limited period. Earthquake predictions and weather reports are like that. One cannot simply say that something is "possible." One must also say how great the possibility is. When we analyze any problem, we must not only consider it from a qualitative standpoint, but we must also consider it from the standpoint of quantitative relationships. This is because "All qualities are expressed as definite quantities, there being no quality if there is no quantity" (MAO ZEDONG XUANSHU [Collected Saying of Mao Zedong], Vol. 4, page 1380). It is only through the quantitative relationships that the qualitative connections and distinctions can be seen. The essence of science lies in its precision. If something is not precise, it cannot be called science. As science and technology have developed, mathematics has been applied more and more widely in various fields of science. This is an important sign of the day-by-day perfection of the natural sciences and the social sciences.

(3) Relationships between the objectivity of possibilities and the subjective activity of people. What is the objectivity of possibilities? That is so say that possibilities are the objective tendencies in the development of things. It is closely related to objective things and to the laws of their development. The production of a possibility is the result of the internal contradictions of a thing becoming its objective basis. The development of a possibility is the result of the struggle between the two sides of a contradiction becoming its motive power. The realization of a possibility requires definite conditions. A possibility is essentially a latent realization; it is actuality in an embryonic and germinative state. A possibility is the objective and common form of relation in the course of the development of a thing. Its existence and development are not diverted by the subjective wills of people. People cannot make or eliminate possibilities at will. However, this is not to say that people are powerless in the face of possibilities. Through practical activity in remoulding the objective world, people can come to understand the various possibilities for the development of a thing and can select the best possibility among the various possibilities present at the same time, actively creating conditions and accelerating the transformation of a particular possibility toward realization while doing everything possible to avoid or slow the transformation of bad possibilities into actuality.

The key to whether a possibility can be transformed into actuality lies in conditions. In the natural world, conditions develop gradually and spontaneously, and, without the participation of human beings, possibilities can also spontaneously change into actualities. However, in the sphere of social activity, the situation is completely different. The essential factor in social activity are human beings and not things so that apart from the practical activity of human society possibilities cannot become realized spontaneously. Although human beings cannot create laws and possibilities, they can and must create conditions. Conditions, from a state of nonexistence to a state of existence and from immaturity to maturity, are the result of the practical activities of human beings. There are objective and subjective conditions. Objective conditions are various types of objective factors that exist apart from and independently of the subjective will of human beings, while subjective conditions refer to the level of ideological awareness and the degree of subjective effort of human beings. When an objective basis and a basis of objective conditions exists, the subjective effort of human beings is the definitive force that impels possibilities to become transformed into actualities. To negate objective bases and essential conditions and to view possibilities as things that can be followed according to one's inclinations is a manifestation of the "indeterminism" of idealism. On the other hand, negation of the action of subjective activity on the transformation of possibilities is a manifestation of "fatalism." It is negative and inactive and it is one of the theoretical bases of the way of thinking of the coward and the sluggard.

In our practical work, we must deal with the relationship between good possibilities and actualities. When we do any piece of work, we must start out from practice and manage the work on the basis of actual conditions. Lenin has pointed out that, "The policies of Marxism are things based on reality and do not take probable things as their bases." (LIENING QUANSHU [Complete Works of Lenin], Vol. 35, page 256). In dealing with a problem, we must base ourselves in actuality and do a good job of the work at hand. However, we must also see through to the following tendency of development and strive to achieve good prospects. Actuality is the foundation, while possibilities belong to the category of the ideal. The two are the relationship between the present and the long-term. If we insist on doing something today that will only be possible to do in the future, this is a "Left" deviation. On the other hand, if we put off to the future something that it is possible to do today, taking the view that it cannot be done, then it is impossible. This is Right deviation. "Left" deviations and Right deviations break the relationship between possibility and actuality, although from different aspects.

There are some of our comrades who hold that, in our socialist nation, possibilities can become realized spontaneously. It is an error to confuse possibilities with actuality. For example, planned proportionate development at a highly rapid rate is an objective law of socialist economic development. Before a law has been realized, it exists only in a state of possibility that is not equivalent to actuality. A highly rapid rate is a possibility that is produced on the basis of the superior socialist system. In order to transform this possibility into a true actuality, various conditions must be provided. There are two of these that are of the greatest importance. The first is correct leadership by the Party and the second is reliance on the subjective effort of all of the people of the nation. It is only when work on all fronts has been done well that it is possible for realization to occur smoothly at a highly rapid rate. The rate at which realization of the Four Modernizations occurs progresses in direct proportion to the extent of the effort of the entire Party, the entire military force and all of the people of the nation. Let us use our own industriousness and labor to accelerate the transformation of the Four Modernizations from a possibility to an actuality.

10019
CSO: 4005

FOUR MODERNIZATIONS IN NEED OF ALL KINDS OF TALENT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 80 p 8

[Article by Xu Diankun [1776 7820 3540]: "The Big Fellow in Wu Dalang's Store"]

[Text] The comic cartoon "Wu Dalang Opens a Store" is really interesting. The proprietor Wu Dalang cannot stand talent. He will not allow any employee in the store to be taller than he. Such laughable ideas and excellent drawings. When people see it they start thinking about other things and become aware of things not in the cartoon. I have wondered. What would be the fate of some capable big fellow who came to work in Wu Dalang's store? As Wu Dalang's custom was not to hire anyone taller than he, the big fellow would be chased out, or if he stayed he would have to stoop and bend. If the big fellow ever stood up tall or raised his head and let the proprietor notice that he was taller, or if a guest said that the big fellow was taller than Wu Dalang, then he would suffer the ire of the boss.

The leaders of some of our units are jealous of talent. They have some of the laughable ideas of Wu Dalang, who will allow no one to work in his shop who is taller than he. They often suppress or attack talented persons. Some persons undauntedly work on technical innovations, but when they have some success, they not only cannot get the support of the leaders of their own unit, but they suffer all sorts of attacks. Some people work night and day on scientific research, but when they make some discovery and are praised by members of their own profession they are not given recognition by their own unit. The expression "When flowers bloom inside the wall, they color the outside of the wall as well" is well respected in society but is cause for lowering one's esteem in one's own unit. Some people write literary compositions in their spare time. They have made contributions to theoretical research, and are often published in periodicals and newspapers. However, they are despised by the leaders of their own units, who make them wear hats saying "fame seeker" and "not doing one's own proper job," and life is made difficult for them. Some people are very capable, energetic, have a strong sense of duty, are concerned about the work of their own units, and actively make reasonable suggestions. Not only are they not praised, but they are suppressed in many ways. In these units the "little fellow" can get by with some effort, but it is really rough for the "big fellow." He is forced to wear an inlaid "golden hoop" hat and forced to wear high-heeled glass slippers. He is only allowed to bow his head and stoop. He is not allowed to hold his head up and brace his shoulders. What crime has the "big fellow" committed? His only crime is being taller than the proprietor.

At the time of Wu Dalang, there was a common scholar by the name of Wang Lun . He was very narrowminded. He was very intolerant. He made trouble for Lin Chong everywhere. He chilled the hearts of heroes everywhere. Even the three Ruan heroes who lived near Liangshan did not dare to go up the mountain. Of course, there was no way Liangshan could become strong. On ly after Chao Gai and Wu Yong, moral and talented persons, went to Liangshan and recruited all the heroes in the country did the cause of Liangshan prosper daily and did Liangshan become famous. For the four modernizations, we need all kinds of talent. We have to use talented persons to the utmost. We cannot be jealous of or suppress talent. Whether or not people are used affects the success or failure of the four modernizations. Those who get such people will prosper; those who lose such people will fail. Some leaders of certain units had better think about this.

9559
CSO: 4005

USE OF AIR RAID SHELTERS FOR PEACETIME PURPOSES URGED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by TIANJIN RIBAO reporters Xiao Huo [5135 3752] and Deng Yuhe [6772 3768 3109]: "Don't Forget the Underground"]

[Text] Over the years, the proportional relationship between the "bones" and the "flesh" of Tianjin municipality has been seriously lost; not only is housing tight, but for a long time there have not been enough public facilities and public places. Are there now in the municipality empty rooms that can be used?

Yes! Right under your feet!

They are the underground civil air defense works. In the construction of these works, we have, over the years, invested a large amount of capital, cement, reinforcing bars, and sweat. For the most part, all the works that were hastily built before 1972 are already on the verge of becoming abandoned "inundated areas." Those built after 1974, according to shelter-grade standards, only need a little repair and tidying up to be put to all kinds of uses.

The other day we paid a visit to several civil air defense works in which peacetime and wartime uses have been integrated--underground meeting places, restaurants, workshops, warehouses, hospitals, and hotels. When we went up some steps and then went down into the spacious and well-lit underground halls that run from Nankai district to Yanglu Street, responsible comrades of the Nankai District Party Committee were listening to neighborhood reports on the use of civil air defense works. The hall was brilliantly illuminated and beautifully decorated, and its atmosphere was peaceful. On all the side pillars and whitewashed walls were pictures of animals, scenery, flowers and grass. In this district, which lacks cultural facilities, the varied activities provided by the underground cultural center are enthusiastically welcomed by the masses. In the past, teenagers strolled here and there on the streets; now almost every day they come here to look at books and pictorials or watch color television, to play chess or ping-pong. On a simple stage, small-scale programs can be performed. During midsummer, when the sun is scorching hot, here it is pleasantly cool, like autumn. The cultural center attached to the inn can bring in a monthly income of over 3,000 yuan. It not only equips itself, but also makes arrangements for six youths awaiting employment. It not only acts as a "self-sustaining shelter," but also as a "people-sustaining shelter."

The use of underground civil air defense works to serve production and the people's life is truly something worth advocating. The underground dining room of the newly opened canteen in a small grove of Hebei district provides a convenient place for meals for local residents and transients. When we went to this brightly lit dining room with its large seating capacity, the female attendants were carrying out steaming hot stuffed buns from the food preparation room and putting them in front of the customers. An old teacher put me in the picture: "From the time this was built and opened in 1976, it has done good business. Because it is warm in the winter and cool in the summer, even beer can be kept fresh for many more days." The canteen's proprietors have put their storerooms, locker rooms, and cooked wheaten food preparation rooms underground, thereby enlarging their business space. It is calculated that the monthly total business volume of this canteen is 45,000 yuan, with the underground volume being over 44 percent of this total. Underneath this five-layered structure, a new dining room decorated in marble is now being built.

Seeing the well-ordered underground warehouse of a glass household utensils plant in the Baimiao industrial district and the neat, clean, dry, and bright rooms of the Wangchuan Square Hotel and the Jiangua Road Pingzhan Hotel reversed our past impression that civil air defense works were damp and dark. Our municipality does not now make as much use of civil air defense works as does Beijing and Shanghai, and, therefore, it is very necessary to widely popularize the integration of their peacetime and wartime functions. These two peacetime-use underground works in Hebei district, in the second quarter of the year, supported by the district and neighborhood civil air defense committees, were opened one after the other as hotels, and they invested money in the purchase of some beds and bedclothes, and made arrangements for 17 youths who are awaiting employment; each hotel has 40 to 50 beds and brings in a monthly net income of about 1,000 yuan. The underground works are put to both peacetime and wartime uses. This dual use kills several birds with one stone, and so what is there against it?

A developing trend in this century is for some technologically advanced countries to want to use underground space for urban construction. Abroad, there are already underground structures of 10 and more layers, and our country is also probing into deep layers underground. In case a future war breaks out, it will be a three-dimensional war, without a front or a rear. Therefore, on what do we rely to destroy the enemy and preserve ourselves? Only by using the "shield" of underground works will we be able to deflect the "spear" of nuclear weapons.

We visited the underground works of this municipality's Red Cross hospital, which would have the mission of providing relief in case of a nuclear attack. The patients there were resting and receiving medical treatment in an environment with suitable temperatures and air circulation. This 670-square meter underground space has ventilation, virus filtration, and dehumidification equipment. It has a 10-centimeter-thick airtight door for protection against atomic, chemical, and germ attacks. Most of it is already used for civil air defense purposes. There is a storeroom, an isotope room, an X-ray room, a laboratory, and an electrical transformer room. In the underground ward, the temperature is moderate, there is no noise, the air is clean, and there is very little dust or bacteria. It is well suited for patients convelescing from high blood pressure or heart disease. Patients suffering from burns are not easily infected and are quickly cured. The anti-earthquake properties of underground works are good. After the 1976 earthquake, many badly injured patients were shifted underground, where the doctors and nurses could concentrate on caring for them and the patients could concentrate on resting and recuperating. In a period of about half a year, the underground ward admitted more then 230 patients, and this became an exercise similar to one under wartime conditions.

In integrating peacetime and wartime functions, Tianjin municipality's best use of underground space is for knitting mill underground workshops. The workshops cleverly use the cold air underground, so that not only are the workshops pleasantly cool for people, but also the low temperatures in the workshops draw the intense interest of foreign guests toward this cost-free way of saving energy.

Our municipality now has a large amount of civil air defense works that could be, but are not, used. If they are used, we will advance; if they are wasted, we will retreat. Starting from the local urgent requirements, to turn the unused works to good account will directly serve the four modernizations!

9727
CSO: 4005

NATIONALITY ISSUE, CLASS ISSUE ARE NOT THE SAME

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITIES' UNITY] in Chinese No 9, 15 Sep 80 pp 36-39

[Article by Xu Liming [1776 3810 2494]: "Confusion Between Nationality and Class Issues Cannot Be Tolerated"]

[Text] The saying that "the nationality issue is in essence a class issue" has been bandied around for a number of years. For a period of time it also formed the basis of our rationale for handling our nationality issue.

During our criticism and united front campaigns in the early 1960's, those engaged in work involving the nationalities, in the name of "implementing the capitulationism and revisionism line," published in the newspapers and magazines a long list of articles which came to be regarded as a "general truth according to Leninism, arrived at through numerous practical experiences." They turned the united front policy, the nationalities policy and the policy toward religion, so successfully pursued by the party since liberation, into "capitulationism" and "revisionism." They arbitrarily further claimed that the most basic elements of the capitulationism and revisionism line were a repudiation of the idea that nationality issues were substantially caused by class issues; that our class issues, class contradictions, class struggles, and the struggle between socialism and capitalism were at the root of our nationality problems; and that the solution of nationality issues was a problem involving class struggle and revolution. Placed at the mercy of such "theories," our united front workers, workers in the fields of nationalities and religion, and a number of our comrades were among the first to fall victim to this leftists trend of thought.

During the 10-year period of instability, Lin Biao and the gang of four, with a view to their usurping power, embraced this point of view and pushed it to the extreme. They completely confused nationality and class issues and the issues stemming from the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. They promoted the idea that the problem of minority nationalities and the problem of class struggle were one and the same. This view became the theoretical basis adopted by Lin Biao and the gang of four in launching their feudalistic, fascist type of dictatorship in the minority nationality regions and in pushing through their reactionary minority nationality policies.

Even today the so-called idea that "the nationality issue is in essence a class issue" continues to hold sway, hampering the implementation of the party's policy toward the minority nationalities. For this reason, a clarification of this issue is called for from both a theoretical and a practical point of view.

In analyzing the minority nationalities issue, as in analyzing other social issues, we must proceed from a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism: "In analyzing any social problem, Marxism-Leninism absolutely demands that the problem be placed within a particular historical time frame." ("Selected Writings of Lenin," vol 2, p 512) That being the case, let us analyze the proposition that "the minority nationalites issue is in essence a class issue" from both a theoretical point of view and from actual facts, since it is of great practical significance that we clarify the relationship between the minority nationalities issue and the class issue.

The minority nationalities issue has always been part of the whole social issue. It is not an isolated issue; neither is it resistant to change or everlasting. Under different social systems and at different historical periods, the minority nationalities issue will take on the character and the revolutionary objectives of a particular historical period of time. For this reason, in order to correctly identify the character and objectives of the minority nationalities issue, it is essential that it be placed in the context of the whole developing and changing social milieu and the historical conditions actually existing at the time. We should not and must not put the so-called "substance of the minority nationalities issue" at different historical periods in the same general category.

Nevertheless, there was a time when some comrades took the proposition that "the minority nationalities issue is in essence a class issue" as an immutable law in assessing and handling all minority nationalities problems. "In assessing and handling minority nationalities problems," they said, "we must bear in mind this Marxist-Leninist prinicple, no matter whether we are dealing with problems of international colonialism or with problems of our own minority nationalities, and no matter whether we are dealing with the minority nationalities problem during our democratic revolutionary period or during our socialist revolution and reconstruction period." They further put problems of international colonialism and the essence of our minority nationality problems that existed at the time of our democratic revolution in the same category of problems stemming from the oppressed minority nationalities and from the exploiting class' preying on these oppressed minority nationalities.

This line of reasoning obviously runs counter to Marxist theory and confuses the minority nationalities issue as it has existed at different historical periods. As is well known, the Great Soviet Socialist October Revolution ushered in a new era in human history. The human race entered a new era which came on the heels of the proletarian socialist revolution. With the changing times, the extent and nature of the movement against racial colonialism have undergone vast changes from the time of the ascendancy of capitalism. The problem of racial colonialism had become a part of the whole problem of the global proletarian socialist revolution. It had become a global problem involving the liberation from imperialism of the oppressed peoples of the dependent states and colonies.

Regarding the substance of the problem in the colonies and dependent states during that historical period, no classical writer has come up with the generalization that it was the exploiting class that gave rise to the problem. It was Stalin who pointed out, "The substance of the nationalities problem is this: The masses of the nationalities in the colonies and dependent states are opposed to the economic exploitation and political and cultural enslavement imposed upon them by the imperialistic bourgeoisie of the ruling nationalities." ("Collected Writings of Stalin," vol 7, p 184) He pointed out that the nationalities problem is "essentially a problem of the peasantry." ("Collected Writings of Stalin," vol 7, p 61) As for the attempt on the part of some people at the time to equate the nationalities issue created by imperialism with the struggle among the bourgeoisie of the nationalities, he made the profound observation that this [error] was due to the "underestimation of the latent power of the nationalist movement and the failure to understand the profound nationalistic and revolutionary nature of the nationalist movement." (Ibid)

The conclusion drawn by Stalin furnishes a considerable guiding force to our effort to understand and analyze the nationalities problem at the time of our democratic revolutionary period. Citing the conclusion that the nationalities problem is "in essence a problem of the peasantry," Comrade Mao Zedong made it clear that the Chinese revolution was in substance a revolution waged by the peasantry, that the problem of the peasantry was a basic problem of the Chinese revolution, and that it was the power of the peasantry that constituted the mainstay of the Chinese revolution.

It is clear, therefore, that at the time when imperialism held sway as well as during the proletarian revolutionary period, it is contrary to objective facts, whether in dealing with the nationalist colonial problem on the international level or in dealing with the period of our democratic revolution, to draw in an abstract manner the general conclusion that, in substance, the nationalities problem is a class problem, or to draw the direct conclusion that it is a problem of the exploiting class. To do that would be to ignore the changing times. It is also contrary to objective facts to regard the exploiting class as the most important component in the nation.

Some comrades may ask, "What contradiction is there, since Stalin's views on the substance of the nationalities problem were of the substance of the classes?"

The crux of the question is this: Stalin, ever mindful of the developing situation at different historical periods, had come forth with different and specific observations on the substance of the class issue in dealing with the nationalities problem. That represents exactly the essence of Marxism-Leninism. To suggest that "the nationalities problem is in essence a class problem" is to confuse the nationalities problem existing at different historical periods. To conclude in an abstract way that the nationalities problem is in essence "a class problem" or a problem of the exploiting class is contrary to the Marxist principle of analyzing specific problems in a specific manner.

It is not correct to draw the general conclusion that the nationalist colonial problem when imperialism held sway and at the time of the proletarian revolution and the nationalities problem at the time of our democratic revolution are in essence a class problem. It is even more incorrect to conclude that ti is in essence a class problem in this socialist era.

The real intention of those who claim that "the nationalities problem is in essence a class problem" after our socialist reforms were basically completed is to represent our nationalities problem during the socialist period as a problem of the exploiting class among the minority nationalities and as a problem among the hostile classes. To cite an example, they have made the claim that "our present nationalities problem is in essence a class problem, having its root in the classes, in the contradictions among the classes, in the struggle among the classes, and in the struggle between capitalism and socialism." At the same time, they have arbitrarily denied the existence of a nationalities problem among the working class, saying that "the so-called problem of relations among the nationalities has no place among the working class," and that "the so-called nationalistic contradictions are a reflection of the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the classes." Hence, they have offered the opinion that the only way to solve the nationalities problem during our socialist period would be to wage a class struggle, to wage a struggle against the enemy, to completely suppress all antirevolutionary activities, and to further pursue the socialist revolution. This point of view completely ignores the developing and changing objective circumstances during our socialist period.

The problem will come into clearer focus if we study and analyze the history of the development of relations between the classes and between the nationalities during our socialist period.

The establishment of the People's Republic of China signified the basic conclusion of the new democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution. It also signified basic changes in relations between our nationalities. Marxism-Leninism holds that all basic revolutionary problems involve the political power of a country, and that everything hinges on when and by whom political power is held. With the collapse of the reactionary Kuomintang government, there was established a people's democratic autocracy, based on an alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class, which completely eradicated the evil system of suppression of nationalities throughout the nation, brought about political equality among the different nationalities, and altered the entire situation wherein workers of different nationalities had been deprived of power. As Comrade Mao Zedong so aptly pointed out, "The establishment of the People's Republic of China marks the beginning of a large family made up of the different nationalities throughout the nation in a spirit of fraternal love and cooperation." (Quoted from JENMIN RIBAO, 14 Dec 51) Furthermore, in the early stages following liberation, strenuous efforts were made by the party and the people's government to develop cadres among the minority nationalities and to institute autonomy step by step in the minority regions, thus laying a solid foundation for the assumption of political power by an alliance of the working class and the minority nationalities.

The conclusion of democratic reforms and the ushering in of socialist changes marked the establishment of our socialist system as well as the advent of further basic changes in relations among the nationalities. In 1953, when the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party set forth the general line and mission during the transition period, it also pointed out, "In our common task of developing our mother country, efforts should be made to promote step by step the political, economic and cultural development of the different nationalities (including steadily bringing about the necessary social reforms), and to eliminate the historic vestiges of inequality among the different nationalities, so that the backward nationalities can join the ranks of the advanced nationalities in the transition to socialism." In line with this policy, democratic reforms had been made in most of the minority regions by the end of 1953. This was followed by the introduction of socialist reforms. Democratic reforms, first instituted in 1955 in some of the minority regions that still remained under the thrall of serfdom or bondage, were completed by 1958 or 1960. These reforms were followed by socialist reforms. Through democratic and socialist reforms, the vestiges of the original commune system, the bondage system, the feudal ownership system, the feudal land ownership system, and the capitalist system of labor employment were eliminated. Thus the different nationalities were put on the road to socialism and the suppression of and discrimination against nationalities in society were eradicated. This led to basic changes in the structure of the different classes among the minority nationalities and in the relationships among them. Political rule of and economic exploitation by the exploiting class were effectively ended. The workers among the nationalities truly became masters in society, masters of the means of production, and masters in a position to determine the relationship among the nationalities. Hence, the relationship among our nationalities was placed on the economic foundation of the united socialist system of public ownership and on the basis of the common interest of the workers among the nationalities. This brought about a new socialist relationship among the nationalities--that is, basically a relationship among workers.

After the gang of four was smashed, the party Central Committee came forth in a down-to-earth manner with a new Marxist dictum regarding the state of affairs relating to the classes, pointing out that the exploiting class had ceased to exist as a class, and that the overwhelming majority of the members of that class had been turned into workers who were earning their own keep. This dictum is in tune with the objective circumstances of our entire society as well as those in our minority regions. Among the minority nationalities today, such exploiting classes as slave-owners, serf masters, landowners, and livestock owners have been extripated and the capitalist class no longer exists. In a socialist society, the masters are the socialist workers, farmers, herdsmen, intellectuals and other patriots who uphold socialism.. The class struggle, of course, still goes on. Furthermore, our class struggle is tied in with that in other countries. Sometimes this class struggle is a reflection of the relationship among the nationalities (such as the sowing of the seeds of discord among the nationalities, disrupting the unity among the nationalities, breaking up and destroying national unity, etc). In such situations we must, instead of sitting on our hands, be on the alert for all exigencies. At the same time, we must clearly understand that class contradictions are no longer the chief contradictions in our society today, much less the chief contradictions among our nationalities, and that class struggle among the nationalities is an internal matter among the different nationalities themselves. Generally speaking, class contradictions should not be treated as a problem among the different nationalities. In the present historical era, the nationalities factor plays a diminishing role in the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and among the classes, whereas problems arising out of the differences and special features among the nationalities have come to the fore. Under such circumstances, it is most damaging to use "full understanding of the complexity of the nationalities problem" as a pretext for confusing the nationalities issue with the class issue and for treating the substance of our nationalities issue as an issue created by the exploiting class and an issue between the hostile classes. To do that would be to fail to truly reflect the objective situation of the classes and the struggle among the classes in this new era. It would lead to a repetition of the tragedy brought on by Lin Biao and the gang of four, who made the cadres and masses among the nationalities the targets of their attack during their period of rampage. Should not the high price paid for this by the people of the different nationalities serve as a lesson to be etched in the minds of our children and our children's children?

Some comrades have used Comrade Mao Zedong's thesis that "the struggle among the nationalities is, in the final analysis, an issue involving class struggle" to buttress their theory that "the nationality issue is in essence a class issue."

Little do they know that the pronouncement made by Comrade Mao Zedong on 8 August 1973 in support of the justifiable struggle waged by the black people of the United States was directed against racial discrimination perpetrated by reactionaries and the system of racial repression practiced by the American monopolistic class. His chief purpose was to point out that in the final analysis the racial discrimination and repression suffered by large numbers of black people in the United States constituted class repression, that the contradictions between large numbers of black people on the one hand and the monopolistic and reactionary groups on the other were essentially contradictions among the classes, and that the racial struggle being waged was in fact a class struggle. For that reason, it is only when large numbers of black people unite with white workers that they can bring about their own liberation. An analogy may be found in the period during the rule of the Kuomintang, when the people of different nationalities made it their common mission to overthrow its reactionary rule.

With the liberation of our country, racial repression and the struggle against racial repression no longer exist. For this reason, that opinion expressed by Comrade Mao Zedong no longer applies to our country after liberation, and especially after the basic completion of socialist reform in the relationship among the nationalities in our nation. To arbitrarily lump the issues together is to make indistinguishable the differences between different nationality issues under two different social systems, to confuse the issue and to hamper the implementation of our policies.

In short, the proposition that "the nationalities issue is in essence a class issue" has the dangerous effect of confusing the nationalities issue with the class issue and the conflicts of two different natures between the enemy and ourselves. For this reason we must resolutely abandon this erroneous line of thinking.

9621
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CHANGCHUN'S NEW COMPREHENSIVE UNIVERSITY FOR DAY STUDENTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 80 p 1

[Article by Wu Fengyi [2976 7685 0308]: "A New Comprehensive University for Changchun"]

[Text] With the approval of Jilin Provincial People's Government, Changchun city established a comprehensive joint university for day students--Changchun Joint University.

When the examination for schools of higher learning was completed this year, more than 2,000 candidates in Changchun who had received high marks still failed the examination. They are eager to attend schools for advanced study. Changchun Municipal People's Government thus decided to make full use of the superiority in the city's universities, plants and scientific research units to establish this comprehensive joint university for day students on the basis of the principles of "overall consideration and all-round arrangements, complete planning, doing one's outmost, doing what lies in one's power, weighing one's steps by thinking of consequences, and doing what is appropriate according to the circumstances."

Changchun Comprehensive Joint University will enroll students who had failed in the entrance examination for schools of higher learning this year. It has now started registration and will select some 1,100 students with high marks. According to the actual needs of national economic development and the substantive condition of the departments now existing in various colleges and universities, the university is aimed at training various kinds of professional personnel currently needed in general and in urgency. There are 28 departments which include applied electronics, industrial management, machine building, engineering geology, environmental protection, civil construction, cotton spinning, woolen spinning, horticulture as well as liberal arts, history, laws, mathematics, physics, chemistry, foreign languages, etc. Education takes 3 years. A few complicated subjects will take 4 years. School hours will be in day time. Each student contributes a monthly tuition of 10 yuan. The Provincial People's Government will divert a special subsidy from the local funds for expenses. A diploma will be issued to each student upon graduation after passing the examination. The government will not make allocation for jobs, but the school will make recommendations to related units, which will hire them according to their academic achievement. Those hired will receive the same pay as graduates from colleges and universities in general.

Changchun Comprehensive Joint University conducts their education by adopting the method of "scattered classes but concentrated and centralized management." Teachers will be provided by colleges and universities, large plants, and scientific research units. Classrooms will be collectively provided by the municipal government and the universities and plants engaged in the education work by exploiting latent capacity, trying to economize, and doing what is appropriate according to the circumstances. To ensure that various universities will complete their teaching and scientific research missions without diverting too much of their efforts, and to enhance the teaching quality of the comprehensive university, an administration committee of the joint university is established, to be attended by responsible comrades of the units participating in the education work. The secretary in charge of culture and education of the Changchun Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party becomes the president of the university.

9503
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES OPENS NEW INSTITUTES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 80 p 1

[Article by GUANGMING RIBAO reporter Jia Shumei [6328 2885 2653]: "Meet the Needs of Four Modernizations and Strengthen the Study of Social Sciences"]

[Text] The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences [CASS] has devoted the past 3 years to broadening its scope of scientific research in an effort to meet the needs of the program for the modernizations of China. To this end, it has opened 12 newly built research institutes and expanded the old ones.

The CASS's predecessor was the Philosophy and Social Sciences Department under the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The CASS now has 26 research institutes, compared with 14 before the Great Cultural Revolution, with the number of its researchers increasing from 1,264 to 1,996. The CASS is also a publisher of 38 professional journals with a total circulation of 15 million copies a year.

In the economic field, in addition to the old Economic Research Institute and World Economic Research Institute, the CASS has built and put into operation the new Industrial Economic Research Institute; the Agro-Economic Research Institute; the Finance, Trade and Supply Research Institute; and the Technical Economic Research Institute. Since their inauguration, these new institutes have given first priority to research work closely associated with the four modernizations program. Since 1979, over 100 researchers have been organized to investigate and study economic activities in various localities and departments. Thus far, as a result of their investigation, they have come up with a series of reports and suggestions and have published many research essays, in addition to assisting the party and state in formulating economic policy and reforming the economic structure. During the past 3 years, forums on a series of major theoretical problems dealing with the formulation of the national economic study programs and the development of the national economy have been held by these economics institutes for the benefit of scholars. Among them were problems concerning the principle of to each according to his work, the law of value, coordination in planning and marketing, the objective of production, the system of ownership, circulation, economic structure, reform in the economic system, and the residual influence of feudalism in the economic field. These forums have provided economists with an opportunity to emancipate their thinking, conscientiously sum up new China's experiences in developing the economy, and explore the objective laws governing the development of socialist economy. The CASS has also resumed studies in sociology, political science, and law--subjects which had long been considered "forbidden areas" or "phony branches of science cherished by the bourgeoisie"--since the opening of its newly built Sociology and Political Science Institute.

The Law Science Institute has expanded its study program to include international law, economic law, criminal law, and civil law. It has also been invited to participate in the drafting and revision of 18 laws and regulations, including criminal law and the law of criminal procedure.

The CASS has devoted time to strengthening in varying degrees studies in Marxist theory, international politics, domestic politics, culture and social problems. Since their opening, the newly built Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought Research Institute, the World Political Research Institute, the Institute for the Study of Southern Asia, the Institute for the Study of Japan, and the Journalistic Research Institute have scored gratifying successes in their fields.

9574
CSO: 4005

HUBEI CANNOT AFFORD TO HIRE AGRICULTURE SCHOOL GRADUATES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Tu Zhengfeng [1458 2973 1496]: "Why Are Graduates of Agricultural Schools Not Assigned Work?"]

[Text] During my recent news coverage tour of Hubei Province, I was told by departments concerned with agricultural production that there was a shortage of agricultural scientists and technicians in this province. Later, I found that many agricultural school graduates could not be successfully placed in jobs for which they were trained. What a bizarre contradiction!

There now are nine agricultural middle schools in Hubei, with a total of 1,000 or more graduates each year. This year's graduates, who numbered 1,109, were claimed by these schools to be the best they have ever produced in terms of academic achievement. But they have also met the same fate of being turned down. Four out of eight prefectures in the province have expressed unwillingness to offer them any jobs. As a result, hope of finding jobs for these graduates is now in doubt. Presently, graduates fresh from agricultural colleges in the province are also facing the same problem. This was not caused by any excess in the supply of agricultural scientists or technicians in the market. There are now over 11,000 agricultural specialists on the staff of the Hubei Provincial departments of agriculture and animal husbandry. In other words, Hubei Province now has only 2.5 agricultural specialists for every 10,000 persons, and no more than 2 such specialists available for every 10,000 mu of farmland. This problem reportedly was caused mainly by shortages of funds allotted each year to agricultural departments, which could not afford to hire any additional agricultural school graduates because no additional funds were appropriated by the state. With the size of their present budgets, many counties even have difficulty paying the wages of their agricultural staff. As long as this problem exists, it will adversely affect not only the morale of educators but also the growth of the contingent of agricultural scientists and technicians. I hereby suggest that effective measures be taken by departments concerned to solve this problem.

9574
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YUNNAN SOLVES NEW PROBLEMS IN RURAL EDUCATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 80 p 1

[Article: "Yunnan Provincial People's Government Takes Measures to Solve New Problems Encountered in Rural Educational Work"]

[Text] Following the development of the rural situation and the further establishment and perfection of the production responsibility system, new conditions and problems are also encountered in the rural educational work at present. There emerged in Yunnan Province the phenomena that the teachers are unstable, the students shift readily, there is a reduction in the percentage of school enrollment, and schools were even suspended in some places. In light of these problems, the Yunnan Provincial People's Government transmitted four suggestions proposed by the Provincial Bureau of Education requesting people's governments at all levels to solve them by linking them with the actual conditions at local places. The four suggestions as broadcast by XINHUA are:

1) Stabilize the local teachers ranks and insure their pay and rations. In the process of establishing and perfecting the responsibility system for production posts, various places are requested to ensure that the pay and ration of local teachers will not be lower than their original levels. In order that local teachers concentrate their efforts in teaching, they should generally not be given output quotas. The subsidy disbursed by the government to local teachers should be issued according to the original method, and it should not be illegally deducted or misappropriated for other purpose by any units. Appointment and dismissal of local teachers should be made by strictly following the related regulations of the State Council.

2) Adopt a variety of forms of education so as to meet the needs of production. Now that the rural policy has been relaxed, many parents ask children of school age to go home to pasture domesticated animal, to feed fowl, and to care for younger brothers and sisters. Thus, as regards the form of education, it is impossible to continue using such all-in-one method as the simple all-day classes. Various forms of education should be adopted, taking into account such different conditions as economy, nationality, population, geographical terrain, weather, etc. Such forms include the all-day class, the half-day class, the two-part class, the every-other-day class, the day class and evening class, the noon class, circuit to fixed places to teach, etc. Different places should do what is appropriate according to the circumstances and adopt the form of education which is most suitable to the characteristics of the local life, thus enabling the maximum number of children of school age to enroll in schools and moreover making them learn something. We must insist on different

requirements and quality standards from schools of various forms and carry out different teaching programs and educational systems.

3) Earnestly do well at key elementary schools and at commune's elementary schools. Manpower, materials, and funds should be concentrated so that many rural elementary schools holding all-day classes will do well. Every county should do a good job at three or four key elementary schools and use them as model schools. Communes should do a good job at their elementary schools. One or several brigades in areas of certain conditions should jointly do a good job in running an elementary school of all-day classes.

4) Strengthen leadership of rural education and improve the workstyle. Every perfecture and county and especially the county people's government should strengthen leadership of rural education and give prompt study and find solutions to the important issues in rural education.

9503
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LOCAL TEACHERS OF YUNNAN PROVINCE BECOME STATE EMPLOYEES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 80 p 1

[Article: "More Than Twenty Thousand Local Teachers in Yunnan Become State Employees"]

[Text] XINHUA Kunming 7 Oct--Since last year, more than 20,000 local teachers of different minority nationalities in the border nationality regions and the barren inland mountain regions in Yunnan Province have become state employees.

These local teachers were appointed state employees after achieving superiority in cultural test. Proper care is given to the minority teachers, especially to those who teach in their own locality. This year alone teachers of minority nationalities accounted for 46 percent of state employees who were originally local teachers in various counties of the border regions.

The measure adopted by Yunnan Province is very significant in stabilizing the teachers ranks, in developing the educational enterprise, and in strengthening national unity. It is welcomed by the minority people of the border regions.

9503
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COLLEGE ENROLLMENT SYSTEM REVAMPED

Beijing RENMIN JIAOYU [PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] in Chinese No 5, 20 May 80 pp 20-21

[Article by Zhao Sheng [6392 3932]: "New Regulations on Admitting Students to the Institutions of Higher Learning"]

[Text] Since its reinstatement, the college entrance examination system has continued to be improved and perfected along with related regulations. This year, the regulations governing the enrollment of college students have been revised again to include the following three new provisions based on experiences acquired by educators over the past 3 years:

I. Colleges Admit Students According to Their Choices of Departments

The fact that colleges will admit students according to their choices of departments as indicated in the revised application forms is a great improvement in the college enrollment system. Earlier, all colleges admitted students according to their choices of courses or study programs in which they will major. For example, in 1977 there was a student of liberal arts whose first choice was Beijing University and whose two areas of concentration were literature and world history. Upon entering that university he went straight to take these two courses of his original choice as his majors. If a student like that applies for admission to Beijing University this year, his choices of study should be the Departments of Chinese Liberature and History. Following his admission, he will have to join other students of these two departments in taking a number of introductory courses in the freshman year before he can choose his areas of concentration on the basis of his academic achievements and teachers' recommendations.

There are hundreds of institutions of higher learning in our country which offer a wide variety of professional courses and study programs not known to our college-bound students. A course selected by an applicant as his major before his admission might turn out to be a program not suited to his particular needs and interests. A case in point is that some students have passed up courses they should have selected but not because they were unfamiliar with them. According to the new regulations, a freshman student must first complete a study of introductory courses so that he can gain a deeper understanding of various professional courses offered by the departments of his choice, which will help develop his intellectual interests and will provide him with opportunities to select a program or course in which he will major. This arrangement can also give schools ample time to observe the intellectual aptitude of freshman students so that teachers can assign to them programs that best reflect their intellectual interests. In this way, a well-balanced qualitative development of various courses can also be achieved. Apart from these advantages, before proceeding to their areas of concentration, freshman students can collectively carry out their study of introductory courses in large classrooms where they can take full advantage of such modern teaching aid as color slides, television sets and film projectors. Furthermore, with this arrangement, the schools can cut down the consumption of manpower, financial and material resources, which can be used to improve the quality of teaching for introductory courses. As a result of this arrangement, the acute shortages of teachers associated with introductory courses can now be relieved.

II. Provinces, Municipalities and Autonomous Regions With Great Numbers of College-Bound Students Are Required To Hold Preliminary Tests on the Eve of the Nationwide College Entrance Examination

Statistics show that hundreds of thousands of cadres and teachers had to be mobilized to test out applicants for admission to colleges, who totaled 16 million during the past 3 years. The disadvantage that has resulted from allowing so many students to take the annual nationwide college entrance examination is that a great number of educators from colleges and middle schools have to spend a long summer working on test papers, thus depriving them of opportuniites to refresh themselves and to improve the quality of teaching programs for colleges and middle schools; the state has to earmark large funds for this purpose each year; allowing so many students to take the annual nationwide college entrance examination at one time may result in errors and scandals; educators of different persuasions assigned to oversee the examination may have difficulties in meeting the nationally applied requirements for evaluating and monitoring test scores; false records on political and physical examinations cannot be verified because of the shortage of manpower. In an effort to screen and select students accurately and carefully, and to reduce the workload, the State Council has approved and put into effect a new regulation which stipulates that those provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions with extraordinarily large numbers of college-bound students shall select truly outstanding ones to take part in the nationwide examination, and shall hold preliminary tests for this purpose. This idea was initially tried out by some provinces in 1977 and 1978 on the eve of the nationwide college entrance examinations. In these 2 years, the number of students who passed such preliminary tests was nearly five times the number of students to be actually admitted to the colleges. Judging from this fact, truly outstanding students could not possibly be deprived of their opportunities to go to college. Experience proves that that arrangement for preliminary tests is advisable and feasible. Such prelimininary tests are expected to take place in many more provinces in our country this year. All educational units are urged to support this arrangement in accordance with the State Council-approved regulations. Special efforts must be made to educate the public in the policy on the nationwide college-entrance examination.

III. Foreign Language Test Score Shall Weigh More Heavily in the Computation of the Total Test Score in the Future

At present, courses in foreign languages are either unavailable or far below desired standards in many middle schools throughout the country. Every possible effort must be made by schools to help students raise their level of foreign languages in order to enable them to meet the requirements for developing science and technology and promoting the four modernizations. Beginning this year, the foreign language test score in the nationwide college entrance examination will account for 30 percent of the total test score. The foreign language test score will weigh more heavily in the computation of the total test score in the years to come. This emphasis on foreign languages will force all middle schools to strengthen their foreign language study programs and improve their quality, and will stimulate the institutions of higher learning throughout the country to step up the training of foreign language teachers.

9574
CSO: 4005

CAUSES, SOLUTIONS FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY DISCUSSED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 80
pp 81-85

[Article by Xu Jian [1776 1696] of the Huadong College of Politics and Law: "Research on Juvenile Delinquency Problems"]

[Text] A nation's youth is its future and the hope of its people. The burden of social progress and development invariably falls generation after generation on the backs of the young generation. Juvenile degeneration and crime not only are the problem of the young person alone but also are the misfortune of the family and are related to the future of the nation and the success or failure of important national affairs. Both past and present there has never been a nation or an age that did not value the young generation. There are a number of valuable experiences from our national history. Guanzi said, "If education of the young is improper then the people will be dispirited, there will be chaos and the throne will be endangered." This says that if the younger generation is poorly raised and educated the feudal dictatorship will be endangered. Hanfeizi said, "To inculcate youth with the law is most basic of all." This emphasizes the importance of problems in the younger generation. Therefore, the study of and correct solutions for juvenile delinquency are a matter of great urgency and broad concern.

Socialism is Outstanding in Lowering the Juvenile Delinquency Rate.

The phenomenon of crime did not exist from the origins of mankind but is a historical category. It occured after the origin of the private ownership system and together with the origins of such sociological phenomena as classes, nations and laws. The ruling class followed its own wishes in using the power of the law to define crime as behavior which transgressed against the interests of the ruling class and thus prevent people from doing so. Therefore, in terms of origins, the basic reason for the origin of crime lies with the origin of the private ownership system and with the system of exploiting people. After our old liberated areas were liberated they implemented a new social system and the face of society was renewed. The well-known American reporter Edgar Snow in his book XIXING MANJI [RED STAR OVER CHINA] recorded his personal experiences in the liberated areas and said, "In the counties long under socialist government the blatant corruption common to most parts of China appeared to have been eliminated," for example "opium was completely eliminated," "no one seemed to know of any corrupt officials," begging and unemployment were "eradicated," "slavery and prostitution were already eliminated" and so on. This is a fair, correct and objective presentation of the facts.

After the founding to the People's Republic of China the social order was quickly stabilized, all criminal elements were effectively reformed and all types of criminal cases, including cases of juvenile delinquency showed dramatic declines and long periods of stability. In many places including the cities there appeared the phenomenon of "lost objects remaining untouched and doors not locked at night." Shanghai for example was called a "paradise for adventurers" in pre-Liberation days and was an area of concentration for illegal activities that was wide open to the activities of army ruffians, gangsters, gamblers and robbers. In 1949 the party and people's government liberated this city from the hands of the imperialists and Guomindang reactionaries. At that time there was a crime rate of over 40,000 cases per year wich is to say that in Shanghai a crime was committed every 10 minutes. While the people were overthrowing the old system and bringing about radical changes they also transformed the historical progression of developments in crime and Shanghai showed a new situation of yearly decreases in criminal cases. Statistical materials show that in the five years until 1954 the number of cases was decreased by 50 percent from the pre-Liberation figures, and there was a continual decrease, reaching about 70 percent in 1957, 75 percent in 1961 and on the eve of the cultural revolution in 1965 it was about 90 percent lower. These figures include a great decrease in juvenile crime which was impossible in the old Chinese society and is impossible in a capitalist country. A number of well-known foreigners in China understood and personally observed these changes. All were surprised at the success of China's socialist system and the working of a miracle in making such a startling reduction of the criminal elements. Under the socialist system the party and state developed production and solved the old society's problem of large-scale unemployment by having each person contribute his own strength and by creating conditions to benefit mankind. At the same time the heads of households relied on their labor and wisdom to develop production and transform their livelihood, not only ensuring a reliable livelihood but also fulfilling the hopes of a beautiful life in the future. Under such conditions the activities of bandits, robbers, cheats, and gangsters became socially despicable and the people despised their anti-social behavior. All of this gave our struggle against crime and all sorts of other evil activities a very broad social base. As for that very small minority of unreformed evil people which continued to endanger society and the people the agencies of the people's dictatorship attacked them with legal measures, adoped a policy of combined punishment and re-education which gave them a way out and a means of reform which then permitted the city of Shanghai which was polluted with the "ten li of foreign establishments" to accomplish reforms within a reasonable period of time, thus achieving good public security and continual great decrease in the number of crimes.

What is the Message of the Recent Dramatic Increase in Juvenile Delinquency?

During the ten years of upheaval the major crimes were committed by juveniles, thus showing a trend which made people uneasy. A few provinces and cities undertook investigations which clearly show rapid increase of juvenile delinquency, some approximately doubling in the last ten years and others far exceeding this amount. The greatest increase in all crime was in juvenile delinquency, from 20-30 percent in the 50s to about 60 percent at present. Juvenile delinquency is especially high in large cities and this has drawn attention and comments from people here and abroad. Everyone knows that after 1966 our political and economic life underwent an upheaval rarely seen in history. In their attempt to usurp leadership of the party and the state Lin Biao and the "gang of four" confused right and wrong, overturned black and white, destroyed the economy, created chaos, fought battles, overran the legal system, transgressed against human rights, were proud and vain, had enormous special privileges and committed great crimes. The increase in crime and juvenile delinquency in this period cannot be separated from the destruction wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Therefore, the dramatic increase of juvenile delinquency under the special conditions of the past ten years was a temporary phenomenon created by a special set of conditions and definitely cannot be considered to be a normal pattern or long-term tendency and even less is a regular part of the socialist system. It must also be pointed out that even with the abnormal condition of an approximately ten percent annual increase of juvenile delinquency after 1966 the crime rate was still lower than in the early years of liberation and is even relatively lower than that of a few major capitalist nations. This is seen in a comparison of crime and population figures. In America it is 5.3 percent, England 4.4 percent, West Germany 4.8 percent and Japan 1.1 percent; while in China it is as low as 0.5 per thousand. A comparison of juvenile delinquency statistics from a number of Chinese cities for all youths and young people shows that we are still much lower than capitalist societies.

There is another important and very convincing fact which is that since smashing the "gang of four" crime and juvenile delinquency in China ended its ten-year history of increases. According to statistics from the Central Bureau of Public Security crime began to decline after smashing the "gang of four" in 1977. From 1977 to 1978 the decline was 2.3 percent. However, three years is not enough time to eliminate the disasters and influences caused by ten years of chaos and we cannot hope to be able to make a large and lasting decrease in juvenile delinquency in such a short period of time. In addition, even when all of the causes are completely accounted for there still is the possibility of recurrent outbreaks so we can only work under the watchful eye of the whole party to strengthen the basis of educating and showing all-round concern for young people and handing out severe punishment for the small number of serious crimes. There then ought to be an obvious decline in juvenile delinquency.

An Analysis of the Factors in the Dramatic Increases in Juvenile Delinquency.

According to general reference materials and an analysis of some typical investigations the great majority of crimes are committed by juvenile delinquents and the great majority of these are by young people under age 25 and teenagers under 18, which is the generation of the cultural revolution. During the cultural revolution they were in the growth process from childhood to maturity. In physiological terms this is an extremely rich period of replacing the old with the new and from a social point of view this is a key period in which they respond to the family, friends, relatives, schools and society in starting to form their ideology, viewpoint, ethics character, morals, desires, ideals and will and generally come to understand duty and obligation. It is a period of change in which they turn from parental obedience to their society wherein they learn and practice independence and it also is a period for molding the individual. Just at this time Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carried out the destruction and ruination of the the then maturing generation with a viciousness rarely seen in Chinese history and the factors which most directly affected the younger generation were the following:

First: The Perverse Theory and Acts of "Beat, Smash and Grab" Inculcated the Young Generation with a Kind of Fascist Philosophy.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" widely promulgated the perverse theory of "beat, smash and grab" with cutting off trousers, smashing things, cutting off hair, claiming to be "cleaning up the filth and muck," establishing their "great merit"; carrying on battles with others claiming "to use words for attack and weapons for defense"; saying that smashing the opposing organization was a "revolutionary activity" and a "worthwhile deed"; beating and kicking people and causing physical harm with the claim that "revolution is an act of violence"; saying that the "good people" beat the "bad people" because they deserve it, and so on. With the encouragement of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" "beating, smashing, stealing and grabbing" became the mark of bravery for an age and people like Wang Hongwen became the heroes of China during the 1960s. There were a number of these desperados and the petty ones became powerful for a while by fishing for gain and purchasing benevolence while the the bigger ones became officials and nobles and were extremely popular for a time. Their reactionary theories and evil examples directly destroyed some of the young people while their influence affected a whole generation of people. They took Wang Hongwen, Chen Ada [7115 7093 1129] and Huang Jinhai [7806 6855 3189] as their models, enjoyed themselves, formed groups and engaged in beating, smashing and other evil behavior while calling this "revolution." Under our socialist conditions they formed a fascist philosophy of force, a kind of reactionary heroism of power. Studies in a number of cities prove that these violent juvenile delinquents generally had a blind faith in "violence" believing that "whoever beats people is revolutionary" and that"whoever has powerful arms is revolutionary." In Tianjin there was one delinquent not yet even 18 years old whose experience was "the more severely I beat people the more others fear me and respect me and the more status I have." With this ideological support he ranged throughout seven wards of Tianjin with a force sometimes reaching over 700 people which committed many crimes.

Second: The Rise of the Evils of Individualism and the Spread of the Ideology of Wanton Personal Benefit

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were ambitious plotters and to realize their individual ambitions and to enjoy a bourgeois life-style there is no evil thing they would not do. They frequently used the most moving words and the most revolutionaryphrases for concealment and carried out the vilest of deeds. In order to satisy their material desires, no matter whether it was state, collective or individual property theywould either just take them, publicaly steal them or even get them through deception and deceit. In order to realize their individual ambitions they would tell lies, manufacture rumors, deceive and dupe, twist the truth, form groups and gangs, grant positions and petitions, create favorable conditions and just do as they pleased. They advanced such perverse theories as "there is no truth at all to class struggle" and "we must lead the opposition into following the wrong path." Lin Biao had a slogan which read, "without lies no great deeds are accomplished." It was these ideologically corrupt and morally bankrupt brigands who became the models, stalwarts and "heroes" during the period of political chaos. To follow them was to be praised and encouraged and permitted to venture into high places while to oppose them was to invite disaster, suffer criticism and even endanger one's own life. They considered their personal pleasures and liberal expenditures of the people's lifesblood as their glory, proudly fought for power and self-interest, plotted for personal gain, vented their anger without the least bit of shame or fear, ran rampant over socialist morals and the grand revolutionary traditions and created an evil rise of individualism. The experiences of a Shanghai machine plant worker named Wu who has already transformed himself into an progressive young worker are representative of the times. He was not yet 16 when he entered the plant in 1965 and wanted to make progress. During the cultural revolution under the ideological poisons of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" he joined the "rebel brigade" under the "workers general headquarters" and engaged in "beat, smash and grab" activities. After the "victory" he got a motorscooter and thus learned the lessons of the likes of Wang Hongwen and Chen Ada that a "murderous" attitude toward society will provide all one's needs and he followed a life of crime, from breaking into sentry-posts and dining halls to stealing cars and wielding a knife. Youths who recently have embarked on the road to a life of crime will realize that although they have not personally experienced the chaos of the cultural revolution that in terms of ideology and manner they nonetheless are the heirs of the young criminals of the cultural revolution.

Third: The Rampage of Anarchistic Tides of Thought

During the cultural revolution Lin Biao and the "gang of four" usurped government power, wilfully trod upon all morals, ethics, laws and systems, brought absolute chaos to all normal social relationships, made everyone obey them, and bent the truth to serve their own interests. Everywhere they did as they wished without any restraints at all and in defiance of law. Parents could not control children, teachers could not teach children, masters could not lead their disciples and the upper levels could not lead the lower levels. Each person took care of himself and god took care of everyone. Such conditions made heads of households, schools and society powerless to do anything about the bad tendencies and socially abnormal behavior of young people. They watched the young people's declining moral standards, bad behavior and step by step march onto dangerous paths but were unable to apply any of the normal relationships to teach, lead, prevent, divert or warn them. An even more severe problem was the creation of youthful disrespect for the law and other restraints, all authority was bad, none was wanted, it could be resisted, destruction was looked upon as a pleasure and the error of opposing the normal order was seen as brave, heroic behavior. They felt that because they were young and of good status they were entirely beyond the law, so they frequently broke the law to test it, all the while clearly aware of the illegality of their acts yet taking the chance and as a consequence committed serious crimes.

Fourth: Economic Destruction Resulted in Much Youthful Unemployment and Waiting for Employment.

During the ten years of chaos the national economy stagnated yet the schools annually cast several million more young people into society. Except for a small percentage of those who were qualified for further study, every year large numbers were unable to find employment and formed an unoccupied contingent awaiting employment. This was a great problem. They had abundant energy but no work. They gradually grew older but had no income. Tney wanted to study but had no opportunity or wanted to continue their education but lacked the necesssry foundation and confidence. They wanted a future but didn't know what would be the right future and so some of them worried and wondered while others became violent and destructive and began to live a life of evil. It is understood that among the Shanghai juvenile delinquents there were ten percent either out of work or awaiting employment. Statistics from some places show that one third of the juvenile delinquents were unemployed or were awaiting employment.

China is a highly populated and economically backward nation. Under the socialist system we had pretty much solved the employment problems. In the last ten years the economic destruction caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" resulted in a large number of idle labor forces, actually a condition of unemployment. The only difference from capitalism was that for the majority of people their parents had secure employment so that there were no great hardships. Nonetheless the nation had a large number of youths awaiting employment and this was an urgent problem requiring prompt solution. Studies in some provinces and cities show that in areas where there were relatively more youths awaiting employment, when this problem was handled the juvenile delinquency problem showed marked decreases. A study of 12,000 unemployed youths in Wuhan showed that before employment arrangements were made there were 215 criminals and that this dropped to 17 criminals after employment was arranged. In Suzhou the problem of youths awaiting employment was not severe and 13 of 15 gangs were broken up producing a 64.3 percent decrease in juvenile crime. This shows the importance of youth employment in solving the problem of juvenile delinquency.

A study of those who left the Shanghai youth training institute between 1972 and 1979 shows that those who left with employment were one third less likely to become involved in serious crimes. This clearly shows the great difference of having employment after training. After Yang Xincai left the youth institute of the south ward of Shanghai he was determined to correct his mistakes. However, this was in 1968 and he was met with contempt, coldness and derision. The political confusion was accompanied by economic decline so that Yang Xincai could not find work and had to endure both cold and hunger. In 1971 he managed to enter a neighborhood production group, but just at that time the "leftist" policies of the "gang of four" resulted in his not receiving one bit of compensation for his year of work. Society could provide no solutions so Yang Xincai again embarked upon a life of crime. If the "gang of four" had not been smashed it is unthinkable that Yang Xincai could ever have become a participant in the new long march of Shanghai light industry.

The destruction wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also is behind many other reasons for the increase in juvenile delinquency, such as the closing of schools which resulted in youthful ignorance and stupidity. Widespread harm of cadres and intellectuals resulted in many broken families. There also was the reactionary theory of blood lineage.

Fifth: Inappropriate Family Influence and Parental Teachings

The family is the kernel of society and family influences and parental teachings play an important role in the maturation process. There is much proof that where the family structure is good, the relationships warm and intimate and where the parents place strict restraints and have proper supervision over their children there is little juvenile delinquency and social order is maintained. During the rampages of the "gang of four" the great majority of children were well behaved. This is because the great majority of parents had not forgotten their social responsibilities. According to the same principle we can see that to a great extent juvenile delinquency is related to family influences especially that of the parents. Although the blame cannot be absolutely be placed on the parents nonetheless the majority of parents cannot deny their responsibility. Statistics from a number of areas show that about 20 percent of the current juvenile delinquency is due to family causes.

Of the family influences which cause juvenile delinquency the main one is inappropriate parental teachings. According to statistics from some Shanghai work-study schools 75 percent of juvenile crimes are related to parental teachings and supervision. Where parental teaching and supervision are inappropriate this is demonstrated in two extremes. In one extreme there is an excess of indulgence, yielding to shortcomings,and overprotection. From childhood they become habituated to greed, self-indulgence and doing whatever they please and thus become "little dictators" in the home. As they grow older their thinking does not undergo any criticism and their desires increasingly grow until the family is no longer able to satisfy them. Still they lack the means of self-control and progress from being a "little dictator in the home to being a "big wheel" in the neighborhood and finally becoming a juvenile delinquent. In a Beijing work-study school class of 20 people two were eldest children and 14 were "old troublemakers," a total of 80 percent. The other extreme of family upbringing is to beat,curse, force and starve the children. The parents feel that "a heavy cudgel produces good children" with results opposite of those desired, causing an opposition between parents and children and eliminating all feelings from the family relationship. In some families the maltreatment of the children made them run away from home to make their own way and leading them to a life of crime. According to statistics from 101 juvenile delinquents in prison, 26 of them were from homes with the above conditions.

China has a huge working force and in most families both parents work so it easily happens that because of work and available energies the scientific education and strict supervision of the children are neglected. In addition, the state encourages planned parenthood to control population increases so there are more and more only children. In some day schools fully half the children are only children and this shows that concern over livelihood exceeds concern over ideology, morals and ethics. Some parents mistakenly believe that to give a child adequate food and clothing discharges their responsibility and this is a problem deserving much attention. Parental teaching plays an important role in child rearing. Some comrades say that the parents are the first teachers, the most enduring teachers and the teachers who best understand their "students." Therefore, parents ought to look upon education of their children as a respected service to the state and society, as an undeniable social obligation which requires the proper arrangement of time and energies, the study of correct methods of child raising, a coordination of effort with the schools and society and a strengthening of correct child education and supervision.

Sixth: The Special Effect of Art and Literature on the Maturation of Young People

A special characteristic of young people is that the speed of their physical and biological development has outstripped their intellectual development and their imagistic thought is more powerful than their logical thought. Literature, art, drama, movies, television and fiction are of special influence and use in approaching this characteristic of the young mind. Good works are capable of leading and stimulating young people to make a revolutionary struggle for high ideals. Bad works can directly influence young people into harmful behavior. There was one young girl who originally was well behaved but then she later saw movies, television and plays and learned of such things as makeup, style, love, dancing, drinking and pleasures. She took her role models from foreign films and chased after a western lifestyle, finally embarking on a path of crime and counterrevolution. Therefore, because of this special influence, literature and propaganda must consider the social results and benefit the healthy development of young people. This point is not ours alone but is common to the world at large.

In order to minimize the inroads of such harmful and corrupt ideology, and this is an even more important point, there must be powerful advocacy of healthy and beneficial amusements and physical activities, an abundance of extra-curricular activities for young people, provision of the maximum possible number of youth activity areas, a broadening of their vision and a nurturing of broad interests, hobbies and skills to lead their abundant youthful energies into areas which benefit their healthy maturation and benefit society.

In addition, smoking, gambling and drinking by the juvenile delinquents are habits which directly lead young people to crime. Studies in some areas show that of juveniles convicted of crimes 100 percent smoke, 90 percent gamble and 50 percent drink. The lewd, corrupt and vicious activities of some people began with drinking, gambling and smoking or from an addiction to smoking and drinking. Some people commit crimes because of gambling losses or to get gambling money and others steal money to buy cigarettes or simply steal cigarettes. After some juvenile delinquents have been reformed they sum up the lesson of their own experiences saying, "It started with poor study and was made final with a cigarette." Therefore, the cultivation of avoidance of smoking, gambling and drinking among young people is an important task in preventing lewdness and corruption.

The Basic Step Toward Preventing and Reducing Juvenile Delinquency is Overall Supervision.

Juvenile delinquency is a complex social problem which touches every corner of society. The prevention and reduction of juvenile delinquency is a long-term strategic duty. Therefore, it will not do to leave the solution of this problem to any one department or small group of persons. We must depend on involvement of the entire party, coordination of all sides, overall implementation, attention to details and complete use of the superiority of the socialist system. Economics, politics, administration, education, morals and law must all protect, cultivate and mold our youth. The five factors of family, schools, neighborhoods, factories and the government can form a fixed, cooperating entity, perhaps in the form of "overall supervision." This will be beneficial in vigorously protecting and ensuring the healthy development of our young people.

The enactment of a youth protection law would benefit the enforcement of some "overall supervision" measures with the strength of the law and they would be strongly carried out by government agencies. The focus of the youth protection law is to protect youth. There should be clearly written regulations stipulating the responsibilities and duties for all departments, groups and individuals to follow in protecting, nurturing and educating young people, and there also should be regulations for severe punishment for the poisoning or harm of young people. This will protect the healthy development of our young people.

11582
CSO: 4005

UNIVERSITY, MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHERS TO TEACH IN TIBET

Shanghai University Teachers

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 23 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai University Teachers Going To Help in Tibet Arrive Safely in Nyingchi"]

[Text] Special correspondent Chou Bingquan [07193521 2938] reports that the university teachers from Shanghai, who were going to take teaching positions at the Tibet Medical College, yesterday arrived in Nyingchi County, which is over 430 km from Lhasa and the location of the Tibet Medical College. The university teachers from Zhejiang who will help Tibet arrived together with them. The group of university teachers left Shanghai on 4 November and arrived in two groups on 16 November and 18 November in Lhasa. Because most of them are middle-aged teachers and are in the high plains for the first time, some were seriously affected by the high mountains. However, after a brief rest in Lhasa they were back to normal. Early on the morning of 20 November they left Lhasa for the 2-day drive on high mountain roads. They crossed the Mila Mountains, which are over 5,000 meters high, and on 21 November safely arrived at Tibet Medical College, which is located in one of the famous forest zones of the Tibet Autonomous Region, over 2,000 meters above sea level where the air is good.

'One-on-One' Tutoring System

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Chinese and Tibetan Middle School Teachers in Lhasa Start 'One-on-One" Tutoring System"]

[Text] Recently, the Bureau of Culture and Education in Lhasa, Tibet Autonomous Region, decided to start a "one-on-one" tutoring system among Chinese and Tibetan middle school teachers.

Teachers helping Tibet who are working in Lhasa have more teaching experience and a high level of teaching ability. In order to fully develop this skill and have them train a group of teachers of the Tibetan nationality to have a high level of teaching ability during the time they are in Tibet, the Lhasa Municipal Bureau of Culture and Education decided to organize Chinese and Tibetan teachers in middle schools to begin "one-on-one" tutoring. To this end, they have done the following:

1. On the basis of voluntary sign-up and organizational principles, Chinese and Tibetan teachers of the same grade level and discipline were organized into pairs to carry out the tutoring through specific teaching activities.

2. In terms of form and content, Chinese and Tibetan teachers together studied and discussed the teaching aim of each section of the teaching materials, the points of emphasis and difficulty, the arrangement of classtime, teaching method and problems that should be noted in teaching. Then the Tibetan teachers wrote out lesson plans and the Chinese teachers corrected them, and finally they settled on a teaching plan together.

3. Middle schools will make this activity part of the normal teaching plan, and teachers who are carrying more than a normal load will be given appropriate help by the Bureau of Culture and Education.

4. The Bureau of Culture and Education will conduct regular inspections of this activity in middle schools, and will start assessments and competitions to commend and reward teachers whose teaching attitude is conscientious and who have evident results.

Middle School Teachers

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "More Than 500 Middle School Teachers From the Interior Head for Tibet To Take Up Teaching Posts"]

[Text] To further develop education in Tibet, recently another group of over 500 middle school teachers from the interior of China went to Tibet to assume teaching positions.

These middle school teachers from Sichuan, Jiangsu, Henan, Hunan, Hubei, Shandong, Liaoning and Shanghai are the fourth group of teachers who have gone to help Tibet in accordance with the directive of the Central Committee. The more than 1,100 teachers from these 8 provincial and municipal units who have in the past been sent to help out Tibet, in their work assumed responsibility for a large part of the teaching in middle schools which is emphasized by Tibet, and they have been the mainstay force in middle school education in Tibet.

After the Central Committee issued its directive on work in Tibet, the above mentioned eight provincial and municipal units' concerned sections considered teachers' work to help Tibet even more seriously. Ali District, where the conditions are very difficult and where there have never been any teachers to help Tibet, now has 45 teachers sent from Henan.

8226
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MINORITY STUDENTS FROM XINJIANG PASS COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Over 2,000 Minority Students From Xinjiang Pass College Entrance Examinations"]

[Text] This year 2,134 children of minorities in the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region passed the entrance examinations for college. This is the largest number of Xinjiang minority children to pass since the higher education examinations were reinstated nationally.

New students from the 11 minorities of Uighur, Kazakh, Mongol, Tibetan, Uzbek, Tajik, Kirghiz, Daghor, Tatar, Sibo and Russian constituted over 52 percent of the new students enrolled in institutions of higher education in Xinjiang. New students from other national minorities were also enrolled. Thus, minorities in Xinjiang have their own university students.

In addition, over 340 minority children from Xinjiang this year passed entrance examinations for universities in the interior. Malati [7456 2139 2251], a student of Kazakh nationality from the First Middle School of Red Flag Commune in Jeminay County and Paerhati Kuerban [1584 1422 0761 2251 1655 1422 3803], a student of the Uighur nationality from the Third Middle School in Kaxgar took the examinations in their native languages and earned scores of 455 and 380, respectively, and became the first of the minority students in the physics and literature examinations and have both been enrolled in the Central Nationalities College. Mulati [2606 2139 2251], a Uighur middle school student from Urumchi, and Zainure [0375 0505 3583], a Kazakh middle school student from the Akesu District, took the examination in Chinese with scores of 358 physics) and 354 (literature) and have been enrolled in the China University of Science and Technology and Beijing University, respectively.

8226
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

MINORITY STUDENT TRAINING--Quangxi-Zhuang Autonomour Region has adopted special measures to train minority students. Now, concerned sections of the autonomous regions have recruited from the border and mountain areas 400 minority students to attend 5 middle schools with good foundations, 300 minority students to attend minority classes at 4 middle level hygiene schools. In addition, 200 minority students have been recruited for preparatory classes at Guangxi Nationality College. While they are studying, these minority students will all receive stipends, texts, teaching materials and clothing and mosquito netting and other necessities provided by the people's government. At the same time, concerned sections of the autonomous region have decided that minority students in country seat middle schools in eight minority autonomous counties in the region will have restored the stipends and other considerations they enjoyed before the Great Cultural Revolution. [Text] [Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 80 p 1] 8226

CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 76985

11 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 147

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 76985

11 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 147

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Arab Summit To Take Place on 25 November
(XINHUA, 20, 23 Nov 80) 1

Summit Will Open 25 November
Taking Place on Schedule

Canadian Premier Meets Arab Leaders
(XINHUA, 25 Nov 80) 3

Omani-Built Dhow Sets Sail for Voyage to China
(XINHUA, 23 Nov 80) 4

Pakistan Supports UN Resolution on Afghanistan
(XINHUA, 21 Nov 80) 5

UK Spokesman on Defense Policy
(XINHUA, 25 Nov 80) 6

Britain Reduces Minimum Lending Rate
(XINHUA, 25 Nov 80) 7

Mrs Thatcher Rejects Unilateral Disarmament
(XINHUA, 21 Nov 80) 8

Purges Carried Out in Turkish Government
(XINHUA, 24 Nov 80).................................... 9

Australia's Street Completes Philippines Visit
(XINHUA, 18 Nov 80) 10

Australian Foreign Minister Tours Thai-Kampuchean Border
(XINHUA, 20 Nov 80) 11

Beijing Commemorates Birth Centenaries of Romanian Literary Figures
(XINHUA, 20 Nov 80).................................. 12

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Visits Bulgaria
(XINHUA, 21 Nov 80) 13

Briefs

British Pergamon Press 14
Theater Troupe's Return 14
Italian Film 'Marco Polo' 14
Herbal Medicine Meeting 15
Acrobats' New York Finale 15
USSR To Compensate Canada 15
Western Nations' Steel Output Drops 15
West Increases Naval Presence 16
Queen Elizabeth II Visits EEC 16
Queen Elizabeth Reaffirms Commitment 16
U.S.-European Relations 17
Detente Seen as Decoy 17
Aegean Naval Exercise Held 17
Albania, Greece Discuss Relations 17
Latin American-U.S. Relations 18
Soviet Bases Concern Japan 18
Explosion Victims Receive Relief 18
SRV Seizes Kampuchean Paddy 18
Kampuchean Delegation Ends Visit 19
Kampuchea Forces Attack SRV Strongholds 19
Kampuchean Guerrillas Attack SRV Strongholds 19
Chinese Ensemble Performs in Romania 19
Siad Comments on U.S. Bases 20
Majlis Speaker's Remarks on Hostages 20
Iranian President Addresses Rally 20
Iran, Iraq Urged to Cease-Fire 20
Pakistan Committed to Normalization 21
Algeria's Intermediaries Return Home 21

PARTY AND STATE

Developing Literature, Arts To Serve Four Modernizations Urged
(Ma Feng; FENSHUI, 15 May 80) 22

Not Employing Talented People Properly Said Intolerable
(Fang Ge; GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 28 Aug 80) 37

Rectification, Reform, Keeping in Touch With Reality Urged
(Huang Jinrui, et al; GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 25 Aug 80) 39

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Rapprochement Between China, the West Discussed
(Editorial, G. De Briganti; DEFENSE INTERARMEES, Oct 80) 41

Underground Shelters, Civil Defense
(DEFENSE INTERARMEES, Oct 80) 43

Beijing Garrison's Third Infantry Division
(Giovanni de Griganti; DEFENSE INTERARMEES, Oct 80) 45

'Ba Yi Radio' Raps Indictment Against Former PLA Leaders
(Ba Yi Radio, 24 Nov 80) 59

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Discussion of Population Problems, Solutions
(Wu Peidan, et al; FUDAN XUEBAO [FUDAN JOURNAL], Jul 80) 61

Arguments Against One-Child Family Refuted
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 27 Sep 80; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 4 Oct 80) 70

Imbalance Between Sexes
Aging Population

Marriage Laws Urged for Protecting Health of Nation
(Wu Min; BEIJING WANBAO, 17 Sep 80) 72

ARAB SUMMIT TO TAKE PLACE ON 25 NOVEMBER

Summit Will Open 25 November

OW201004 Beijing XINHUA in English 0939 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] Amman, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--The 11th Arab Summit Conference, scheduled to begin here next Tuesday, will be held as planned, declared Jordan's Foreign Minister Marwan al-Qasim in a statement issued at the end of the meeting of a seven-member committee of Arab foreign ministers last night.

Al-Qasim who is also chairman of the preparatory committee, said the seven-member committee would draft a "working programme" which would serve as a "continuation and affirmation" of the basic principles and resolutions adopted at the Baghdad and Tunis summits in 1978 and 1979. He said this draft would also "take into consideration developing some of these principles for the sake of national interests and in line with changing conditions."

Al-Qasim expressed satisfaction with the "successful" work of the seven-member committee made up of representatives from Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The main draft recommendations to be submitted to the foreign ministers conference deal with a comprehensive strategy for confronting the Zionist enemy in the next phase. The foreign ministers are expected to approve the recommendations and submit them to the summit convening in Amman's Royal Cultural Centre on 25 November.

Taking Place on Schedule

OW230813 Beijing XINHUA in English 0803 GMT 23 Nov 80

[Text] Amman, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--The 11th Arab Summit Conference will take place here on 25 November as scheduled, declared the Arab foreign ministers conference which closed here today.

Syrian Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam walked out of the closing session after it rejected a Syrian proposal for a postponement of the summit. He told reporters before leaving for Damascus that his country would not attend the summit.

Foreign minister of South Yemen Salim Salih told XINHUA this morning, "We take a common stand with the steadfastness countries." So far there was no immediate confirmation of the position of Libya and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Jordanian foreign minister and chairman of the conference Marwan al-Qasim stressed in his closing speech the importance of Arab unity and Arab united stand. He said, "Our people will not allow themselves to fall into the whirlpool of split again." "We will continue the process of Arab unity at all costs" and "strictly adhere to national principles."

Secretary-general of the Arab League Chadli Klibi also spoke at the closing session.

Three documents were adopted by all the foreign ministers including that of Syria at yesterday's closed door meeting. They are the joint Arab action programme, the Arab economic strategy and amendments to the Arab League charter. The documents will be submitted to the summit for discussion and approval.

CSO: 4020

CANADIAN PREMIER MEETS ARAB LEADERS

OW250732 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 25 Nov 80

[Text] Ottawa, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau flew back here tonight after his nine-day official visit to Saudi Arabia, the Yemen Arab Republic, Egypt, the Federal Republic of Germany and France.

Trudeau's trip was said to have centered on the north-south dialogue, international economic problems, the Middle East crisis and preparations for the seven-nation summit of major industrialized countries in Ottawa next July.

It was reported that during his official 3-day visit to Saudi Arabia, the Canadian prime minister had a series of meetings with Saudi Oil Minister Shaykh Ahmad Yamani, Planning Minister Shaykh Hisham Nazir and Finance Minister Shaykh Muhammad al-Khayl, Mad al-Khail, mainly to discuss cooperation in the petroleum field.

Trudeau had a one-hour-and-half talk with Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat last Saturday. After the meeting, President al-Sadat said Canada and Prime Minister Trudeau have "a very important role to play" in the Middle East peace process. Briefing reporters, Trudeau said Canada will continue to oppose Israeli settlement of the West Bank and the annexation of Jerusalem, and to support a UN call for withdrawal from the occupied territories. "We are convinced that peace cannot come without a solution to the Palestinian problem, and that solution includes a territorial arrangement, especially the West Bank and Gaza," he noted.

CSO: 4020

OMANI-BUILT DHOW SETS SAIL FOR VOYAGE TO CHINA

OW231556 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 23 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--The Omani dhow "Sohar," today left the naval base in Muscat, on a modern Sinbad voyage to China, according to a report from Muscat.

Omani Minister of National Heritage and Culture H.H. Faysal ibn 'Ali ibn Faysal al Bu Sa'id presided over the seeing-off ceremony.

At the ceremony, both Minister Al Bu Sa'id and Chinese Deputy Minister of Culture Situ Huimin praised the development of friendship between the two countries and wished the "Sohar" success.

A Chinese Government delegation headed by Deputy Minister Situ Huimin arrived in Muscat yesterday specially for the occasion.

Present on the occasion were personal advisor to His Majesty Qabus ibn Sa'id al Bu Sa'id and Governor of Muscat H.H. Thuwaini ibn Shihab, Vice-Prime Ministers Fahar ibn Taymur al Bu Sa'id and Fahd ibn Mahmud al Bu Sa'id, members of the royal family, ministers and diplomatic envoys here.

Chinese Ambassador Yuan Lulin was also present on the occasion.

The "Sohar" spread sail to follow the travels of Sinbad, the famour navigator of more than 1,000 years ago, on a 6,000-mile journey to China. The replica of the Sinbad voyage sponsored by Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id al Bu Sa'id ahd his government is a historic exchange of culture between Oman and China.

This Sinbad voyage is also part of the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of Oman's national day.

The dhow was made of special timber from the Malabar coast of India. It is 87.6 feet long and 21 feet wide, and has a crew of 20.

CSO: 4020

PAKISTAN SUPPORTS UN RESOLUTION ON AFGHANISTAN

OW210258 Beijing XINHUA in English 0219 GMT 21 Nov 80

[Text] United Nations, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--Pakistan was gratified with the response of the international community to the Afghanistan crisis, said Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi at a press conference here this afternoon, commenting on the just-adopted UN resolution on Afghanistan.

The UN General Assembly this morning adopted, by an overwhelming vote of 111 to 22, a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan. The resolution was sponsored by Pakistan and 41 other nations.

Shahi said, "The vote speaks for itself. The international community has, of course, decisively and emphatically expressed its will concerning the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan."

"It has done so by calling for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Afghanistan, and respect for the right of the people of Afghanistan to independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status," he added.

He declared that Pakistan attached great importance to the essentially constructive nature of the resolution.

CSO: 4020

UK SPOKESMAN ON DEFENSE POLICY

OW250746 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 25 Nov 80

[Text] London, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The Atlantic Alliance and the European Community are the bases of Britain's defence policy and a credible defence is the only guarantee of its security.

These remarks were made here today by Sir Ian Gilmour, Lord Privy Seal and government spokesman on foreign affairs in the House of Commons during a parliamentary debate on defence and foreign affairs.

He said the government had to operate in the real world and the Atlantic Alliance and the European Community were the indispensible framework within which successive governments had organized defence and promotion of the country's national interests. "We have no doubt about their value and we shall work to strengthen them," he stressed.

He regarded it a fundamental duty for Britain to take, together with its allies, necessary measures to maintain a credible defence. There was no need to speculate why the Soviet Union had built up military strength far in excess of its own defence requirements--its "aggressive and subversive" policies could not be ignored," he added.

Challenging the opposition Labour Party to clarify its defence policies, he said that the Labour Party's stand of giving up nuclear weapons and sending cruise missiles back to America did not provide a basis for a defence policy in the 1980s. Now was not the time to retreat into a shell. British interests demanded Britain should be a respected and reliable ally, strong enough to help, he stated.

The conservative government, he declared, remains deeply committed to pursuing arms control. But this could not be negotiated from weakness. The government believed that adequate strength was indispensible to survival. Sir Ian Gilmour once again denounced the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and a return of Afghanistan's non-aligned status.

He also warned the Soviet Union to keep out of Polish affairs. "The Polish people must be allowed to work out their own destiny," he pointed out.

CSO: 4020

BRITAIN REDUCES MINIMUM LENDING RATE

OW251328 Beijing XINHUA in English 1304 GMT 25 Nov 80

[Text] London, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The British Government today reduced the minimum lending rate (MLR) from 16 percent to 14 percent and cut the next year's public spending by more than one billion pounds, announced Sir Geoffrey Howe, chancellor of the Exchequer, in the House of Commons today.

The 2 percent reduction in MLR came after an unprecedented outburst of resentment from the Confederation of British Industry (CBI), an organization of the country's industrialists, who complained that the near-record interest rate was crippling industry and aggravating recession. CBI leaders met Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher not long ago, urging her to change the government's economic policies.

The conservative government raised MLR to a record level of 17 percent last November. It was lowered to 16 percent last July, but it was still regarded as too high and has brought damaging effects to the country's industrial production and trade. The purpose of the 2 percent reduction in MLR is to get the government's economic strategy back on course, the chancellor of the Excheque added.

Sir Geoffrey admitted that both government borrowing and the growth in money supply would be greater this year than expected. It was against this background that the government had to make further cuts in public spending next year so as to meet its monetary targets.

This is the fifth time this government has cut public spending since it took office in May last year. The new cuts, totalling more than one billion sterling, include 200 million pounds less to be spent on defence. This means that defence expenditure is now expected to grow by some 2.5 percent both this year and the next, slightly lower than the 3 percent target as NATO has required its member states to achieve. The other cuts are likely to fall on housing, education and local services.

The new economic measures of the government were violently attacked by the Labour opposition in parliament today. Denis Healey, finance spokesman of the shadow cabinet, said that the government was driving the country further into recession.

CSO: 4020

MRS THATCHER REJECTS UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

OW210756 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 21 Nov 80

[Text] London, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher today denounced the stand for unilateral disarmament as dangerous and reiterated that her government would maintain Britain's contribution to NATO despite economic difficulties.

She sneered at those who think that mere eloquence or earnestness or example will win concessions or respect from the Russians. "They will not. Such delusions are dangerous," she pointed out.

Replying in the House of Commons debate after the queen had opened the new session of parliament, Mrs Thatcher said: "If we disarm unilaterally or renege on our defence commitments, the security of the West as a whole would be undermined. We should be powerless to resist pressure in time of peace and virtually defenceless in time of war."

She declared that the government would stick to its decisions on the question of nuclear weapons. Though anxious to reach agreement on arms control measures, it intended to approach any necessary negotiations as an equal partner, not as a supplicant, she said.

The prime minister made it clear that despite the economic difficulties, her government would achieve or come very close to the target of three percent rise in defence spending in each of its first 2 years in office and it would continue to increase defence expenditure in the coming years. She asked those who considered this as too ambitious "to look again at the growth in the Warsaw Pact's military expenditure in the last decade and ponder the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan."

Underlying her view that the security of Europe was indissoluble from that of North America, Mrs Thatcher welcomed U.S. President-elect Reagan's statement that he attached the highest priority to the maintenance of a confident and powerful alliance.

The prime minister also stressed once again the importance of Britain staying in the European community. She said: "If this country walked out of Europe, its trade, of which more than 40 percent was with other members of the community, would suffer, its economy would be damaged, and its international effectiveness would be diminished."

CSO: 4020

PURGES CARRIED OUT IN TURKISH GOVERNMENT

OW241240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 24 Nov 80

[Text] Ankara, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--One hundred and sixty-nine civil servants in various departments of the Turkish Government have been dismissed and 20 others transferred to posts outside Ankara, according to press reports here today, quoting an announcement of the Ankara Martial Law Command.

The announcement said that the employees involved had "supported or engaged in illegal acts and made use of state resources in such acts."

This is the first purge in government departments following the 12 September military takeover in Turkey.

According to the weekly "BRIEFING" published here today, prime minister of the new Turkish Government Bulent Ulusu had instructed all government departments to examine the files of all extremists, especially those suspected of having played a key role as planners in acts of political violence.

The weekly reported, "Along with this 'cleaning operation,' there will be major reshuffles at the top echelons of several state economic enterprises and state-controlled companies."

The weekly also said, "Personnel re-organization is not confined to home only. There will also be a reshuffle of Turkey's representatives abroad. Diplomats, press attaches, commercial counsellors who have been identified with this or that extremist cause will be replaced by non-politicised and more able men and women."

CSO: 4020

AUSTRALIA'S STREET COMPLETES PHILIPPINES VISIT

OW181536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1513 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Manila, 18 Nov (XINHUA)--Australian Foreign Minister Anthony Street said here this afternoon that his current visit to the ASEAN countries, less than 2 weeks after his taking over the post, "indicates the high priority Australia places on its relations with the countries of ASEAN."

Speaking to newsmen at the airport before his departure for Thailand, Street said there is a consensus on the Indo-Chinese question between Australia and the ASEAN "because the United Nations resolution which was sponsored by the ASEAN countries was also co-sponsored by Australia. So there is a very high degree of common interest there." He added: "Australia was going to act in consultation and in concert with the ASEAN countries."

He reiterated that Australia's derecognition of the Democratic Kampuchean Government "in no circumstances indicates a move on Australia's intention to recognize the Heng Samrin regime. That was not our intention, not at all."

Asked about Australia's stand with the Manila Pact, he said: "The Manila Pact remains. It is still valid. As I understand, SEATO has been dissolved but this does not invalidate the Manila Pact."

Street arrived here on 15 November after visits to Malaysia and Indonesia. During his stay here, he called on President Marcos and met with some ministers and high-ranking officials of the government. He said that their discussions covered a variety of topics including the situation in Indo-China, bilateral trade and the Australian development assistance program in the country. "Australia and the Philippines shared a common concern for the economic progress, stability and security of the Southeast Asian region," he said, adding that through the visit he had been encouraged to find that Australia's relations with the Philippines were "soundly based, in good shape and moving ahead in most fields."

After meeting Street, President Marcos expressed satisfaction over the growth of closer relations between ASEAN and Australia. "Personally, I am very happy about the developments in the last few years as relations between ASEAN and Australia have moved forward for our mutual benefit," he said.

CSO: 4020

AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TOURS THAI-KAMPUCHEAN BORDER

OW201916 Beijing XINHUA in English 1910 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] Bangkok, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--Australia "would want to act in concert with our ASEAN friends" and to "maintain as close as possible contact with Thailand" in carrying out the UN resolution on Kampuchea, stated Anthony Austin Street, the newly-appointed foreign minister of Australia, at the airport here today after an official visit to Thailand.

He said that "Australia was the co-sponsor with ASEAN in the UN resolution" and that he had been "most impressed by the substantial efforts being made by the ASEAN countries in putting the resolution into practice."

He told newsmen that he had full discussions with Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila over the realm of activities for the next step following the passing of the UN resolution on Kampuchea. They also touched on world affairs and bilateral cooperation.

When asked by XINHUA about his impressions on his Thai-Kampuchean border inspection, the foreign minister said: "My first impression is the great personal sufferings in the hardships of the Kampuchean refugees for a long period. Secondly, I have been deeply impressed by the big contributions made by the Thai Government in dealing with the problem. Thirdly, a good job has been done by the international and volunteer agencies for the refugees."

Upon his arrival in Bangkok from Manila on 18 November, Street spoke about his two main purposes of the visit to ASEAN countries: "The first is to indicate the importance which Australia attaches to the relations with ASEAN nations. The second is to get to know my counterparts in ASEAN countries and to seek their views and perceptions of the issues facing the region, the ASEAN countries in particular."

This is his first official trip abroad as foreign minister since he assumed office following the Australian elections last month.

CSO: 4020

BEIJING COMMEMORATES BIRTH CENTENARIES OF ROMANIAN LITERARY FIGURES

OW201937 Beijing XINHUA in English 1924 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--The birth centenaries of the great Romanian writer, Mihail Sadoveanu, and Romanian poet, Tudor Arghezi were commemorated at a rally attended by people from all walks of life here today.

Following the liberation of Romania in 1944 both Mihail Sadoveanu was honoured with state prize and Tudor Arghezi the title of "Socialist Labour Hero."

During today's rally two eminent Chinese writers gave accounts of the work of the Romanian cultural giants.

Chinese writer Chen Huangmei pointed out that in a literary career spanning half a century Sadoveanu had created a heritage of over 120 works for later generations.

Sadoveanu's works, Chen Huangmei said, both reflected the sufferings of the exploited and oppressed people, and eulogized the natural senery and industrious and brave people of Romania. "Mihail Sadoveanu will always be remembered with love and praise by the people," Chen Huangmei declared.

Chinese poet Zang Kejia referred to the numerous satires and political essays assailing the reactionary ruling class written by Tudor Arghezi. In particular, following Romania's liberation in 1944, he had published two poems: "1907" eulogizing the peasant uprising in Romania in 1907, and "Song in Praise of Man" extolling man's love of labour and his wisdom.

Zang Kejia noted that Arghezi had written 76 volumes of poems and prose as well as translations.

Mr Romulus Ioan Budura, the Romanian minister-counsellor, told the rally that the commemoration of the two great Romanian writers was being held as the Romanian prime minister was about to pay an official visit to China. Today's commemoration, he said, deepened the mutual understanding and respect of the peoples of the two countries for each other.

The commemoration was jointly sponsored by the Federation of Literary and Art Circles of China, the Chinese Writers Association, the China-Romania Friendship Association and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

Chu Tunan, vice-president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, and the Romanian ambassador, Mr Florea Dumitrescu, were present on the occasion.

CSO: 4020

YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS BULGARIA

OW210901 Beijing XINHUA in English 0745 GMT 21 Nov 80

[Text] Sofia, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--Yugoslav Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs Josip Vrhovec paid a friendly and official visit to Bulgaria from 17 to 20 November, according to the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency.

During his stay here J. Vrhovec had talks with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov on bilateral relations and international situations.

A joint communique issued at the end of his visit says that the two sides are willing to further expand and strengthen cooperation in the domains of politics, economy, press, culture, science, education and tourism. Residents in border areas are encouraged to enhance cooperation and contact, because "such cooperation is in the interest of closer relations between the two countries," the communique says.

It says that the two sides expounded their stands on outstanding issues in their bilateral relations and expressed readiness to continue constructive dialogues to seek means to resolve them.

During discussion of international problems, the joint communique says, the two sides maintained that good neighbourly and cooperative ties among the Balkan countries are in the long-term interest of all countries in the region. The governments of the two countries will contribute to the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among states in the region.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

BRITISH PERGAMON PRESS--Beijing, 15 Nov (XINHUA)--An exhibition of scientific and technical books and journals published by the British Pergamon Press opened at the China Art Gallery here this afternoon. The exhibition is sponsored by the China National Publications Import Corporation. The Pergamon Press is one of the world's leading scientific, technical and educational publishers. The exhibition has on display 1,100 titles and journals published by the press. They cover engineering and materials science, energy sources and technology, life sciences, medical sciences, agriculture, physical sciences, chemistry and chemical engineering, physics, mathematics, earth and environmental sciences, social and behavioural sciences, psychology, economics and management, education and language and other titles of general interest. After the exhibition ends in Beijing on 24 November it will be shown in Wuhan, Chengdu, Changsha and Lanzhou. [Text] [OW161938 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 15 Nov 80]

THEATER TROUPE'S RETURN--Beijing, 15 Nov (XINHUA)--Friendship and knowledge were the two most valuable results scored by the Beijing People's Art Theatre during its 2-month performance tour of Europe. So said Sia Chun, leader of the tour, and Yu Shizhi, who starred in Lao She's play "Tea House" during an interview with XINHUA here today. The theatre group returned from Europe Thursday afternoon. Both Xia Chun and Yu Shizhi expressed the hope that the national theatre Manhamme and Comediere France would take part in the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the funding of the Beijing People's Art Theatre in China in 1982. During their 50-day European tour with Lao She's play "Tea House," the theatre visited 15 cities in the above three countries where they gave a total of 25 performances. Xia Chun said that modern drama had become a new channel for cultural exchange between China and other countries. He said he would ask the Ministry of Culture to send more drama troupes abroad to promote cultural exchange with still more countries. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1835 GMT 15 Nov 80]

ITALIAN FILM 'MARCO POLO'--Venice, 14 Nov (XINHUA)--The production of the full-length film "Marco Polo" started here, the native place of the mediaeval Italian emissery of goodwill to China, today. Head of the Chinese movie delegation and well-known director Xie Tieli attended the inaugural ceremony and told the correspondents, "The Chinese and Italian peoples have long established close and friendly relations." He described Marco Polo as the pioneer of friendly contacts between the two peoples and stressed the importance of producing this film. At a reception yesterday, the mayor of Venice, Mario Rigo, hailed the friendship between the Chinese and Italian peoples. He said that he was proud of the production of a film on Marco Polo, forerunner of the Venetian people. He expressed the hope that the friendship between Italy and China as established by Marco Polo will gain new strength. The film is produced by Station Number One of the Italian Radio-Television Corporation and an Italian movie company with the cooperation of China, the United States and Japan. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1530 GMT 15 Nov 80]

HERBAL MEDICINE MEETING--Tianjin, 9 Nov (XINHUA)--A 5-day inter-regional meeting sponsored by the World Health Organization (WHO) to discuss the standardization and use of medicinal plants closed here yesterday, after adopting a proposal to the WHO on that question. Fifteen papers were read at the meeting. Professor Xiao Peigen from the Institute of Pharmocology of the Chinese Academy of Medical Science reported on China's experience in the use of herbal medicine. After comparing the pharmacopoeias of three countries, Professor Lou Zhicen submitted to the meeting a new scheme for controlling the quality of herbal medicine. Swiss representative O. Sticher made a proposal on how to promote and organize further research in herbal medicine. During their stay in Tianjin, representatives from 14 countries visited an institute of pharmocology, a hospital and a herbal medicine workship. They will make a tour of Beijing from 9 to 11 November. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 9 Nov 80]

ACROBATS' NEW YORK FINALE--New York, 17 Nov (XINHUA)--The Guangdong Acrobatic Troupe of China concluded its performance tour of New York and left here for Rochester today. The 14 shows of the Chinese troupe, which ran from 4 to 16 November at New York's magnificent Radio City Music Hall, attracted nearly 50,000 spectators. Newspapers here described the performance of the Chinese artists as "fantastic, magic and wonderful." The Guangdong Acrobatic Troupe arrived here on 3 November. It will visit Pittsburg, Dayton, San Francisco and Long Beach (California) before going home. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0715 GMT 17 Nov 80]

USSR TO COMPENSATE CANADA--Ottawa, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union will pay Canada 3 million Canadian dollars for damage caused by the crash of a Soviet satellite over the northwest territories in 1978, announced Canadian External Affairs Minister Marc Macguigan here yesterday. The agreement must be approved by both governments, but this was considered a formality, he said. The nuclear-powered Soviet satellite Cosmos 954 crashed over the northwest territories on 24 January 1978. The total cost for cleaning up the radioactive debris has been estimated at 14-million Canadian dollars. Canada has submitted a bill to the Soviet authorities claiming 6 million Canadian dollars for damages and costs. [Text] [OW070742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 23 Nov 80]

WESTERN NATIONS' STEEL OUTPUT DROPS--Tokyo, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--Gross steel output by the Western countries from January to September this year stood at 354 million tons, down 6.5 percent from the same period of last year. Yearly output is expected to slump by 7.2 percent, according to statistics compiled by the Japanese Federation of Steel Makers. The output of the United States in the said period totalled 73.7 million tons, a 22.6 percent decrease as compared with the period of last year. The yearly output is estimated at 96 million tons, lower than Japan's for the first time. The poorest performance was reported in the nine European Common Market nations this year. Their yearly output is expected to reach only 128 million tons, down 8.3 percent from last year's figure. This year's output for other Western nations except Spain will reduce by 1.2 percent to 33.3 million tons. [Text] [OW250725 Beijing XINHUA in English 0713 GMT 25 Nov 80]

WEST INCREASES NAVAL PRESENCE--Canberra, 19 Nov (XINHUA)--The United States, France and Britain have reinforced their naval presence in the northwest Indian Ocean in readiness to break any blockade of the Strait of Hormuz, the gateway to the oil-rich Persian Gulf, an Australian correspondent reported in the newspaper "AGE" today. The correspondent, Michael Richardson, who had visited Oman recently wrote that in the past month France had sent a missile-armed frigate, a corvette and four minesweepers to join the 12 French warships already in the area. A flotilla of six ships will take over from four British naval vessels at present stationed off the coast of Oman, he added. Richardson said that the U.S. has about 35 ships in, or close to, the Persian Gulf, including two aircraft carriers with minesweeping helicopters and jet fighters, and several missile-armed cruisers. He revealed that both Britain and the United States have recently negotiated agreements with Oman to resupply their Indian Ocean fleets from Omani ports and airbases. [Text] [OW191510 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 19 Nov 80]

QUEEN ELIZABETH II VISITS EEC--Brussels, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom and Duke of Edinburgh visited the European Community Commission today. This is the first visit of the British queen to the commission since the United Kingdom joined the European communities 8 years ago. The queen was warmly welcomed by Mr R. Jenkins, president of the commission. In a speech in reply to the warm welcome expressed by Mr Jenkins, the queen said: "The foundation of the community will surely prove to be a turning point in the history of our continent." She added that "coming together in the way has given countries a weight in the world." [As received] And she wished the community a further enlargement. Newspapers here pointed out that the British queen's visit has a positive significance in enlisting greater support for British membership of the community. In the views of observers here, the present British Government would like to see a more active role of the community in world affairs, and of the NATO European members in strengthening that organisation's political and military influence. Symbolic of this attitude, the queen will also take time off to visit NATO headquarters tomorrow. Queen Elizabeth II and her party arrived here yesterday to pay a private visit to Belgium to mark the country's 150th anniversary. [Text] [OW250118 Beijing XINHUA in English 0103 GMT 25 Nov 80]

QUEEN ELIZABETH REAFFIRMS COMMITMENT--London, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--The British Government attaches great importance to defence and contributing fully to the North Atlantic Alliance as it believes that the best hope of lasting peace lies the effective maintenance of Western security, Queen Elizabeth II declared here today. Addressing the opening meeting of the Parliament, the queen said that Britain will continue to press for the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and for a political settlement acceptable to the Afghan people. It will also seek more stable East-West relations. It views with great concern the conflict between Iran and Iraq and will continue to work with other governments for an end of the hostilities. The queen reaffirms Britain's strong commitment to the European Community. It looks forward to the accession of Greece on 1 January next year and the prospects of further enlargement, she said. On domestic issues, she said, "The need to bring down the rate of inflation and create conditions for a sustainable growth of output and employment remains the prime concern of my government." The queen promised help for the unemployed, which has reached the record high of over 2 million. She said that the government "will proceed urgently with an expanded programme of employment and training measures for the unemployed, particularly the young." [Text] [OW202012 Beijing XINHUA in English 2001 GMT 20 Nov 80]

U.S.-EUROPEAN RELATIONS--Paris, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The United States and Europe "should understand each other and follow a policy of solidarity and consultation," said French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet over the French television TF1 today. He said that after the investiture of President Ronald Reagan, "a stronger America, more assured of itself, will therefore become a stronger ally for us and treat Europe as an equal partner." The French foreign minister expressed satisfaction over the good French-German relations. "No one would doubt that the construction of Europe is first of all founded on this tandem," he said. On the situation in Poland, he said that "France desires to help Poland." He called for "helping the Poles to resolve by their own means a very serious crisis." [Text] [OW251302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1246 GMT 25 Nov 80]

DETENTE SEEN AS DECOY--Brussels, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--"It is not the Madrid Conference that changed our views. We always, and particularly now, maintain that detente is a decoy," wrote the Belgian paper "LA DERNIERE HEURE" in an article today. The article pointed out that "the Soviet Union can put its signatures on anything, since its signature is always meaningless." "When people are talking a great deal about detente, half of Europe is kept under bondage, the Red Army is carrying out a genocide in Afghanistan, the Cubans are running amuck in black Africa and Soviet missiles are trained on our cities, while we are incapable of organizing an effective counterattack," the article said. The author of the article also noted that "if Europe is far-sighted and conscious of the importance of its own security, it then should discard the nonsensical talk about detente but instead work, through the Atlantic Alliance, for organizing its own strength so as to be on guard against Soviet imperialism." [Text] [OW241851 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 24 Nov 80]

AEGEAN NAVAL EXERCISE HELD--Athens, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--Naval forces from Greece, France and Italy began their joint naval exercise in the Aegean Sea midnight yesterday. Commanded by the Greek fleet Rear Admiral Deyannis, the large-scale exercise is participated in by Greek submarines, naval helicopters, fleet cooperation aircraft, auxiliary rocket launches, air force planes, together with air and naval units from France and Italy. The aim of the exercise is said to be to train personnel in various types of naval operations and to further develop cooperation among allied forces. As part of the exercise, naval units of France and Italy will visit Milos and Kavalla, Greece. [Text] [OW241512 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 24 Nov 80]

ALBANIA, GREECE DISCUSS RELATIONS--Athens, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--The visiting Albanian minister of foreign trade, Nedin Hoxha, conferred with Greek Minister of Commerce Kalantzakos yesterday on the development of bilateral economic relations and trade. They discussed the abolition of the present "clearing" system of exchanges by 1 January 1981, dictated by Greece's entry into the EEC. By that time the accounts will be settled and all transactions will be conducted in free currency. The two ministers noted the considerable increases in the bilateral trade and affirmed the possibilities for further development and diversification of trade. The trade between Greece and Albania is expected to reach 60 million U.S. dollars. The two ministers also signed a protocol for regular meetings between the officials of the two governments at least once a year to review progress in bilateral economic relations and discuss ways of advancing them. [Text] [OW201801 Beijing XINHUA in English 1658 GMT 20 Nov 80]

LATIN AMERICAN-U.S. RELATIONS--Bogota, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--"Latin America should take the initiative and present a common position to the new administration of President-elect Ronald Reagan," Carlos Alzamora, permanent secretary of the Latin American Economic System (SELA), said here yesterday. He pointed out that a consultative meeting, now under preparation by SELA, on economic relations with the United States was important, because this would be the first time that Latin America puts forward a common proposal on its own initiative. Alzamora made the remarks at the end of his 2-day official visit to Colombia. He said that Latin America should let its voice be heard in multilateral dialogues, so as to enjoy the right of airing its own views and critical opinions. This entails political support from all governments, he added. [Text] [OW211654 Beijing XINHUA in English 1633 GMT 21 Nov 80]

SOVIET BASES CONCERN JAPAN--Tokyo, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--Japanese Defence Agency disclosed yesterday that the Soviet Union has so strengthened its military bases in Vietnam as to make them fit for its use for a long time to come. A wharf has been built in Cam Ranh Bay to accommodate nuclear submarines and facilities installed to increase the ability of providing supplies for warships. This poses a new threat to Japan, the Defence Agency said. Reporting this, the Japanese newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN said today that this is the first time Defence Agency officials have stated that a wharf has been built for nuclear submarines in Cam Ranh Bay. The new wharf, Defence Agency sources believed, will make an important base for nuclear submarines of the Soviet Pacific fleet in their activities in the southwestern and central Pacific. Defence Agency sources also revealed that Da Nang has been expanded to become an electronic intelligence base capable of intercepting radio traffic over the entire South China Sea and keeping close watch on the movements of the Subic-based U.S. seventh fleet. The paper said that since the South China Sea is the artery of Japan's maritime transport, the presence of Soviet "home ports" in the region and the frequenting of them by Soviet surface and submarine vessels pose a new threat to Japan. [Text] [OW221224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 22 Nov 80]

EXPLOSION VICTIMS RECEIVE RELIEF--Bangkok, 18 Nov (XINHUA)--Government relief is being given to victims of the explosion in the anti-tank rocket factory here last Sunday, according to press reports. The Thai army headquarters set up a relief center immediately after the explosion to provide shelter and relief for victims. They were given money, food, clothes and other daily necessities. Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon yesterday presided at a memorial service for those killed in the explosion. After attending a religious ceremony for servicemen killed in the explosion, Thai deputy prime minister and supreme commander of the armed forces General Soem Na Nakhon told newsmen yesterday that Sunday's explosion would not reduce alertness in the defence of the border and the government was going to build a new munition factory outside the city of Bangkok. [Text] [OW181308 Beijing XINHUA in English 1253 GMT 18 Nov 80]

SRV SEIZES KAMPUCHEAN PADDY--Beijing, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--The Hanoi authorities recently sent several batches of Vietnamese to seize paddy from Kampucheans in Takeo and Kompong Cham Provinces, Radio Democratic Kampuchea broadcast today. On 7 November, the radio said, Vietnamese in five trucks crossed the border into Rumdeng commune in Kirivong district of Takeo Province. Using sickles and a harvester, these intruders gathered and loaded all the paddy on the trucks while many Vietnamese soldiers stood sentry to ward off the indignant Kampucheans.

The radio also reported that on 5 November Kampucheans in Taluong village of Memot district, Kompong Cham Province, were forced by Vietnamese soldiers to move to places around Vietnamese strongholds. No sooner had they left their homes than their paddy in the field was looted by the invaders. [Text] [OW250742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0710 GMT 25 Nov 80]

KAMPUCHEAN DELEGATION ENDS VISIT--Madrid, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The Democratic Kampuchean delegation left Barcelona for Paris Sunday after a week-long friendship visit to Spain. The delegation was headed by Thiounn Mumm, president of the National Committee of Sciences and Technics. During its stay here, the delegation met the president of the Spanish Senate, the presidents of the committees of external affairs of both houses and the mayor of Madrid. The Committee of External Affairs of the Senate held a special news briefing, inviting the delegation to give a talk on the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese aggression and the situation in the whole of Indochina. The Kampuchean guests also met leaders of major Spanish political parties and other people of all circles and spoke on various occasions about the situation in Kampuchea. They said the Vietnamese invaders, through the puppet regime they imposed on Kampuchea, enslave the people there, endangering the national identity and culture. They stressed the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea serves the interest of Soviet expansionism in Southeast Asia. They hoped to receive broader international aid in their resistance to the Vietnamese aggressors. [Text] [OW250852 Beijing XINHUA in English 0834 GMT 25 Nov 80]

KAMPUCHEA FORCES ATTACK SRV STRONGHOLDS--Bangkok, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--In the last 2 days, Kampuchean armed forces launched a big assault on Vietnamese strongholds and transport lines in western Kampuchean border areas. The press here reported that at about five o'clock yesterday morning nearly 1,000 Democratic Kampuchean troops mounted a fierce attack on Vietnamese strongholds at Nimit village on Highway 5 and at places 5 to 6 kilometres east of Poipet and north of Phnom Mak Heun, to prevent the transport of Vietnamese weapons and ammunition to the areas bordering Thailand. During the 5-hour long battle, the Vietnamese used 130 mm cannons, 106 mm mortars and 107 mm rockets. The Kampuchean forces hit back heroically. On the previous day Democratic Kampuchean forces raided a Vietnamese stronghold in Kampuchea opposite Nong Ian village in Thailand's Aranya Prathet district. Bangkok newspapers believed that this was the fiercest battle fought by the Democratic Kampuchean forces since the advent of dry season. [Text] [OW221519 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 22 Nov 80]

KAMPUCHEAN GUERRILLAS ATTACK SRV STRONGHOLDS--Beijing, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--Kampuchean guerrillas attacked two Vietnamese strongholds in Andeng Teuk and Kirivong Hill, Koh Kong Province, on 15 November and wiped out about 100 Vietnamese aggressors and destroyed three barracks, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea today. On 10 November, they assaulted Vietnamese positions in Prek Prasap district of Kratie Province and Pailin area of Battambang Province, killing or wounding a number of enemy troops. [Text] [OW220727 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 22 Nov 80]

CHINESE ENSEMBLE PERFORMS IN ROMANIA--Bucharest, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--The Chinese National Song and Dance Ensemble gave its first performance in Romania at the Republic Palace this evening immediately after its arrival here. The ensemble came on the eve of Romanian Prime Minister Ilie Verdet's visit to China. The performance, given by singers and dancers from nine nationalities in China, was enjoyed by 3,000 spectators. Among the dignitaries present was Suzana Gadea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and chairman of the council of socialist culture and education. Before coming here the ensemble had toured Yugoslavia and Malta. It will visit Romanian provinces. [Text] [OW210256 Beijing XINHUA in English 0237 GMT 21 Nov 80]

SIAD COMMENTS ON U.S. BASES--Kuwait, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre said: "Somalia had agreed to grant military facilities to the U.S. because the military presence of the Soviet Union in the area has been growing increasingly," according to a report from Abu Dhabi. In an interview with the Abu Dhabi paper "AL-ITTIHAD" published today, the president said: "It is necessary for the national security and interest of Somalia to take this step because in reality another superpower, the Soviet Union, exists and possesses military bases in some African and Arab countries." Referring to the Middle East crisis, the president said: "Israel must withdraw from all occupied Arab land including Jerusalem so that the legitimate right of the Palestinian people could be guaranteed." President Siad paid an official visit to the United Arab Emirates on 22 and 23 November. [Text] [OW250738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 25 Nov 80]

MAJLIS SPEAKER'S REMARKS ON HOSTAGES--Algiers, 20 November (XINHUA)--The American acceptance "in principle" of Iran's conditions was not enough to secure the release of the 52 American hostages in Iran, speaker of the Iranian Majlis Hashemi Rafsanjani said at a press conference here yesterday. During his 3-day visit to Algeria, Rafsanjani held talks with president of the national assembly Rabah Bitat, President Chadli Bendjedid and Prime Minister Mohamed Ahmed Abdelghani. Rafsanjani left here today for Libya. He will also visit Syria and Lebanon. His visit was to explain Iran's position on its war with Iraq, he said. [Text] [OW210847 Beijing XINHUA in English 0753 GMT 21 Nov 80]

IRANIAN PRESIDENT ADDRESSES RALLY--Tehran, 19 Nov (XINHUA)--Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr today warned against daggering the Iranian army in its back and urged to let the army fight. He was addressing a mass rally here marking the death of the 7th Century martyrdom of Imam al-Husayn. He urged the people not to believe the propaganda that the ground force had done nothing. He criticized some people for being engaged in the destruction of the army's morale. The president said that some people were planning to stage a by-election of the parliament when the nation was fighting a war. He stressed that the Iranian army was fighting under very difficult conditions. It got weapons neither from the United States nor from the Soviet Union. He said that during the war, the Iranians turned out enough weapons. Bani-Sadr vowed to carry the Persian Gulf war to a "decisive victory." He told the rally that the Iraqi president's peace offer was unacceptable. [Text] [OW191842 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 19 Nov 80]

IRAN, IRAQ URGED TO CEASE-FIRE--Peshawar, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--A spokesman of the Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan today appealed to Iran and Iraq to cease fire so as to strengthen the struggle against Soviet aggression against Afghanistan. In an interview with XINHUA in Peshawar today, the spokesman said that the war between Iran and Iraq, two Muslim countries, is most unfortunate because it weakens the unity of the Muslim countries and is detrimental to their common cause. He added that the war has in fact benefited the Russians for it has diverted attention of the people of the world from the Afghanistan issue and thus glossed over the crimes the Soviet aggressors committed in Afghanistan. He expressed the hope that the war would come to an end soon and the unity of the Muslim countries would be enhanced. [Text] [OW201744 Beijing XINHUA in English 1701 GMT 20 Nov 80]

PAKISTAN COMMITTED TO NORMALIZATION--New Delhi, 18 Nov (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Ziaul Haq in his letter to Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi reiterated Pakistan's commitment to carry forward the process of normalisation of Indo-Pakistani relations and to create conditions in which the process could be sustained, according to today's "Hindustan times." The letter was delivered to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi here today by Pakistani Ambassador Abdul Sattar. President Zia's letter also stressed that both countries should not allow avoidable issues to vitiate the atmosphere. Indian Ambassador Natwar Singh has reportedly held series of meetings in Islamabad over the last 2 months with President Zia to assess the various issues affecting the normalisation process. [Text] [OW191222 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 19 Nov 80]

ALGERIA'S INTERMEDIARIES RETURN HOME--Algiers, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--An Algerian delegation which returned here yesterday from Tehran after delivering the U.S. response to Iran's conditions for the release of the American hostages, reported to Foreign Minister Mohamed Ben Yahia today on Iranian official reaction. Tehran Radio yesterday quoted a responsible source at the prime minister's office as saying that "the American response to the Iranian conditions approved by the Islamic consultative parliament is not explicit. Iran, on its part, demands a more explicit American response through the Algerian Government as an intermediary." [Text] [OW250750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 25 Nov 80]

CSO: 4020

DEVELOPING LITERATURE, ARTS TO SERVE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS URGED

Taiyuan FENSHUI in Chinese No 5, 15 May 80 pp 2-8

[Article by Ma Feng [7456 3536]: "Let Us Continue To Liberate Our Thinking [and Cause] Literature and the Arts To Flourish, in the Service of Building the Four Modernizations --Summary of a Report Given at the 4th Conference of Shanxi Province Literature and Arts Workers"]

[Text] Following the successful convening of the Fourth National Conference of Literature and Arts Workers, the Fourth Conference of Shanxi Province Literature and Arts Workers solemnly opened today, the first spring day of the 1980's. It has been nearly 17 years since the last provincial writers and artists' conference, and all of 30 years since the first provincial writers and artists' conference. A total of 1,168 representatives attended this conference, with more participants and on a greater scale than either the first writers and artists' conference convened in December, 1949 or the second writers and artists' conference held in August, 1956. This is a manifestation of the flourishing and development of the ranks of writers and artists of our province [Shanxi]. Our [veritable] army in support of literature and art all happily gathering under one roof to discuss together the great matter of the battleline for literature and art, in the second year of realizing the shift in emphasis in all party work, in the midst of the victorious advance of all the nation's people towards the four modernizations, and at the start of a newly-developed campaign for socialist literature and art, is a matter for great rejoicing. This distinguished gathering is an occasion for carrying on with what was accomplished in the past and inspiring what is to come after, and possesses important historical significance.

The Party's 3rd and 4th Plenary Sessions of the 11th Central Committee designated a correct political, ideological and organizational line for us. The 5th Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee has pointed out for us the great significance of being steadfast in supporting the party's leadership, improving the party's leadership, and heightening the party's fighting capacity. The second meeting of the Fifth National People's Congress, as well as Comrade Ye Jianying's speech at the mass rally celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the nation [the PRC], summed up the past for us, clearly delineated the boundaries, and pointed out the direction in which we are to advance in the future. The Fourth National Representatives' Conference of Literature and Arts Workers convened last year, and in particular the congratulatory speech by Comrade Deng Xiacping and the report given by Comrade Zhou Yang, reviewed 30 years of battle progress in artistic and literary work, proposed our glorious task in literary and artistic work for the new period, and proclaimed the beginning of a newly-developed campaign for socialist literature and art. The report entitled "The Present Situation and the Present Task" given by Comrade Deng Xiaoping on January 16 of this year, and the speech made this February by Comrade Hu Yaobang at the colloquium on playwriting, elucidated many great questions regarding literary and artistic work in the past, and also raised high hopes for the nation's writers and artists. All of these review past history on our behalf, look toward the future, sum up our experience, determine what plan we shall follow, and create the best conditions for us. Our present writers and artists' conference, then, is being held under the most excellent circumstances.

The main themes of our present conference are: implementing the spirit of the Fourth National Conference of Literature and Arts Workers and, especially, the spirit of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's congratulatory speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech; steadfastly maintaining the principle that practice is the only standard for testing truth; closely tying in [with the foregoing] the realities of literary and artistic work in our province; reviewing the path literary and artistic work in our province has taken over the past 30 years and, in particular, summing up the new accomplishments we have achieved over the past 3 years; researching how literature and the arts can serve the realization of the four modernizations and, in order to cultivate the new socialist man, raise the people's ideological plane, enrich the people's cultural life, build a high level of socialist spirit and civilization, and make the contribution that one ought to make.

In order to fulfill this important historical mission, we hope to be able to make this conference into a vibrant and lively meeting at which we will continue to liberate our thinking, democracy will be fully promoted, and everyone will feel completely at ease; make it into a meeting at which the excellent traditions of the party will be advanced, truth will be sought from facts, our experience will be summed up, and that will be brave in criticism and self-criticism; and make it into a meeting [characterized by] unity and unanimity, at which all are of one heart and one mind, advancing towards a new era of the flourishing of socialist literature and art. Below, I will discuss some views regarding literary and artistic work in our province from the three aspects of "a historical review," "3 years of bumper crop," and "the glorious task," and submit them for the representatives to discuss.

A Historical Review

In the 30 years since the nation was founded, our literary and artistic work has traveled an arduous and winding road. We have achieved great accomplishments, there have also been setbacks and lessons learned, and in the course of our sruggles rich experience, both positive and negative, has accumulated. To conscientiously sum up these experiences is advantageous for our progress in exploring, and getting a firm grasp of, rules for the development of a socialist literature and art, and for our doing better work in order to meet the needs of the new period for literary and artistic work.

Our province's first conference of literature and arts workers convened in December, 1949, was a great gathering of forces of writers and artists from each and every liberated area, under the new historical conditions of our party seizing political power throughout the country and shifting from a battle environment into one of peace and construction, and from the countryside into the cities. The new era has presented literature and arts workers with a new topic for study: our literature and art has shifted from serving the new democratic revolution to serving the socialist revolution and socialist construction; the object of our service is also broader and more wideranging than previously. The broad mass of literature and arts workers, having been put to this new test, and having adapted to this great transformation, are making a great effort to link with the masses of the new era and enable literature and the arts to advance along the same road as socialism. Over the past 17 years, we have carried on with the glorious traditions of the party's literary and artistic work, persevered in the direction of having literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and carried out many new explorations and efforts, causing the ideology of literature and the arts to adapt to the economic base of socialism. We have created a large number of works extensively and deeply reflecting the rich and varied life and struggles of the masses in the socialist period, in order to satisfy the daily-growing needs of the cultural life of the masses and promote the flourishing and development of the enterprise of socialism, and [we have] made our proper contribution.

Naturally, in the course of 17 years, our literary and artistic work had shortcomings and mistakes, and some of the mistakes were even serious ones. The production of these mistakes was mainly due to the influence of the "left." They were made during three periods: the struggle against the rightist faction in 1957; the movement against rightist tendencies in 1959; and the criticism directed against "the theory of portraying middle characters" and the rectification of literary and artistic workstyles in 1964. On each of these three occasions many authors and works were erroneously criticized, and even subjected to unwarranted organizational discipline. However, the critical movements of 1959 and 1964 still did not go beyond the sphere of the internal contradictions among the people, and still did not, because of criticizing certain questions or certain works in an author's creative ideology, negate an author and all of his creative accomplishments. But, with the period in which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage, the entire literary and art world suffered an unprecedented disaster.

Looking back over the history of the past 27 years (aside from the 10 years of disaster created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"), although during the 17 years preceding the Great Cultural Revolution there was a lot of interference from the "left," nevertheless the literary and artistic line that we put into effect was fundamentally correct, the achievements of literary and artistic work are everywhere to be seen, and the broad masses of literature and arts workers have made a very great contribution.

Of course, our road has not been level, the lessons we have had to learn have been very deepgoing and, moreover, we have had to pay a price in blood [for what we have learned]. The 10-year disaster of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as well as the shortcomings and mistakes in our work during the 17 years preceding the Great Cultural Revolution, have caused us to learn a great many things from painful experience, and we have had to absorb many lessons, which can be summed up in the following points: First, in the ideological struggle over literature and art, the dividing line between political questions and literary and artistic right and wrong was obliterated, confusing two essentially different contradictions and ruining the implementation of the guiding principle of "double-hundred policy"; second, in literary and artistic creative work the limitations were too rigid, and the interference too much, violating the rules of literary and artistic creation; third, in literary and artistic criticism the moral tone taken was too high, and the punishments too many, which stifled democracy in literature and art.

If we want to persevere in the guiding principle of the "double-hundred policy," we must respect the rules, and develop democracy in, literature and art; these then, are the lessons of experience that we have gained from our historical review.

Three Years of Bumper Crop

In the 3 years since the "gang of four" was smashed, and in particular since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, profound changes have occurred in the face of literary and artistic work. The spirit of the third plenary session and its discussion of the problem of standards for truth heralded a great movement for the liberation of thinking. This liberation in thinking promoted the flourishing development of literature and the arts, and enabled the disaster area of the world of literature and art to change all at once into a bumper crop area. It was this way throughout the whole country, and also in our Shanxi Province. The party Central Committee highly appraised the contributions made by the broad mass of writers and artists since the smashing of the "gang of four," and considered that the literary and artistic world "is one of the most accomplished departments." That was a great encouragement for us.

Over the last 3 years we have brought order out of chaos, criticized the notion of a "dictatorship of a black line in literature and art" and all kinds of erroneous theories of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and on a series of fundamental questions regarding guiding principles, lines and policies in literary and artistic work have driven away layer after layer of obscuring mist created by them, and returned to the correct path. Under the leadership of our provincial committee, combined with leading cultural administrative departments, we have done a great deal of work on implementing the party's policies and rectifying the many unjust, false, and mistaken charges. In 1978, we rehabilitated Comrades Zhao Shuli and Zhao Yuanlong, one after the other, effecting their thorough exoneration of the unjust charge relating to [the work] "Three Climb Peach Mountain."

At the same time as implementing [the party's new] policies on behalf of the harmed comrades, we also paid close attention to implementing the party's policies with regard to the works themselves, and also clarified a number of theoretical questions that had become confused. In the first part of December, 1978, the editorial department of FENSHUI convened a theoretical discussion meeting at which it was proposed, earlier than in the rest of the country, that the notion of "middle-of-the-road personages" needed to be overturned, and it was affirmed that the successive creative conferences definitely were not "black," and that there is nothing wrong with the idea of describing "middle-of-the-road characters," which enables characters to be more diversified. This was a great advance in our bringing order out of chaos theoretically.

In October, 1979 the editorial department of FENSHUI published an article jointly with the "Jiaochengshan" supplement of the SHANXI RIBAO, deeply criticizing [the periodical] SUMMARY, summing up our experience, and implementing the party's policies on behalf of the works of Comrades Gao Muhong, Yao Qingmiao, Sun Qian, Li Gubei, Tang Renjun, Li Suwei and Han Wenzhou of our province, which had been wrongly criticized.

Over the past 3 years, all associations, all areas, and municipal cultural federations have all done a great deal of work towards causing the enterprise of literature and art in our province to flourish. I feel that the most important accomplishment has been, following the shift in emphasis in all party work in adapting to the needs of building the four modernizations, we have begun to shift the emphasis in our work onto the building up of literature and the arts; that is, we must produce more works, and come up with more talent.

On the literary side, over the past 3 years there have appeared a number of rather good works--short novels like "Sowing at Dingling," "Spring Cowherd," "The Autobiographical Sketch of Practicality Fighting Practicality," "The Lucky Old Man," "Spring Wheat," "Lao Erhei Gets Divorced," etc, which deeply reflect the great mass of peasants' criticism of the trend towards extreme leftist thinking, the keen struggle with the "gang of four," as well as all kinds of contradictions in society that occurred during those disastrous years and months. [Works like] "Maples," "My Two Daughters," "'Roar That Breaks Heaven' Kills a Chicken," and "Reunion Diary" reflected the great trauma inflicted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the lives and spirits of the people. Although these works are full of bitterness, blood and tears, indignation and sorrow, nevertheless they are not negative, and what they convey to people is awakening, thoughtfulness, and enmity for the "gang of four." [Works like] "Black Peonies," "Struggle," "In Car [Automobile No 48," "Old Kui Goes to the City," "The New House," and "Locks" [of a canal] described advanced characters who had gone ahead on the new long march; exposed and criticized bureaucratism, thinking that favors special privileges, and other corrupt practices and obstacles on the road to the four modernizations, boldly, forcefully, and fully striking home at the corrupt practices of the times, doing exactly what the masses approve of. Others, like "Big Car Wang Zhong," depicting the lives of workers, and "Country Diary" and "The Old Secretary," describing intellectuals and cadres, featured new breakthroughs in the portrayal of characters and the display of technique. Long novels like "The Chief Engineer and His Daughter," "Flames of War at Longgang," and "The Longshan Guerrilla Detachment" carried out valuable explorations into the diversification of subject matter and characters. These works' subject matter is extensive, and their characters diversified; in style they are either incisive, pungent, and forceful, or full of wit and humor; whether in form they are great works on a huge scale, or short and meaningful, all are filled with the intense spirit of the times and the strong flavor of life, present problems of actual life that have a pressing need for solution, express the mood and demands, the will and wishes of the broad mass of people, and elicited a strong response from them.

In the creation of poems and songs there has also been a new harvest. Over the past 3 years, there have appeared a number of poems by old and new poets in praise of the older generation, criticizing the "gang of four," describing the new long march, and reflecting the intense feeling and turbulence of life; such as the poetry collections "Red Sun in the Heart," "Flowers Offered to Zhou Enlai," "In Praise of Chairman Hua," as well as [the poems] "Written on the Most Tragic Day," "Peng Zongtu," "Ah, the Party, My Mother," "Tree of Longing," "Song of Truth," "Long Night, and the Sound of Horse's Hooves," and "Peace Flower Flood." After the smashing of the "gang of four," the poets of our province also published several poetry collections, like "Song in the Heart," "Chairman Hua Was in Luliang That Year," "Glorious Mount Luliang," and "Golden Mountains and Rivers."

In the areas of essays, journalistic writing, and writing for children there also appeared a number of good works approved by the masses; such as essays "Early Spring Season," "Remembering Ancient Arts," "Ode to the Silkworm Country," "A Martyr's Wish," and "Visiting Ding Ling Atop Laoding Shan"; journalistic articles such as "A New Branch of Buds Opens," "Precious Explorations," "A Heavy Responsibility on One's Shoulders," "Offering," "Sons and Daughters Coming From Taiwan," and "Case No 001"; and children's literature such as the middle-length novel "Ah---," and the short novel "Books."

On the drama side, great progress has been made over the past 3 years; there has been unprecedented activity both in the creation of new dramas and in performances, and many new plays appeared that were warmly received by the masses, the best of which were presented in the performances given at the provincial celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the nation held in June and July of last year. Of the presentation performances' 19 pieces, 13 dealt with the subject matter of real life and revolutionary history. The stage plays "Spirit of the Yellow River" and "No Way of Saying," the opera "The Unicorn-bone Bed," the popular Shanxi drama "Red Girl," the Meihu opera "Clouds Part, Round Moon," the Northern Shaanxi dramatic singing "Spring Wind Willows" and "Xu Fan Pavilion," as well as the Peking opera "Pearl Extracted From Raw Silk" are all new plays, and were all extremely successful both in their choice of subject matter, the depicting of character, their artistic conception, and in performance. Among them, the outstanding plays "Red Girl," "Spirit of the Yellow River," and "The Unicorn-bone Bed" all went to Peking and were performed as part of the celebrations for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the nation, and all won both creative and performance awards; the play "No Way of Saying" of our province's theatrical group also went to Peking and was performed, and was enthusiastically admired both by the literary and artistic world of the capital, and by the masses.

In the creation of motion pictures, we also achieved new accomplishments. "The Newly Arrived County Committee Secretary" (the same work as "Tear-masses") was one of the more outstanding of the films depicting life in the countryside that have appeared throughout the country since the smashing of the "gang of four," and it was considered important and well reviewed by all quarters.

In music, dance, fine arts, art songs, and photography, a lot of good works have also made their appearance over the last 3 years. As for music, in chorus and solo songs there are "I Hang a Wreath for Premier Zhou," and "In Praise of Chairman Hua"; in instrumental music there are "City's Edge Mountain," a solo for the bahu, and "Educating the New People Under the Big Willow Tree," a solo for bamboo flute. Of children's songs, "The Little Needle Shines Brightly" won the 1979 national young people's award for excellence in musical performance. In dance, the six dance solos "Startling Thunder," "Cherry Blossoms Send Friendship," "Spring Has Arrived," "Morning Drums," "The Angel Scatters Flowers," and "Mulan Follows the Army," as well as "The Woman Miner" and "One Grain of Food; One Heart" are all part of the new harvest of works created for the dance in recent years. In the fine arts, [there have been] the traditional-style paintings "The Noble Spirit Now Prevailing Has Been Passed on From Antiquity" and "The Examination"; the prints "Changjiang River Scene," and "Spring Light," and the cartoons "The Rubber Quota," "Meeting of Sisters," and "Intertwining Branches of Heroes"; among them, "The Examination" won second prize at the national fine arts exhibition held in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the nation, and "Meeting of Sisters" won the 1979 award for excellence in satire and humor. Scientific and general art works, like the propaganda painting "Vying With Each Other for Influential Connections," and the gouache paintings "Skillfully Eliminating the Mole-Crickets" and "Mechanized Raising of Chickens" all won prizes at the national exhibition of scientific and general art works. In art songs, there were pieces like the shulaibao "Talking," the clapper-ballad "Arguing About the Quota," the solo dialogue "Uncle Suer," the guci "The Owl Goes to Court," the Shandong clapper-ballad "Zhao Dalei Catches a Ghost," and the Taiyuan "Inviting a Guest." In photography, there were "Meticulous in Details," "Harnessing the Yellow River," "This Year the Hemp along the Lu River Is Good," "Harvest of Silkworm Cocoons," "Making New Paddy Fields," "Companions," and "Autumn Colors at Taihang Mountain"; of which "Meticulous in Details" won second prize at the national photographic exhibition in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the nation.

In the publishing of literary and artistic books and periodicals, new accomplishments have also been made over the past 3 years. The circulation of FENSHUI and SHANXI MASS LITERATURE AND ART has everywhere increased, and they have had a definite influence nationwide. The circulation of FENSHUI in particular fell to just above 20,000 for a time during the period when the "four pests" were on the rampage. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the periodical's quality has continuously risen, and it has been highly regarded by readers all over the country; at present its circulation has risen to nearly 150,000 copies, and it is already being distributed abroad. SONGS OF SHANXI, TAOYUAN LITERATURE AND ART, YUNGANG LITERATURE AND ART, as well as other literary and artistic periodicals put out by various local and municipal cultural associations have been published one after the other, becoming an important front for uniting and cultivating authors; the supplements of the SHANXI RIBAO and the TAIYUAN RIBAO have become more vivid and lively; literary and artistic programs on radio and television are becoming richer and more varied daily, and have all been welcomed by the broad masses; our provincial people's publishing house, with the cooperation of the various cultural associations, has published an anthology of Shanxi literary and artistic works covering the past 30 years--a 9-volume set covering 8 varieties of literature and art; 10 middle-length and long novels, and other literature and art books, making progress with enriching the cultural life of the people.

Literary and artistic theory and criticism are also becoming more active every day. Many theoretical workers do not care to appease the higher levels, do not follow the books only, do not want to keep up with the current tide or fashion only and are able to make a rather realistic and scientific analysis of authors and works, are bold in proposing their own, differing viewpoints regarding some theoretical questions, and have produced a number of rather high-quality articles.

In short, over the past 3 years the accomplishments in literary and artistic work have been immense in both the works and talent produced.

The Glorious Task

Our country has already entered a new historical period. The party Central Committee has clearly proposed the tasks for literature and the arts in this new period. These are: "Our literature and art should reflect the people's great struggle to advance towards socialist modernization, reflect our country's broad actuality and rich history, help the people to recognize and overcome the difficulties and obstacles on the road to advancement, and inspire their trust and their will to struggle. Whether with respect to satisfying the manifold needs of the people's mental lives, cultivating the new socialist man, or heightening the ideology of the whole society; culture, the moral level, and literary and artistic work all bear an important responsibility that cannot be taken on by other departments." This was the fundamental direction for the development of literature and the arts in the new period which the party has clearly pointed out for us, and is also the common program of action of the broad masses of literature and arts workers.

In order to fulfill the glorious task that the new period presents us writers and artists with, first it is necessary to go through a study, discussion, and inquiry of a number of theoretical questions in literary and artistic work at present, in order to direct our literature and art workers onward along the correct path.

First, the problem of liberating our thinking. What, after all, is to be considered liberating one's thinking? Is it going too far to liberate one's thinking? In our opinion, liberated thinking is to be understood in direct opposition to having a restriction on one's thinking. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee proposed a liberation in thinking as being in direct opposition to the mental shackles and modern-day superstitions created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." What is called a liberation in thinking indicates an understanding, under the direction of Marxism, that employs the ideological line of dialectical materialism, [is armed with the] weapon of [the principle that] practice is the only standard for testing truth, breaks down the restrictions of force of habit and subjective bias, studies new situations, solves new problems, and seeks to gain an understanding of things that is consistent with objective laws. To express it in one sentence, being in favor of a liberation in thinking is being in favor of seeking truth from facts; in order to liberate our thinking we must combine the brave revolutionary spirit of breaking through forbidden areas with the spirit of seeking truth. In the problem of liberating our thinking, it is necessary to oppose two erroneous tendencies that appear to be diametrically opposed but which in reality both interfere with the liberation of thinking. One is thinking that is still in an ossified or semi-ossified condition, which carries out all kinds of criticism and creates all kinds of resistance to a liberation in thinking, but which in reality has no real understanding at all of the precise connotation of a liberation in thinking, or it's important meaning. The other is considering a liberation of thinking to be the galloping at will of the individual's subjective will and wishes, without any standard or limit at all, to the extent that [the important thing becomes] who is the most bold, who exposes the most of the dark side of things, and who points out the most defects, without due regard for the benefit of the party and the people, without regarding the social influence of a work, and ignoring the aesthetic principles of art, so that one can write anything one wants any way one wants; it is hard to draw a clear line between this kind of "liberation of thinking" and anarchy and extreme individualism. Therefore, since we want to be brave in liberating our thinking, it is also necessary to be brave in throwing out all erroneous thinking that runs counter to Marxism-Leninism; since we want to be brave in liberating our thinking, we must also be brave in resisting all erroneous thinking. Only in this way can we enable the liberation of our thinking to proceed along the correct path.

Literature and art are a kind of creative mental labor. We must sharply bring to light new changes and new patterns in the contradictions in society in the new era, portray new characters that are representative of the new age, and create a new socialist literature and art in service of the four modernizations; if our thinking is not liberated, how can we accomplish this by sticking to conventions and following the beaten path? Only if we liberate our thinking can we gain an accurate understanding of the continually changing objective realities, and only then can we arrive at an objective portrayal of them in our literary and artistic works. Therefore, in order to cause literary and artistic creative work to flourish, we must be in favor of continuing the liberation of thinking. This point is definite, and cannot be changed. Secondly, [there is] the question of literature and the arts serving the four modernizations. The realization of the socialist four modernizations with one mind and with one heart will decide the great enterprise of our ancestral nation's prospects and fate for a thousand years, and is the greatest advantage, wish, and hope of the people. For literature and art to depict the building of the four modernizations, to depict the people's brave advance towards the four modernizations, to express the revolutionary ideals and scientific attitudes of our age, to have lofty sentiments and creative capacity, for those creating the enterprise of the four modernizations to have a broad outlook and a spirit of seeking truth, and a brand-new ideological face for the masses; and to inspire the will to struggle of the broad mass of workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals; are the responsibilities of the entire body of literature and arts workers--responsibilities too great to be expressed in words. In the new historical period, literary and artistic work is in the service of the dictatorship of the proletariat; that is, it must serve the most great political task and most great political objective of building the four modernizations. Of course, literature and art's service on behalf of the four modernizations is certainly not limited to the creation of works that depict the process of the four modernizations; works that expose the pernicious influence and criminal actions of the "gang of four," or that expose bureaucratism, thinking that favors special privileges, as well as social problems and social phenomena such as anarchism, individualism, etc--works that remove obstacles and clear the road for the four modernizations--can also in the same way serve the four modernizations. Literature and art's service of the four modernizations is also not limited merely to subject matter that directly depicts the process of the four modernizations or that clears the road for the four modernizations; all works that can enable people to obtain education and enlightenment, to derive entertainment and the enjoyment of beauty, can in the same way serve the four modernizations. Because literature and art's service of the four modernizations is actually service of the great mass of the people who are engaged in the building of the four modernizations, and the people's need for cultural life has many aspects to it. [Whether a work be] on a grand or minute scale, in a serious or jocular vein, emotional or philosophical, as long as it is a work that can enable people to be affected, to obtain some educational value, and to absorb trust and force, then it is what the people need. For this reason, literature and art's road for serving the four modernizations is very broad.

Thirdly, in the case of literary and artistic creation one must consider the social result. Literary and artistic work is a kind of social activity on the part of the author; as soon as a work appears, then it will of necessity produce a definite social influence, which is its social result. In his report "The Situation and Task at Present," Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Literature and art cannot possibly be separated from politics. Any progressive, revolutionary literature and arts worker cannot but consider a work's influence, and the advantage of the people, the nation, and the party. Regarding its effect upon the people, literary and artistic work has a particularly great influence upon the direction of the thinking of the young, and has a very great influence upon the stability and unity of society. All comrades in the literary and artistic world must frequently and self-consciously, placing greatest emphasis upon the [political] situation as a whole, struggle unstintingly to raise the social enlightenment of the people, particularly of the younger generation.

Literature and art constitute a particuar ideology that has a hidden, unseen effect upon people; good works can lead people upwards positively, and bad works can also have a negative influence. This, then, requires that our authors and artists keep their own responsibility firmly in mind at all times, consider the influence of their works upon the people, and energetically strive to offer them the best and most nourishing mental food.

Literature and art must depict the essential character and main trends of our age; that is, they must treat our party accurately, treat our socialist system accurately, treat the masses accurately, treat our soldiers accurately, and treat Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought accurately; they must depict our country's society in the process of realizing a victorious forward development, and present the many, many new things and characters that spring up on all fronts. Of course, our age is also one in which old is being replaced by new, and the old is being eliminated in order to make way for the new. In the life of our socialist society, brilliant, beautiful things exist, and dark, ugly things also exist, yet, comparatively, the former far outweigh the latter in occupying a major, leading position, deciding society's forward direction. We must extol and sing the praises of brilliant and excellent things among the people, so that the more people may imitate them; at the same time one must also expose dark and ugly things, dissect them, and criticize them so that people may be on the alert for them, clearly mark them off, and work hard to overcome them. This is socialist literature and art's effect of unifying the people, educating the people, and remaking society, and is the identity of authenticity and tendentiousness in the work as the author depicts life truly, which includes the author's [political] standpoint and aesthetic attitude. Mr Lu Xun, in speaking of the social function of literature and art, said: "Literature and art are the flames given off by the spirit of the nation's people, and at the same time they are also the lamplights directing the spirit of the nation's people on their forward path." For this reason our authors, whatever the subject matter they write about, must all manifest in their own works the advanced thinking that is representative of the progressive currents of the age, enabling literature and art to become "lamplights" to lead the people onward. Fourthly, there is the question of originality in literature and art. Comrade Zhou Enlai, in summing up the creative experience of socialist literature and art, emphatically pointed out: "Literature and art generally must have a spirit of originality." The particular characteristic that distinguishes artistic production from all other forms of material production is its originality. Only when literary and artistic creation brings originality into full play can works of real artistic value be produced; if there is no originality, and no unique artistic conception, then it is absolutely impossible to make the work have any artistic charm. All excellent works generally possess originality. What the expressions "adopting an original approach," "having a unique style," "breaking new ground," and "being unconventional" are talking about is originality. This kind of originality must not only have a new aspect stylistically, its content must also have new ideas, the two forming a perfect unity before it can have a long artistic life or possess the artistic charm necessary to move people. Therefore, originality is also a sign of a work's maturity.

During the period that the "four pests" were on the rampage, owing to their manufacture of a whole set of models for literary and artistic creation, works were created with a voiceless, faceless uniformity. Their pernicious influence was extremely broad, and has not been completely eradicated even to this day. There are certain authors who do not themselves take source materials and dig up themes from life, or employ their own unique artistic conceptions to engage in creative work, but always tread in the footprints of others, and when they see that a certain kind of work is in fashion for a time, they go after it like a flock of ducks and take pains to imitate it as closely as possible, often with ludicrous results; this way of doing things is completely in violation of the principles of artistic creation, there is no enterprise whatever in it, and it is most intolerable. The lack of originality in literary and artistic works is one of the main causes of the tendency to engage in creative work according to set formulas. Therefore, if we do not pay attention to the question of originality, it will be fundamentally impossible for us to raise our level of literary and artistic creation to new heights. No accomplished writer or artist ever follows the paths of convention or imitation. They always show craftsmanship and originality, and in their own works open up a completely new area of artistic operation, enabling their readers to gain new ideological nourishment and new artistic enjoyment from them. This clearly indicates that originality, as far as literary and artistic creation is concerned, is not something one can either have or not have, but is indispensable at any time and under any circumstances; this is a rule of art that does not admit of being overlooked.

Fifth, there is the question of going deep into life and remaking [people's] view of the world. We all know that literature and art are the reflection of the life of society; it is taking the whole of life and making it one's subject for description. Therefore, an author must on all occasions go deeply into life, be loyal to life, and write about what he himself is most familiar with, or has been most deeply affected by--things that have been given a lot of thought. Of course, if authors are not familiar with certain subject matter that is important and needed by the people, then we must direct and help them to become familiar with it. Comrade Ba Jin said: "A work must go up; [i.e., increase people's awareness] an author must go down" [to research his subject matter]. This was very well put. If one does not go deeply into life, then how can one depict life properly? The reason some of our literary and artistic works have become so uniform and without originality, with many characters seeming like those we have seen before, and many works that seem to have come out of the same mold--although there is some connection with the degree of the authors' capacity for artistic expression, nevertheless the most important reason is still an author's own lack of having been uniquely and deeply affected by life. And so, he can only be affected by things that other people have already been affected by long ago, and see things that have already been seen by others. In this way, it is impossible to write works of any value. Our literature and arts workers provide spiritual food for the people, and are the engineers of the soul for the human race. However, in order to educate the people, it is necessary first to be educated oneself; in order to give people nourishment, it is necessary first to absorb nourishment oneself. In a word, one must strengthen the remaking of one's world view. For this, it is necessary for us to exert ourselves to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and it is necessary for us to absorb rich nourishment from the mass of the people. The people are the mother of literature and arts workers. The people need art, but art needs the people even more. This relationship definitely cannot be reversed.

In order to fulfill the glorious task that the new era has endowed us literature and arts workers with, we must become more active, work hard, produce more works, produce more talent, and have outstanding accomplishments in order to greet the party's 12th People's Congress, and to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the party.

First of all, we must actively develop all kinds of literary and artistic creation, and raise our ideological and artistic level. After this writers and artists conference, we hope that our writers and artists will plunge themselves into the seething currents of life, absorb the richest artistic source materials, employ our many and varied artistic methods to depict the course of the struggle to build the socialist modernizations, reflect the magnificent picture of the new long march, portray the artistic subject of advanced characters occupying the front ranks of our age, present and solve the new problems that the people and the age are urgently concerned with, and inspire the mass of the people in their continuous advance in the struggle to build the four modernizations. We must also more forcefully and more thoroughly expose the antirevolutionary crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," eliminate the pernicious influence of their extreme leftism, and enable our socialist enterprise to continue the advance along the party's correct political and ideological line. Regarding this kind of work, however, people are no longer satisfied with stopping at an ordinary castigation and exposure of the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." What they need are more deepgoing, more condensed works on a higher artistic level; works that offer a penetrating analysis of the historical conditions and social origins that produced these catastrophes; they should also have works that enable people to see life's prospects, are helpful in healing old wounds, and that give people beautiful hopes. They also need works that proceed from a wish to benefit the entire party and the people of the entire nation; expose and criticise bad bureaucratic practices, the feudal concept of special privileges, the narrow viewpoint of small producers, conservative thinking and all old consciousness of sticking to a beaten path, and old habits; criticize the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, and anarchistic thinking that is blocking the road to society's advancement; and help the mass of the people to understand life, remake their lives, and eliminate the obstacles on the road to the four modernizations. Our literature and arts workers should also portray the heroic and outstanding achievements of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary martyrs, use revolutionary traditions to educate the people, particularly the young, cultivate their socialist virtues and character, and help them to grow up strong. We must also describe all kinds of other historical and actual subject matter, depict the varied lives of ancient and modern people, including their labor, struggles, and vicissitudes of life, in order to satisfy the mass of the people's many-sided need for cultural life.

Secondly, we must persevere in literature and art's direction of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and actively develop mass cultural activities, causing socialist literature and art to progress further towards becoming universal. Peasants occupy the vast majority of the population of our province. So mass culture in this case means mainly life in the socialist countryside. Of course, our province is also an industrial base area centered on the production of coal, and there are also a rather large number of workers. Therefore, we definitely must place importance on cultural activities for the mass of workers and peasants. Each one of us literature and arts workers must not forget the mass of workers and peasants occupying 90 percent of the population; they are the main force army for the realization of the four modernizations, and our literature and art is first of all to serve them. Therefore, all professional cultural organizations, large and small cultural centers, as well as the departments of motion pictures and the publishing and distribution of books, must all direct themselves toward the fundamental levels of society, and adopt realistic, effective measures to enrich the masses' cultural life. At the same time, we must actively foster the masses' free-time cultural activities in order to satisfy the local masses' need for cultural life.

Thirdly, we must augment our work on the aspects of theoretical research, literary and artistic criticism, and continuing our literary and artistic legacy. At present, we must place particular importance on research into the history of local Shanxi literature and art and the works of various authors; for example, research into literature and art in the several revolutionary base areas in Shanxi, the history of local Shanxi traditional drama and famous performing artists like Ding Guoxian, as well as their representative repertoires, research into ancient Shanxi writers and artists, research into famous writers such as Zhao Shuli, and so forth. We must continue to invigorate literary criticism, and study the great theoretical questions in literature and art at present in order to direct and promote the development of creative work. Associations having the right prerequisites, or all local and municipal cultural federations must all set up their own theoretical study groups or study rooms, cultivate theoretical talent, and gradually set up a theoretical system for their own category of art.

We must place importance on the work of continuing our literary and artistic legacy, and collecting materials. Our province's legacy in the art of traditional drama is particularly rich; we definitely must do all we possibly can to continue with it. We must continue to collect and collate folk literature, folk music, folk dances and works of folk art, publish materials on research into folk literature and folk arts, and augment theoretical research into folk literature and arts.

Fourth, the discovery and cultivation of talent is a great matter possessing strategic significance for the flourishing development of the enterprise of literature and art. All cultural associations and all local and municipal cultural federations must make every possible effort, in cooperation with leading cultural administrative departments, to cultivate all kinds of literary and artistic talent in order gradually to change and overcome the present serious phenomenon in the world of literature and art of there being a temporary shortage of new talent and a lack of people to continue [the kind of work others have been doing], or of people's talents being submerged. Every association should continue to do a good job of conducting all types of lecture and study meetings and reading classes in order to enhance the cultivation of young writers and artists. We must encourage the taking on of pupils by old writers and artists so that they may pass on their art to others and cultivate the talent that is to arise after them. We must continue to conduct awards activities for all varieties of literary and artistic works and performances. Next year is the 60th anniversary of the founding of the party, and I suggest that all associations in a planned way hold a number of awards activities or literary and artistic competitions in order to discover excellent works and outstanding talents.

In order to fulfill the glorious task bestowed upon us literature and arts workers by the new age, we must progress with augmenting the work of literary and artistic associations. Literary and artistic associations are subordinate to people's organizations. The main tasks are unifying the broad mass of literature and arts workers, producing works, and producing talent. In our work, we must extensively adopt the method of social activities, implement democratic principles, truly depict the unified nature of the people, and strictly avoid oversimplified and rigid administrative methods. We must, under the leadership of the various local party committees, in coordination with leading local cultural administrative departments, on our own initiative, actively and creatively develop our work, causing it to be vital, vivid, and most successful.

Comrades! The 1980's will be an era full of light and hope, an era of decisive significance for the realization of the four modernizations, and will also be an era in which we literature and arts workers will bring our talents into full play, and will accomplish much. The broad mass of literature and arts workers of our province, having passed through a long period of struggle, storms and severe trials, warmly love the party, socialism, and the people; and we are full of confidence in our undertaking. If only we proceed along the same path with the party, and along the same path with the people of the entire province, crossing over together in the same boat with one mind and one heart, using all of our intelligence and skill, and all of our heart's blood and energy, then we will definitely surpass our province's present literary and artistic level, create outstanding literary and artistic works and performing arts worthy of the great people of our nation and of the great age we have entered, produce a whole new period of great literary masters and outstanding artists, add new treasures to our national treasury of literature and art, write a new page in literary and artistic history, and make a new contribution towards raising the scientific and cultural level of all of the people, developing a noble, rich, and variegated cultural life, and building a civilization with a high degree of socialist spirit.

The party's 5th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee recently held calls on all party members, together with all of the people in the country, to rally closely around the party Central Committee, all be of one heart, work intensely, and create outstanding accomplishments on all fronts with which to greet the holding of the party's 12th session. To translate the call of the 5th plenary Central Committee meeting into real actions on the part of each one of us literature and arts workers is the hope of this conference, and of all of the people of the province for us.

There is a poem by Xin Qiji, entitled "Han Palace Spring," the first line of which is "Spring has returned." Indeed it has; the first spring day of the 1980's has already arrived. The fine spring day for the blossoming of a hundred flowers and the great flourishing of literature and arts has also arrived. Let all of us in this great cultural army of ours join hands, unite our hearts and, rising to meet the glorious spring sunlight, stride forward towards new heights in literature and the arts!

9634
CSO: 4005

NOT EMPLOYING TALENTED PEOPLE PROPERLY SAID INTOLERABLE

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Fang Ge [2455 2047]: "Talented People Are Definitely Not Private Property"]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four" much talent which had been buried has "broken cover" and moves about freely, showing what it can do in a variety of fields. Here lies the hope of the four modernizations.

Yet in the excitement and happiness, it cannot be said there is no anxiety. Because in the matter of talent, things cannot be just as people would want, and there are still a great many "covers." The leadership of some units has drawn a firm line and looks on their jurisdiction as an independent kingdom and the talent in the units under them as private property, using a variety of excuses to keep talented people whose training is not being used in the right way from returning to their fields, and this is one of these "covers."

The press has exposed many cases like this recently. For example, an assistant researcher who has spent many years in research on the origin of life still works on a citrus farm, which is irrelevant to his specialization. When another unit asked that he be transferred because they had accepted a scientific research task and urgently needed someone with his kind of specialty the answer they got was: "Because of the needs here we cannot agree to the transfer." A technician who had pursued basic scientific research in metal physics for many years was assigned to work on computer hardware maintenance and daily generator room duty. Another unit needed someone with his talents to participate in "photosynthesis research" which is one of the 14 key national research topics. He himself had repeatedly asked to return to his own field, but his unit blocked his request and would not let him go. It is said that in Guangzhou there are still over 1,000 specialists who are covered with this kind of "cover," not using what they have learned and not being employed where they would do the most good. They have fields but cannot go into them, they are heroes with no place to display their abilities. Those units who are thirsty for capable people can only "hope for talent and sigh."

Those who are leaders of units do not want to let the talented people "get away," hoping that if they have a group of talented people together the work will be done well, and that frame of mind is understandable. But from the point of view of the interests of the entire nation, these leaders should be subjected to criticism. Because these leaders are thinking only of the little part they control and have completely forgotten about the larger part of the four modernizations. In feudal and capitalist societies where the means of production are dominated by landlords and capitalists, talented people also become their private property and can be locked up and even sold at a high price. We are a socialist country. All spiritual and material wealth is created by the people and publically owned by all the people. Talented people are also trained by the nation and the people and similarly belong to the nation and the people, so by rights they should be assigned and distributed by the nation. That way of doing things which shifts one's troubles onto others, only permitted transfers in and not allowing transfers out, runs counter to the guiding principles of socialism.

Perhaps these leaders of units can explain away that the reason they did not let the talented people go was because of the needs of the work. It may be a little excessive to say that this is entirely without reason. As far as talented people are concerned, it is always better to have them be without, and to have one more than to have one less. For example, if you make an agricultural machinery specialist tend cattle, he will be able to do a good job of raising them, or if you let a high energy physics researcher take the responsibility for teaching middle school physics classes, he will also be able to perform the task. The question is, where to put that one talented person so that he can make the most of his abilities and create greater wealth for mankind. In this regard, by all means we do not want to be shortsighted and by trying to save a little, lose a lot. If Pingyuan Jun [1627 0626 0689] of Zhao in the Warring States Period had not chosen Mao Sui [3029 6659] as part of his entourage on his embassy to Chu, Mao Sui would not have been able to render meritorious service to his country and would have continued to be just an obscure hanger-on. If in the beginning, the middle school where Chen Jingrun [7115 2529 3387] taught had blocked him and not let him go, I think that he would never have been able to become the world-famous educator that he is today. For a talented person to make the most of his abilities, of course is related to the subjective efforts of the talented person himself, but the objective conditions are also very important. People often say that good steel should be used for knife blades, and by the same logic we should place talented people in suitable positions and let them fully give free play to their abilities and aspirations.

Suppressing talented people is absolutely intolerable. We hope that those comrades who abandon public issues for personal reasons will stand a little taller and look a little farther and take the initiative to remove the "covers" and let the many talented people show themselves and develop great plans for realizing the four modernizations.

8226
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

RECTIFICATION, REFORM, KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH REALITY URGED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by Huang Jinrui [7806 6855 3843], Mai Huafang [7796 5478 5364] and Ma Liduan [7456 0448 4551]: "Through Study of the 'Guiding Principles' the Members of the Guangzhou Enamel Plant Party Committee Leadership Self-consciously Accept the Supervision of the Masses and, Keeping in Touch With Reality, Carry Out Rectification and Reform"]

[Text] To carry out thoroughly the spirit of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee, the party committee of the Guangzhou Enamel Plant in mid-May began to carry out party member education through study of "On Certain Principles of Political Life Within the Party" and the revised draft of the party constitution. In addition, maintaining close ties with actuality they carried out rectification and reform with emphasis on resolving some questions in the livelihood of the masses, and not preliminary results.

Focusing on problems which exist within the party, the party committee of this plant had party members attend party classes, organized discussions and conducted an open book examination with regard to the nature of the party, party democratic centralism, party discipline, the party's excellent traditions and work style, and the vanguard model role of communists.

They organized party members to get in close touch with reality, and review the ideological confusion which was created by the 10-year catastrophe, summarized the lessons of experience looking for gaps in comparison with the "Guiding Principles" and began criticism and self-criticism.

In educating the party members, the members of the party leadership made full use of the excellent tradition of accepting the supervision of the masses and took the initiative to listen to the views of party members and the masses. The nine party branches in the plant separately convened personnel forums which began criticism of problems in the leadership work of the party committee. Under their prodding, party members and leadership cadres at plant and shop levels and party members generally began to investigate the conduct of party line, direction and policy, to investigate party training, the organizational discipline, mass viewpoint, and the activity of advanced role models, and carried out rectification and reform.

They conscientiously studied the views of the masses to distinguish their importance and urgency. Those things that could be handled right away were attended to immediately; those that could not be resolved for the time being, were resolved by stages, with emphasis on several items which were related to the livelihood of the masses.

First of all was improving the working conditions of the masses. In some shops, broken and completed enamel products were piled so high that the workers had to use a floor-standing fan to lower the temperature, but the fan was constantly blowing over the piles of broken and completed pieces, so to protect the pieces, the workers often didn't turn on the fan, preferring the higher temperatures in order to maintain production. In the past, the workers had come up with many ideas, but the situation still wasn't resolved. This time, the members of the plant's party committee changed their work style. They carried out an inspection of the site, added 30 fans and did a good job of lowering the temperature and preventing heatstroke. They also rebuilt the production passage so that the working conditions for the workers would be improved.

Next, they improved health protection work. They adopted some effective measures with regard to the workers' diet, environmental hygiene inside the plant, and reduction of dust pollution. For many years they had been unable to resolve the problem of a ditch at the plant which they could not get the polluted water out of and which stank to high heaven. This time, they improved the smelly ditch and also rebuilt the waste buckets in the toilets, improving environmental hygiene. In addition, they added clinics for female workers, improved leadership of the workers' dining halls, improved meals, and each time the temperature goes over 35 degrees, they increase the supply of cool foods to the workers.

Next, they helped the masses make good arrangements for their families and avoided the fear of problems at home. They strengthened leadership of basic construction, getting a grip on construction of dormitories for workers, and will strive to build over 4,000 square meters of housing by the middle of next year. They will improve managerial and educational work in day care centers and kindergartens, and increase child care strength to raise the quality of health care and education work for children and infants. In addition, they made suitable arrangements for jobs for the children of employees, took hold of the work of dealing with intellectual youth returned from the countryside and retired workers and staff members, and will actively help staff and workers resolve the actual problems of their domestic lives.

In addition, the plant also strengthened leadership of after work education of staff and workers, to help the workers improve culture and science and technological knowledge, they operated afterwork classes in drafting, calculating with an abacus, mathematics, and enamel technology, to supply the conditions for workers to study culture and technology.

8226
CSO: 4005

RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN CHINA, THE WEST DISCUSSED

Neuilly Cedex DEFENSE INTERARMEES in French No 52, Oct 80, p 3

[Editorial by G. de Briganti: "China and the West"]

[Text] Ever since the death of Chairman Mao and, above all, after the famous "gang of four" disappeared from the Chinese political stage, the Chinese leadership, now more pragmatic, have not concealed their wish to achieve a rapprochement with the Western world which they consider China's natural ally because of a common hostility toward "Soviet hegemonism."

This wish for a rapprochement between China and the West was manifested, first of all, through timid approaches in matters of international politics. Subsequently it was concretized through the establishment of diplomatic relations with a number of Western countries. Currently, it is pursued through commercial and cultural exchanges of rising importance.

Nevertheless, an area remains where exchanges have still not exceeded a very modest level. Naturally, this applies to armaments. In effect, what has been written notwithstanding, sales of military equipment or of equipment with military application concluded in the past few years have applied only to helicopters (MBB Bo-105 and SA-362 Dauphin 2). This has been due to a number of reasons two of which are of overwhelming importance:

China's monetary reserves are insufficient to allow the financing of all the modernization programs which its government would like to undertake. The modernizing of the armed forces is the last of the "Four Modernizations." Available funds are allocated, first of all, for the agricultural and industrial sectors. China would have no difficulty to borrow on the international money market to finance its technological purchases. However, the Chinese leaders are unwilling to contract debts particularly considering the size of the interest they would have to pay. Therefore, we can reveal that negotiations for the purchase of British Harrier ADAC/V were dropped by China because of the high cost of such aircraft;

Despite the speed with which the rapprochement between China and the Western world has taken place or, perhaps, because of that speed itself, the Western countries are showing a reticence in supplying that country with modern military equipment, fearing an eventual and just as speedy Chinese turnaround which, encouraged by a new leadership, could return China to its position of 20 years ago.

Nevertheless, a slight change is being noted in the Western position, that of the United States in particular, which authorized, quite recently, the sale of C-130 Hercules and CH 47 helicopters to China. Furthermore, the American government has granted 400 export licenses for China covering military or paramilitary equipment.

This slow development does not suit the Chinese leadership. All the high officials with whom I spoke in China emphasized the contradiction they see in American policy (this occurred in August, before the decisions I mentioned were made). Actually, the Chinese are astonished by the fact that despite their clear desire for a rapprochement and even though they consider themselves as of now the allies of the Western world, the Americans are still classifying China as belonging to the "Group Y" countries (communist countries) to whom any sale of military ordnance is forbidden in principle. This contradiction, even though contradicted by the facts, is exasperating to the Chinese leaders who would like the Western world to publicly acknowledge China as one of its allies with all that this involves on the official and administrative levels. This desire to be acknowledged as full allies was repeated to me a number of time insistently and emphatically, and it is quite plausible that such a recognition of China's new status would be followed by an increase in arms purchases by the People's Republic. The Chinese leaders would be encouraged in their policy of rapprochement. Their positions would be strengthened and they would no longer have the impression of facing the uncertainty of the Western world which, while opening its political arms to China, has kept its reserve in an area which Mao's successors consider as the most important: defense in the broad meaning of the term.

5157
CSO: 8119/0211

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

UNDERGROUND SHELTERS, CIVIL DEFENSE

Neuilly Cedex DEFENSE INTERARMEES in French No 52, Oct 80 p 19

[Article: "Underground Shelters and Civil Defense"]

[Text] Being essentially defensive, Chinese military doctrine ascribes very great importance to civil defense, whose achievements greatly exceed anything accomplished by the Western countries. In this case, following the writings of Mao Zedong ("Dig Deep Galleries"), the Chinese leaders have assigned two distinct roles to underground construction: the evacuation of civilian populations and support of fighting units which, should China be occupied, would set up a real armed resistance force extensively using the underground shelters and communications tunnels, as was the case during the "war of resistance against Japan."

During our trip to China we had the opportunity to see a big underground shelter south of Tian'anmian Square in Beijing. Its main purpose was to insure the protection of the civilian population. Each Beijing district--a district is an administrative unit within a ward--has an underground shelter generally built by its residents; these shelters are connected with a network of tunnels reaching even the most outlying suburbs from the center of the city, allowing the underground evacuation of the district population. The shelter we visited was built between 1969 and 1979 as a result of the border incidents with the USSR. Its building was in accordance with the Maoist doctrine according to which the people were to build a "big underground wall." It consists of three levels respectively located at a depth of 4, 8 and 15 meters. The access ways are on the first level (armored doors, guard premises, etc.) allowing the entry of 10,000 people. A series of armored doors and camouflaged stairways lead to the second level where the "life" areas are located (dormitories, assembly hall, armory, kitchens, etc.), and the "technical" areas (electric power and air conditioning systems), as well as access to tunnels leading to the surrounding shelters. The third level reached through two stairways, equally protected by armored doors, contains a series of 10 rooms which could be converted into infirmaries for the eventual treatment of casualties which could not be handled by the outpatient clinic or the infirmary on the second level.

All in all, the shelter totals about 3,000 meters of tunnels and some 30 access ways, virtually one for each two surface stores. It also has two independent wells and food reserves sufficient for some 500 people for over one month. If necessary, frequent exercises have confirmed that the 10,000 people assigned to this shelter could enter it in 5 to 6 minutes.

This shelter, like others in Beijing's underground, are guarded by some 30 people among its potential users, taking turns, maintaining it, among other tasks, in a proper functional condition.

This sight strikes the imagination, for the shelter is reached through a clothing store in which part of the floor silently slides behind a sales counter, opening to the first of a long series of stairways. If, as the Chinese authorities claim, each district has such a shelter, the population of a city the size of Beijing (several million people) could be evacuated in no more than a few hours. Should this be the case China has the first, and perhaps the only, general civil defense system in the world.

5157
CSO: 8119/0211

BEIJING GARRISON'S THIRD INFANTRY DIVISION

Neuilly Cedex DEFENSE INTERARMEES in French No 52, Oct 80 pp 12-19

[Article by Special Correspondent Giovanni de Griganti: "The Third Infantry Division of Beijing's Garrison"]

> [Text] The following article is one of a series of reports on the Chinese Armed Forces written as the result of a visit which Giovanni de Griganti paid last August on the invitation of China's Ministry of Defense. Other articles dealing with aeronautics (the 38th Air Division of the Chinese Airforce) and industrial aspects (China's aerospace industry) will be published in the months to follow.

"It is beautiful but it is not war." This famous saying expresses in the best possible way the initial impression made by visiting a unit of China's ground forces. Personally, this was my case as a result of the visit I paid to the Third Infantry Division of Beijing's garrison. However, since other Western observers, whom I was able to question, had paid similar visits, had had a similar reaction.

The Third Infantry Division is part of the Battle Corps of the ground forces (see below). Because of this its level of training and its equipment are superior to those of other units. Assigned to protect Beijing, one could logically assume that it is a question of a particularly well trained unit and that, since it is displayed to foreign visitors, it would be one of the best units of China's army.

The visit begins with a long briefing on the history of the division and its most famous companies, one of which was created in 1928, at the beginning of the establishment of the Red Army. The Third Division has successively taken part in five "counter encirclements" mounted by the Kuomintang, and in guerrilla campaigns from the Jiang Shi revolutionary base. It has taken part in 1,600 fights in the course of the "war of resistance against Japan" (World War II), during which it was attached to the newly organized Fourth Army. The division "destroyed" 40,000 Japanese during that time. Between 1945 and 1947 it participated in seven campaigns in the course of which its troops killed 70,000 Japanese (at that time the division numbered no more than 5,000-10,000 men). Assigned to Korea, the Third Infantry Division took part in 55 battles together with the North Korean army, in the course of which it killed 10,000 enemies.

For some 20 years it has been part of one of the army corps protecting Beijing.

Like all Chinese military units, the Third Division has, in fact, three main missions, of which the military one is not the most important. In effect, it is in charge of "combat" in wartime. However, in peacetime it has the "work" and "production" missions. In accordance with party policy, it implements the three democracies (political, military and economic).

These three missions should be explained in greater detail. The military mission is to watch out for any enemy and be always vigilant in the face of the internal enemy (careerists and counterrevolutionaries) as well as foreign enemies.

The "work" mission involves the concept of propaganda and civic and political training which the division cadres give to the civilian population with which they are in contact and to the draftees who, after their military service, must, themselves, be able to go on doing propaganda work for the good of the party.

The third "production" mission means that each military unit must appreciably participate in the country's economic life. It is thus that each unit has its agricultural production unit (with its own fields, hog and livestock farms, etc.), or an industrial production unit: the Third Division, for example, operates a plant for the production of pharmaceuticals, most of which are exported to the United States and to Hong Kong. Still within the framework of its "production" mission, the division takes part in public works: some of its latest achievements are the building of two reservoirs and participation in the building of Mao's mausoleum and of the people's congress building, both located in Beijing's Tian'anmian Square.

The three democracies are a totally unusual aspect of the life of a military unit. Generally speaking, political democracy means that any "fighter" (soldier) or "commander" (officer) may participate in political discussions and express his views; economic democracy means that anyone could participate in determining the level of agricultural and industrial output and its marketing aspects. It is undeniable, however, that the strangest of them is military democracy. Thus, according to this democracy, any military action, at whatever level, is preceded by a discussion in the course of which the rank and file and the officers may suggest the means they prefer in carrying out a mission. Discipline takes over only as a result of such a discussion and it is only then that the final decision, taken by the highest rank officer, is implemented. Even though tempting it might be on the conceptual level, such as system necessarily raises important questions in practical terms, for a preliminary discussion necessarily takes a great deal of time and contributes to the deterioration of disciplinary structures even though, according to my observations, Chinese military discipline appears to be very strict.

Nevertheless, this military democracy has its limits, for a doctrinary tactic which is taught to the officers applies to the Chinese units. Nevertheless, according to the officers I talked to, discussions provide better operational flexibility.

The Third Division has two other missions performed in times of peace: The strengthening of the "militancy for the defense of the fatherland and the Four Modernizations," as well as the training of the people's militia of surrounding villages and communes.

Organization and Personnel

As all other infantry divisions of the Battle Corps, the Third Infantry Division, whose command post is some 60 kilometers northwest of Beijing, totals about 13,000 men. It consists of three infantry regiments (11th, 12th and 13th), an armored regiment, a field artillery regiment, a surface-air artillery regiment, and a division reconnaissance company. Even though no specific information was provided, one could nevertheless assume the existence of specialized companies within basic division-level elements.

The infantry regiment consists of 2,000 men. It is divided into four battalions of four companies each and has five specialized companies, totaling 21 companies. The four infantry battalions have no means of transport of their own: The trucks which move the troops are part of the transport company which is under the direct command of regimental headquarters. The four other basic companies include a fire support company with three batteries of two antitank 85 mm guns each, a machine gun company (armed with 12.7 mm machine guns), a headquarters company and service personnel and a medical company (staffed mainly by women).

It is of interest to note that the entire shared armament of the infantry companies totals only four submachine guns (7.62 mm) and 17 antitank rocket launchers type 69 (RPG-7).

The armored regiment consists of 1,000 men. No specifications were provided as to its organization. However, it has 80 T-59 medium tanks (Chinese copy of the T-54), some of which are equipped with infrared night driving systems.

No specifications were provided on the organization of the field or antiaircraft artillery regiments. I saw no antiaircraft weapons. It seems likely, however, that this unit is equipped with some 100 pieces of different calibers, ranging from twin-barrel 14.5 mm antiaircraft machine guns to 100 mm antiaircraft guns. Some of these weapons may be controlled by radar. However, no antiaircraft missile is currently used on the divisional level. The field artillery regiments are equipped mainly with Type 54 122 mm howitzers, a Chinese copy of the Soviet M-30, as well as a small 12-barrel 109 mm rocket launcher mounted on a two-wheel carriage. In all likelihood the artillery pieces are towed by trucks, as the Chinese Army is equipped with no more than a few tracked tractors.

Demonstration of the Reconnaissance Company

During my visit to the Third Infantry Division I witnessed a demonstration by the divisional reconnaissance company which numbers 100 "troops and commanders." This demonstration included climbing the front of a building erected on the sports grounds of the divisional command post. It used primitive tools such as grappling irons, ropes and long bamboo sticks. Another demonstration included grenade hurling in the course of which the infantrymen showed great precision skill in hitting their target (a circle two meters in diameter) a few dozen meters away. The average throw covered a distance of 60 to 80 meters. Part of the company demonstrated a kind of obstacle course which included, in particular, hurdling on the run a wall over two meters high; another group within the company showed different close combat techniques: how to neutralize a sentry, bayonet fighting, etc. The personnel displayed remarkable dexterity and their physical condition was unquestionably excellent. However, their movements on the terrain resembled more a well-directed choreography rather than military procedure. Actually, one shudders at the thought that such trained and clearly dedicated troops may eventually face an enemy equipped with modern weapons of whose effectiveness these same soldiers are certainly unaware.

This was followed by an inspection of the barracks of that company. Compared with Western barracks, the Chinese soldiers' lodgings display Spartan poverty. The building I visited had, at one end, a hall used as a "social center" as well as a classroom for political education courses. The walls were decorated by drawings and maps tracing the history of the company and a panel of "heroes" to be emulated by the soldiers, along with another panel displaying a diagram of the company's agricultural output. A walkway in the center gave access to a dormitory: three small offices were located on the left while the armory was on the right (with AK-47 folding assault rifles, submachine guns and four pistols) and a premise where the personal items of the soldiers, together with their winter uniforms, were arranged in small containers. The dormitory itself consisted of bunk beds made of wooden planks on which covers and pillows were carefully folded. No personal item, even a book or a pack of cigarettes, could be seen. The dormitory was empty with the exception of a small group of soldiers who were studying for their political education course provided by a young lieutenant who, as deputy company commander, was also its political commissar.

As we already mentioned, the Third Infantry Division has a small pharmaceutical plant, operating on an entirely independent basis, staffed by draftees and personnel wives. Founded in 1971, today the plant employs 130 people and manufactures seven different pharmaceuticals. Its 1979 output totaled 35 tons, rutin accounting for 30 of them.

Like all Chinese military units, the Third Infantry Division must procure some of its own food. To this effect it has an agricultural unit and a big farm and a workshop for the manufacturing of cheese and soybean curds. It is interesting to note that in accordance with the principle of "economic democracy," the division could sell or trade its farm produce on the free markets of the civilian economy.

Two principal observations are possible as a result of such a short visit as mine was. On the one hand, in accordance with the precepts of Mao Zedong, the Chinese army units play a role which goes far beyond their simple military mission. The army is both a propaganda element and a tool for national reconstruction, and its personnel--far too numerous in terms of merely a hypothetical battle--play a substantial role in the country's economic life and represent a manpower reserve which could lend a hand to the civilian populations at all times. On the other hand, one is impressed by the dedication of the troops: Far from requestioning their role or usefulness, the Chinese military seem to believe in the importance of the mission they have been entrusted by the party and dedicate themselves to its implementation. Despite Spartan living conditions, the troops seem to have a very strong morale and it is quite conceivable that they would never refuse the order to do battle in any tactical situation.

The Chinese Land Forces

In terms of size, the Chinese land forces, numbering some 3.6 million men, are the largest in the world. From the administrative viewpoint, China's territory is divided into 11 military regions each of which is subdivided into two or three military districts. Whereas in peacetime the military regions play no more than an administrative and territorial role, in wartime each of them would be a front simply by assuming command over all units normally stationed on their territory.

From the functional viewpoint there are two types of units: the main forces (the Battle Corps) which may be engaged in any part of the territory, and the regional forces (or local forces) in charge of the territorial defense of the military regions to which they are effected.

The Battle Corps consists of the best equipped units. It is estimated at some basic 40 army corps (each one consisting of three infantry divisions) to which are added 12 armored divisions, 3 airborne divisions (kept in reserve) and special troops: artillery (about 20 divisions), antiaircraft artillery (also 20 divisions), engineers, railroad engineers, and communications units (estimated at totaling no less than 11 specialized regiments). All armor and the great majority of heavy weapons are concentrated within the units of the Battle Corps which represents a kind of mobile reserve which could be sent as support of any military region. The local forces, which consist of less well equipped regular units (no more than a few older tanks, lighter artillery pieces, and virtually no motorized transport facilities) are essentially in charge of defending a limited area together with the people's militia and the paramilitary forces. The border defense and internal defense units are part of the local forces.

The people's militia is added to these two categories of regular "forces." It consists of the armed militia (seven million) and urban militia (several million). The other paramilitary forces are also added to the regular forces.

The Main Forces

The overwhelming majority of the some 40 army corps which account for the main forces are deployed in Manchuria and the military regions of Shenyang, Beijing and Nanking; others, whose specific number is unknown, are deployed in the southern part of the country, facing Vietnam.

There are two types of army corps: those belonging to category A are better equipped, having heavy armaments and greater transport facilities and are generally motorized; the B category army corps consists essentially of lighter units and are better adapted to infantry combat in more rugged areas.

A typical army corps numbers close to [illegible]0,000 men. It includes three infantry divisions, one field artillery regiment, one antiaircraft artillery regiment, one armored regiment, one reconnaissance battalion, one battalion of engineers, one communications battalion, one chemical warfare battalion (mainly defensive) and a headquarters regiment. In the first part of this article we described the breakdown of the infantry division. That of the armored division is quite similar, with the difference that the three infantry regiments and the armored regiment have been replaced by three armored regiments and a single infantry regiment which is, however, either mechanized or at least fully motorized.

The motorizing of the units is, in fact, one of the main problems facing the general staff of the People's Liberation Army. Actually, infantry accounts for the overwhelming majority of units (the Battle Corps, for example, has 115 infantry divisions and only 12 armored divisions). Despite the obvious concern for modernization, at the present time the infantry units are still very poor in transport; an infantry division, for example, has no more than some 350 trucks. This essentially stems from the fact that the new leadership has not as yet made up its mind as to whether to abandon the Maoist doctrine of a people's war which, stipulating that any attacker would be eventually "drowned" in the infantry and militia masses, ascribed no important role whatever to motorized and mechanized forces. This may seem strange in a country where the truck is the most common means of transportation.

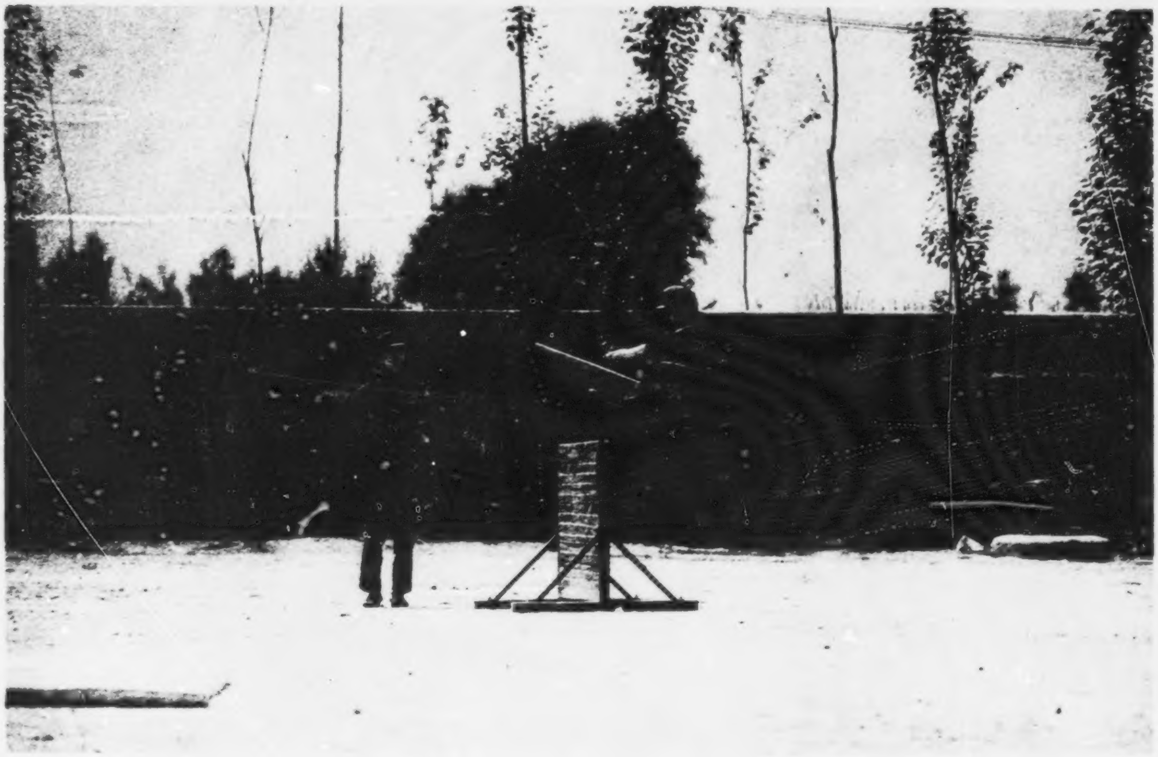
According to Western estimates the people's liberation army has no more than some 11,000 tanks, mainly of the Type 59 (T-54 Soviet) and T-60 and T-62 (both extrapolations of the Soviet PT-76), and about 3,000 VTT, Type 63; the latter are essentially part of the armored divisions within which one of the three battalions of the infantry regiment would be entirely mechanized. Most of the artillery is towed and consists essentially of Soviet guns (122 mm, 130 mm and 152 mm); the antitank artillery units are equally equipped with Soviet design pieces. There are very few self-propelling guns, most of which are antitank fighters (SU-76, SU-85 and SU-100) rather than artillery guns. According to some sources, however, the Chinese have developed a self-propelling gun which would combine a 122 mm field gun with the hull and chassis of the Type 63 VTT. However, this piece has no turret.

Generally speaking, the armament and equipment of the Chinese units are copies of the arms supplied by the USSR before 1960. Therefore, they are far below the performance of Western modern arms. It is certain, however, that the Chinese units are perfectly able to use them quite effectively.

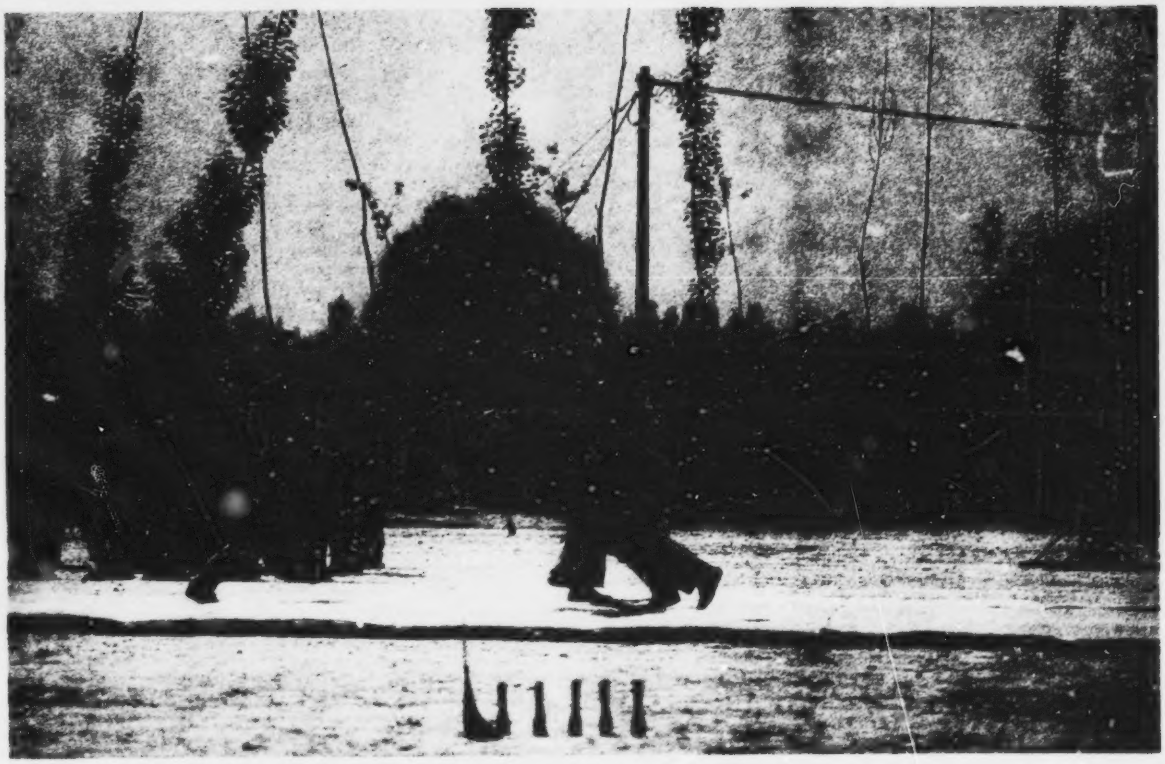
In addition to the motorization problem, the people's liberation army has two major weaknesses today in the antitank and antiaircraft areas. Most of its antitank elements consist of towed 85 mm guns and even though according to some sources China has purchased HOT and MILAN missiles, it seems that no antitank missile is currently in service. On the level of the infantry units the main antitank weapon is the Soviet RPG-7 rocket launcher which, however, is equipped with a Chinese charge of superior performance. We also note the availability of a very large number of recoilless guns of different calibers. However, it is unlikely that such armaments would be able to stop or, even less so, to destroy modern tanks.

A similar situation prevails in the area of antiaircraft armaments. The people's liberation army has no ground-air missile which would provide close unit protection or self-propelling antiaircraft guns with the exception of a few T-34 equipped with a 37 mm double-barrel. Basically antiaircraft defense is provided by the towed guns of several calibers with no radar fire control, however.

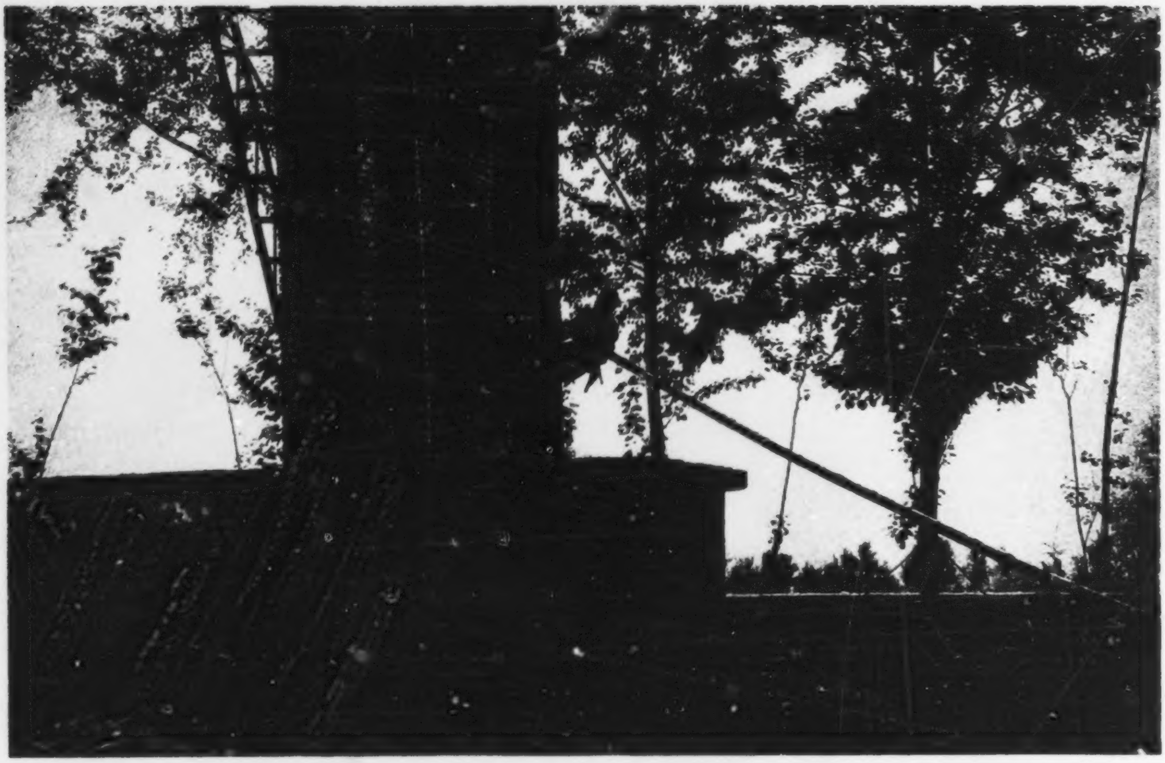
Nevertheless, the fact that an antiaircraft artillery unit is present at all levels, ranging from the army corps to the regiment, clearly proves that this is a problem of concern to the people's liberation army general staff and that it is certain that this area will be one of the first to be modernized when finally China begins to purchase Western armaments of modern design.



Soldier from the divisional reconnaissance company crossing an obstacle. The Chinese soldiers seem to be in excellent physical shape and possess almost theatrical agility.



Close combat seems to be of very great importance in the Chinese army and even today bayonet fighting and hand-to-hand combat are important features in troop training.

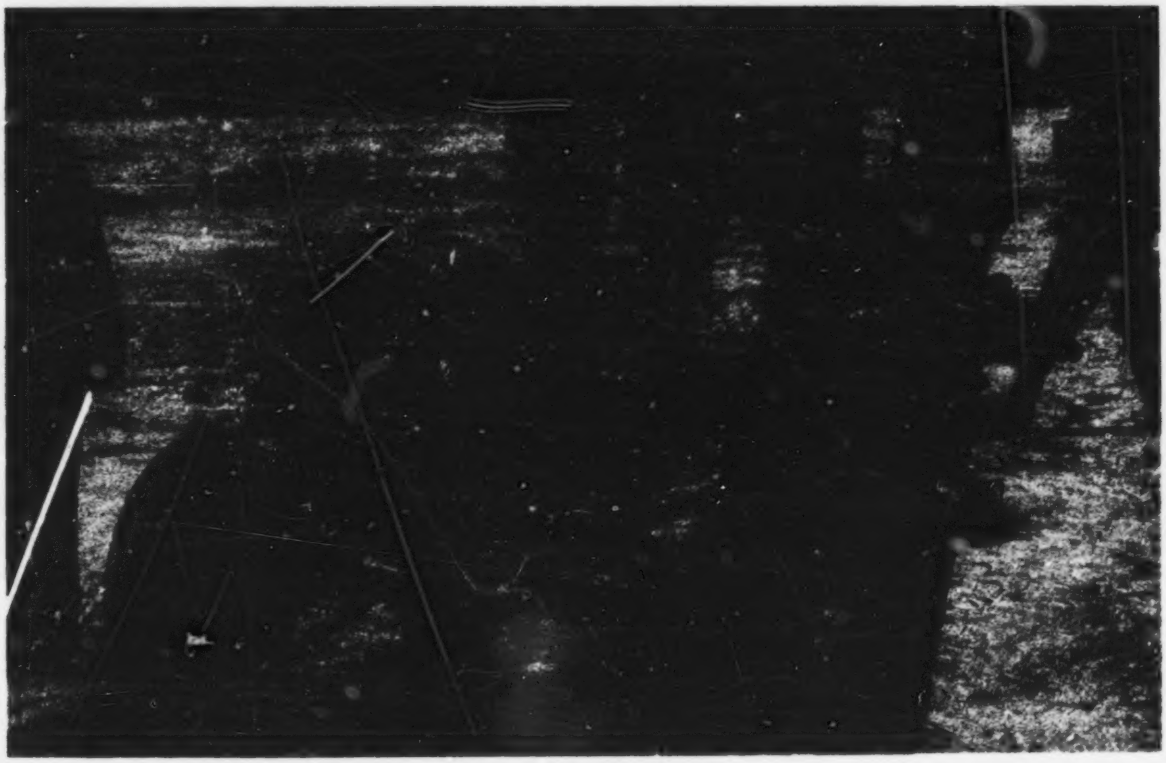


There are several ways to enter a building, using ropes, grappling irons, or, simply, the drainpipes. The photograph shows a solider "walking" on the wall leaning on a long bamboo stick pushed by several of his colleagues. Regardless of the method used, the soldiers of the reconnaissance company were able to reach the "roof" in no more than a few seconds.

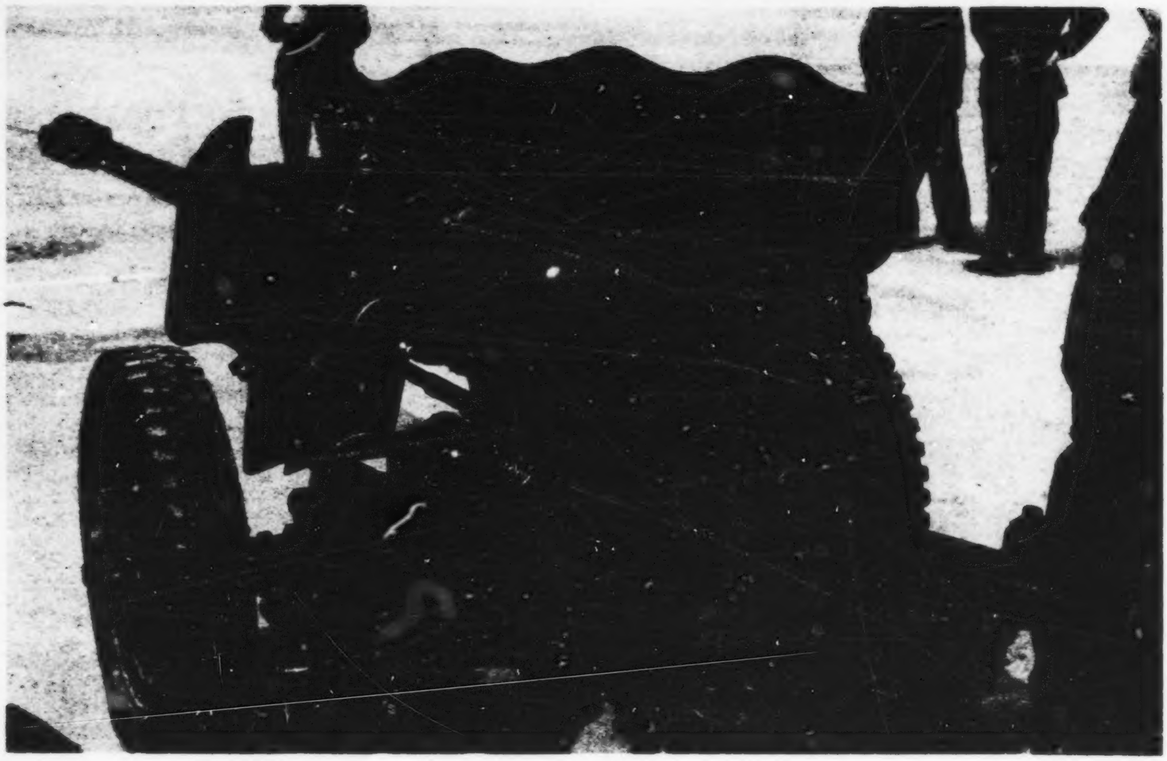
The standard Chinese army tank is the Type 59, armed with a 100 mm cannon, derived from the Soviet T-54. It has an infrared night vision system of Chinese manufacturing and three machine guns: one on the turret, the second coaxial and the third firing from the front. Another photograph of the same tank may be found on the back of the cover.

Grenade throwing is also part of the Chinese soldiers' training, even though virtually all armed forces are now using rifle-launched grenades. In the course of the demonstration we attended most throwers reached their target over 70 meters distant.

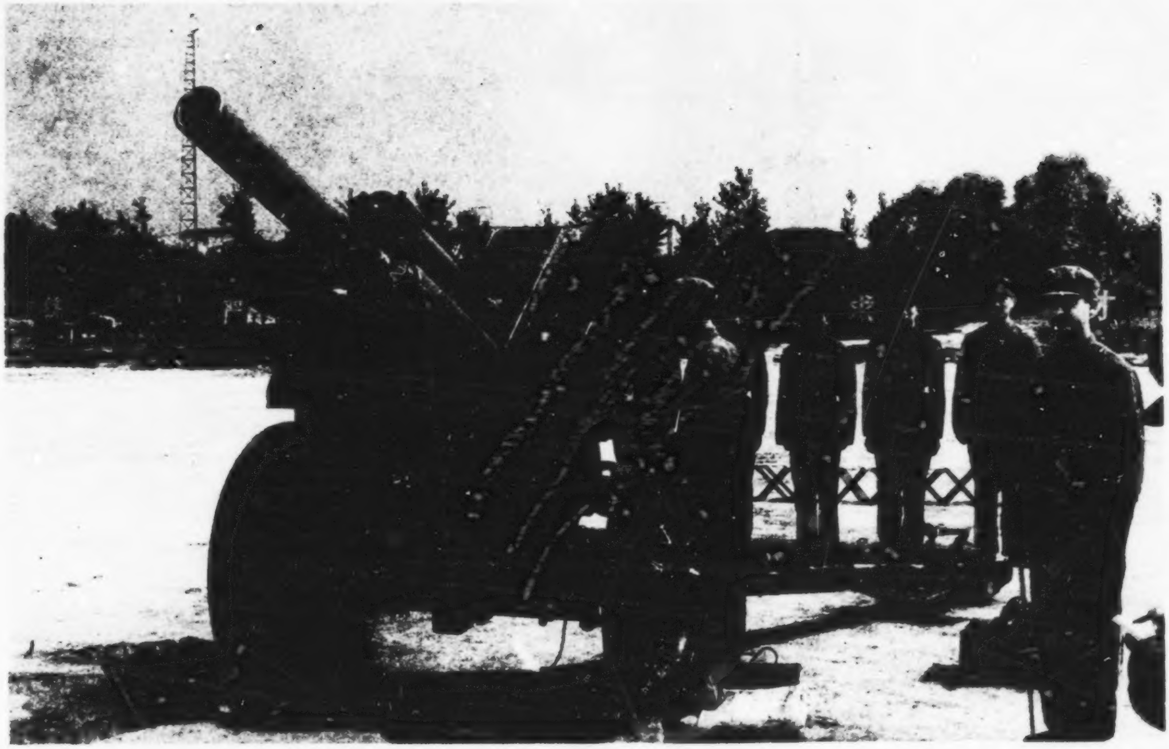
The standard artillery piece of field artillery units is the Type 54 122 mm howitzer. Developed on the basis of the Soviet M-30, the initial speed of the howitzer is 519 meters per second.



The field artillery units are also equipped with the towed Type 63, 109 mm rocket launchers. Mainly used for saturation fire, the rocket launcher weighs 616 kilograms in battery and could fire its 12 rockets in 7 seconds. It has an 8,000 meter range. As one may see, its design is rather primitive.



For their antitank defense the infantry regiments have a battery of six towed 85 mm Type 56 cannons with a maximum range of 9,050 meters. We were told that a well trained crew could maintain a fire pace of 15 to 20 shots per minute. However, the figure seems rather high particularly in the case of a manually reloaded weapon. The photograph clearly shows the sighting mechanism.



Another angle of the Type 54 howitzer in battery in front of its seven-man crew. Compared with the Soviet howitzer, from which it was developed, the Type 54 has a bigger shield, solid tires and a different aiming mechanism. All in all, the Chinese ground equipment seems to include numerous improvements compared with the original Soviet equipment.

5157
CSO: 8119/0211

'BA YI RADIO' RAPS INDICTMENT AGAINST FORMER PLA LEADERS

OW251049 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 24 Nov 80

[Text] There is a great discrepancy between the indictment brought against former important leaders and the decision adopted by the enlarged session of the CCP Central Committee's military commission. The decision says that acts that were performed on orders from the CCP Central Committee's military commission, Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou or Marshal Ye should not be cited as evidence of a crime by the prosecution. The indictment, which includes a list of charges of this nature, opposes the opinion of most people, reflects the feudal fascist and patriarchal practice of exaggerating criminal liability, and is indeed regretable.

Reports by the investigatory group on the special case in March 1979 and July 1980 have already explicitly pointed out that many charges against former important PLA leaders--Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao--are inconsistent with the facts. During the pretrial by the special procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate to verify the evidence, it was discovered that many charges could not be substantiated with convincing evidence and that some evidence was legally invalid. Oddly enough, probably out of the fear that this so-called evidence might be overturned, a certain person published the evidence in inner-circle documents and newspapers in an attempt to present prejudiced views before the start of the trial.

At the Party Central Committee's plenary sessions, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repudiated all the statements and actions by Chairman Mao, the gang of four, Kang Sheng and Wang Dongxing. However, the frameups, wrong sentences and unjust verdicts they concocted against large numbers of PLA leaders and cadres under the pretext of Lin Biao's incident have not been redressed. Even the "outline of 'Project 571,'" which was incoherent and ludicrous in language and deliberately fabricated, has also been cited as criminal evidence.

After the Lin Biao incident occured, Chairman Mao personally said in front of Premier Zhou, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing and others: "Huang Yongsheng and Qiu Huizuo did not necessarily oppose me. It is possible that they were tricked." Later on, to usurp army leadership, the gang of four and Kang Sheng fabricated various charges against many army leaders. In fact, the counterrevolutionary charges against them on trying to assassinate Chairman Mao, inciting armed rebellion, staging the armed coup d'etat and others were all meticulously concocted by the gang of four, Kang Sheng and that two-faced dealer in power at that time.

So long as we have decided to affix responsibility for the crimes, we must respect the evidence and facts and, based on objective circumstances at that time and taking into consideration the fact that the armymen were merely executing orders, reasonably and justly handle problems involving former important PLA leaders. We should not allow a certain person, or persons, to influence the normal work of a trial.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

DISCUSSION OF POPULATION PROBLEMS, SOLUTIONS

Shanghai FUDAN XUEBAO [FUDAN JOURNAL] in Chinese No 4, Jul 80 pp 11-14

[Article by Wu Peidan [0702 5952 0030], Rui Pinxuan [5360 0756 6513] and Zheng Guizhen [6774 2710 3791]: "A Discussion of China's Current Population Problem and the Ways of Solution"]

[Text] The population problem is exceedingly complex and impinges upon many areas: from an economic point of view it involves the problem of employment and the people's consumer standard; from a sociological point of view it involves the problems of marriage, housing, education and aging; and from the view of population reproduction it involves the problems of pregnancy, death and eugenics.

The Seriousness of Our Current Population Problem

The development of the population problem is proportional to our economic development. As producers people require that society provide them with adequate means of production for their use and as consumers they require that society provide them with ever more clothing, food, housing, implements and other livelihood materials to satisfy consumer needs. So if the population grows too fast and exceeds the development of the national economy there then will be employment problems and food and clothing problems as well. If the population grows too slowly the labor force will be insufficient and this will influence the pace of production developments, which also does not benefit economic development.

In the present stage our population problems are quite severe, mainly in the contradiction between too rapid a population increase and the development of the national economy, as is shown in the three following aspects:

First, there is our incomplete labor employment. Because of too rapid population growth new additions to the means of production are unable to satisfy the requirements of the new additions to the labor force, which has produced an excessively large labor force and the consequent problem of youths awaiting employment. The special features of our employment situation are a large base, rapid growth and a youthful age structure. Before 1975 the birth rate was over thirty per thousand and in 1963 it was forty per thousand, which produced the population explosion from the 5.4 hundred million persons of the early Liberation period to the over 9.7 hundred million persons of 1978, an average increase of 20 million per year, and of these about 4 million persons were urban youth. Although the birth rate has declined to 18 per thousand in recent years, yet about 18 million people are born each year and 80 percent of these are country people. The cities must arrange education and employment for 3.6 million youths each year. Every year our fixed assets increase by about 20 billion yuan and at present each worker's equipment value is calculated at 10,000 yuan so that at most the economy can absorb 2 million new workers each year and there still are 1 million awaiting employment. The yearly additions to the number of people awaiting employment makes the present labor employment problem especially acute.

The problem of excessive labor forces in the countryside is demonstrated in the incomplete use of the labor force and low labor productivity. In the 1960s China had 1.6 billion mu of cultivated land and a farm labor force of 200 million. The present acerage of cultivated land has shrunk to 1.5 billion mu but the farm labor force has increased to 300 million, so the number of mu of cultivated land per farm worker has dropped from 8 mu to 5 mu. Compared with the 13 mu per farm worker rate found in Japan this is a very low rate. Following the gradual implementation of agricultural modernization there will be an even greater excess labor force in the countryside. Because the great majority of the rural labor forces are situated in the countryside and have such simple tools and equipment the conditions do not attract as much attention as that of those awaiting employment in the urban areas.

Second, the low level of consumer standards. After post-Liberation developments in the national economy, although the national average per capita income gradually rose (US$28 in 1950, US$49 in 1957, US$78 in 1965, US$95 in 1970, US$139 in 1976 and US$183 in 1978), because of rapid population increases the people's consumer standard remained quite low. In terms of foodgrains, China's total production is the highest in the world, but using 1976 population figures there was 614 jin for each Chinese while there was 2,750 jin for each American This is because our population is four times greater.

An excessive population also causes many problems in housing and public facilities. In the early Liberation period each person had an average of 4.5 square meters of living space, and according to a 1978 national survey of 190 cities each person had an average of 3.6 square meters which not only is much lower than that of developed countries but also is 0.9 square meters lower than in the early Liberation period. Rapid population growth produces such clearcut contradictions as housing shortages, crowded transportation and insufficient hospital sickbeds.

Third, a contradiction between the labor force quality and the four modernizations. In terms of present-day world economic development speed in scientific and technological developments and improved management standards are important conditions for rapid economic development. However, Chinese population growth is too rapid and the consumer burden too heavy, so that the country lacks the financial and material strength to develop cultural and educational activities. After Liberation our population was 600 million people and rough calculations put national and collective consumption at 400 billion yuan and family expenses at 930 billion yuan for a total of 1.3 trillion yuan. The new production was mostly consumed by the new additions to the population which severely affected economic development and development of other areas. This was especially so in the slower developments in education which cannot keep pace with the needs of the four modernizations. In 1977 only 6 people out of a thousand attended college, which not only is far behind the developed nations but even lower than India. There are only 500 plus colleges for our population of 900 million people and only 0.5 percent of the population attends college. Only 22 percent of the population attends middle school. How can such conditions suit the needs of the four modernizations?

The Causes Which Produced Our Population Problems

There are both subjective and objective causes for our current population problems and the three main causes are as follows:

First, the main reason for our population problems is a low level of economic development. A low level of economic development on the one hand results in low consumer standards, employment problems, housing shortages and so on, and on the other hand it can cause rapid population growth. Because of backward economic conditions there is a relatively large amount of handicraft labor and a low degree of mechanization. Under conditions of low technological standards there is a direct proportion between product quantity and the amount invested in labor, and production developments primarily depend on the efforts of the labor force. Our 1976 foodgrain production was 200 billion jin higher than in 1957 and this was mostly because our rural labor force increased from 200 million to 300 million people. Under conditions of low labor productivity and low standards of mechanization there is a proportional relationship between the workers' benefits and their labor output. This is especially true in the countryside where if a family has a large labor force then income distribution will then be large, and this then is the economic source of the high birth rate.

Second, because of the onesidedness on our popularization of population theory and population policy for a time population development in China was in a state of anarchy and there was no implementation of planned parenthood. For a long time there was a lot of metaphysics in the popularization of population theory, a mistaken belief that continual population growth was a rule of socialist population theory, a partial view of people only as producers as though people could exist without need for the consumption of materials, thus making an absolute rule that having a large population is a good thing and simply denying that socialist China had a population problem. Criticism of the population theory of Malthus did not stop at condemnation of its reactionary qualities but always hung on the question of few or many people and anyone who advocated any controls of population growth was branded as a malthusian, so the population problem then became another "taboo." Under the leadership of such mistaken ideology our population developed with two high peaks in the 50s and 60s, producing a 30 year net population gain of 4.3 hundred million and creating great difficulties in socio-economics and the people's livelihood.

Because of the mistaken understanding of population theory the concrete steps taken under population policies actually served to bring about population increases. For a long time the countryside did not use age but rather used head counts to apportion food rations and living quarters and in the cities the housing was also apportioned on a population basis, the greater the population the greater the distribution. The staff and worker living subsidies were given to those with more children and was a kind of economic obstacle. The "iron rice bowl" policy in labor management also was a policy which encouraged increased population growth. The Chinese household was no longer a production unit but it still was a consumer unit and the amount of family income determined the consumer standard and as the children matured and entered the work force it was the same as an "iron rice bowl." The "iron rice bowl" system had many faults and few benefits as it robbed youth of an enterprising attitude and lowered the labor productivity rate. It enveloped the whole nation, was all too thoroughing and added to the state's burdens by creating excessive labor forces and adding to the number of people awaiting employment.

Third, during the changes in the process of population reproduction there was no control over increases in the growth rate so this created rapid population increases and the production of material goods could not keep up. From the viewpoint of population reproduction, old China had a high birth rate, high death rate and a low natural growth rate. After Liberation the people's livelihood improved, there were developments in health protection, the death rate for the old society declined from 28 per thousand to 6 or 7 per thousand, the population reproduction changed to a high birth rate, low death rate and high rate of natural growth. This sort of population condition is a transitory one. From now on developments in production forces, improvement of scientific and cultural standards, improvement of the labor production rate and the spread of planned parenthood will gradually produce a low birth rate, a low death rate and a low rate of natural increase. This is a slow process because population reproduction is cyclical in nature. In the past we had imcomplete understanding of the rules for this and because our population theory was partial the first process of change could not control the birth rate in time, with the result that the people born in the 50s and 60s have for the past 10 years and will for the next 10 years be entering the age of marriage and parenthood at the rate of ten million couples per year, so if each couple produces one child there will be a yearly increase of 10 million people, especially in the countryside where 80 percent of our population resides with low living standards, low levels of science and culture, low child-raising expenses, the added burden of feudal ideology which values sons and slights daughters and where the birth rate is much higher than in the cities. In Shanghai for example, the birth rate declined from 34 per thousand in 1964 to 12.9 per thousand in 1978. But the suburbs and urban areas are vastly different as in the city the average birth rate declined to 8.3 per thousand while the surburbs were 18.3 per thousand, the latter 1.2 times greater than the former.

In short, we must have complete understanding of our population problems before we can suggest concrete measures to solve these problems.

The Path toward Solution of Our Population Problems

The paths toward solution of the population problems and elimination of the causes which produced the population problems are closely related. To solve our population problems we must proceed from our actual conditions, operate according to objective laws, grasp the two kinds of production together so that the production forces will have their places and the people's material and cultural lives will continuously improve. The solution of our population problems must proceed from several aspects:

First, we must operate according to objective laws and the basic path toward solution of our population problems is to vigorously develop our social production forces.

Marxism tells us that production determines circulation, distribution and consumption. Unless production makes great increases rapid improvements in the people's material and cultural livelihood is but empty talk. Vigorous development of production not only creates even more social products to improve the people's standard of living, moreover, if production develops rapidly then the production departments and its endeavors will develop rapidly and more labor forces will be needed, which will create conditions for labor employment. Based on our particular conditions of a large population with a poor foundation, carrying out modernization requires continual improvement of the labor production rate and complete utilization of the manpower resources. The backbone of all this is modernization of large-scale enterprises with simultaneous construction of low investment, rapid yield middle and small-scale enterprises. In carrying out modernization bigger is not necessarily better. According to our national situation unification of large, middle and small scale construction will benefit rapid production development, will support more people and will employ more people. Agricultural development, in addition to implementing agricultural modernization to greatly increase the agricultural productivity rate, must also carry out an overall plan for developing agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishing in order to gradually transform the internal structure. China has 4.3 billion mu of pasturage and over 100 million mu of fresh water hatcheries, so if we make good use of our pasturage and fish farms this not only will develop agricultural production but moreover can change the situation of "Chinese people eating only grains," increase proteins, change the diet of the broad people and improve the people's standard of health. At the same time the countryside will carry out overall planning to unify management of mountains, water, fields and forests and develop diversified management of integrated complexes. This will thoroughly change the backwards conditions in agriculture and will simultaneously make full and reasonable use of the excess rural labor forces.

Next, we must adjust the structure of the ownership system to transform past policies which emphasized the whole people, slighted the collectives and attacked the individual; transform the conditions of "iron rice bowls" and "eating from the common pot"; permit the simultaneous existence of a whole people ownership system, a collective ownership system, whole people and collective combined management, city and countryside petty businessmen and an individual ownership system and make full use of them in socialist construction. At present no matter whether we see it as developing production to satisfy the people's needs or see it as making arrangements for employing the labor force, in any case we must energetically develop the people's livelihood in every way to achieve the collective employment (including foodstuffs, services and maintainence) necessary for economic development.

Second, a major path toward solving our population problems is strict control over population increases.

To solve population problems while greatly increasing social production we must firmly grasp the production of humanity itself. The emphasis in limiting population figures should be placed on lowering the rate of natural population increases. We know that the size and speed of accumulation are to a great extent limited by the scope and speed of population increases. Therefore, controlling population figures by lowering the rate of natural increase can accelerate capital accumulation. According to our current consumer standards, for each one per thousand drop in the birth rate there is an annual savings of over 2 billion yuan in expenses. If by 1985 we can implement the plan to lower the population increase rate below 5 per thousand then the annual natural increase of 12 million will be lowered to just over 5 million. This will then lessen the severity of the next great population peak so there will be 30 million fewer births in the six year period and a savings of over 70 billion yuan in expenses. It will take about 10 billion yuan for the nation's staff and workers to generally receive a one grade raise in pay, so this 70 billion yuan can give the nation's staff and workers seven pay raises and the people's living standards can have a much greater improvement. If this 70 billion yuan is invested in light industry at an annual capital accumulation rate of 0.52 percent per yuan per annum then the first year will show an accumulation of 3.64 billion yuan, re-investment of this and the original investment will total 10.64 billion yuan and the third year it will total 23.1728 billion yuan. If this is used to improve mass livelihood the additions to national accumulation will then have an enormous impact on the four modernizations!

In order to lower the natural increase rate there must be mass mobilization and enlightened implementation of planned parenthood to make the people realize that it is an expression of human progress. At the same time effective economic measures must be taken, which is to say that we must use measures which suit our present national economic conditions to formulate practical and effective methods of limiting population increases including both legal and economic measures to encourage parents to have only one child by providing only children with free tuition in primary and middle school, free medical care and provide for childless old people by gradually increasing social security. The distribution of grain rations, private plots and residential plots should be reformed into a system of distribution by population, However, according to our present-day labor employment conditions and the benefits for the education and raising of only children it is not suitable to adopt a policy of preferred employment for only children. As for those who blindly have repeated births there should be criticisms and economic restrictions and limitations (though it is not appropriate to withhold grain rations from those who do not register the birth of a child). In this way ideology will take command and rewards and punishments will be clear, so that birth controls can be attained and the goal of limiting the population will be reached. This will bring about a rapid decrease in the rate of the natural population increase. The general implementation of planned parenthood throughout all of society to bring about harmony between population development and developments in the production of material goods can only be accomplished under the conditions of the socialist ownership system. The pre-socialist society definitely could not exercise such broad legal implementation and still give protection to all the people.

Third, another device is frontier immigration to reclaim wasteland.

"Immigration to reclaim wasteland" has a long history in China. According to imcomplete historical materials there have been over 1,000 rather large-scale "immigration for land reclamation" projects from the Han to Qing dynasties, among them 337 civilian settlements, 667 "military settlements" and 157 "commercial settlements." In Sichuan during the "five barbarian tribes desolate China" period, the "Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms" period and the latter Ming and early Qing periods large groups of central plains people went to Sichuan to reclaim land and settle down. These "border area reclamation" projects had a great impact on the development of our national economy.

We now have a massive population but there is an extremely imbalanced distribution of our population and labor force. The great majority are concentrated in a few provinces along the southeastern seaboard. These provinces occupy 40 percent of the nation's land but have over 95 percent of the total population. The population density in Jiangsu province is 580 people per square kilometer. In Shanghai city (not including Minxing and Wusong) there are 41,000 people per square kilometer, with 17 neighborhoods having population densities exceeding 100,000 people. In Shandong the density is 477 people and in Henan 467 people. In Nei Mongol and Xizang there are less than 2 people per square kilometer, 5 in Qinghai and 8 in Xinjiang. Besides this, there is a rather sparse population in a few provinces in the Northeast and Northwest. These places not only have large areas awaiting land reclamation and development of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry they also have many valuable mineral resources. These areas are suitable for organizing land reclamation by people from densely populated areas.

11582
CSO: 4005

ARGUMENTS AGAINST ONE-CHILD FAMILY REFUTED

Imbalance Between Sexes

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: One-Child Couples Will Not Bring Imbalance Between Sexes"]

[Text] According to reporter Wang Lihua [3769 546] 5478], the Tianjin Family Planning Department considers as entirely groundless the popular belief that "the practice of having one child per family will result in an imbalance between the sexes."

The department pointed out that there has been a proper balance between the sexes in Tianjin for the past 30 years. In 1963, when the birthrate was at its highest, the ratio between the sexes was 106 to 100 out of 244,000 registered birth, whereas in 1976, when the birthrate was at its lowest, the ratio was 105 to 100 out of 89,000 births registered. Although the difference in the number of births for the two years exceeded 150,000, the ratio between the sexes remained basically the same.

As regards the ratio between the sexes in the different age groups among the population in Tianjin, the ratio between the sexes of new-born babies in 1979 was 107 to 100. The ratio between the sexes in the 1-16 age group was 105 to 100. The ratio in the 17-30 age group was 101 to 100. The ratio in the 31-60 age group was 104 to 100, while the ratio in the over 61 age group was 99.6 to 100. These figures indicate that the ratio between the sexes remains essentially constant for all age groups and that there is no basis to the popular belief that "members of the female sex will outnumber the male." Only in the over 61 age group do members of the female sex hold a slight edge over the male. That is due to the fact that women usually live longer than men. This difference is more pronounced in the higher age brackets. All of the 6 people over 100 in Tianjin last year were women.

According to a survey conducted in Tianjin, the order of pregnancy has no bearing on the sexes of the babies. In 1979, out of 8,419 births registered in the city and certain districts and communes in the outlying counties, the ratio between the sexes was 103 to 100 for first-born and second-born babies and 105 to 100 for third-born babies.

Aging Population

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 80 p 4

[Article: "One-Child Families Will Not Result in Aging Population"]

[Text] We recently interviewed Comrade Tien Xueyuan [3944 7185 0626] of the Economic Research Department of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to discuss such questions as to whether or not the promotion of the one child per couple concept would lead to an "aging" population. Comrade Tien Xueyuan has been engaged in demographic research for many years. He is chairman of the Beijing Demographic Society and also a founding member of the Preparatory Committee of the China Demographic Society. He made a special trip from Beijing to attend the inauguration of the Zhejiang Demographic Society. He graciously responded to the questions we put to him and offered some valuable opinions.

We first asked for his views on the basis of his research as to whether the one child per couple concept would lead to an "aging" population. He first pointed out that by the so-called "aging" population is meant the preponderance of those over the age of 65 in terms of the total population. At the present time, the aged constitute about 6 percent of the world population. In some advanced countries, those over the age of 65 constitute over 10 percent of the population. In Western and Northern Europe, the ratio is 14 percent, much higher than the figure for the entire world. It may be said that the population of those countries and areas is "aging." What is the situation in our country? On the basis of a sample survey conducted in 1978, those over the age of 65 constituted 4.8 percent of the total population. This figure is not only much lower than the figure for the advanced countries, but is also lower than the average for the entire world. On the basis of the average birthrate for a population not exceeding 12 billion (that is, half of the women have one child and the other half have two), those over the age of 65 will constitute 8.3 percent of the total population by the year 2000. Given the same average birthrate, those over the age of 65 will constitute only 16.2 percent of the total population by the year 2020, a figure which approximates that for East Germany, which has a comparatively pronounced "aging" population. It may be seen, therefore, that we will not be confronted with the problem of an "aging" population during the present century. The problem, in fact, will not reach serious proportions for the first 20 years of the 21st century. However, so long as the birthrate continues to fall and the average life span continues to climb, the number of elderly people may be expected to rise correspondingly. In any case, the pace of the "aging" trend can be gauged by the projected size of the population, and the "aging" trend can be put under certain limits by an adjustment of the average birthrate. This problem should cause no alarm at the present time.

Now, as to whether or not the promotion of the one child per couple concept will lead to a shortage or depletion of labor resources, it is the opinion of Tien Xueyuan that, in the first place, the present figure for our labor resources totalling over 500 million is equivalent to the combined total for the entire first and second worlds and that, from what we see of the economic development in foreign countries, we do not require further labor resources for our modernization developments. In the second place, because our population has a large base, we have a large number of women of child-bearing age as well as new-born babies. Furthermore, the age of our population is comparatively young. In 1979, those under the age of 14 constituted 38.6 percent of the entire population, or over 13 percent higher than that for the advanced countries. These people will gradually be absorbed into the labor force within the next 20 years, and the size of the labor force will continue to grow in the next half century. Judging from the projected increase in the number of births for the present century, those who are old enough to fill the labor market will have exceeded 770 million by the end of the present century. The figure will have reached its peak of 790 million by 2012. From 2014, the figure will start to show a decline, but it will not drop to the present level of 500 million until 2041. For this reason, the problem of labor shortage will not arise for at least another 60 years.

We then posed the question--if each couple were to produce only one child and if, later on, an only child were to marry another only child--whether that would lead to a situation where we would have four old people, two people of working age and one child, and whether a "4, 2, 1" situation would emerge when the labor force would be taxed to the full and even over-taxed. His reply was that while the "4, 2, 1" situation may well arise in a particular family in a particular year, it will not apply to society as a whole, especially in view of the size of our population. He pointed out that there are millions and tens of millions of people in each of the age groups ranging from zero to 70 and 80, that there is a span of close to 50 years between 16 or 17-year-olds and those over 60, that there is a span of only 15 or 16 years for minors, and that the span is not long for those over 65. He explained that, unlike an individual family whose members belong to only a few age groups over the span of 20-odd years, the "4, 2, 1" situation is not likely to arise.

Because our labor force will continue to grow for a comparatively long period of time, the average index for the amount of support which each worker has to set aside for the aged and the minors will not be inordinately high. The present average index for each worker is 0.94, that is, an average of less than one person. On the assumption that the average birthrate will not push the population beyond the 12 billion mark, the index for each worker will have dropped to close to the lowest point of 0.47 by the year 2000. That is because, while those over the age of 65 will have increased from the present 49 million to close to 94 million, an increase of some 45 million, the minors under the age of 14 will have dropped from the present figure of some 320 million to 230 million, a decrease of some 90 million. By offsetting one figure from the other, it may be seen that there will be 45 million fewer dependents. Adding to that the fact that the labor force will have increased by 208 million, it may be seen that the index will show a sharp decline. Although the index will rise after the year 2000, it will not reach the present index of 0.93 until the year 1235. By that time, there is no doubt that the rate of productivity will have registered a sharp rise, thus greatly enhancing the ability of workers to support their dependents. At the same time, the total population will have dropped slightly below the present level. As the new-borns gradually reach the age of productive labor, the tendency for the index to rise will have been curbed, so that the situation of workers being "over-burdened" will not arise.

9621
CSO: 4005

MARRIAGE LAWS URGED FOR PROTECTING HEALTH OF NATION

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Wu Min [0702 249C] of the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences: "Studies in Eugenics: The Hope of Every Parent"]

[Text] The science of eugenics was originally concerned with the breeding of intelligent, healthy and good-looking children. That is the hope of practically every parent. There are two schools of thought in the science of eugenics. One school is of the opinion that, with the development of science and civilization, those who suffer from physical defects and who were formerly destined to be eliminated have managed not only to survive, but also to mate and to beget children, thus contributing to the deterioration of the hereditary traits. For this reason, it is suggested that effort should be made to reduce the number of physical and mental defectives and so to reduce the burden on the family and society. This school of eugenics may be called defeatist, negative or preventive eugenics. The other school of eugenics holds the view that, by taking advantage of developments in science and civilization, it is possible to overcome nature, to effectively improve the hereditary traits of future generations, and to speed up the evolution of mankind in a more ideal fashion so that there will be more and more intelligent, healthy and good-looking human beings. This school of eugenics may be called true eugenics or positive eugenics or evolutionary eugenics. These two main schools are complementary and have the same general objective.

There was a time when eugenics was banned in our country. It was considered reactionary and unscientific. No study of it was made for almost 30 years. It was not until recently that the urgency of the problem aroused the attention of various quarters and of the central leadership itself. With a population of 10 billion, China has a sizable number of defectives. It is estimated that there are as many as 30 million mental defectives (including idiots, imbeciles, the slow witted). The main reason that we have a relatively large incidence of latent hereditary diseases is that we have no laws against marriages between close relatives. In the villages in remote mountainous areas, the rate of imbecility is 1-2 percent and as high as 12 percent of the local population. It is estimated that there are 2 million such people in the entire nation. At the same time, with the advance in medical and health services, many of those with physical defects, such as those suffering from congenital heart diseases, who stood little chance of being cured in the past, have been successfully treated. That, however, has not changed their hereditary traits. The probability of their children being born with the same hereditary diseases is 10 times more than that of children born of normal parents, so that the number of people with hereditary diseases continues to climb. In addition, such factors as mothers taking the wrong medicine during pregnancy, the contracting of infectious diseases, malnutrition and difficult births are all capable of contributing to the mental retardation or deformity of the unborn child. Postnatal factors also play a contributing role. For instance, if a child is denied proper care after birth, or if he is deprived of adequate nutrition or external stimuli to promote intellectual growth at the most crucial developmental period of the cerebrum, he is liable to suffer from retardation and damage to his intellectual development. The number of mental defectives due to the prenatal and postnatal factors described above may exceed 30 million. they represent an enormous economic loss, a tremendous burden to the nation and untold anguish to the family.

To deal with the situation prevailing in our nation, it is a matter of urgency that we establish certain scientifically enforceable laws such as the marriage law, the eugenics law or the family planning law which would make it illegal for people suffering from certain diseases to marry or to have children. At the same time, we should step up our educational publicity campaign to persuade the young of the merits of marrying and having children at a later age, and of the need to acquire adequate scientific knowledge. In view of the relationship between congenital imbecility and the mother's age, it is best for women to have babies between the ages of 25 and 30.

In short, the quality and quantity of the population is a major problem affecting the future generation. On the one hand, we must launch an effective publicity campaign to limit the size of the population. On the other, we must organize the necessary personnel to engage in scientific research in order to improve the quality of the population from the genetic, medical, social, religious, ethical and economic points of view.

9621
CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 77001

15 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 148

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 77001

15 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 148

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BEIJING RADIO' Reporter's Feature on Visit to Pakistan (Yang Zhengquan; Beijing Domestic Service, 26 Nov 80) 1

Briefs
- Saudi Arabia Naval Base 3
- Egyptian-U.S. Relations 3
- Nepal Peace Proposal 3
- Soviet Action in Afghanistan 4
- Afghan Resolution Discussed 4
- UN Envoy on Iran-Iraq 4
- Egyptian Film Week 5
- Arab Summit Conference Ends 5
- Indian Ocean Naval Presence 5
- Polish Cultural Meeting 6
- Polish Governor Elected 6

PARTY AND STATE

Jiang Qing's Trial Analyzed (Chen Ping; WEN WEI PAO, 8 Nov 80) 7

Trial of Jiang Qing, Huang Yongsheng, Others Televised (Editorial Report) 10

Punishment of 'Gang of Four' Discussed (Chen Lin; TA KUNG PAO, 9 Nov 80) 13

Execution of Chief Criminals of Gang Urged (Shih Chun-yu; TA KUNG PAO, 24 Nov 80) 16

Trial Postponement, Other Issues Discussed (Chu Chung-yi; TUNG HSIANG, 16 Nov 80) 18

Opening of Lin, Jiang Cliques' Trial Reported
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 20 Nov 80) 20

Background to 'Gang of Four's' Defense Lawyer Given
(TA KUNG PAO, 6-12 Nov 80) 22

Background on Changsha Incident Provided
(XINHUA, 27 Nov 80) 24

Hong Kong Paper Comments on Reforming PRC, Part I
(Lin Hsin-tao; WEN WEI PO, 9 Nov 80) 26

Transfer of Xi Zhongxun, Arrival of Ren Zhongyi Discussed
(Tsao-Min-chih; WEN WEI PO, 23 Nov 80) 29

Transforming Work of Backward Party Branches
(Chan Zhanran, et al.; HAINAN RIBAO, 21 Aug 80) 33

Problem of Unqualified Communist Party Members Raised
(Yi Xiang; HAINAN RIBAO, 21 Aug 80) 36

'HSIN WAN PAO' Interviews Legalists on Upcoming Trial
(HSIN WAN PAO, 18 Nov 80) 38

Briefs
Shanghai County Secretary Meeting 40
Xinjiang 'Gang' Crimes' Exhibition 40
Tianjin CPPCC Meeting 40
Heilongjiang Municipality Congress 40

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Briefs
Shenyang PLA Units Instruction 41

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

More Funds for Education Allocated
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 26 Sep 80) 42

Xinjiang Pastoral Areas
Fujian Province
Sichuan Province

Improvements Made in Hohhot Mongolian Schools
(Jin Shusheng; GUANGMING RIBAO, 7 Oct 80) 44

Briefs
Taxi Drivers Rewarded 46
Beijing Writers' Teahouse Restoration 46
Shandong Cultural Centers 46
Youth League Work 47

'BEIJING RADIO' REPORTER'S FEATURE ON VISIT TO PAKISTAN

OW291715 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Nov 80

[Newsletter from station reporter (Yang Zhengquan): "The Days in Pakistan"]

[Excerpts] The Chinese radio and television reporters' group began its trip to Pakistan on 14 October. During the month-long visit, this reporter was favorably impressed with the majestic view of Pakistan's mountains and rivers, its ancient and modern cities, its age-old cultue and, in particular, its industrious, brave, warm and friendly people.

Traveling from north to south and from west to east throughout Pakistan, this reporter could see that the diligent and hardworking Pakistani people are building their motherland in a peaceful way. However, quite clear about the threats to their country imposed by foreign aggressors, they are also maintaining vigilance at all times and ready to defend their motherland. This is one of the central topics which the Pakistani friends used to discuss with this reporter whenever they spent sometime together. The seriousness of this matter could be more keenly felt by the reporter during his visit to Peshawar and Quetta.

Large numbers of Afghan refugees poured into the city of Peshawar everyday. Refugee camps have been set up around the city. This naturally reminded everybody of the disasters brought to a nation due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

On 23 October, this reporter left Peshawar for Khyber Pass in the border area between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

According to the Pakistani friends, many friendly envoys in history came to and left Pakistan through this pass. However, there were also many military operations at this place. In ancient times, the Aryans invaded India through the Khyber Pass. Later, the Persian, Greek and Tartarian armies invaded the Indus Valley also through this pass. The troops of Greece's Alexander the Great set out for their southward expedition to the Indian Ocean also from this place.

While the bus traveled between steep cliffs and under overhanging rocks, this reporter thought that the strategic Khyber Pass has attracted even more attention from the whole world ever since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

There is speculation in the international circles that it is very likely that the Soviet Union might pass through this strategic pass to gain control of important strategic positions and then proceed south toward the Indian Ocean so as to carry out its southward strategy. This was also a dream of the old tsars for many years. In view of past history, Pakistan would be the first to bear brunt of Soviet aggression.

As told by the Pakistani friends, foreign aircraft often cross the border and intrude into Pakistan's airspace. The sound of firing guns and canons can often be heard at the Khyber Pass from the opposite side.

The Pakistani friends told this reporter: The Pakistani people always pay attention to actions. China has always stood on our side and supported us even during our most difficult times. The friendship between the peoples of our two countries is founded on a common basis and has been tested by time. The Chinese people are our most reliable friends. Irrespective of the constant changes in the political situation in both countries, our friendship continues to grow.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

SAUDI ARABIA NAVAL BASE--Beijing, November 25 (XINHUA)--King Khalid of Saudi Arabia inaugurated a new naval base at Jubail on its gulf coast yesterday, according to Western News Agency reports. The base, claimed to be the biggest in the region, was built by a South Korean company at a cost of 534 million U.S. dollars. It was completed in four years under the supervision of the U.S. Army Corp of Engineers. Commander of the base Badr Saleh al Saleh said in a speech that its forces would sweep waterways leading to Saudi ports, patrol territorial waters, safeguard Saudi economic life and ensure the safety of ships plying the kingdom's gulf coast. The base has repair workshops, a dock and synchronized cranes and other facilities. [Text] [OW251242 Beijing XINHUA in English 1237 GMT 25 Nov 80]

EGYPTIAN-U.S. RELATIONS--Cairo, November 25 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat has said that the relationship between his country and the United States is strategic and based on equal footing. In an interview with the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL published by the Egyptian paper AL-AHRAM today, the president reaffirmed that Egypt is ready to supply the United States and other Western countries with facilities to safeguard the interests of the Arab countries in the Gulf area and those of the United States. But Egypt is against providing military bases, he added. He pointed out, "The Soviet Union is now making attempts to infiltrate into the Middle East and the U.S.A. should adopt a firm policy." On the Palestine problem, Al-Sadat said that the problem is the essence of any peaceful settlement. He said that the problem can be solved in stages during which agreement can be reached on autonomy for the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. The president declared previously that he differed with U.S. president-elect Ronald Reagan on whether to give Jordan's King Husayn a key role in the Middle East peace talks at this time. In another interview with the U.S. papers DAILY HERALD and SOUTH MISSISSIPPI, Al-Sadat warned that the U.S. would lose Egypt if the U.S. president-elect is going to adopt a hard line toward it. [Text] [OW251522 Beijing XINHUA in English 1507 GMT 25 Nov 80]

NEPAL PEACE PROPOSAL--Kathmandu, November 25 (XINHUA)--A total of 20 countries or regions in Asia and Europe have expressed support for Nepal's proposal that the country be declared a zone of peace. The proposal was made by King Birendra in February 1975. It is aimed at maintaining Nepal's national sovereignty and creating a peaceful and stable situation for national development. The proposal was first supported by China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka and Burma. It has also ASEAN backing. At a time when peace and stability in South and West Asian countries are being threatened by the Soviet Union, Nepal's proposal has been gaining wider support. Yugoslavia, Britain and Belgium extended their support to the proposal when King Birendra visited these countries recently. The government of the Sultanate of Oman has also recently announced its support to the proposal. [Text] [OW251218 Beijing XINHUA in English 1210 GMT 25 Nov 80]

SOVIET ACTION IN AFGHANISTAN--Islamabad, November 25 (XINHUA)--Pakistani writers appealed to intellectuals all over the world to raise their voice against the Soviet Union's "naked aggression" against Afghanistan and to bring the Afghan people's goal of liberation nearer. In an unanimously-adopted resolution, the All-Pakistan Writers Conference which started here today condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, expressed its sympathy with the Afghan people and assured them full support. The resolution said a true writer could not befriend the forces using military power to take away the freedom of other nations. It added that the Pakistani writers had always taken an impartial stand on national and foreign problems and raised their voice against all colonial forces. [Text] [OW260842 Beijing XINHUA in English 0814 GMT 26 Nov 80]

AFGHAN RESOLUTION DISCUSSED--Washington, November 24 (XINHUA)--The resounding call of the United Nations General Assembly for the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan is a "clear diplomatic blow to Moscow," says an editorial in THE SUN of Baltimore today. But, the editorial notes, the Soviet Union is bent on "strengthening its geo-strategic positions in a very vital but unstable region" despite international outrage against its invasion. It points to Soviet military action which "includes destruction of food and water supplies throughout the countryside that could be used to feed insurgent forces." The editorial maintains that given Moscow's entrenched position, with some 85,000 troops, in Afghanistan, it is hardly likely that it will heed the United Nations' call. "The Russians have not yet succeeded in their historic goal to gain a warm water port," it says, but with the invasion of Afghanistan, "there can be no denying that they are a stepstone away from that dream." The editorial says that "having reminded Islamic and African nations of its determination to trample on Third World as well as East European nations, Moscow could have miscalculated. Third World nations, which Moscow has been assiduously courting, are now on guard that they too could be victims in the Soviets' geo-strategic advance." [Text] [OW251214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1203 GMT 25 Nov 80]

UN ENVOY ON IRAN-IRAQ--United Nations, November 26 (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's special envoy Olof Palme said today upon his return from his trip to Iran and Iraq that he had achieved pre-set objectives and known better about the views of the warring parties. Mr. Olof Palme, former prime minister of Sweden, undertook his mission to the Gulf area a week ago and returned to New York to report to the secretary-general yesterday. Briefing the press on his trip this afternoon, Palme said he had fulfilled his goals for the first stage to get ideas from both parties and he would follow the development of the situation there closely and then decide on the time to take the second trip. He expected it would take place some weeks later. Mr. Palme said an agreement in principle had been reached with regard to the free passage of 63 trapped ships in the Shatt-al-'Arab. The ships could come out only by hoisting the Red-Cross flag when practical arrangements were made. Iraq has now controlled the Shatt-al-'Arab and claimed its sovereignty. Palme said that Iraq opposed to the passage of ships by hoisting the U.N. flag for fear that the waterway would be internationalized. [Text] [OW270220 Beijing XINHUA in English 0207 GMT 27 Nov 80]

EGYPTIAN FILM WEEK--Beijing, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--An Egyptian film week opened at a ceremony held in the Capital Theatre here this afternoon. The week is sponsored by the Chinese Ministry of Culture under the Sino-Egyptian cultural agreement. During the week which will last from 23 to 29 November 3 Egyptian colour feature films will be shown concurrently in Beijing, Nanjing and Chengdu. They are "Descending to Abyss," "Cafe Karnak" and "Conquerer of Darkness." Members of the Egyptian film delegation participating in the week attended the ceremony. Head of the delegation Atef Salem made a speech conveying the friendly sentiments of the Egyptian people and artists to Chinese spectators. Director of the Cinema Bureau of the Chinese Ministry of Culture Chen Bo also spoke. After the ceremony, the best prize-winning film in Egypt, "Descending to Abyss," was shown. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1551 GMT 22 Nov 80 OW]

ARAB SUMMIT CONFERENCE ENDS--Amman, November 27 (XINHUA)--The 11th Arab Summit Conference concluded here this afternoon with emphasis on closer economic cooperation and unified political action against Israel. Kings, heads of state and government or their representatives from fifteen Arab countries attended the three-day summit. Syria, Algeria, South Yemen, Libya, Lebanon and the Palestine Liberation Organization boycotted the conference. The Arab leaders reached agreement on subjects discussed at the summit, including a five billion dollar-fund for development in the Arab world in the coming decade and a unified programme of Arab political action against Israel. A final declaration of the summit deplored the absence of the six Arab League members and called upon them to abide by the resolutions adopted at the summit. [Text] [OW271517 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 27 Nov 80]

INDIAN OCEAN NAVAL PRESENCE--Beijing, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--News from Washington: John Tower, who will soon become chairman of the U.S. Senate Military Affairs Committee, demanded at a meeting on 24 November that a permanent U.S. carrier task force be stationed in the Indian Ocean to protect the petroleum shipping route from the Persian Gulf. This Republican senator said: "At present there is a possibility that this economic lifeline may be cut off by the Soviet Union. Neither we nor our allies can do anything about it." Tower said: Rebuilding the navy including the addition of two more carrier task forces ought to be a matter of priority for the Reagan administration. He warned: "If we do not act fast, we will have no power to implement a reliable nuclear strategy in less than 3 years." He also demanded improving land-based U.S. missiles and developing and producing sub-launched Trident II guided missiles and new strategic bombers. [Text] [OW290500 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1139 GMT 25 Nov 80]

POLISH CULTURAL MEETING--Warsaw, 17 Nov (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers'Party (PZPR) on 17 November summoned personages of the country's cultural circles to a meeting in Warsaw to discuss the pressing problems in domestic cultural life. J. Waszczuk, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee's Political Bureau and secretary of Chancery of the Secretariat, delivered a speech on the party's cultural policy at the meeting. He said that the purpose of the PZPR's cultural policy is to satisfy to the maximum extent the cultural needs of the people. "We believe," he said, "this purpose can be achieved by showing constant concern for creative writing circles and by adopting the policy of protecting the various academic schools and branches that are conducive to development of art and cultural life." Commenting on the PZPR's cultural work, he said: "I accept the keen criticisms for the many distortions and mistakes in our commitments to cultural life, but I can hardly agree to the repeated overall negation of Poland's cultural activities over the past decades." At the meeting, a number of personages from the literary and art circles urged the PZPR to limit its cultural protection policy to appropriating cultural funds and suggested that the creative writing circles be given "complete autonomy" in dealing with ideological and art questions in the country's cultural life. Many literary and art workers called for immediate efforts to dismiss from the party those who are morally decadent, speculating and those whose ideology is incompatible to that of the party so that the PZPR can restore its prestige. [Text] [OW210943 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1219 GMT 18 Nov 80]

POLISH GOVERNOR ELECTED--Warsaw, 16 Nov (XINHUA)--The Legnica Provincial People's Council of Poland on 15 November rejected a candidate for the governor of Legnica Province nominated by Premier Jozef Pinkowski of the Polish Government, and recommended a cadre who has many years of practical work experience and enjoys popular confidence among the people as a candidate for provincial governor. According to PAP reports, since Ryszard Romaniewicz, former governor of Legnica Province, was elected first secretary of the Legnica Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party not too long ago, the provincial people's council on 15 November called a special meeting to discuss the candidates nominated for provincial governor. Through secret ballot, the meeting rejected a candidate nominated by the premier of the Polish Government and named its own candidate for provincial governor--(Yang Ma-qie-ye-wei-qi) [2254 7456 0434 5102 4850 1142], manager in charge of investment of the (Lubin) [4151 6333] Mining and Metallurgical Joint Corporation. All representatives attending the special session unanimously held that having devoted himself to develop copper mining for a long time, (Yang Ma-qie-ye-wei-qi) enjoys universal respect and trust among the broad masses of staff workers and workers, and that he will do a better job than others in developing the social economy of Legnica Province. Legnica Province is the center of Poland's copper mining industry through which 90 percent of Poland's copper is extracted and processed. [Text] [OW191405 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0322 GMT 17 Nov 80]

CSO: 4005

JIANG QING'S TRIAL ANALYZED

HK110610 Hong Kong WEN WEI PAO in Chinese 8 Nov 80 p 3

[Special feature by Chen Ping [7115 1627]: "What Happens If Jiang Qing Does Not Acknowledge Her Guilt?"]

[Text] Foreign news agency dispatches have alleged that because Jiang Qing has refused to acknowledge her guilt and has remained uncooperative, the date of her trial will be deferred.

Beijing circles have discounted this view, pointing out that Jiang Qing's attitude to the acknowledgement of her guilt will not affect the trial date.

All those who have committed crimes always hope to get around them so they can escape criminal responsibility. Regardless of whether or not Jiang Qing has already acknowledged her guilt or has already cooperated with the public security personnel and particularly with the staff of the procuratorate, and even if she does not admit her guilt in the future, the trial date will be unaffected. If criminals who deny the charges against them can defer the trial dates, they will in fact sway judicial proceedings. Under these circumstances, will cases not be postponed indefinitely and will criminals not escape criminal sanctions? In such a case, what after all is the law for?

Public security departments which completed their investigations into the cases involving Jiang Qing and others handed over the files in September to the special procuratorate of the Supreme People's Procuratorate for examination. After taking over the cases, the special procuratorate must find out the incriminating facts according to Article 100 of the Law of Criminal Procedure, as well as determine whether the particulars set forth are clearly stated, whether the evidence presented is positive and adequate and whether the nature of offense and the definition of charges are correct. In addition, it must make sure that all offenses and all criminally responsible people are accounted for. Furthermore, it must investigate portions of the case for which the defendant should not be held criminally responsible. Since the cases involving Jiang Qing and others are quite serious and complicated and since the charges against them amount to as many as 60, it will take a long time to examine a vast number of related files, evidence and written statements.

As the Jiang Qing case is a major case in the restructuring of our country's legal system, the special procuratorate has adopted a cautious attitude. According to the existing legal system, the questions of political work and line are not liable to criminal prosecution and only violations of the law are subject to criminal prosecution. During the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, Jiang Qing and others were responsible for a great many evil deeds, some relating to political work and line and some being violations of criminal law. Distinguishing one from the other is an arduous and time-consuming task. As a rule, the questions of political work and line should be handled by party and government organs, while criminal problems should be disposed of by judicial organizations.

What constitutes a violation of criminal law? Only violators of the criminal code commit the offense. The criminal law stipulates that "counterrevolutionary offenses" include "plotting to subvert the government and split the country," "organizing and directing counterrevolutionary cliques," "inciting the masses to resist and sabotage the implementation of the laws of the land" and "harboring counterrevolutionary motives in looting state archives or public property and in carrying out sabotage activities."

Included in the "offenses of violating citizens' personal rights and democratic rights" are "killing people," "forcing confessions by torture," "beating, smashing and looting," "slandering the masses and cadres," "illegally detaining others," "illegally searching people and houses," "fabricating facts and slandering others by means of big-character posters," and so forth.

"State functionaries causing losses to the state by neglecting their duties," "sheltering criminals and abusing judgment," and so forth constitute "offenses of negligence of duty."

When judicial organs handle cases, they act according to the law and not on the basis of political criteria. Whoever violates the punitive code will be charged with criminal responsibility. The duty of the special procuratorate is to examine and to determine whether the charges brought by the prosecution are supported by concrete evidence, and whether the definition of the offenses conforms to legal provisions.

Even if Jiang Qing categorically denies her guilt, she cannot obstruct Article 35 of the Law of Criminal Procedure relating to the conduct of criminal prosecution which stipulates that "in handling all cases it is necessary to pay attention to evidence and not to verbal statements. If the defendant's statement is not supported by evidence, he should not be convicted and punished. A defendant can be found guilty and punished if he makes no statement but the evidence presented is against him."

If Jiang Qing does not acknowledge her guilt in the future, it will be of little importance. As long as the evidence against her is overwhelming, she can be convicted. The special procuratorate has already examined all evidence and is positive that she and others have violated the criminal law. Thus these people will be prosecuted according to the law.

If during the trial Jiang Qing raises questions of political work and line in order to entangle the real issues, this will be considered to be of no relevance at all from a legal point of view. When the special court is in session, it will stop her and will concentrate on her criminal offenses instead of permitting her to drift to minor issues. Article 115 of the Law of Criminal Procedure stipulates that "the presiding judge should stop questions raised if he considers them to be irrelevant to the case in point." Article 119 also stipulates that "the presiding judge should caution and stop the litigating parties when they violate court proceedings when the court is in session. The parties involved should be asked to leave the court, and in serious cases their criminal responsibility should be determined according to the law." In the court, Jiang Qing must follow legal proceedings when she speaks and when witnesses are cross-examined or defended. If she violates court proceedings and plays tricks, the presiding judge will stop her. If this fails, she will be asked to leave the court pending resumption of hearings.

CSO: 4005

TRIAL OF JIANG QING, HUANG YONGSHENG, OTHERS TELEVISED

HK271442 [Editorial Report] Beijing Domestic Television Service in Mandarin at 1130 GMT on 26 November after its regular newscast, broadcast a recorded 38-minute report on the trial under the title: "Special Reports on the Trial of the Case Against the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing Counterrevolutionary Cliques."

The first segment, under the sub-title "The First Tribunal Continues--Jiang Qing Tried," opens with a shot of special court president Jiang Hua declaring the court in session on the morning of 26 November. This scene is followed by shots of Jiang Qing being escorted into the courtroom by two armed women bailiffs and led to the dock. She is clad in a dark blue tunic and her hair is neatly combed. She shows no sign of weakness or illness and is seen walking with a firm, steady gait. Her face appears calm and emotionless. The following exchange of questions and answers ensues between chief judge Zeng Hanzhou and Jiang Qing:

Zeng: Defendant Jiang Qing, I put this question to you: Was it you who sent for Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan on the evening of 17 October 1974 to go to No 10 building, Diaoyutai?

Jiang (promptly): No.

Zeng: What? No?

Jiang: (throwing her head back slightly and glancing briefly at the ceiling): I do not know.

Zeng: So, you do not know. (pause) What did you four talk about together?

Jiang (answering slowly): I do not know what happened at the beginning, so how do I know what was talked about?

Zeng: Record in the file that defendant Jiang Qing denied these facts!

The next brief cut shows Wang Hongwen being summoned to court to testify. He says that before going to Changsha, he was with Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan when they conspired to frame Deng Xiaoping. During this time Jiang Qing is sitting in the dock with her head held erect, staring at the ceiling.

The next witness to testify is Wang Haiyong, who says: "Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan asked me and Comrade Tang Wensheng to report to Chairman Mao on their behalf when we accompanied foreign visitors on a trip to Changsha to meet the chairman. Jiang also said slanderously that that comrade in the State Council regularly used the excuse of work to engage in liaison. She said that the premier was busy in the hospital but that he was not recuperating. She said Comrade Xiaoping, the premier and Marshal Ye were always together. She said the premier was the boss behind the scenes." During this testimony the camera gives several closeup cuts showing Jiang Qing blinking her eyes constantly and appearing to listen attentively to what is being said.

Tang Wensheng, the next witness, is then shown standing behind the same wooden stand some 10 feet to Jiang Qing's left. He gives the following testimony: "After committing the blunder, they then tried to make use of us to inform on [Deng and Zhou] to the chairman. So we said: Since you have already told the chairman and the chairman has given his instructions, there is no need for us to say anything further. We turned them down. Realizing our position on the matter, Wang, Zhang and Yao did not say anything more. However, Jiang Qing repeatedly insisted that we report to the chairman. We resolutely refused to do this." Jiang Qing listens to this attentively with her head tilted to one side.

After Tang's testimony Zeng declares: "The evidence shown and testimonies presented and defendant Wang Hongwen's cross-examination are plentiful and sufficient evidence. I hereby declare that the court has completed examination of this point." The last shot of this 5-minute segment is a long shot of Jiang Qing being escorted out of the court as Zeng says: "Court adjourned!"

The second segment, which carries no title, begins with a long shot of the bench of the second tribunal which is in session in the afternoon of the same day. Special court president Jiang Hua declares: "Now the session of the second tribunal continues: Summon defendant Jiang Tengjiao to court!" Upon arriving at the dock Jiang is asked by the judge whether he met Zhou Yuchi on 7 September 1971, to which he answers yes. After this exchange, another defendant (Gu Tongzhou) is brought to the court for questioning. The 3-minute film ends at this point without showing the questioning. An announcer says that this session of the court has investigated facts about the charges made in the indictment drawn up by the special procuratorate that Jiang Tengjiao had attended several secret meetings called by Lin Biao's son, Lin Liguo, and Zhou Yuchi between 8 and 11 September 1971, which plotted to assassinate Mao and stage and armed counterrevolutionary coup d'etat.

The third segment, which carries the title "Jiang Tengjiao, Huang Yongshen, and Li Zuopeng Tried on 25 November," beings with shots showing a judge questioning Jiang Tengjiao on a secret meeting called by Lin Liguo in Shanghai on 31 March 1971, and attended by Jiang Tengjiao, Wang Weiguo, Chen Liyun and Zhou Jianping, to discuss matters concerning the organization of a command team for the armed coup d'etat.

After an unidentified man on the bench reads a deposition given by defendant Chen Liyun on 14 July 1980 concerning the secret meeting, Zhou Jianping is summoned to court to testify on the same matter. The next shot shows the same unidentified man reading a page from an undated diary of defendant Cheng Hongzhen and the latter's testimony given on 22 August 1979--both of which concern the secret meeting. This is followed by shots of several pages from the "Outline of 'Project 571'" which shows that Jiang Tengjiao was a member of the command team of the coup.

The next defendant summoned to testify is Li Weixin, who says it was Lin Liguo who suggested the drafting of the "Outline of 'Project 571'" as a plan for the armed coup d'etat. The coup d'etat was necessary because a "peaceful transition" of power to Lin Biao would take 5 or 6 years and Lin might not remain in his position of power that long.

The following shots show Huang Yongsheng testifying in court that he notified Ye Qun by telephone on 6 September 1971 of the contents of Mao's conversation about Lin Biao, which Huang had heard from Li Zuopeng. This conversation, Huang admits, gave rise to the serious consequence of Lin Biao deciding to murder Mao. The court then produces fragments of a small piece of paper with some missing parts, which is said to be "Lin Biao's order for the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat." The court says this order was carried by Zhou Yuchi, Yu Xinye and Li Weixin when they fled in a helicopter, and it was torn up by Zhou after the helicopter made a forced landing. However, according to (Wang Fei), (Hu Ping) and Li Weixin, the order stated: "Hope you will act according to the order transmitted by comrades Liguo and Yuchi. Signed Lin Biao, 8 September."

After this statement Huang is led away and Li Zuopeng is brought in to testify. He admits that upon his return to Beijing from Wuhan on 6 September 1971, he revealed to Huang Yongsheng the contents of Mao's confidential conversation which he had learned about from Liu Feng. At this point special court vice president Wu Xiuquan declares that facts surrounding the leak of the contents of Mao's confidential conversation by Liu Feng through Li Zuopeng and Huang Yongsheng to Ye Qun are established. The film finally ends with Wu's words: "Take Li Zuopeng away!" This last segment of today's report is 30 minutes long.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PUNISHMENT OF 'GANG OF FOUR' DISCUSSED

HK110448 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 9 Nov 80 p 1

[Special feature by Chen Lin [7115 2651]: "Will the 'Gang of Four' Be Given Capital Punishment?"]

[Text] Reports from various quarters show that the long-awaited public trial of the 10 chief culprits of the Lin Biao and the Jiang Qing groups is close at hand. This is heartening news for everyone!

In the modern history of China, the two counterrevolutionary groups represented by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing brought China inestimable damage, judging from the extent of the catastrophe they caused and the wide-ranging and pervasive aftereffects of the poison they spread. In the 10 catastrophic years, they wielded the big stick of "class struggle" and "overall dictatorship," attacking everything and turning everything upside down. They concocted large numbers of frameups, persecuting thousands upon thousands of good people to death and implicating over a hundred million people throughout the country. A respectable socialist new China was "plunged into bloody terror." The socialist economic foundation that the people had worked hard to build up was brought to the brink of collapse. The greatest pity is that all these crimes were committed in the name of "a most revolutionary cause."

According to a report submitted to the NPC Standing Committee on 27 September by Huang Huoqing, procurator general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, included in the indictment against the 10 principal criminals of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary groups are the following four charges: 1) Instigating and plotting the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship; 2) Slandering and persecuting party and state leaders and usurping party and state power; 3) Persecuting and suppressing the masses [illegible] cadres and people and practicing fascist dictatorship; 4) Plotting to murder Chairman Mao and instigating a counterrevolutionary armed coup. This may be taken to mean that the coming trial will involve only their counterrevolutionary crimes and not the mistakes in their work, including those concerning the line. This is understandable, because the former are problems between ourselves and the enemy and the latter are contradictions among the people. Some people believe that such a distinction is made between the two to avoid involving others. This is a misinterpretation. China has traditionally persisted in correctly distinguishing and handling two different types of contradictions. Concerning contradictions among the people, including serious mistakes about the line, which cause the revolutionary enterprise great damage, the guideline of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" has been adopted. Problems that exist between the enemy and ourselves, or offenders against the criminal code have been dealt with according to the law. The two must not be confused. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and the like got involved with "mountains of debts in blood" and an endless list of crimes. Just by holding them responsible for their crimes, we have reason enough to mete out capital punishment.

In his report to the NPC Standing Committee, procurator general of the Supreme People's Court Huang Huoqing also said that the Lin Biao and the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary groups would be treated as the same case in prosecution but tried in separate courts. It is likely that the 10 defendants will be first brought to the same court and then tried separately. At the end of the trial, sentences will be pronounced in the same court. Why are the Lin Biao and the Jiang Qing groups treated as the same case in prosecution? All those who know about the conditions of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in China know that these two counterrevolutionary groups acted in collusion and used each other. Their criminal activities were interwoven and inseparably linked. On the eve of the "Cultural Revolution," these two big culprits cooperated in concocting the "notes on an army literary and art work forum." These were the signal for the start of the "Cultural Revolution." After the start of the "Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao built Jiang up as a so-called "standard bearer." Jiang Qing on the other hand praised Lin Biao for "raising the banner highest" and boosted him so that he made it as deputy marshal. In September 1971 when Lin Biao rebelled against the state and plunged to his death in an escape, the "gang of four," in a sudden about face, styled itself as an anti-Lin Biao "hero." Now the truth has come out. It turned out that they were birds of a feather. It naturally follows that they should be tried at the same time.

People note with joy that everything from the investigation and pretrial of the 10 chief culprits to the prosecution of them has been strictly guided by the law. This is a symbol of China heading from individual rule to a system of laws and from chaos to strict enforcement of the law. Though the towering crimes of the two counterrevolutionary groups represented by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing have long been known throughout the world, the judicial organ in China is still taking a stern and prudent attitude toward this important case. It is reported that adequate investigations and studies have been made in the process of observation, pretrial and prosecution. Emphasis has been placed on evidence. Oral statements are not accepted readily. Everything is based on facts and the law is taken as the yardstick or guide in all matters. The prosecution brought by the special procurators' office of the Supreme People's Procuratorate against the 10 chief culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing groups is based on firsthand data and material evidence, such as documents, letters, diaries, notes, recorded speeches, tape recordings, and so forth. Confronted with evidence, no matter how cunning and crafty, the "10 evildoers" cannot avoid accepting responsibility for their crimes. Some people worry that Jiang Qing and company may pass the buck and categorically deny their crimes. We need not worry about this. The criminal code of China says: "If the accused does not plead guilty, he can be convicted and punished in light of sufficient concrete evidence." Therefore, if the above is the case, the administration of justice by the court will not be the least affected.

As an ancient saying goes, as you make your bed so you must lie in it. It is not that the culprits have escaped suffering for what they did. It is only that the time is not ripe. Once the opportunity comes, they will be made to pay for all their misdeeds. Now the occasion for jubilation has come. The 10 chief culprits who deserve more than death will soon be given an historic trial. People believe that the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing groups represent the most serious case in history. Since a public trial is being held, justice should be upheld and punishment meted out according to the law. If capital punishment is not imposed on these flagitious villains, how can we do justice to the world and pacify the indignation of the people? We believe that the special court entrusted with this weighty mission will not fall short of the expectations of the people and will dare to uphold the dignity of the law and render a fair judgment.

CSO: 4005

EXECUTION OF CHIEF CRIMINALS OF GANG URGED

HK260236 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 24 Nov 80 p 3

["Political Talk" column by Shih Chun-yu: "How Can Jiang Qing Be Treated Leniently"]

[Text] The trial of the 10 wicked criminals has already begun in the two courts. Their ugly faces are now revealed to the people of China and throughout the world through television. The preliminary impression people generally get is: although the 10 criminals are guilty of the most vicious crimes and have been in custody for many years, judging from their physique and spirit, they have obviously received relatively good treatment. This is entirely different from the situation when this group of demons were in power, when people were wilfully arrested, cruelly tortured and ruthlessly murdered. This is evidence that China's rule of law has proceeded on the right track.

Nevertheless, the people feel very indignant about the ugly performances of the "gang of four" and especially Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao. When Jiang Qing was escorted to the court, she put on an act. She still assumed her special status and seemed to feel secure in the knowledge that she had strong backing. Zhang Chunqiao behaved literally like a hoodlum. With his collar open and loose, he had a sullen countenance as though nothing could be done to him. They were feeling complacent a bit too early.

According to the indictment promulgated by the procuratorate, and in the light of the state's criminal law, the "gang of four" ought to be sentenced to death and executed immediately. As far as those criminals who are still alive are concerned, Jiang Qing is one who has brought the greatest calamities on the Chinese people. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed, hundreds of millions of people suffered grave disasters, the national economy was brought to the verge of collapse, social customs and morals were seriously damaged, the younger generation was forced out of school to become hatchetmen.... If such a very vicious ringleader is not executed, how can we talk about the rule of law and democracy, how can the people's indignation be calmed and how can the injustice done by them be redressed? China had a very hard time ending the period of lawlessness. So how can it possibly fall back to the old days of the great calamities done to the country and the people amid this great trial of historical significance conducted by the [words indistinct]

As far as people overseas are concerned, if Jiang Qing is not sentenced to death and executed immediately, it is quite unlikely that the view of the tens of millions of overseas Chinese and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots toward China as well as the cooperation between China and foreign countries in the course of the four modernizations, will be unaffected. At present, it has been generally held that over the 4 years after the smashing of the "gang of four," beginning roughly from 2 years after they were smashed, the country has gradually forged ahead on the road of healthy development. In common with their compatriots in China, China's overseas children all hope that China will continue to forge ahead along this road. If Jiang Qing is not executed, a shadow will be cast over this prospect and people cannot help worrying about it.

Cooperation between China and foreign countries in the four modernizations depends on China's stability and prosperity. If Jiang Qing is not executed, that would mean that there might be some vacillations in China's political future. If the case is not handled properly, it is not totally inconceivable that problems might arise. This will probably affect the cooperative actions between China and foreign countries in economic construction. In addition, foreign countries would probably feel skeptical over China's slogan of building a modern and highly democratic and civilized country.

According to the development of the trial over the past few days and the extensive opinion both in China and overseas, it seems that no special personal status will constitute any obstacle to the decision on a verdict in a significant case like this. In common with the people throughout the country, the Hong Kong and Macao compatriots earnestly hope that Jiang Qing will be sentenced to death and executed according to law. As for Zhang Chunqiao, the dog's-head officer, he in particular should be immediately executed just like those rabid dogs in Hong Kong have been shot in the past few days.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

TRIAL POSTPONEMENT, OTHER ISSUES DISCUSSED

HK210612 Hong Kong TUNG HSIANG in Chinese No 26, 16 Nov 80 pp 4-7

[Article by Chu Chung-yi [7263 6850 0308]: "Inside Information on the Postponement of the Great Beijing Trial"]

[Excerpts] A date has been set at last for the long-awaited historic Beijing trial. People can see on TV how the 10 chief culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques who wrought havoc in China for 10 years will be brought to justice of law. This will be quite a delightful event. The nearer the date of trial draws near, the more excited and more nervous the people of Beijing will become. The are waiting and waiting....

The Key Lies With the Bill of Indictment

Since the NPC Standing Committee officially decided in early September to organize a special procuratorate and a special court to investigate and try the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the date of trial has been postponed time and again. The trial was at first set to take place in early October and then postponed to late October. Even Peng Zhen, chairman of the Commission of Legal Affairs, told some foreign friends that the date would be around "end of this month (October) and beginning of next month." The decision on the trial was also delayed from early to the middle (and even the end) of November. What has happened?

I have learned from a friend in Beijing that the key lies with the bill of indictment. The Ministry of Public Security submitted the investigatory report on the case to the special prosecuratorate in September, citing 60 counts of charges and making some comments. After receiving the report, the special prosecuratorate, acting on the principle of "trying the culprits' crimes and not their errors related to political line," examined each of the charges and drafted the indictment. That gave rise to some problems.

It Is Difficult To Distinguish Between Errors and Crimes

For example, the first three of the four grave crimes which Jiang Qing and the other nine culprits were guilty of were: 1) sedition and conspiracy to overthrow the political power of proletarian dictatorship; 2) frame-up and persecution of party and state leaders and usurpation of party leadership and state power; and 3) exercise of a fascist dictatorship over the cadres and the masses of the people. Jiang Qing and Lin Biao together cooked up the "outline" of the forum on literature and art and fabricated the theory of dictatorship of a sinister line in literature and art, which brought about the persecution, suppression and death of thousands of literary and art workers. Was this an error related to the political line or a crime? How should this be convincingly defined as an error or a crime?

What was still more important, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques perpetrated crimes in the name of Mao Zedong's instructions. What should be done to completely separate Mao Zedong from Lin Biao and Jiang Qing so that Jiang Qing would not shift the responsibility onto Mao Zedong in the course of the prosecution. This was a difficult problem.

Therefore, over the past [figure indistinct] months, the "legal advisers" of the special prosecuratorate racked their brains day and night to write an appropriate bill of indictment.

Jiang Qing Calls Herself 'A Dog'

Foreign correspondents in Beijing were impatient after seeing that the trial had been postponed time and again. There was much speculation among them. They held that the repeated postponements of the trial were caused by Jiang Qing's obstinacy and refusal to admit her guilt. It was true that this shrew Jiang Qing adopted an abominable attitude. She once said that she was a dog, warning others not to "beat a dog to bully its masters." She also threatened to disclose inside information on the top-level CCP leaders if she was tried in court. Besides Jiang Qing, those adopting an abominable attitude included Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Chen Boda and Huang Yongsheng. Wang Hongwen behaved better. However, the attitude of the culprits did not institute the cause of postponement of the trial. Furthermore, the special court had announced that the judgment would base on evidence and not on the culprits' statements.

It was not strange that this speculation was rife among the foreign correspondents. They deduced a conclusion from the method of work usually adopted by the CCP in the past. However, the CCP now stresses working according to law and matches its deeds with its words. That is why the foreign correspondents' speculation has gone wrong.

This historic trial has further enlivened the political atmosphere in Beijing. After the "Bohai No 2 incident," the third session of the Fifth NPC has consolidated the spirit of opposing bureaucracy and promoting democracy. As a result, the atmosphere in Beijing has become much more refreshing and invigorating. The coverings on the nude parts of the "Paean of Life" wall pictures in the international airport building have been removed, and there seems to be no objection. RENMIN RIBAO has carried articles discussing problems of "democracy under centralized guidance," thereby broadening people's scope of vision and bringing new hope of transforming the administrative structure. In the literary and art circles, a heated debate on "improving the party's leadership over literature and art" is under way. This debate will surely add life to China's literary arena.

CSO: 4005

OPENING OF LIN, JIANG CLIQUES' TRIAL REPORTED

OW210925 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1620 GMT 20 Nov 80

[XINHUA special feature: "Scenes at the Defendants' Dock"]

[Text] Beijing, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--This reporter witnessed the escorting of the 10 principal defendants in the case of the "Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques" to the defendants' dock.

This reporter, seated at the public gallery assigned by the special court, had a very clear view of the row of grayish iron railings that were about 1 meter away from the court's rostrum on which a wooden plate with the words "the defendants" on it stood.

After the ringing of the court bell at 1500 sharp Beijing time, all lights were turned on in the courtroom. Sitting at the center of the rostrum, Jiang Hua, president of the special court, ordered that the 10 principal defendants be brought in for questioning. Immediately, all cameras, tape recorders and television and movie film cameras spontaneously turned to a side door of the court and were ready to record a scene for which the people had waited a long time.

Under the escort of two blue-clad female bailiffs, Jiang Qing--the careerist who had always dreamed of becoming an "empress"--entered the courtroom. She wore a black coat and black cotton-padded flannel shoes today. Her hair was well-groomed and shiny as usual, and a pair of wide-rimmed dark glasses was on the bridge of her nose. She still retained her customary affected manner in her every movement. With everyone's eyes fixed on her, Jiang Qing, exhibiting a bit of her acting technique she learned during her movie actress days, deliberately held her head high and walked slowly. This only made others feel like vomiting. Her seat was in a central aisle of the dock. While the "indictment" was read, Jiang Qing, to hide her bitter anxiety, sometimes shook her head and sometimes glanced right and left. Ten days earlier, when a court messenger asked her to sign a receipt for a copy of the "indictment" that was delivered to her, Jiang Qing deliberately affected a sneer but at the same time could not manage to write the correct date on the receipt. Only after the messenger repeatedly pointed out the mistake to her did she suddenly realize and correct it.

Zhang Chunqiao, a very crafty person during the 10-year upheaval, sat in the courtroom with his head tilted to one side--sometimes to the right and at other times to the left. With his lips puckered and with his eyes looking sideways, he never set his head straight throughout the court session and still looked like an "arch-careerist" as described by the masses of the people. Seated in the dock on the far left, he leaned against the back of a chair on many occasions and looked stiff. He wore a thin, Chinese-style cotton-padded jacket with the collar open wide. His face shone with perspiration.

Sitting in one of the defendants' docks, Yao Wenyuan looked rigid, wearing a long face and staring blankly at the rostrum in front of him with a heavy heart throughout the session. Sources at the special court said he had been in good health, having a good appetite and sleeping soundly until he received the copy of the indictment 10 days ago. Then he began to lose much of his appetite and found it difficult to sleep at night. His blood pressure also went up by 10-20 millimeters. When the court session adjourned, he deliberately looked up to puff himself up. His posture disgusted those in the courtroom.

Wang Hongwen, the "armed struggle commander" in Shanghai who attained the highest level in one step, appeared wan and sallow, obviously thinner than before. He sat there motionless and depressed, blinking his eyes all the time. He looked shorter than in the days before his arrest.

Huang Yongsheng looked older than the other defendants. He shuffled to the seat assigned him by a bailiff and appeared expressionless and quiet, pretending that he was unperturbed. In the serene atmosphere of justice pervading the court, he bent back against a chair. His face looked like that of a collapsing clay figure.

Chen Boda, whose face was covered with deep sorrow; Li Zuopeng, whose face appeared to be somber; the dejected Wu Faxian; the motionless and expressionless Qiu Huizuo; and the fierce Jiang Tengjiao were also escorted to the defendants' docks.

At 1520, Huang Huoqing, chief of the special procuratorate, began to read the "indictment" through a microphone, thus starting the trial of these counterrevolutionary cliques by the 1 billion Chinese people.

[Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin at 2230 GMT on 20 November broadcasts a 6-minute report on the publication by the 20 November RENMIN RIBAO of two feature articles by RENMIN RIBAO and XINHUA reporters on the opening of the trial. The Beijing Domestic report is identical to the above XINHUA report except for the following variation:

Paragraph seven, from line three reads in the Beijing Domestic version /motionless and depressed. After reading the copy of the indictment a few days ago, Wang Hongwen, "the then commander of rebels," told judges that all the offenses cited in the indictment are facts. He said he has no need for a defense lawyer. [new paragraph] Huang Yongsheng looked/ supplying variant passage.]

CSO: 4005

BACKGROUND TO 'GANG OF FOUR'S' DEFENSE LAWYER GIVEN

HK060512 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO Weekly Supplement in English 6-12 Nov 80 p 3

[Text] There are reports that the defense lawyer appointed by the "gang of four" is Ma Rongjie, editor of LAW STUDIES, a monthly published by the Institute of Law Research in Beijing.

A son of a ranking officer serving under the governor of Yunnan Province before liberation, Ma was a graduate of the Beijing Institute of Law and Political Science in 1954. Never one to make the highest grades while in college, Ma is best remembered by his classmates as a brilliant orator, but whose sharp tongue was not the sort that won him a great many friends.

Ma was assigned to work at the Beijing Municipal Court upon graduation when, to his dismay, he was denied the position of either judge or judicial officer because of his parentage. Since his uncles had also served as officers in the army of the former Yunnan governor, Ma was forced to live with the discriminating stigma of 'dubious political background' for the next twenty years.

Shortly after the promulgation of the PRC's first constitution in 1954, Ma was transferred and became a full time lawyer in the newly set up consultant department on legal affairs in the municipal government where very quickly he proved his competence in acting for defendants before the bar.

Two court cases in the fifties, in which Ma acted as defense lawyer, brought him to public notice. One was the arrest and prosecution of the country's biggest counterfeiter, Li Wanming, whose dramatic contempt of the law eventually prompted the famous writer Lao She to write a play. The other was a case in which Ma successfully argued to mitigate a harsh sentence by identifying the offence as a civil instead of a criminal one. Impressed by his competence, some Japanese legal experts who attended the trial invited him to visit Japan, a kind offer, but one with which he was not able to comply at the time.

As a defense lawyer, Ma is said to be an expert in acting on behalf of defendants with 'reactionary' family background.

It is regarded as a miracle that despite his own family background and nonconformist tendencies, Ma emerged safe from the anti-rightist campaign in 1957.

A professor of his had invited some alumni of the Beijing Institute of Law and Political Science to a feast and had a picture taken of the group afterwards. Ma, for some reason, was unable to attend which, luckily for him, saved his day because before long the professor and all his guests at the feast were singled out as rightists. Since then Ma also bore the title of a rightist who escaped through the net.

Like others of his background, Ma was 'struggled against' and his home was ransacked on countless occasions during the Cultural Revolution. The latter period of the 10 years saw him working in a factory. His former organization refused to accept him even after the fall of the "gang of four."

In the 2 or 3 years he has been editor of LAW STUDIES, Ma has turned out many articles advocating the institution of lawyers in China as well as others concerning the defendant or his lawyer in contesting a case. One of his better known articles, which appeared in the GUANGMING RIBAO early last year, dealt with the utter illegality of the trial of Zhang Zhixin, the woman who was persecuted to death by surrogates of the "gang of four" in northeast China.

Observers point out that it takes a man of great courage and humanitarian principles to act as defense lawyer for the "gang of four." Jiang Qing is reported to have grumbled that she did not believe that anyone could seriously defend her at the trial and that she didn't believe in the present legal setup in China anyway. But for better or worse, she and her gang will have to put up with Ma Rongjie, a man who has every reason to dislike her, to say the least, a competent defense lawyer, and an ex-rightist who narrowly escaped the net, so to speak.

CSO: 4020

BACKGROUND ON CHANGSHA INCIDENT PROVIDED

OW271655 Beijing XINHUA in English 1633 GMT 27 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, November 27 (XINHUA)--Wang Hongwen has confessed in the special court that the purpose of his going to Changsha in October 1974 to see Chairman Mao and making false charges against Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping was to prevent Deng Xiaoping from becoming first vice-premier.

This frame-up was hatched by the "gang of four" and the special court has tried Wang Hongwen, Yao Wenyuan, Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao separately on this since November 24.

The incident took place when preparations were being made for the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress, which would erect the N.P.C. Standing Committee and decide on the appointments of leading members of the State Council.

At the time, Chairman Mao Zedong, Premier Zhou Enlai and chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Zhu De were advanced in age, and Premier Zhou was ill and in hospital. The nomination of the first vice-premier, who was to take charge of government work, was an issue of vital importance to the future of China and was therefore of concern to the people across the country.

The "gang of four," who had long casted their greedy eyes on supreme party leadership and state power, thought that their opportunity had come. Zhang Chunqiao spread rumours that someone had proposed him as a candidate for the post of first vice-premier.

Chairman Mao had considered this question. On October 4, he asked a staff member to make a telephone call from Changsha, capital of Hunan Province, to Wang Hongwen, telling him that Chairman Mao intended to recommend Deng Xiaoping as first vice-premier. Wang Hongwen was then in charge on the day-to-day work of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee.

After receiving the call, Wang Hongwen neither reported it to Premier Zhou Enlai promptly nor conveyed it to the Political Bureau. Instead, he told it to Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan on the same day.

Trying to prevent Deng Xiaoping from becoming first vice-premier, the gang launched an attack on him at a meeting of the Political Bureau on October 17. The pretext they used for the attack was an event involving a freighter named "Feng Qing," a 10,000-ton class vessel built in Shanghai.

Taking advantage of its first successful voyage to and back from Europe, the gang and their followers in Shanghai attacked Deng Xiaoping for having suggested purchasing a number of ships from abroad and accused him of preaching "slavish comprador philosophy" and "national betrayal."

Jiang Qing's attack at Deng Xiaoping on the issue at the Political Bureau meeting was rebuffed by Deng Xiaoping right on the spot.

Immediately after the meeting, Jiang Qing called Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen together to discuss counter-measures. She said: "This shows Deng Xiaoping's opposition to the Great Cultural Revolution."

After the secret discussion, the "gang of four" decided, without telling the Political Bureau, to send Wang Hongwen to Changsha to make a false charge before Chairman Mao Zedong against Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. According to Wang Hongwen's confession, it was Jiang Qing who urged him to go there before Deng Xiaoping went there to see Chairman Mao in company with foreign guests.

The testimony given by Zhang Yufeng, a staff member who was present during Wang Hongwen's conversation with Chairman Mao, which was read out in court, quoted Wang Hongwen as saying to Chairman Mao: "The atmosphere in Beijing now is very much like that of the Lushan meeting"; "although the premier is ill and hospitalized, he is busy summoning people for talks far into the night... Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian are frequent visitors." Wang Hongwen was also quoted as saying, "Their frequent contacts at this time have something to do with the appointments to be made at the Fourth National People's Congress." The implication of Wang Hongwen's remarks was that Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaopoing were engaged in actitivies to usurp power as Lin Biao had done during the Lushan meeting of 1970 (the second plenary session of the Ninth C.P.C. Central Committee).

Zhang Yufeng's testimony added: "Chairman Mao told Wang Hongwen that he should, after getting back, consult the premier and Comrade Jianying more often."

After returning to Beijing, however, Wang Hongwen did not implement Chairman Mao's instruction, but again joined Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan in their conspiratorial activities.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG PAPER COMMENTS ON REFORMING PRC, PART I

HK111326 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 9 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Lin Hsin-tao: "Supreme, Paramount Power--How the NPC Can Be Really Worthy of Its Name, Part I"]

[Text] How to build the NPC into the highest organ of power worthy of its name is a question widely discussed in Chinese newspaper lately.

This question was actually one of the most important subjects raised during the third plenary session of the Fifth NPC in its attempt to reform the leadership structure.

Since 1954, the Chinese constitution has affirmed that the NPC is the highest organ of state power. The present [word indistinct] also has such a stipulation. However, in the past 20 years or so, China's NPC had never really played the role of the highest organ of power in actual political life. During the 10 years of turmoil, the NPC became inactive and naturally was unable to play its role. But even during the time when the NPC was functioning normally, the NPC did not play its role as the highest organ of state power.

There are many reasons for the NPC's being unworthy of its name. First, let us look at the structure of the NPC itself.

The constitution has stipulated that the NPC is the highest organ of state power, yet in reality, its functions have best taken over by the CCP. During the late 1950's, there were people who raised questions about the fusion of party and government. But they were attacked and criticized. Later, the slogan of "strengthening the centralized leadership of the party" became more and more prominent, and no one dared mention that the NPC was the highest organ of state power. The revised 1975 constitution even stipulated that: "The NPC is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the CCP." This is erroneous both from the point of view of legality and logic--if it is "the highest," why is it still being led? This position of being the "highest yet not high enough" if difficult to understand. When the constitution was again revised in 1978, the words "under the leadership of the CCP" were deleted. This revision conforms with legal principles.

However, there are still some provisions in the constitution which run counter to the definition of the "highest organ of state power." For example, the present constitution stipulates that the NPC "decides on the choice of the premier of the State Council upon the recommendation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China"and that "the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the armed forces of the People's Republic of China." Some people in legal circles in Beijing have already questioned these two provisions.

Due to the fusion of party and government, in people's minds and in reality, the CCP Central Committee has the final say on important matters of the state. The NPC only conducts routine "discussion," after which motions are "unanimously approved." It is not surprising that some people say that the NPC is an organ of empty talk which merely "gives suggestions."

If the constitutional provision on the NPC as the "highest organ of state power" is strictly observed, then, the separation of functions between the NPC and the CCP should be as follows: The leadership of the party should pertain only to political leadership and guidance in strategy and not a hierarchical relationship between these two organs. In terms of legal status, the NPC should be the only highest organ of state power. There should be no parallel organs, much less any organ which is above it and leads it. The Central Committee of the CCP could only suggest to the NPC and should have no right to order the NPC around. Decisions of the Central Committee of the CCP should only be considered to be suggestions to the NPC. It is only after the deliberation and approval of the NPC that the decisions of the CCP would become the decisions of the highest organ of state power and take effect legally. The powers of the NPC can roughly be divided into the following four categories: 1) legislation; 2) decisionmaking; 3) appointment and dismissal, and 4) supervision.

If we review past practices in China, using the constitutional provisions on the nature and powers of the NPC as a yardstick, we can conclude that those practices all infringed on the powers of the NPC.

During the third plenary session of the Fifth NPC, deputies pointed out that although the economy was beginning to be emancipated, politics had not been emancipated. This refers to the fact that the reform of the Chinese leadership structure had not been started yet.

The NPC should not be a "political ornament" or a nominal entity. The constitution stipulates that state power belongs to the people. The realization of this provision has to be done by the exercise of the people's power through the NPC and people's congresses at various levels. If the NPC and people's congresses at all levels cannot play their roles as the highest organ of state power and local organs of power, then the term "people's republic" will be meaningless.

How do we make the NPC worthy of its name? Deputies to the NPC have expressed many views. Chen Yi's son, Chen Haosu, even presented a draft resolution which was more than 10,000 characters. Summing up their views and those presented in related articles recently published in Chinese newspapers and magazines, the focus of the discussion is on the composition of the NPC and of the Standing Committee of the NPC.

What are the measures to be taken to change the NPC from a "rubber stamp" and "organ of idle talk" to a strong work organ?

CSO: 4005

TRANSFER OF XI ZHONGXUN, ARRIVAL OF REN ZHONGYI DISCUSSED

HK251430 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 23 Nov 80 p 1

[Special feature by Tsao Min-chih [2580 2404 0037]: "Xi Zhongxun Is Transferred North and Ren Zhongyi Comes South"]

[Text] During my short stay in Guangzhou, I was in time to catch the change in the leadership structures of Guangdong and Guangzhou: Xi Zhongxun, [word indistinct] first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and governor of Guangdong Province, and Yang Shangkun, concurrently second secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and first secretary of the Guangzhou CCP Committee, were transferred back to the CCP Central Committee, and their posts were filled respectively by Ren Zhongyi and Liang Lingguang.

Looking Forward to Ren and Liang Developing the Situation in Guangdong

In Guangdong both the official quarters and the public are paying great attention to this transfer and there have been discussions. The interest and discussions all boil down to a single point: "Is there any hope for developing the situation of Guangdong in the future?"

Why do people express this kind of hope? To understand this, we must turn back the clock and proceed from the time when Xi Zhongxun arrived in Guangdong to take office 3 years ago.

It was then just after the smashing of the "gang of four" and the popular feeling in Guangdong was for order. The arrival of a senior cadre with ability who had been exonerated after 14 years of unjust treatment and who had been given the important task of taking charge of the south could not but arouse the expectations of the people. Therefore, stories of him "making incognito visits" in the manner of ancient classical literature and about him standing in line to buy fish, queuing up for buses, personally observing the harmful effects of backdoor deals and experiencing the taste of poor service were passed from mouth to mouth in Guangzhou Municipality. Behind this build up was naturally the hopes of the people. They hoped that he could get rid of the longstanding malpractices, rectify the maxims for government officials, push the economy of Guangdong forward and improve the life of the people.

However, when Xi Zhongxun came to the south, he was all alone except for a personal secretary. Therefore, people predicted: "It will be difficult for him to accomplish anything." Has this prediction now come to pass?

Xi Zhongxun's Achievements in the Last Three Years

At a farewell reception Xi Zhongxun modestly made a self-criticism. He made an excuse for the popular common saying of "become accustomed to," which was in fact a comment on his 3 years of achievements, and said that the comment was quite to the point as he had indeed "become accustomed to" conditions in Guangdong. Some people also held that he had "feigned ignorance," but he instead considered that defeigning ignorance" was an art of leadership that could not be underestimated.

However, unlike in the past, changes have also taken place in Guangdong in the last 3 years. In the implementation of policies alone, numerous false charges, wrong sentences and framed up cases have been rehabilitated and righteousness has been promoted. Yin Linping, the present secretary of the provincial party committee, is a typical example of local cadres who have staged a comeback as a result of Xi Zhongxun's recommendation. After more than 20 years, the old case of "local chauvinism" fabricated in the early 1950's has also been initially cleared by Xi Zhongxun. Li Yizhe, sentenced as a counterrevolutionary for his "big-character poster," has also been exonerated by Xi Zhongxun and is now safe and sound. Xi Zhongxun is also responsible for the removal of Jiao Linyi, the opening of the rural market, the stimulation of urban and rural goods by means of price negotiations and the setting up of special economic zones in Guangdong. Although he has seldom visited the countryside, the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and the Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee have done all they could in the preliminary implementation of the agricultural policies of the CCP Central Committee.

Three years are naturally a short time, and we must not be too harsh on the good man. However, because of the heavy responsibility entrusted to him by the CCP Central Committee, the high hopes cherished by the CCP Central Committee, the great power given him by the CCP Central Committee and the favorable local conditions, the fact that Xi Zhongxun has not been able to give a good account of himself or to take bigger strides because of various difficulties is a bit of a disappointment.

Yang Shangkun Did Not 'Take Leave Suddenly'

Yang Shangkun's coming and going also accompanied by public sentiments and comments. He only stayed in Guangzhou for a short time and it was very difficult for him to have an outstanding performance right away. When he first arrived, he concentrated on the reorganization of the leading bodies and proceeded with the rectification of the workstyle of the party. By holding major mobilization meetings and minor report and admonishment meetings, he succeeded for a time in invigorating the municipal party committee system which had stagnated for more than 10 years. Because of the adoption of an open door policy externally, official and commercial contacts became more frequent. As a result, some of the people accepted bribes from foreign businessmen and even a certain secretary of the municipal party committee was involved. Yang Shangkun was determined to put a stop to this. Consequently, this secretary was criticized in a circular. This was the first time a senior cadre of Guangzhou had been criticized in the last 30 years. However, Yang Shangkun could not always keep watch in Guangzhou. As the itinerary of his visit abroad was arranged well before hand, he had to lead a municipal delegation on a visit to Fukuoka, Japan. Subsequently he also arranged for Guangzhou and the U.S. city of Los Angeles to become sister cities. Had it not been for the cancellation of the agreement as a result of the hanging of Kuomintang flags by Los Angeles on the double tenth, he was also expected to visit the United States.

Yang Shangkun's transfer to the Central Committee was under consideration in September and formally announced at the NPC in the latter part of October. He will be leaving soon. Some people have used "take leave suddenly" as an antithetical couplet to "become accustomed to." However, contrary to the standard practice of "a new official applies strict measures," Yang Shangkun has stepped up the rectification of the workstyle of the party before his departure. He has the assistance of an elder sister with a glorious history in the long march working in the discipline inspection committee under the Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee. This elder sister has honest and upright ways and a sense of righeousness. She has exposed the illegal import of scores of sedans by Du Zhenxiang, a secretary of the municipal party committee, and made the malpractices of senior cadres including deputy secretary general Li Jianguo of the municipal party committee a target of public criticism. Wang Qingping, the Wang Hongwen-type secretary of the party committee of the Baiyunshan farm who got his start from beating people, smashing things and looting, has been dismissed and the scandal of the director of postal and telecommunications who tried to cover up his wife's smuggling has also been brought into the open. Other more serious cases are still under investigation. It seems that Yang Shangkun is playing the role of a vanguard for Liang Lingguang so that the latter may carry on the work boldly. To restore order in Guangzhou, we must first rectify the workstyle of the party and proceed with getting rid of feudal privileges before we can reverse the stagnated situation hindering the four modernizations.

Why Lin and Jiang Had Such Deep Affection for Guangdong

Frankly speaking, from the comments of the people I have contact with, "developing the situation" referred to the situation of opposing feudal privileges and reorganizing the leading bodies at various levels. When the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique was planning their coup d'etat, did they not reckon on feeling south to Guangzhou in case of defeat and setting up another bogus Central Committee in Guangzhou to contend with the Central Committee in Beijing? Did not the counterrevolutionary clique of the "gang of four" collude with such armymen as Huang Yongsheng and Ding Sheng to stage an armed rebellion? Did not Jiang Qing go to Guangzhou several times to play the conquette? Both Huang and Ding were stationed in Guangdong. Therefore, the general opinion is, if Guangdong and Guangzhou did not possess the climate, soil and condition suitable to Lin Biao for engaging in counterrevolutionary usurpation of party and state power, he never would have made the plan to flee south to Guangzhou. Actually, Lin Liguo, the son of Lin Biao, had set up a huge intelligence organization in the northern suburb of Guangzhou and imported an enormous amount of sophisticated espionage equipment from Hong Kong. Even the acoustic set for playing the soft music Jiang Qing enjoyed was presented to her through Yu Bo from Guangzhou!

A single falling leaf foretells the coming of autumn. The fact that Wang Qingping, the Wang Hongwen-type character of the Baiyunshan farm, could still lord over the people for so many years after the smashing of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques is enough to prove that the statement of "such people are still around and unreconciled to their defeat" is no fallacy. In a place the size of Guangdong, there are still many Wang Hongwen-type people hiding under various disguises. The eyes of the masses are bright. They had pinned their hopes on Xi Zhongxun and Yang Shangkun to develop the situation, and now, they are pinning their hopes on Ren Zhongyi.

Ren Zhongyi's Distinguishing Feature Is Emancipating the Minds

Ren Zhongyi is from Liaoning and he has never had any contact with the south before. Although he received his instruction at a difficult time, he came to the south after all. In introducing him to the cadres of the province, Xi Zhongxun said: Guangdong is the gateway of the south and occupies an important position. Ren Zhongyi has the distinguishing feature of emancipating the minds and being familiar with economic work. His appointment by the CCP Central Committee to lead the work of Guangdong is welcomed. Although these words are spoken out of politeness, they nevertheless fit Ren Zhongyi's personality.

Emancipating the minds is definitely the distinguishing feature of Ren Zhongyi. When Liaoning was under the feudal fascist domination of Mao Yuanxin, the lackey of the "gang of four," he was ordered to restore order in Liaoning in exactly the same manner as the sending of Zhao Ziyang to clear up the messy situation in Sichuan. The moment he arrived in Liaoning, the first order he issued was to send all those who joined the party overnight, who rose meteorically to high leadership posts by means of rocket, plane of faction or by means of flattery and toadying during the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution" back to their original units to work pending investigation and disposal. On the other hand, he sent people to invite back with great fanfare all the former cadres who had been sent to prison or to rural areas for reform through labor, who had been left to idle away at home and those who had gone to the hospital as a result of their ordeals. At the same time, he announced the all-round opening of the rural market to help revive the rural economy.

In this way, the urban and rural areas of Liaoning were filled with jubilation and vigor. "Restoring order out of chaos" was no longer an abstract phrase but had the power of a thunderbolt, and the situation in Liaoning was completely transformed.

Is this the "developing the situation" the people of Guangdong are hoping for? Ren Zhongyi has arrived. We might as well wait and see whether or not he has brought this discretionary power with him.

CSO: 4005

TRANSFORMING WORK OF BACKWARD PARTY BRANCHES

Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Chan Zhanran [7115 2770 3544], Huang Zifeng [7806 5417 6912] and Lin Shaoxiang [2651 4801 4382], Organization Department, Ward's Party Committee: "A Discussion of the Problem of Transforming the Work of Backward Party Branches"]

[Text] As seen from the summary result of work inspection of rural party branches conducted previously in our ward, party branches considered backward are not few in number, about 20 percent of the total. This is a problem not to be neglected. Party organizations at all levels should earnestly strengthen the leadership, doing well the transforming work.

Each party branch has its own concrete causes for so-called backwardness. Generally speaking, however, the main manifestations are: 1) The core of leadership has not been formed, and the organization is lax. Some of the leaders have low ideological awareness, lack the sense of political responsibility and enthusiasm for revolutionary causes, and do not do their work. Some of them have very serious clan and factional thinking, and members of the group do not unite. Some major members practice "what I say goes," engage in paternalism, and do not carry out the principle of democratic centralism. 2) Party members play a poor exemplary role. In these units, many party members are unqualified, and some even lag behind the masses. Some party members have a very slight party concept, do not participate in party activities, are afraid of hardship and weariness, do not like to shoulder heavy burdens, and do not like to be cadres. Some of them take lead to gather together to gamble and go in for feudal, superstitious activities, etc. 3) The sense of morals is low, and the evil atmosphere keeps rising. Ideology, work, and public security are in a chaotic condition. 4) Production has lagged behind for a long time, collective income is scanty, and the living standards of commune members are low. The existence of these problems seriously restrained these party branches from playing their proper roles.

The main causes for the above problems are first, that the impact of various political movements in the past has dampened the enthusiasm of cadres. Although the absolute majority of cadres at the basic level who were hurt have been rehabilitated, there are still many units who have not done enough ideological work for them. And they themselves do not have the breadth of mind which Communist Party members should have. The result is that resentment has not vanished from them even up to the present, and they do not want to be cadres at the basic level again. The second cause is that collective production has developed slowly, and the fac of poverty and backwardness has not changed very much. Party members and cadres lack the confidence and courage to lead the masses to persist in taking the socialist road. According to an investigation conducted in a backward rural party branch in Chengmai County, in the over 20 years since collectivization, production conditions of the brigade have hardly changed. Although grain production has increased, the rate of population growth was much faster than the rate of development of production, with the result that the distribution level was lower than that in 1957. Party members reflected: "After working for more than 20 years, we still looked the same. How can we lead the commune members to go on like this?" The third cause is that party members do not understand the lines, guiding principles, and policies of the Party Central Committee, and some even show aversion, resistance, and negative feelings toward them, and have given up leadership of the political and ideological work of the masses and collective production. They do not lead what they should lead, and do not stop what they should stop. The bad trends will spread unchecked.

In sum, in order to reform backward party branches, a large amount of work must be done. Basically, however, in curing poverty and working for richness, it is necessary to strengthen party members' political and ideological work, to enhance the party spirit, and to improve the fighting capacity of party branches. From the results of our investigation, it can be seen that, in the process of grasping the work of backward party branches, we must take care to guard against two trends. One is to guard against impetuosity. To attempt to go in for a political movement of correcting a group of people, replacing a group of people, and dismissing a group of people, as was done in the past, in order to solve the problem of backward party branches is not feasible and is also harmful. The second is to guard against pessimistic attitudes. It is also wrong to think that nothing can be done in grasping backward party branches, to lack confidence and let things drift. The right attitude is to earnestly strengthen the leadership, not to be eager to get quick results, not to be pessimistic and not to feel hopeless, firmly doing well the transforming work of backward party branches.

Judging from the present conditions, in order to reform backward party branches, it is necessary to grasp well the work in the following four aspects: First, study both the "guiding principles" and the revised edition of the party constitution, further correct the political line and ideological line of leading members of party branches and the multitude of party members, and unite the thinking of all the party members with the spirit of the third, fourth and fifth Plenums of the 11th Party Central Committee so as to maintain consistency with the Party Central Committee. Second, uphold correct production policies, take measures according to circumstances, expand strong points and avoid shortcomings, and cure poverty and work for richness. It is necessary to further implement the rural economic policy, carry out the production responsibility system, and to fully arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of the people. Third, strengthen organizational construction, carry out political and ideological work for leading members earnestly and well, and educate them to concentrate on leading the masses to cure poverty and work for richness. At the same time, they should be assisted in improving their talent, really doing well in forming the core of leadership and fully developing the stronghold role of party branches. Fourth, perfect the "three meetings and one class" system, strengthen the conducting of regular ideological education work for party members, and fully develop the exemplary vanguard role of party members. Practice shows that those who have insisted on doing things in this way gained relatively greater results. For instance, the party branch of Ho Le Brigade of Ho Le Commune in Wanning County was at first a relatively backward unit. Since the third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, with the assistance of the commune's party committee, the brigade's party branch linked thinking with practical work, adopted the form of conducting party training classes and "three meetings and one class," organized party members to study in earnest the spirit of the third, fourth and fifth Plenums of the 11th Party Central Committee, criticized the extreme left line, summarized experiences and lessons, constantly solved problems existing among party members, strengthened the confidence and determination of the "squad members" of the party branch and the multitude of party members to lead the masses to engage in the four modernizations. The "squad members" united and engaged in struggle, and most of the 36 party members worked actively, with the result that collective production has developed rapidly. This party branch has now become one of the better branches in the entire commune.

9503
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PROBLEM OF UNQUALIFIED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS RAISED

Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Yi Xiang [2496 6763]: "We Must Solve Two Ideological Problems"]

[Text] In discussing how to be a qualified Communist Party member, some party members do not consider whether one is qualified or not as important. One said: "Many party members at present are unqualified, so what is there to fear if one is unqualified oneself." They use the fact that others are unqualified to excuse the fact that they are unqualified, thus relaxing the severe requirements made of them. This is an ideological problem that must be given attention and solved at present. Within our party, there really are some party members who are unqualified or very unqualified, cannot play the proper role of Communist Party members, have even forgotten the title of a Communist Party member by mingling with the non-party masses, and are even inferior to the masses in certain aspects, thus greatly affecting the party's prestige and fighting capacity. Precisely for this reason, we are now particularly emphasizing the solving of the problem of how to be a qualified party member. Since we are willing to join the Communist Party and now also think that we are unqualified, can we say, "It does not matter to be unqualified?" Furthermore, through learning and education, those originally unqualified party members are now making up their minds to endeavor to become qualified Communist Party members. If we still use the old standards to judge other persons, cannot see the new changes of the multitude of party members, and still continue to be unqualified party members, won't we lag behind?

The second one said: "Now many leading cadres are unqualified, what is wrong if one is unqualified oneself?" On the pretext, "I will do what the leadership does," they did not make strict demands on themselves according to the standards for party members specified in the revised edition of the party constitution and the "guiding principles." This is also an ideological problem that must be solved at present. We should recognize that the work style of certain leading cadres really does pose problems, and that they have not set an example to the masses of party members. It is correct that the masses want leading cadres to make strict demands on themselves, playing an exemplary role everywhere and by wanting themselves to be qualified first. However, to be a qualified Communist Party member is a matter concerning the whole party and every party member. Both leading cadres and ordinary party members should solve this problem in earnest. Even to those party members who are qualified at present, if they do not endeavor to meet the demands of the new period and the new tasks, the problem of becoming unqualified can be raised. If we want the leading cadres to be "qualified," but consider ourselves to be "outsiders who criticize others," then when we see that certain leading cadres are unqualified, we will think that it does not matter whether we ourselves are qualified or not. In this way, not only is it not helpful to our own improvement, but it will turn the idea that each party member is required to be a qualified party member into idle talk. The correct attitude is not to look only at leading cadres, but to start working from oneself and to start from now so that each party member will determine whether he is qualified according to the standards for party members specified in the revised edition of the party constitution and the requirements of the "guiding principles," and conscientiously make himself a qualified Communist Party member.

9503
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'HSIN WAN PAO' INTERVIEWS LEGALISTS ON UPCOMING TRIAL

HK191030 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 18 Nov 80 p 1

[Dispatch from Beijing: "Beijing Legal Authorities Answer Relevant Questions"]

[Text] This reporter has interviewed legal authorities in Beijing on the trial of the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. The interview is as follows:

Question: This trial has become the focal point of world attention and many foreigners would like to attend it. What is the point of forbidding foreigners to attend the trial?

Answer: What is the point of allowing foreigners to attend the trial? It is not a must for Chinese people to invite foreigners to attend their trials, not to mention such a serious case which is conducted in a Special Court and involves a great number of state secrets. Do you think we can let foreigners attend the trial?

Question: We heard that the number of people attending the trial has been limited to 800. If it is an open trial, what is the point of restricting the number of people?

Answer: The Special Court has approved the number of people attending the trial to be more than 800. These 800 or more people will attend the trial in either the number one or number two court, that is to say, there will be more than 400 people in each court. After World War II, only some 200 people were allowed to attend the war criminal trials in Tokyo. We now allow more than 400 to do so, in fact double the number in Tokyo. In addition to this, the people who will be attending the trial are representative figures from various sectors representing the broad masses.

Question: Everybody is saying that in order to insure the course of justice, victims should not be appointed judges. Why do you appoint Jiang Hua, Wu Xiuquan and others, who suffered persecution by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as judges?

Answer: The "Great Cultural Revolution" was a catastrophe for all of China. Did any one of our people manage to escape from the direct or indirect persecution of Lin Biao and the "gang of four?" If all who suffered from persecution had to evade judicial responsibility, Jiang Qing would have to try herself or be tried by Lin Biao's haunting ghost.

Question: Some people who are familiar with European and American laws are now saying that the prosecution's indictment "usurping the party and state" is not correct. How can usurping the party and usurping the state be counted as one crime?

Answer: China has her own laws and we are conducting the trial in accordance with Chinese laws. We regard "usurping the party and state" as one crime. People outside China simply do not understand China's situation. In China, the CCP is the ruling party. People can never usurp the state if they do not usurp the party first. That is why usurping the party is always connnected with usurping the state.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

SHANGHAI COUNTY SECRETARY MEETING--The Shanghai municipal conference of suburban county CCP committee secretaries was held on 26 November to study rural work during this winter and next spring. Chen Yi, deputy secretary of the municipal CCP committee, attended and addressed the conference on 28 November. He called on leading cadres at all levels in suburban Shanghai to carry on the party's fine tradition of conducting political and ideological work, to lead rural commune members to correctly understand and carry out the party's rural policies, to take action to solve new problems according to circumstances to arouse enthusiasm among peasants, to pay attention to their material interests and to further promote the excellent situation that had emerged in rural areas since the convocation of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 28 Nov 80 OW]

XINJIANG 'GANG' CRIMES' EXHIBITION--Sponsored by the Xinjiang regional nationalities committee, a touring exhibition of satirical drawings about crimes committed by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in undermining national unity was held in six autonomous prefectures, four autonomous counties and seven cities and counties of the Xinjiang region between September and October this year. On display were some 90 drawings which aimed at helping the masses of cadres and workers of various nationalities better understand the policies on nationalities and at exposing the crimes against various nationalities committed by these two counterrevolutionary cliques. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 23 Nov 80 OW]

TIANJIN CPPCC MEETING--The Tianjin Municipal CPPCC Committee held its third enlarged Standing Committee meeting 24-27 November to discuss the draft plan for Tianjin municipal construction for the year 2000 and the draft plan for helping Tianjin recover from earthquake damages and rebuilding Tianjin in the 1981-1983 period. The meeting held that these draft plans are fundamentally sound. It pointed out that legislative work should be strengthened in municipal construction to guarantee the fulfillment of these plans. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 28 Nov 80 SK]

HEILONGJIANG MUNICIPALITY CONGRESS--At the recent first session of the eighth Mudanjiang Municipal People's Congress, (Ba Hui) was elected chairman of the Standing Committee of the municipal people's congress; (Zhang Kexiao), mayor of Mudanjiang Municipality; (Su Jinhuan), president of the municipal people's court; and (Zhang Wenyan), chief procurator of the municipal people's procuratorate. [SK282255 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Nov 80 SK]

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

SHENYANG PLA UNITS INSTRUCTION--According to JIEFANGJUN BAO, the staff, political and logistics departments of the Shenyang PLA units issued a joint instruction on 17 November to all subordinate units on insuring that fighters in all companies have adequate free time for rest, self-study and handling personal affairs. The instruction says: fighters' Sundays and holidays must not be taken away; when emergency tasks necessitate fighters' working on these days, they must be given compensatory days off later; fighters must have free after-dinner time on 1 or 2 evenings each week and company authorities may arrange for fighters' activities 3 evenings a week; and companies having TV sets should organize fighters to watch the Central Television Station's new program on national hookup every evening. [OW251559 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 20 Nov 80 OW]

CSO: 4020

MORE FUNDS FOR EDUCATION ALLOCATED

Xinjiang Pastoral Areas

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 80 p 1

[Text] (XINHUA Urumqi 25 Sep) It is reported that the state has recently earmarked more than 14 million yuan to support developing educational undertakings for minority nationalities in the agricultural and pastoral areas of Xinjiang.

A total of 21 counties of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region are entirely pastoral areas, while 16 others are partly agricultural and partly pastoral. Nationalities such as the Kazak, the Mongol, the Kirgiz, the Tajik, and the Uygur are engaged in stock raising. Most of the pastoral areas are borderlands. Herdsmen are scattered to pasture. It is difficult for school-age children to attend school. It is very necessary to set up boarding schools for them. During the Great Cultural Revolution, owing to the fact that the "horseback elementary school" and the "mobile elementary school" were unilaterally emphasized, this caused the shut down of many of the original boarding schools. In the past few years, more than 70 boarding schools including both middle and elementary schools have been either reinstated or set up. At present, measures are being taken by departments concerned in Xinjiang to gradually resolve problems of teachers and school buildings required to develop middle and elementary schools in the pastoral areas.

Fujian Province

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 80 p 1

[Text] (XINHUA Fuzhou 25 Sep) Fujian Province recently allocated 22 million yuan as additional funds for education from local revenues to supplement funds urgently needed by universities and middle schools for school building construction and equipment purchasing. This money will also be used to help outlay a part of the educational funds needed for middle and elementary schools.

Prefectures (municipalities) and counties throughout the province generally allocate a portion of their contingencies as funds for education.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," funds for educational undertakings have increased every year. After the budget was increased this year, educational funds for the entire province is 17.5 percent over that of last year.

Sichuan Province

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 80 p 1

[Text] The people's government of Sichuan Province in order to help consolidate and develop the plants and farms run by middle and elementary schools has allocated 2 million yuan from local revenues for middle and elementary schools all over the province to develop work-study programs.

The educational administrative department of this province has the funds distributed mainly to the school-run plants and farms. These are either embarking in the correct direction and on the right path, have better products both in quality and quantity, and have an open channel from production to marketing but are short of production capital, or they are badly in need of revolving funds to tap potentials, to innovate and transform. Garze and Aba, the two Tibetan autonomous prefectures also received appropriate preferential treatment when funds were allocated because, beginning from this year, they have reformed their financial administrative systems by putting into practice the completing of a job in line with a budget.

The people's governments of some municipalities, prefectures, and autonomous prefectures of Sichuan also allocated funds from their respective local revenues to local educational administrative departments as revolving funds for middle and elementary schools to carry out work-study programs. By the end of August, out of the 18 municipalities, prefectures and autonomous prefectures of this province, people's governments of seven of them including Daxian, Mianyang, Chengdu, Liangshan, Dukou, Aba, and Wanxian have allocated a total of 1,590,000 yuan from their local revenues as revolving funds for carrying out the work-study programs.

9560
CSO: 4005

IMPROVEMENTS MADE IN HOHHOT MONGOLIAN SCHOOL

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 80 p 1

[Article by Jin Shusheng [6855 3219 3932]: "Improvements Noted at the Hohhot Mongolian School"]

[Text] (XINHUA, Hohhot, 6 Oct) Teachers of various nationalities of the Hohhot Mongolian School are making joint efforts with all their hearts and their might to improve national education in a united and cooperative manner. Improvements have been noted at this school.

The Hohhot Mongolian School is a school with a 10-year integrated education system. Lessons are given in the Mongolian language in this school. The 143 teaching and administrative personnel of this school consist of four nationalities including Mongolian, Han, Man, and Daur. During the 10-year period of turmoil, relations between nationalities within this school were sabotaged. In the past 3 years, teachers of various nationalities were organized by the school party branch to learn the party's nationality policy, to eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultra left line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the nationality issue, to lead everybody to take the interests of the whole into account, to look forward, and to unite as one to run the school well so that they can make contributions to cultivating the new generation. A favorable atmosphere has since been created throughout the school in a manner whereby teachers of various nationalities help and learn from each other in work and care for each other in daily life. Principal Meng Ke [1322 0344] is a Mongolian. He and Wei Qingmei [7614 1987 2734], a Han teacher, are neighbors. These two families, one of which is a Mongolian and the other a Han, frequently visit and care for each other and are as dear to each other as members of one family. When Zhang Suzhen [1728 4790 3791], a woman teacher of Han nationality, was hospitalized earlier, teachers of both the Mongolian and Han nationalities treated her as if she were their blood sister. They visited her at the hospital to take every care of her and the school offered her financial aid. After she recovered, she excitedly said that the Mongols and the Hans are of one family and that she would not have recovered so quickly without the care taken by comrades of various nationalities.

Both the Mongolian and the Chinese language are used in giving lessons at this school. Each teaching and study group is equipped with both Mongolian and Chinese speaking personnel. The Han and Mongolian teachers who work on the same course usually prepare teaching materials and study together in order to do a good job in teaching students. Liu Jingzhi [0495 2417 0037] who is a second year senior middle school history teacher of Han nationality has much experience in teaching. Bao Siqin [7637 2448 3830] who is another history teacher of the Mongolian nationality comes to him to learn from him. They assiduously study teaching materials side by side and learn from and help each other. Teacher Bao usually manages to find time to attend teacher Liu's classes. Teacher Liu also helps Teacher Bao patiently solve questions encountered by him in teaching. Most of the students at this school are Mongolian children. The Han teachers, in order to adapt themselves to work, also take the initiative to learn the Mongolian language. Owing to the concerted efforts of teachers of various nationalities, this school has made steady improvements. At present, students of various nationalities pay attention to culture, observe discipline, and are fond of labor, all of which have become the order of the day. A total of 40 senior middle school students first graduated from this school last summer and 32 of them were admitted to universities.

9560
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

TAXI DRIVERS REWARDED--Beijing, November 29 (XINHUA)--Two Beijing taxi drivers were rewarded today for their bravery in catching the mentally-ill Chinese man who stabbed two foreigners on November 17 in front of the Nationalities Hotel in downtown Beijing. The two men are Liu Yuan, 50, and Chang Jun, 21, of the Capital Taxi Company. Each of them was given 200 yuan and a certificate of merit at a ceremony sponsored by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau and the No 1 Service Bureau, which caters for foreign visitors' needs. Liu said: "Many foreign friends have come to China to help our socialist construction. It is our duty to protect them." Chang said: "My first thought at the time was not to let the man escape." Five others, who helped capture the assailant and take the wounded to hospital were also praised and received 50 yuan each. The two men who were knifed are Keith John Henley and Walter James Howarth, who were members of an Australian business mission. The were not seriously hurt and have returned to Australia. The City Public Security Bureau held a meeting yesterday to honor 49 policemen and five police units who have rendered outstanding service in maintaining public order. [Text] [OW290917 Beijing XINHUA in English 0837 GMT 29 Nov 80]

BEIJING WRITERS' TEAHOUSE RESTORATION--Beijing, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--The Writers' Literary and Art Teahouse which had been suspended for a decade, was formally restored in Beijing on 20 November. More than 300 noted writers and literary workers in the Chinese capital gathered there to freely discuss their writing experiences. Organized and established by the Chinese Writers Association, the teahouse will provide writers and literary and art workers with a place to meet and discuss their common problems. They will meet in the teahouse on the 5th and 20th of each month. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1506 GMT 20 Nov 80 OW]

SHANDONG CULTURAL CENTERS--The Shandong provincial work conference on holding cultural activities for the masses was held in Yantai Municipality 7-13 November. Twelve cultural units introduced their experience in this regard. The conference called for establishing cultural centers, including theaters, libraries, exhibition halls and gymnasiums at communes and townships and to improve and readjust the provincial, prefectural and municipal art galleries and county and district cultural halls to enliven the cultural lives of peasants.[Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Nov 80 SK]

YOUTH LEAGUE WORK--Beijing, November 27 (XINHUA)--The Chinese Communist Youth League should be the Communist Party's "assistant" on the one hand, and the "representative" of China's youth on the other, a former Youth League secretary said in an interview carried in today's CHINA YOUTH NEWS. Liang Buting, now first party secretary of Qinghai Province in northwest China, said there must be a proper balance between these two functions. He said the Youth League should speak for the young and meet their needs, and the party should give the Youth League more independence in deciding its own work. The Youth League must work for the interests of the youth, and not be an organization of "young bureaucrats," he said. Liang Buting, secretary of the Youth League in the 1950's, also praised today's young Chinese, saying the majority are patriotic, have faith in socialism and want to work for modernization. Young people are natural supporters of democracy, he said, full of new ideas, imaginative and seeking change. In his view, it will benefit both the society and the young people themselves to let them speak out. The Youth League should try to guide young people, not order them about, Liang Buting said. Young people can learn through their own experiences to distinguish right from wrong, he said. [Text] [OW271234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1221 GMT 27 Nov 80]

CSO: 4020 END

JPRS 77029

18 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 149

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 77029

18 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 149

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR Buys Huge Quantities of Agricultural Products
(Beijing Domestic Service, 24 Nov 80) 1

Poland's Jagielski Urges Workers To Observe Discipline
(XINHUA, 21 Nov 80) 3

Kania Discusses Labor Movement in Poland
(XINHUA, 26 Nov 80) 4

Kania Gives Report of PZPR Plenum in Warsaw
(XINHUA, 2 Dec 80) 6

Schmidt, Thatcher Hold Talks in Bonn 18 November
(XINHUA, 18 Nov 80) 8

Schmidt Reaffirms FRG Foreign Policy Stands
(XINHUA, 25 Nov 80) 9

Italian Interior Minister Resigns
(XINHUA, 27 Nov 80) 11

Premier Suzuki Reelected President of LDP
(XINHUA, 27 Nov 80) 13

UN Secretary General Discusses Namibian Resolutions
(XINHUA, 27 Nov 80) 14

Indonesian, Indian Presidents Call for Unity of Nonalined
(XINHUA, 2 Dec 80) 15

French, FRG Officials Concerned Over Crises
(XINHUA, 3 Dec 80) 16

Japanese, Chinese Officials Hold Talks
(KYODO, 4 Dec 80) 17

Opening Session
Kampuchea Discussed
Ito, Huang Hua Talk

Communique on Suharto Visit to Pakistan
(XINHUA, 1 Dec 80) 22

Salvadoran Front Forms New Leadership
(XINHUA, 30 Nov 80) 23

Report on Visit To Romania
(XINHUA, 26 Nov 80) 25

Yugoslavian President Interviewed by 'TANJUG'
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 80) 26

Situation in Preelection Portugal Surveyed
(XINHUA, 28 Nov 80) 27

'XINHUA' Cites 'KCNA' On Carrillo Rally Speech
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 80) 29

Swedish Officials Repudiate Soviet Nuclear Blackmail
(XINHUA, 22 Nov 80) 30

King Husayn Addresses Arab Summit Closing Session
(XINHUA, 27 Nov 80) 31

Arab Summit Adopts Final Declaration
(XINHUA, 28 Nov 80) 33

Bani-Sadr Reviews War, Domestic Situation
(XINHUA, 3 Dec 80) 35

PLO Calls for Sactions Against Israel
(XINHUA, 2 Dec 80) 36

PLO Appeals to Americans for Supports
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 80) 37

Iran-Iraq Peace Efforts Reviewed
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 80) 38

London Meeting Hits USSR Invasion of Afghanistan
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 80) 40

Pakistan, Indonesia Leaders Hit Soviet Intervention
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 80) 41

Afghan Winter Warfare Analyzed
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 80) 42

Briefs

Soviet Commander Visits Bulgaria 44
Japan Approves Defense Laws 44
Cuban Expansionism 44
Cuban Policy Denounced 44
Albanian-Yugoslavian Relations 45
Australian Policies 45
Indian Ocean Conference 45
France, Madagascar on Islands 46
Japanese Drama Troupe 46
Dinosaur Exhibition in Japan 46
Upper Volta Calms 47
Upper Volta Military Committee 47
Polish Official Expelled 47
Shanghai Chilean Exhibition 48
New Canadian Ambassador 48
CISM Delegation of PLA 48
Belgian Dynasty Day 48
Aid to Seychelles 48
Polish Workers Reach Accord 49
Protest Strike 49
Sympathy to Italians 49
Romanian 5-Year Plan 49
Paintings Exhibition in Malta 50
'China Week' in Austria 50
FRG Unionists' Delegation 50
Swedish Academic Exchange Agreement 50
Greek Defense Spending 51
U.S.-Nigerian Economic Ties 51
U.S. Presence in Mideast 51
Soviet Polish Invasion 51
NATO-Turkish Talks 52
Soviets Criticized 52
Australia on Poland 52
Yugoslavian-Hungarian Officials Meet 53
Economic Meeting With Japan 53
Siberian Development 53
Kampuchean Guerrillas Attack 53
Kampucheans Attack Vietnamese 54
Polish Situation Viewed 54
Philippines, New Zealand Venture 54
Kampuchean 'Patriots' Tried 55
Indochinese Refugees 55
Soviet Threat 55
Latin American Energy Ministers 55
OAS General Assembly 56
Chinese Attend Cycling Meeting 56

Mayotte Sovereignty 57
Thai Health Delegation Honored 57
Senegal Denounces USSR 57
U.S. Aid to Liberia 57
Salvadorans Kidnapped 58
Somalia Condemns Ethiopia 58
Angola-Congo Communique 58
El Salvador Opposition Leaders Killed 59
Northern Islands Resolution 59
Ceausescu on Palestine 59
Polish Uprising Anniversary 60
Polish Students End Strike 60
Polish Sabotage Warning 60
Polish Domestic, World Affairs 61
UK Economic Policies 61
Czechoslovakian Premier in Romania 61
Polish Agricultural Problems 61
Poland Names Catholic Official 62
European, Superpowers Future 62
Italian Espionage Case 62
Military Exercises 63
Indonesian Official in Thailand 63
Indonesian Development Policy 63
SRV Troops in Kampuchea 64
International Commodity Agreement 64
Portugal Fights Soviet Expansion 64
Iranian Delegation in Pakistan 65
Soviet-Syrian Treaty 65
U.S. Official in Algeria 65
Music Ensemble in Cairo 65
USSR-Syria Talks 66
Al-Sadat Meets U.S. Congressmen 66
Iraq Urges Arab Support 66
Christopher Message to Iran 67
Islamic Conference 67
Bangladesh Supports Palestinians 67
Sri Lanka Supports Palestinians 67
Pakistan-Indian Relations 68
USSR Invasion Condemned 68
Independent Trade Union 68
Polish Agricultural Prices 69
Czechoslovakian Travel to Poland 69
Moscow Radio Imitates BBC 69

PARTY AND STATE

Inside Look at Cultural Revolution Struggle Continued
(Ji Xichen; ZHENG MING, 1 Aug, 1 Oct 80) 70

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Briefs

Jilin Air Force Commissar 82
Shanghai Demobilized Servicemen 82

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Young Cadres Selected for Leadership Training
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 Oct 80) 83

Shanghai Education Workers on Enrollment System
(Shanghai City Service, 1 Dec 80) 87

Hainan Conference on Broadcasting
(Hainan Island Service, 28 Nov 80)........................... 88

Xizang Broadcasting Work Conference Opens in Lhasa
(Xizang Regional Service, 3 Dec 80).......................... 89

Briefs

Nei Monggol Education Institute 90
Liaoning Broadcasting Changes 90
Nanjing Writer-Artist Congress 90
Shanghai Cyl College Class 90
Shanghai Welfare Meeting 91
Jilin Technical School 91
Zhejiang Meeting on Dictionary 91

USSR BUYS HUGE QUANTITIES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

OW260625 Beijing Domestic Service in Chinese 1608 GMT 24 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The Soviet crop failures and the U.S. grain embargo against the Soviet Union have forced the USSR to buy large amounts of agricultural and pastoral products on world markets, according to Western news agencies.

According to AFP on 23 November, in the first 6 months this year, the amount of Soviet grain purchases from some EEC countries is more than three times its total grain purchases in 1979. In January-May 1980, it bought up to 130,000 tons of butter. Furthermore, the Soviet Union made a request to the Commission of the European Common Market to buy 100,000 tons of butter and 15,000 tons of cream in 1981. It is reported that the European Common Market controls the amount of butter exports to the Soviet Union. However, butter in small packets are not subjected to export inspection. As a result, the Soviet Union evaded the control by buying butter in small packets. Thus it bought as much as 43,000 tons of butter.

According to REUTER, "Soviet grain output dropped by 20 percent this year." "It is facing the most serious feed crisis since 1975-1976. It is short approximately 11 million tons of feed." This has forced Moscow to seek rapeseed on various world markets so as to mix it with grains for use as feed, while looking everywhere for vegetable oils for domestic use.

It is reported that the Soviet Union bought 1.54 million tons of grain from the United States in 1979, and 520,000 tons of tapioca from Thailand since the beginning of this year. The Soviet Union has begun to buy on a large-scale rapeseed and vegetable oil from Argentina, the Philippines and Indonesia.

The Soviet sugar harvest is normally the world's largest. But because of the drop in beet output, Soviet sugar output this year is expected to fall some 6 million tons short of consumption. Thus the Soviet Union has hurriedly bought sugar on international markets. Reportedly, merely from the EEC, the Soviet Union has bought 380,000 tons of sugar in the first half of this year and another 3.5 million tons in the second half of this year.

Such large-scale purchasing of agricultural and pastoral products by the Soviet Union have made prices of several agricultural and pastoral products rise sharply and created nervous international markets. Quoting London dealers, REUTER reports: As a result of large Soviet purchases, sugar rose to around 400 pounds sterling a ton, a rise of 33 percent compared with September's price. "Soviet buying has also caused a flurry on rapeseed markets pushing up rapeseed prices in Chicago and London." The report on huge Soviet purchases of vegetable oils "has led to nervous selling and boosted prices in European vegetable oil centers."

CSO: 4005

POLAND'S JAGIELSKI URGES WORKERS TO OBSERVE DISCIPLINE

OW222130 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1725 GMT 21 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Nov (XINHUA)--In his report to the parliament on 20 November, Polish Vice Premier Jagielski referred to the implementation of the agreement signed between the government and the workers. He said: "During the past few months, not only was the right to strike used, but it was abused on more than one occasion." He urged the workers to strengthen discipline and to work hard in view of the circumstances where the state financial resources have been used to an undue extent.

Commenting on the agreement reached between the government and the representatives of workers in coastal areas, Jagielski held that signing such an agreement is "a way to benefit the working class and the people, the party and the people's political power as well as socialism" and represents "a victory for the realistic trend in the party."

He admitted that "a number of obstacles were encountered" in implementing the agreement. According to him, "distrust of the authorities' sincerity" has appeared or is appearing on certain links of the "solidarity" trade union, and the workers have put forward "demands that are not based on careful consideration" and "that depart from everyday reality." He said that beginning January 1981 the government will appropriate 110 billion zlotys to raise the wages of 12 million workers. In the present extremely difficult economic situation, he added, demands for excessive wages and welfare benefits will "constitute a genuine threat" to the economy and social life, prolong the state of instability, aggravate the social tension and be detrimental to the survival of the nation.

Jagielski said that some people "purposely and stubbornly maintain their negative attitude in an effort to weaken the foundation for our nation's survival and security," and that "we cannot ignore them, but should wage a political struggle against them."

Touching on the current situation, he pointed out: "We are confronted with serious threats. Our economy is experiencing extreme difficulty, and numerous problems exist here and there." He said that at present the most important task of the Polish Government is to "take coordinated action with those people whose aim is not against socialism but for socialism, not to weaken people's Poland but to make it healthy and strong and who want reform." He said that he would continue to have dialogues and cooperate with the "solidarity" trade union and urged the workers to strengthen their labor discipline and to raise their productivity.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KANIA DISCUSSES LABOR MOVEMENT IN POLAND

OW261519 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 26 Nov 80

[Text] Warsaw, November 25 (XINHUA)--Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, said today: "We worry about the means of strike, particularly in such sector as the railway. Strikes could jeopardize the normal rhythm of the state life and our promises made to our allies."

Speaking to the representatives of the Polish Consultative Committee of Trade Unions, he noted that at present there existed numerous worrisome phenonema in the country. "Anarchism, economic disorder and arrests--all these have made us feel uneasy," he added.

Dwelling on the current situation of the Polish trade union movement, Kania said that the party is concerned over the ideological unity of the trade union movement and regards it as a major component of socialist democracy. However, the split of the workers' movement "is an unfavourable and yet an objective fact."

He stressed that Poland "requires a strong trade union movement," and the party would like to hear the voice of the movement and "agrees that trade unions will be expanded as a militant and staunch representative and defender of the interests of the working class if need be."

Yesterday, 3,000 trade union representatives from all parts of the country met here to discuss the domestic situation and the tasks of the labour movement. Polish Premier Josef Pinkowski was present and spoke at the meeting upon invitation.

Albin Szyszka, president of the Consultative Committee of Trade Unions, delivered a report on its work at the meeting. He proposed to open cooperation and dialogue between the representatives of the trade unions and the independent and self-governing "solidarity" trade unions. He requested state and economic administrative leaders to treat all trade unions equally. The premier said the government accepted the request in principle.

A resolution on the requests and tasks of the trade unions was adopted at the meeting.

There are now 23 trade unions throughout the country directly under the Central Council of Trade Unions. Since last August, independent and self-governing "solidarity" trade unions have been established all over the country while trade unions have been breaking away from the Central Council of Trade Unions to undergo "self-renewal." At present, the "solidarity" trade unions coexist with the trade unions.

CSO: 4020

KANIA GIVES REPORT OF PZPR PLENUM IN WARSAW

OW021712 Beijing XINHUA in English 1656 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, December 1 (XINHUA)--Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, said today that "the political situation in Poland is exceptionally complicated and fraught with great danger and that the country is still in a critical state."

He made these remarks while delivering a report to the 7th plenary session of the 8th Party Central Committee.

In his report entitled "The Party's Tasks for Socialist Renovation of Social Life," Kania pointed out that this year has been a very poor harvest; industrial production losing its regular tempo; difficulties in energy; export sectors failing to fulfill their plans; and the supplies in markets going from bad to worse.

He attributed these difficulties, to a considerable extent, to a series of workers' strikes, social disorder and a lack of discipline in factories.

Dealing with the measures taken by the party and the government in a bid to reverse this situation, Kania said that politically the party has adopted a policy of carrying forward democracy and conducting renovation and a line to implement the restoration of confidence of the working class and achieve an understanding with society. Economically, a new agricultural policy has been worked out, investment plans modified and principles for distributing national income altered. Workers' wages have been increased and a five-day work week put into practice. Organizationally, the party's working style and methods have been rectified, office terms for leaders limited and concurrent posts by party and government leaders eliminated. More than 500 leaders at various levels have been relieved of their posts in the past two months. Quite a few party and political activists have been rehabilitated while some corrupt officials and bureaucrats have been expelled from the party.

He said that the situation in Poland has caused anxiety and unease among other fraternal parties. This is understandable, for Poland is a particularly important member in the international community, he added. However, Kania declared, the line of renovation is irreversible and the line of restoring the confidence of the working class and achieving an understanding with society is unshakable.

On the trade union problem, Kania stated that extremely important changes have emerged in both the social and political life of Poland. Professional trade unions have set new working methods and the newly-emerging trade union--"Solidarity"--has achieved broad progress and won a legitimate place. But certain people in "Solidarity" have gone beyond their function, he pointed out.

He said: "Some organizations and individuals with connections to foreign imperialist centers for destructive activities and who harbour designs against socialism and the people's power have wormed their way into certain organs of the 'Solidarity' trade union and conducted pernicious instigation and fierce class struggle. They intend to undermine and ultimately disrupt the socialist state system of Poland. They are contriving anti-socialism and counter-revolutionary plots."

As for the future of the Polish nation, Kania pointed out, an immediate end should be put to the destructive activities which would result in a weakening of the people's regime.

Referring to the democratic renovation of inner party life, he noted that when taking actions, the Polish party should oppose ideological capitulation and sabotage to the fighting capacity of the party and at the same time oppose the phenomena of a too conservative ideological stand which fails to understand new conditions and requirements.

Kania said that the party should not be reduced to a club for endless quarrels nor should it be only a group of sympathizers. Inner party democracy, he stressed, is the crux of social democracy as well as for the other various sectors of social and political life. In correcting past mistakes, he said, it is imperative to prevent the broadening of the scope of criticism which could lead to a denial of past achievements; when looking into responsibilities, attention should be paid to differentiating political responsibilities from legal ones, he concluded.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SCHMIDT, THATCHER HOLD TALKS IN BONN 18 NOVEMBER

OW181658 Beijing XINHUA in English 1644 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] November 17 (XINHUA)--West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the visiting British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher told a press conference here today that they support closer cooperations among West European countries and better collaboration between Western Europe and the United States.

Prime Minister Thatcher arrived here last night to have regular bilateral consultations with the chancellor.

The two heads of government discussed economic problems, and the balance of payments deficits in particular which affect the majority of the countries. They exchanged views on East-West relations and specifically the situation in Poland, Afghanistan, Persian Gulf area, southern Africa, the Middle East and the EEC. They emphasized the identity of their views on the major issues they discussed.

Mrs. Thatcher said at the press conference that current international crisis necessitated efforts to safeguard areas of stability in the world. The European Economic Community, she pointed out, is one of the most important stabilizing factors in world politics, and the cooperation between the United States and Europe is playing a similar stabilizing role. She said that Europe must enhance its unity in order to cooperate with the United States better.

Thatcher also said that Britain was totally committed to Europe and to the EEC which, she stressed, in addition to playing a stabilizing role politically, had brought much economic benefit to Britain.

Schmidt said that Bonn and London looked forward with confidence to continuing cooperation with the United States. He noted that U.S. president-elect Ronald Reagan had on many occasions stressed his determination to cooperate with Europe. He expressed the hope for "a renewal of American leadership" under Reagan.

Talks were also held between West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his British counterpart Lord Carrington who accompanied Mrs. Thatcher during the visit.

Before her departure for home this afternoon, Mrs. Thatcher was received by President Karl Castens.

CSO: 4020

SCHMIDT REAFFIRMS FRG FOREIGN POLICY STANDS

OW251818 Beijing XINHUA in English 1619 GMT 25 Nov 80

[Text] Bonn, November 24 (XINHUA)--West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt declared here today that the coalition government of the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party will continue to pursue the present domestic and foreign policies.

Without a balance of power, he said, there will not be any secured place in this world. West Germany can only obtain its security by identifying itself with NATO. The core of NATO is the partnership with the United States, the chancellor stated.

Schmidt made the remarks in his first government statement to the Ninth Bundestag since he was reelected chancellor.

He maintained, "A precondition for peace is balance, but it is not enough. Thus peace must be secured by a policy of arms limitation and cooperation." "We wish a long-term cooperation with the Soviet Union," he added. But he pointed out that "because of events in Afghanistan, detente became more difficult and less secure."

"We condemn the Soviet Union for its continuous armed intervention in Afghanistan and call for an unconditional, complete withdrawal of all foreign troops," he declared.

He stressed that for West Germany, the European Economic Community is an indispensable base for peace and progress as it serves the interests of balance. Since a united Europe is the target of the policy of West Germany, he said, maintenance and expansion of the European Community remains a central task of that policy.

On the events in Poland, he said "We do not interfere. But, if we try to help them out of their economic crisis in accordance with the wishes of the Polish leadership, then, nobody should be allowed to accuse us of interference."

Referring to the relationship with the German Democratic Republic, he expressed willingness to continue its cooperation and develop relations between the two countries.

Schmidt in his statement said his government wishes to broaden its relations with China. He also expressed willingness to strengthen its economic cooperation with Third World countries on the basis of equality, and further increase its development aid to them.

On domestic issues, he said West Germany will try to reach the target set by NATO in increasing the annual defense spending by 3 percent in real terms. In the economic field, he admitted that West Germany would not be able to get away from the effects of the Western world's economic recessions and phenomena such as production drops and unemployment increase are likely to happen for a time.

He conceded in the statement that in the years ahead West Germany will face difficulties both in international politics and national economy.

CSO: 4020

ITALIAN INTERIOR MINISTER RESIGNS

OW271958 Beijing XINHUA in English 1856 GMT 27 Nov 80

[Text] Rome, November 26 (XINHUA)--Italian Interior Minister Virgilio Rognoni tendered his resignation early this morning while the intense rescue operations for the quake victims are underway. But his resignation was rejected by Prime Minister Arnaldo Forlani.

Rognoni, in charge of supervising relief operations, submitted his resignation to the prime minister four hours after President Sandro Pertini bitterly criticized the government for its slow and inadequate response to last Sunday's earthquake.

Rejecting Rognoni's resignation, Forlani in his letter said "In exercising its collective responsibility, the government has done and is doing all it could to cope with the calamity." To accept Rognoni's resignation would mean to add more difficulties to the people, he said.

President Pertini in a televised speech last night said that essential supplies had not reached the devastated areas even 48 hours after the earthquake struck and the rescue centre failed to function at all. "There have been grave shortcomings, and those who have failed must be punished," he warned.

He recalled the earthquake in Belice, Sicily, 13 years ago. He said after that earthquake, the government had allocated funds to rehouse the quake victims but they are still living in temporary huts. "Where did the money go that was given? Who speculated on that catastrophe?" he asked.

According to reports, the discontent of the survivors in the quake-hit areas over the slow relief operations was voiced over and over again to the president and the opposition parties also blamed the government for the difficulties and problems in its rescue efforts.

A cabinet meeting, held last night to discuss the contingency relief plan, decided to appropriate, from the state budget, a sum of 1,200 billion liras as the relief funds for the earthquake victims in southern Italy and to take a series of tax-relief and tax-free measures in the quake-stricken areas.

In the past few days, people all over Italy have taken an active part in the relief operations as many young people, organized into various voluntary rescue teams, have rushed to the disaster areas and the trade union organisations, news media and other social organisations collected donations for the quake victims.

According to reports, there are still difficulties in the disaster areas due to various reasons. Many victims including old, sick and babies still have no shelters and have to stay in the open despite of extreme cold, and many corpses are yet to be dug out of the rubble and the medical situation was also a very serious problem.

Local press reports today put the death toll of the quake at 3,100, with 2,000 missing and 200,000 homeless.

CSO: 4020

PREMIER SUZUKI REELECTED PRESIDENT OF LDP

OW270802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0748 GMT 27 Nov 80

[Text] Tokyo, November 27 (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki was reelected president of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) for a tenure of two years at an extraordinary party congress today.

Suzuki succeeded Masayoshi Ohira as LDP president following Ohira's death last July. During the primary, Suzuki was nominated the only candidate for the party's presidency and therefore his reelection was assured.

Addressing the congress, Suzuki said: "We shall usher in a new era of the 21st century after 20 years and we shall be confronted with many new problems which await solution." He said that the establishment of political morality, financial reform, administrative restructuring, tackling with a society with a large proportion of aged people and general security system "constitute not only immediate policy issues but also problems of top priority that should be solved definitively in the advance towards the 21st century."

A declaration passed at the congress says: "The internal and external situation has changed drastically as a result of the Soviet armed involvement in Afghanistan and its military buildup on the northern territories." It pledged LDP's positive contribution to safeguarding world peace by following a multilateral foreign policy for the guarantee of comprehensive security.

The extraordinary congress was also convened to observe the 25th founding anniversary of the party. Eiichi Nishimura resigned as the party's vice-president. The post will be dropped for the time being.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN SECRETARY GENERAL DISCUSSES NAMIBIAN RESOLUTIONS

OW270431 Beijing XINHUA in English 0218 GMT 27 Nov 80

[Text] United Nations, November 26 (XINHUA)--The United Nations has indicated that South Africa is willing to accept a proposal to hold a preliminary meeting in search of a cease-fire and a solution to the question of Namibia, according to a report of the U.N. secretary-general concerning the implementation of security council resolutions 435 and 439 on the question of Namibia.

The proposed meeting is scheduled to take place between January 7 and 14, 1981. If the meeting succeeds, South Africa would agree to a cease-fire sometime in March. A United Nations peacekeeping force would then patrol a demilitarized zone on either side of the Namibian-Angolan border. The election of an assembly to write a constitution for an independent Namibia would take place in October or soon thereafter.

This plan was laid out in a six-page report of the secretary-general to the Security Council. The report summarized the outcome of the U.N. mission to Pretoria last month led by Brian Urquhart, under-secretary-general for special political affairs.

The report said: "It is of vital importance that the independence of Namibia should be achieved in 1981, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435. In order to achieve this aim a date for the cease-fire and a start of implementation should be set in the early part of 1981."

It said: "A means of facilitating agreement and of creating the necessary climate of confidence and understanding would be a pre-implementation multiparty meeting in which the parties concerned in the envisaged election would be included. There is general agreement that this meeting should be held under the auspices of the secretary-general of the United Nations."

CSO: 4020

INDONESIAN, INDIAN PRESIDENTS CALL FOR UNITY OF NONALINED

OW021846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1836 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 2 (XINHUA)--The presidents of Indonesia and India yesterday called for closer unity of the non-aligned movement and adherence to the movement's original aim, according to Western news agency reports from New Delhi.

Speaking at a banquet given by Indian President N. Sanjiva Reddy in his honour, Indonesian President Suharto said that Indonesia was "concerned over the rift within the (non-aligned) movement due to pressures to drag non-aligned countries into one of the world's superpower's sphere of influence." He said India and Indonesia should work "shoulder to shoulder, adhering strictly to the original spirit of non-alignment." "If we fall into the trap of any superpower," he said, "then non-alignment has no further significance." Suharto also criticized "an extremely dangerous trend" in the world today that "takes the form of, for instance, military intervention against another country."

In his speech, President Reddy said: "It should be our common endeavour to restore to the movement its original content and sweep so that it could address itself to the basic issues of peace and progress of mankind."

Dealing with tensions in West and Southeast Asia, he said: "The dangers to international peace and stability have acquired wider and more menacing dimensions with the increasing tempo of rivalry and confrontation indulged in by the big powers in various regions of the world."

President Suharto arrived in India yesterday after his visit to Pakistan.

CSO: 4020

FRENCH, FRG OFFICIALS CONCERNED OVER CRISES

OW031548 Beijing XINHUA in English 1513 GMT 3 Dec 80

[Text] Paris, December 2 (XINHUA)--The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has greatly affected the climate of international relations and the world is faced with many menaces, stated Pierre Bernard-Reymond, secretary of state of the French Foreign Ministry, here this afternoon.

Speaking to the ongoing session of the Western European Union Assembly, he reaffirmed that France refuses to accept the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a fait accompli. "Only one political settlement can restore peace in the area, which includes the withdrawal of foreign troops and the restoration of the Afghan people's sovereignty over independence, neutrality and non-alignment," he added.

"In the face of the renewed tension in the world, France holds fast to its security policy," he pointed out. "France will maintain its means of independence by continuing its efforts for a stronger, diversified and modern defence." His country would take an active part in any initiatives which favour peaceful solutions to different conflicts in the world, he stressed.

France appealed to Iran and Iraq to end their war and settle their dispute through negotiations, he said.

West German Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mrs. Hamm-Brucher also spoke at this morning's session. Referring to the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan, the conflict between Iraq and Iran and the latest developments in Poland, she said, "Some international developments are bound to fill us with deep concern for the future." "The world is faced with serious challenges and dangers."

"The Federal Republic of Germany is carrying its full share of the measures adopted by the alliance with a view to strengthening the Western defence capability following the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan," she said.

CSO: 4020

JAPANESE, CHINESE OFFICIALS HOLD TALKS

Opening Session

OW040017 Tokyo KYODO in English 0005 GMT 4 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing Dec 4 KYODO--Both Japan and China revealed their strong concern over the international situation and expressed caution over the influence of the Soviet Union at the opening session yesterday of the first Sino-Japanese ministerial conference.

Discussions at the meeting, lasting some four hours and 10 minutes, centered on the international situation and bilateral economic problems.

Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito, who is leading the Japanese delegation to the meeting, said the Kampuchea issue, the Indochinese refugee problem and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan were factors for the present instability in the international situation.

"We are faced with the task of how to overcome these problems," he said.

Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua also commented on the international situation and claimed the Soviet Union was advancing into Asia and Afghanistan.

On the Kampuchea problem, Huang said it is difficult for China to agree to the facts established by the "aggressors."

He thus indicated China's strong position of not agreeing to a political solution of the Kampuchea problem.

Foreign Minister Huang criticized the Soviet Union by name while Foreign Minister Ito indicated strong caution toward the Soviet Union without naming it but by taking up the Kampuchea and Afghanistan problems.

At the meeting, the Japanese called for early conclusion of a bilateral taxation treaty and an investment guarantee agreement.

It also indicated readiness to extend economic cooperation for construction of port and transportation facilities and other projects.

Chinese Vice Premier Yao Yilin revealed that China plans to conduct a review on all large-scale projects inducted from foreign countries, including those on which work already is being conducted.

He said this is because of the need to make adjustments to the country's economy.

Yao said past developments in the agricultural and light industries have been insufficient, resulting in obstructing the people's economy as a whole.

He added there is need to seek after truth based on facts.

The vice premier believed that China's economy will be able to make progress through adjustments although economic growth next year may slow down.

On the country's economy this year, he expressed the hope that economic growth of 8 percent will be secured with light industries expanding 15 percent even under energy restrictions.

The ministerial meeting, the first of the kind held between Japan and China, is being attended by Foreign Minister Ito and five other cabinet ministers from the Japanese side. China is represented by Vice Premier Gu Mu and other ministers concerned.

After the first-day meeting, the Japanese and Chinese participants attended a banquet hosted by Vice Premier Gu.

Gu stressed in a speech at the banquet that Japan and China have common interests when regarded from a long range point of view although their social systems differ.

He noted that political, economic, scientific and cultural ties were developing between the two countries following the normalization of diplomatic relations and conclusion of the peace treaty.

The vice premier expressed the hope that Japan and China, by exchanging views on important international problems, will be able to contribute to the stabilization of the world, especially of the Asia-Pacific area.

Foreign Minister Ito said it is important for the leaders of the two countries to exchange frank views and promote mutual understanding.

Individual meetings between ministers of the two countries were scheduled to be held at the Great Hall of the People Thursday.

Foreign Minister Ito will meet with his Chinese counterpart Huang Hua and exchange views on the Kampuchea and other problems while Finance Minister Michio Watanabe and other economic ministers are expected to discuss economic cooperation and other bilateral issues with Chinese officials.

Kampuchea Discussed

OW040347 Tokyo KYODO in English 0330 GMT 4 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing Dec 4 KYODO--Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito expressed the hope Thursday that the Kampuchea problem be settled at an early date but Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua expressed a pessimistic view on the matter.

Ito and Huang met at the Great Hall of the People as part of the counterpart meetings between Japanese and Chinese cabinet ministers attending the three-day Sino-Japanese ministerial conference which opened here Wednesday.

The two exchanged frank views on the international situation and bilateral issues.

Ito proposed that the second ministerial conference be held in Tokyo next year.

Although details of the meeting were not known immediately, the two foreign ministers were believed to have discussed the situation in Southeast Asia, in general, the Korean Peninsula and the Middle East also.

Ito told Huang there was need to settle the Kampuchea problem at an early date and reiterated the strong desire of Japan that an early solution to the matter be realized.

But the Chinese foreign minister is reported to have told Ito that China has no confidence for an early settlement and pointed to the difficult nature of the problem.

Finance Minister Michio Watanabe, in his meeting with Vice Premier Gu Mu who is also chairman of the State Capital Construction Commission, said that Japan hoped China will supply sufficient information on the country's economic adjustment measures in order to facilitate economic cooperation.

Gu told Watanabe that Sino-Japanese cooperation in respect to energy and mineral resources development will be of benefit to both countries and added China wanted to learn from Japan's experiences.

Toshio Komoto, director general of the Economic Planning Agency, told Vice Premier Yao Yilin who is also chairman of the State Planning Commission, he hoped China will successfully carry out its modernization programs.

He noted that although the economic structure in Japan and China differs, both countries were aiming at improving the people's livelihood.

Rokusuke Tanaka, minister of international trade and industry, met with Vice Premier Yu Qiuli, chairman of the State Energy Commission who did not attend the plenary session on Wednesday.

He sounded out Yu on outlook for production of oil and coal in China and formally proposed the conclusion of an investment guarantee agreement.

Takao Kameoka, minister of agriculture, forestry and fisheries, discussed agricultural development plans of China with Du Runsheng, vice chairman of the State Agricultural Commission, while Transport Minister Masajuro Shiokawa exchanged views with Railways Minister Guo Weicheng on technological cooperation in railways and port projects and on opening regular cargoliner service between the two countries.

The six Japanese cabinet ministers were scheduled to pay courtesy calls on Deputy Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang later Thursday.

Ito, Huang Hua Talk

OW041135 Tokyo KYODO in English 1115 GMT 4 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing Dec 4 KYODO--Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito and Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua failed to find a common position on the Kampuchea issue during their talks in the Great Hall of the People Thursday.

Huang repeated China's position that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea must come before a political settlement of the issue can be discussed.

Huang said that the Kampuchean and Afghan problems should be viewed in the same context, suggesting that both are what should be blamed on the Soviet world strategy. He strongly warned against an easy-going compromise in these issues, Japanese officials said.

Huang's statement came in response to Ito's request for China to take a more flexible stand on the Kampuchean issue.

Quoting from an Aesop's fables story of stripping a traveler of his cloak with sunshine, Ito stressed the need to have Vietnam as a discussion partner at an international conference on the Kampuchean issue, the officials said.

Ito and Huang met alone as part of the current first Sino-Japanese ministerial meeting. Their discussions also covered the Polish situation, the Iran-Iraq war, and the Sino-American relations as well, the officials said.

Huang admitted that there exist some problems within Democratic Kampuchea (the so-called Pol Pot regime) itself, saying that China finds it not easy to get along with Democratic Kampuchea, according to the officials.

They took this as indicating that China keeps a certain distance from the purged Kampuchean regime vying with the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin regime.

Huang also said China is not opposed to a plan for a coalition united front in Kampuchea, including former head of state Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann, one-time Kampuchean prime minister and now a guerrilla leader of the Khmer liberation.

Still, China opposes the exclusion of Democratic Kampuchea from such a united front, Huang told Ito. In reality, Democratic Kampuchea is the only principal force which can resist the Vietnamese, Huang said, according to the officials.

This may be regarded as Peking's objection to a plan to form an "alternative" Kampuchean force against the Vietnamese without the participation of the Pol Pot regime, though China seemed to be paying some consideration to the current moves by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) members to expedite the formation of a "third force" in Kampuchea, Japanese officials said.

Huang said the Chinese view on the Soviet Union is gaining support internationally.

A tough approach toward the Afghan and Kampuchean issues is vital to prevent the Soviet Union from venturing into other areas of the world, Huang told Ito.

Huang said China did not think there would be a major disturbance on the Korean Peninsula.

Huang said China would continue efforts to promote its relations with the ASEAN.

Touching on the Sino-American relations, he said the U.S. Taiwan relations act is an American internal affair and that it never affects the basic relations between China and the United States. The Sino-American relations must be developed on the basis of the Shanghai joint communique, he stressed, according to the officials.

Huang also gave his "personal" view on the Polish situation. He said the current situation in Poland is very delicate and he highly rated that both the Polish Government and workers are keeping their self-control while closely watching the Soviet reaction, the officials said.

Huang expressed fear that, if the Kremlin judges the Polish situation as a disadvantage to its own world strategy, the Soviets might interfere in the Polish affair. But, even in such a case, the Soviets would find it more difficult to do so now than in the 1968 Czechoslovakia incident, Huang said.

Ito and Huang agreed in principle that Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki will visit China and Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and party secretary general Hu Yaobang will visit Japan.

Ito proposed an early conclusion of a double taxation treaty, an investment guarantee agreement and a treaty on migratory birds between Japan and China.

The Japanese minister asked China for cooperation in locating those Japanese who had been left orphans in China during and after the war.

Ito also said Japan hopes to hold bilateral consultations at the level of high ranking government officials in Beijing next March or April.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMUNIQUE ON SUHARTO VISIT TO PAKISTAN

OW011534 Beijing XINHUA in English 1523 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Islamabad, December 1 (XINHUA)--Pakistani's President Ziaul Haq and Indonesian President Suharto emphasized the "imperative need for a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea to enable the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples to exercise their inalienable right to determine their own destiny free from outside intervention, interference or coercion," according to Pakistan-Indonesia joint communique issued here today at the end of President Suharto's visit to Pakistan.

The communique says that the two leaders called for "concerted efforts by all concerned to find early solutions to both the problems of Afghanistan and Kampuchea in accordance with the relevant resolutions adopted by the Islamic conference and the United Nations General Assembly."

The communique says that the president of Pakistan affirmed his country's support for the ASEAN proposal to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia while the Indonesian President expressed his appreciation of Pakistan's positive contribution to neighbourly relations and lasting peace in South Asia.

The two heads of state also pledged their full cooperation to the non-aligned movement's efforts to protect and promote the true spirit of non-alignment.

The communique says that "the two sides reviewed the international economic situation and re-affirmed their resolve to work together with other Third World countries for the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equity." The two sides expressed their conviction that "a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories," and "the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent state in their home-land under the leadership of the sole representative of the Palestinian people--the Palestine Liberation Organisation."

It says that both sides renewed their appeal to Iran and Iraq to bring this fratricidal war to an immediate end.

The leaders of the two countries also had a wide-ranging exchange of view on international issues of mutual interest and reached like-minded views.

The Indonesian president left Karachi for New Delhi this morning.

CSO: 4020

SALVADORAN FRONT FORMS NEW LEADERSHIP

OW301845 Beijing XINHUA in English 1829 GMT 30 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, November 30 (XINHUA)--The Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) announced yesterday that it had formed a new leadership to take the place of the six former leaders kidnapped and murdered on November 27, according to a report from San Salvador.

The FDR consists of eighteen anti-government organisations. Its new general secretary is Carlos Gomez of the Popular Liberation Movement and its executive committee is made up of Gomez, Eduardo Calles of the Independent Movement of Salvadoran Professionals and Technicians, Manuel Quintanilla of the Nationalist Democratic Union and Marcos Portillo of the Popular Revolutionary Group and a representative of the National Revolutionary Movement, whom has yet to be appointed by the movement.

The FDR also announced on the same day that the funeral of the six murdered leaders would be held on December 3 with three-day mourning.

The new leadership issued a communique saying that the murderers of their former leaders "will be punished without fail."

The Christian Democratic Party, the only political party participating in the junta, declared in a communique that the enemy of the government tried to discredit and denigrate the government in every possible way. It demanded that the junta take just and strong measures at once to deal with the "para-military organization" active in the country.

Jose Morales Erlich, Christian Democratic Party member of the junta, said that the junta had ordered the arrest, trial and conviction of "the ultra-rightist and other extremist assassin groups which are out to disrupt the stability of the country."

Salvadoran archbishopric issued a statement yesterday denouncing the various cases of murder.

The murder of the six FDR leaders has had repercussions abroad. U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert White warned that the murder is "another step towards anarchy and a civil war." The Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction and the Sandinist National Liberation Front pointed out that the murder was a conspiracy aimed at "thwarting the Salvadoran people's struggle." Ecuadoran

Foreign Ministry issued a communique condemning the case of violence. The Panamanian Council of Solidarity with the Salvadoran people called a rally to protest against the murder of the six. The Socialist International also issued a press communique denouncing the murder.

Tension is now mounting in that Central American country with more cases of violence reported in a number of cities after the bodies of the six were found. Shops were closed yesterday in practically all cities with security forces patrolling the deserted streets.

CSO: 4020

REPORT ON VISIT TO ROMANIA

OW262221 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0758 GMT 26 Nov 80

[Newsletter from Romania: "What Was Seen and Heard in (Braila) County"]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, 26 Nov (XINHUA)--In the early part of last October, we visited (Braila) County in the southeastern part of Romania. The county is located in Romania's (Bolegan) Plain, with the Danube River rolling rapidly on its east side. In the past 10 years its total agricultural output value has increased by 68 percent, with average total yearly agricultural output value reaching 4 billion leu (Romanian currency) and average total yearly grain output reaching over 1 million dun.

From 1968 to 1970, 6,000 hectares of paddy fields were developed to control the saline and alkaline land in the 25-kilometer-long area from the lower reaches of the Danube River's tributary (Koermocuyi) River to the banks of the Danube River, where a state-run agricultural enterprise engaged exclusively in planting paddies and a paddy research center were established.

After nearly 10 years of practice, it was proved that the above measures were effective. With the planting of paddies and the irrigation of from 20,000 to 22,000 cubic meters of water per hectare of land, the saline and alkaline content of the soil decreased by 60 to 80 percent. Currently 25 percent of the improved soil can be sown to wheat, sunflower, soybean and other crops interchangeably. The per-hectare paddy output increased from 1,000 kilograms in the first few years to 4,000 kilograms or 6,000 kilograms.

Another method to transform saline and alkaline soil is building fish ponds. Some 1,000 hectares of fish ponds have been built now in the (Mokexineini) District in the northern part of the country, and 300 dun of fish have been caught this year. The place will be developed into an agricultural and fishery base.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

YUGOSLAVIAN PRESIDENT INTERVIEWED BY 'TANJUG'

OW291343 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, November 28 (XINHUA)--Cvijetin Mujatovic, president of the presidency of Yugoslavia, gave an interview to TANJUG on the domestic and international situation on the eve of the Yugoslav national day which falls on November 29, according to TANJUG.

Mijatovic said that the working people of Yugoslavia firmly believe in the road they are following and they have weathered many trials in the course of three and a half decades of free development in Yugoslavia and overcome pressure of all sorts from various sides.

Socialist self-management, Mijatovic said, is the country's greatest revolutionary domestic achievement since it enlarges real democratic human rights and freedom.

Mijatovic also drew attention to the difficulties Yugoslavia is facing now.

On non-aligned movement, Mijatovic said that the non-aligned policy "in today's unstable and increasingly divided and threatened world" opened up prospects for surmounting differences and preserving peace. "The principles and goals of this policy are also becoming closer to those countries which are formally within military and political alliances." Non-alignment is being perceived as a reliable mainstay and symbol of independence.

He said that the differences and conflicts between some non-aligned countries stem either from the effects of a colonial past or are caused by relations between the blocs and big powers. The big powers are "increasingly recognizing the policy of non-alignment as a factor in international relations." But at the same time, they are stepping up their interference in the movement, primarily in the affairs and policies of certain non-aligned countries.

All this, he said, indicates that the non-aligned movement is passing through difficult trials. It is particularly important to understand that conflicts among non-aligned countries represent a great danger.

Mijatovic expressed the hope that Iraq and Iran, with whom Yugoslavia maintains friendly relations, will succeed in finding a peaceful settlement of their conflict and discontinue armed activity "under conditions acceptable to both sides, i.e., withdrawal of original positions and opening of negotiations."

CSO: 4020

SITUATION IN PREELECTION PORTUGAL SURVEYED

OW282003 Beijing XINHUA in English 1942 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] Lisbon, November 28 (XINHUA correspondent Wang Zhigen)--As the election campaign for the presidency enters its crucial stage, the capital is now a scene of hustle and bustle. In the streets, big photos of candidates have been put up on walls. Campaign cars with loud speakers are rumbling past, making deafening noise.

The second presidential election after the collapse of the dictatorial rule will be held on December 7. According to regulations, the election campaign should be conducted from November 22 to December 5. But in fact, candidates of various parties started canvassing as early as six months ago.

Running for the presidency are five military men and two civilians, including President Ramalho Eanes and General Soares Carneiro.

A complicated situation has arisen since the very beginning of the campaign due to a great change in the lineup.

It was recalled that in the first presidential elections held on June 27, 1976, following the overthrow of the dictatorial rule, Antonio Ramalho Eanes, then the army chief of staff, was elected president by an overwhelming majority of 61.59 per cent of the votes due to his outstanding role in smashing a pro-Soviet coup d'etat in the army on November 25, 1975. In that election, he got the support of the Portuguese Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Party of the Democratic and Social Centre, but was opposed by the Communist Party of Portugal.

However, in the present campaign, both the Social Democratic Party and the Party of the Democratic and Social Centre are opposing Eanes' reelection and instead put up their own candidates to challenge him. Eanes is accused of making concessions and compromises to the community [as received] party of Portugal and obstructing the reformative measures taken by the former democratic alliance government after he became president.

On the other hand, the communist party, which vehemently attacked Eanes four years ago, declared several times that its candidate would withdraw from the contest so as to support Eanes.

Who will have the chance to be the 15th president of Portugal? According to the recent four public polls, President Eanes is now holding a safe lead in the race, followed by Carneiro. It is therefore believed that a sharp contest is obviously to be between the two generals.

On domestic affairs, both Eanes and Carneiro stand for economic development and respect for the pluralistic democracy and popular freedom, while externally, they both support Portugal's entry into the European community, its commitment to the NATO and stand for developing ties with its former colonies.

However, the two do have obvious differences in both the domestic and foreign policies. For example, Eanes emphasizes on respect for the present constitution and a nation-wide harmony as well, while Carneiro insists in revising the constitution so as to write off those clauses which "are incompatible with the western democracy" and opposes nationalisation, agrarian reform and agreement with the communists. In foreign affairs, Eanes stresses on diversified diplomacy and stands for development of relations with eastern European countries and a negotiated settlement of disputes, while Carneiro emphasizes on the steady swing to Western democracy and condemns Soviet expansionism and capitulation to the Soviet Union.

With the polling date approaching, the contest between the two sides has become sharper and sharper. As president in office, Eanes has his advantages. But Carneiro, without the advantage of being in office, has tried to make use of the discontents of the electorate with the present situation in the country to attack Eanes' failures; while Eanes, on his part, has taken a strictly defensive strategy and tried to wait for a right opportunity to launch a counterstroke against his challenger. He has tried not to make lengthy talks during the campaign so as to avert any possible indiscreet remarks. While boasting about the achievements in his official career, he has deliberately avoided any direct attack on his political opponents in order to show his largemindedness.

It is generally maintained that during the election campaign the two generals are evenly matched for the time being. It is also widely believed that neither of them could win more than 50 percent of the votes in the first round of voting. That "who will enter the magnificent presidential palace" will therefore be determined in the second round of voting, which will take place on December 21.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' CITES 'KCNA' ON CARRILLO RALLY SPEECH

OW291548 Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] Pyongyang, November 29 (XINHUA)--The Workers' Party of Korea and the Spanish Communist Party "are deeply concerned for the tension and disputes caused in the world today by the imperialist policy and the dangerous expansionist manoeuvres," said Santiago Carrillo, visiting general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party and head of the party's delegation, at a welcome meeting here yesterday, according to KCNA report today.

He added that "to prevent World War III is one of the basic tasks facing all the peoples and to carry out this task we must struggle to form a broad peace front."

He held that "the programme for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo which was adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea will help achieve the country's reunification, the ardent desire of the entire Korean people, and make the great Korean people play a bigger role in the global arena."

He stressed: "Our two parties are upholding the principle of independence. You call this the chuche idea. We are struggling for a new unity of the international communist movement and working-class movement based on independence and non-interference in other's internal affairs, for cooperation among all the anti-imperialist forces and democratic and progressive forces, for defence of peace and for the independence of people and the cause of communism."

So Yun-sok, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPK and chief secretary of the Pyongyang Municipal Committee of the party, made a welcome speech at the mass meeting. Referring to the international situation, he said that the present international situation has become very complicated and tense because of the imperialists' manoeuvres of aggression and war for maintaining and expanding their spheres of domination.

Among those present at the meeting were Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.

A KCNA report said yesterday that talks were held between the Spanish Communist Party delegation headed by Santiago Carrillo and a Korean Workers' Party delegation headed by Kim Il-song on November 26 and 27 in Pyongyang.

CSO: 4020

SWEDISH OFFICIALS REPUDIATE SOVIET NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL

OW221615 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 22 Nov 80

[Text] Stockholm, November 21 (XINHUA)--A high official in the Swedish Foreign Ministry has repudiated a recent Soviet nuclear blackmail to north European countries as an example of "superpower shameless impudence and extreme disrespect for Sweden's neutrality," the daily EXPRESSEN reported yesterday.

The nuclear blackmail was issued by the Soviet APN news service commentator Ilya Baranikas in an article published in the Swedish daily DAGENS NYHETER on November 11. The Soviet commentator said that in case the NATO launches a nuclear missile or cruise missile against the Soviet Union through the Swedish air space, the Soviet Union will certainly take counter-action before the missile crossed the border. A Soviet air defence unit "can react in a flash with an anti-missile missile that might cause a nuclear explosion over the territory of the north European country concerned," he added in a threatening tone. The article then asked Sweden to "take sensible steps" to prevent European missiles or other new arms from being deployed on its territory.

The Soviet blackmail, it was learned, has aroused "indignation" in the Swedish Foreign Ministry and the general staff of national defence.

A Foreign Ministry official said that Baranikas' article was obviously "an effort to coerce Sweden into joining the anti-NATO ranks," the DAGENS NYHETER reported on November 20. An editorial of the paper on November 13 pointed out that it was conceivable that Baranikas' article was written either with the consent of the Soviet leadership or under their inspiration. The Soviet threat was "unacceptable," the editorial declared.

An army general wrote in the same paper on November 18 that as a matter of fact, Baranikas had nakedly raised before Sweden "the threat of occupation by the East." Therefore, the army general stressed, it is necessary for Sweden to maintain a powerful defence in face of such threat.

CSO: 4020

KING HUSAYN ADDRESSES ARAB SUMMIT CLOSING SESSION

OW271830 Beijing XINHUA in English 1625 GMT 27 Nov 80

[Text] Amman, November 27 (XINHUA)—The three-day 11th Arab summit conference ended here this afternoon after adopting a "final declaration" and a number of other important resolutions.

President of the conference King Husayn of Jordan declared in a speech at the closing session, "the meeting has given expression to the spirit of Arab unity. It has worked out a pan-Arab strategy and agreed not to wage wars among the Arab brothers and not to use Arab weapons to fight any Arab country on any pretext."

"We have called on all our nations far-sighted forces to work for the settlement of Arab differences in any place and stop confrontation by violence as such confrontation will only benefit our nations enemies who are watching us covetously. We hold that all the differences among the Arabs can be solved through peaceful means."

He deeply deplored the absence of some members of the Arab League, particularly the Palestine Liberation Organization, from the summit. "The historic meeting is aimed at showing support for the rights of Palestine," he said.

"What is comforting to the Arab nation, the Palestinian people in particular," he added, "is the fact that we have all adopted a national stand and adhere to the national commitment to the Palestinian cause. We are all opposed to the attempt to control the will of Palestine as the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

He continued to say, "We are all for making Arab Lebanon a unified, free and independent country."

The summit agreed on an Iraqi-sponsored plan for a decade of Arab joint development aimed at reducing economic disparities among the different regions of the Arab nation and increasing per capita income. For this purpose, the summit approved a five billion-dollar fund for development which would facilitate the financing of the economic projects in the less developed Arab countries. The financing will be in the form of loans to be repaid over a period of 20 years at one per cent interest with a 10-year grace period.

An Arab fund for African technical assistance was established at the summit. Saudi Arabia, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait contributed five million dollars each to the fund.

The summit also approved a programme of Arab political action against Israel which was submitted to the summit after it was approved by the Arab foreign ministers conference here earlier this month. During the foreign ministers conference, all Arab countries, including those which boycotted the summit, participated in its preparation and approved the programme.

The Arab leaders also approved of holding annual summits. They agreed to hold emergency meetings if the need arises.

CSO: 4020

ARAB SUMMIT ADOPTS FINAL DECLARATION

OW280304 Beijing XINHUA in English 0253 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] Amman, November 27 (XINHUA)--The 11th Arab summit which ended here this afternoon adopted its final declaration.

Excerpts from the declaration follow:

The Arab leaders affirmed their adherence to the resolutions of the Baghdad and Tunis summits, especially those concerning the Palestine cause.

The conference decided to sever all relations with any country that recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel or moves its embassy there.

The Arab leaders affirmed their support for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. They also affirmed their support for the independence of the PLO and the freedom of its will. The conference also hailed the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the occupied land and their valiant struggle against Israeli occupation.

The Arab leaders reaffirmed their refusal of the Camp David accords and affirmed their determination to strengthen the measures of boycotting the Egyptian regime in accordance with the Baghdad and Tunis resolutions.

The conference expressed utmost concern at the existing conflict between Iraq and Iran, and called on the two parties concerned to cease fire immediately and resolve the conflict by peaceful means. The conference supports the legitimate rights of Iraq to its land and waters and welcomes Iraq's response to the international appeals for a cease-fire and the settlement of the conflict through negotiations. The conference calls on Iran to respond to this stand.

The conference condemned the unabated Israeli aggression on Lebanon and also reaffirmed the Tunis resolutions for the reconstruction of Lebanon.

The conference stressed the need for strengthening relations with the Islamic countries and the Islamic conference organization, and reinforcing the role of the non-aligned movement. The conference also stressed the need for strengthening ties with the Organization of African Unity and supporting the just struggle of the African people against racial discrimination and foreign interference.

The conference also affirmed the determination of the Arab states to pursue the Arab-European dialogue in the service of common interests.

It also stressed the need to gain the support of the socialist countries for the Arab rights.

The conference condemned the continued U.S. support of Israel and its hostile attitude towards the PLO.

The conference discussed the economic and social challenges facing the Arab nation and endorsed the document of the joint Arab economic action strategy.

The conference endorsed the decade of joint Arab development, the unified agreement for Arab investment in the region and the national economic action charter.

CSO: 4020

BANI-SADR REVIEWS WAR, DOMESTIC SITUATION

OW031630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1620 GMT 3 Dec 80

[Text] Tehran, December 3 (XINHUA)--Iranian President and commander-in-chief Bani-Sadr declared here this noon at a press conference that "we have started the second stage (of war) aimed at driving the Iraqi troops out of Iran's territory." "We can say for sure we are to gain the final victory," he added

The president reiterated that Iran will continually follow a "neither West, nor East" foreign policy, diminish dependence on other countries and obtain Iran's real independence.

Referring to the present domestic situation, he said the foreign powers are trying to create an unstable and conflicting situation in Iran in order to make Iran powerless in the second stage of the war. He named those, whether in favour of or against him, as conspirators if they engaged in any divisive activities. He urged Iranian clergymen and intellectuals to cooperate in the course for a progressive society.

Bani-Sadr met Iranian leader Khomeyni earlier this morning. After the meeting, the president told PARS News Agency that various national affairs and the current situation on the war fronts were discussed. Khomeyni stressed the need for unity, coordination, understanding and cooperation, and provided guidance on the current affairs of the country, particularly the economic situation.

CSO: 4020

PLO CALLS FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL

OW020220 Beijing XINHUA in English 0147 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] United Nations, December 1 (XINHUA)--Faruq Qaddumi, observer from the PLO, called for the imposition of sanctions on Israel in a strongly-worded statement to the U.N. General Assembly as it moved to consider the Palestine problem today.

Qaddumi said the call for the imposition of sanctions on Israel was made out of concern for the principles of the U.N. Charter and for punishing the convict who repeated daily his lack of respect for the U.N. organization.

A resolution imposing sanctions against Israel, he stated, would enhance the prestige of the United Nations and would activate its needed role in the international arena.

Qaddumi also demanded that the credentials of the Israeli delegation should be rejected until Israel complied with the whole of the international community.

Qaddumi severely criticised the United States for its support to Israel, saying that the continued obstruction by the United States of the role of the United Nations constituted a danger to all, including the people of the United States itself. It was time, he said, for the United States to shoulder its responsibility towards the United Nations, its charter and resolutions, as well as towards the cause of a just peace.

While expressing his appreciation for Western Europe's recognition of the PLO and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, Qaddumi urged Western Europe to go beyond the mere statement of positions, wishes, and called for a just political solution.

Qaddumi emphasized that there was only one road to peace in the Middle East, namely the resolution of the question of Palestine.

The Palestinian rights committee and Syria today joined the PLO in calling for the imposition of sanctions against Israel if it continued to defy the U.N. resolutions on Palestinian rights. They reiterated that any settlement in that area must include the total withdrawal of Israel from occupied Arab territories and the full recognition of Palestinian rights.

CSO: 4020

PLO APPEALS TO AMERICANS FOR SUPPORT

OW290344 Beijing XINHUA in English 0254 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] Washington, November 28 (XINHUA)--The Washington office of the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) today appealed to the American public and all its organizations to help the Palestinian people achieve freedom and peace and to assist them to return to their homeland and exercise full self-determination and national independence.

Dr. H. Husayni, information officer of the P.L.O. Washington office made this appeal at a press conference at the National Press Club here on the eve of the International Day of Solidarity With the People of Palestine.

The appeal says: "The Palestinians, a nation of four million, have not had a moment of peace since November 29, 1947. Their human and civil rights have been brutally violated in the Israeli occupied territories, their school children shot in the streets by Israeli soldiers and tortured in Israeli prisons; their refugee camps savagely bombed in south Lebanon and hundreds of innocent civilians killed or injured. While the international community through numerous U.N. resolutions has condemned these Israeli acts of aggression and called for the establishment of a Palestinian independent state based on the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the right to return to their homeland, Israel continued to defy the international community and to use the most sophisticated American weapons to carry further attacks in southern Lebanon."

Dr. Husayni stressed the need for a just and lasting peace and said peace will not be realised unless the Palestinian people achieve their national rights, the right to self-determination, the right to independence and the right to return to their homeland. He said the American Government should do something about the recent shootings of Palestinian schoolchildren in the Israeli occupied West Bank by the Israeli Army with weapons supplied by the American Government.

CSO: 4020

IRAN-IRAQ PEACE EFFORTS REVIEWED

OW291430 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 29 Nov 80

["Roundup: International Mediation of Iran-Iraq War in Difficulty"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Baghdad, November 28 (XINHUA)--International efforts to mediate the Iran-Iraq war are continuing. But in the face of the great differences on the conditions for a ceasefire set by the two countries as well as other complicated demands, the mediation attempts are meeting with many difficulties.

The U.N. Secretary General Waldheim's special envoy Olaf Palme recently held talks on the ceasefire with the Iranian and Iraqi leaders in Tehran and Baghdad respectively. Upon his arrival in New York, Palme announced that the anticipated first step objective for his peace mission in Iraq and Iran has been reached.

It was disclosed that both Iraq and Iran have agreed in principle to allow the over 60 merchant ships anchored at Shatt-al-'Arab to depart. There was no other reported progress from Palme's trip. As to the future of his mission, Palme said in New York that he would probably make another mediation tour to Tehran and Baghdad within a few weeks.

Diplomatic sources here are not optimistic over the possibility of ending the war within a short period of time. They believe that from now until February or March of next year, the battlefront will be locked in a seesaw struggle.

People here noted that even during Palme's trip, Iran and Iraq continued to accuse the other while inflicting great damage to each other on the battlefields. The resulting losses to the two countries' economies are staggering.

The Iraqi oil city of Kirkuk was bombed by Iranian aircraft not long ago just after the pumping of crude oil for the Iraq-Turkey oil pipeline from Kirkuk to the Turkish Mediterranean port of Yumurtalik was started up. The attack was reportedly the most devartating since the war began with nine petroleum depositories and two filling stations totally destroyed in the attack.

Since the outbreak of the conflict and up until November 10, 31 Iranian petroleum enterprises have been blown up, according to statistics issued by the Iraqi paper AL THAWRAH in November 15.

World public opinion has been urging a ceasefire between Iraq and Iran with no superpower interference in order to realize peace in the Gulf region. The Saudi Arabian foreign minister recently expressed the hope that the war between the two states end as soon as possible. Many other countries and organizations have also put forward various kinds of proposals including the suggestion that both sides hold negotiations based on the boundary agreement reached in Algiers in 1975.

At present, the crux of the matter is to discover under what conditions the ceasefire can be achieved and peace restored. The two warring nations should realise that they are expected to adopt a realistic and careful attitude and set the restoration of peace and security in the region by settling these disputes left over by history.

CSO: 4020

LONDON MEETING HITS USSR INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN

OW290936 Beijing XINHUA in English 0755 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] London, November 28 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union was denounced at a public meeting here today for its invasion of Afghanistan.

The meeting, sponsored by the revolutionary Communist League of Britain and Bangladesh Workers' Association, called on the people of the world to stand square behind the Afghan people and do everything they can to support them.

One of the speakers at the meeting pointed out that the Afghan people, together with the people of Kampuchea, stand in the forefront of the struggle against Soviet imperialism, which seeks to dominate the entire world.

"The Soviet invasion," he said, "serves not only to prop up the puppet regime and oppress the people of Afghanistan, not only to plunder the natural gas of Afghanistan, but forms part of its relentless drive towards access to the Middle East region and the vital sea lanes and warm water ports in that region. The invasion therefore represents a further attempt of the Soviet Union to outflank the United States and Western Europe which is a crucial part of their strategy of marching towards world domination."

Denouncing the Soviet troops for massacring Afghan people by all brutal means including napalm flames and gas poisoning, other speakers pointed out that this could not but make the Afghan people more determined and united against the common enemy.

The meeting was rounded off with songs denouncing Soviet social-imperialism and supporting the people of Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

CSO: 4020

PAKISTAN, INDONESIA LEADERS HIT SOVIET INTERVENTION

OW291313 Beijing XINHUA in English 1230 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] Islamabad, November 29 (XINHUA)--President Suharto of Indonesia and President Mohammad Ziaul Haq of Pakistan last night expressed their concern over the military intervention by a major power against another country and the hostilities between Iraq and Iran.

Speaking at a state banquet held for President Suharto in Lahore, President Ziaul Haq said that Pakistan wanted peace in the world in general and in this region in particular. It is therefore natural that Pakistan "felt deeply concerned over the unfortunate developments which had disturbed peace of our continent."

He said "In our neighbourhood, Afghanistan, an Islamic and non-aligned country, had been subjected to a massive military intervention. On the other hand, in Indonesia's neighbourhood, Kampuchea, also a non-aligned country, had been invaded by a strong neighbour. In both Afghanistan and Kampuchea basic human rights including the right to self-determination had been violated."

President Suharto said that the rivalry and the struggle for influence in some parts of the world quite often implicated other regions or countries as well. The recent developments were threatening world peace because an external power had embarked upon armed intervention against another country.

President Suharto arrived in Lahore yesterday on a four-day state visit to Pakistan at the invitation of President Ziaul Haq.

CSO: 4020

AFGHAN WINTER WARFARE ANALYZED

OW290124 Beijing XINHUA in English 0103 GMT 29 Nov 80

["Feature: 'Afghanistan's Winter Battlefield Analyzed'"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Islamabad, November 28 (XINHUA correspondent)--The advent of bitter winter on the misery-ridden Afghanistan will certainly bring more difficulties to the freedom fighters in their military operations but will not slacken their strike at the Soviet occupation troops, leading members of Afghan resistance movements told XINHUA correspondents in Peshawar.

However, there is going to be a grim struggle against the Soviet aggressor troops which are also reinforcing themselves, they noted.

Afghanistan is a landlocked country with highland and mountains covering four-fifths of its area which are snowcapped in winter. But the same weather conditions, the resistance leaders analysed, could mean differently to the Soviet aggressor troops and the freedom fighters. While they are better equipped with cold-breaking materials, the biting cold will still impede the movement of their tanks and aircraft, particularly that of their gunships, which are the worst threat to the freedom fighters. The morale of Soviet troops is expected to sink further in the cold winter. As for the freedom fighters, although they can live under the open sky in the mountains in summer, they, however, must find a place to live in today. In addition, their winter clothes and quilts are not adequate. But thanks to the Afghan people's support, many of their problems could be solved, unlike the Soviet troops whose supplies have to be shipped from home several thousand miles away. As the freedom fighters are lightly-equipped and waging a guerrilla warfare, it is unlikely that their operations will be seriously affected by the winter.

A number of resistance leaders also gave us an account of possible Soviet operation plans for the winter: one, concentrate their forces to defend major cities, airfields and bases; two, safeguard the security and smooth traffic of main communication lines; three, launch attacks on selected areas under the control of freedom fighters and try their utmost to cut off the contacts between guerrillas in the various parts of the country. It is in the context of these plans that the Soviet troops have recently launched their fourth offensive in the Panjsher Valley, a strategic point 150 kilometers northeast of Kabul, where they have heavily bombarded the zone of Kandahar and Herat, the second and third largest cities of the country. Besides, the Soviet military authorities are trying to reorganize the Afghan Government Army which has been heavily impaired and use it as their cat's paw. For this reason, the Karmal regime has been stepping up the recruitment.

But Afghan freedom fighters have continued their attacks in various parts of the country since the winter set in. In Panjsher area, freedom fighters had occupied the nearby military base of Jabul Saraj. As the Soviet troops unleashed a large-scale attack on the valley, they met with strong resistance. Highway transportation is being frequently cut off by the guerrillas. In Kabul, firewood was primarily supplied from Paktia Province. However, no firewood has been brought there since November 8, boosting firewood prices in Kabul nearly ten-fold as much as before.

Afghan freedom fighters are now facing the test of a second winter. Younus Khalis, president of the Afghan Islamic Party, Khalis group, told XINHUA: "We weathered the storm of the first winter and we gained experiences. The Soviet troops are having more difficulties than we do. We will continue our fight this winter to win greater victory."

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

SOVIET COMMANDER VISITS BULGARIA--Sofia, November 26 (XINHUA)--A Soviet Government military delegation headed by commander-in-chief of the navy S. G. Gorshkov paid an eight-day visit to Bulgaria ending today. During his stay in Bulgaria, Gorshkov had a series of talks with Bulgarian Defence Minister D. Dzhurov and was received by Todov Zhivkov, first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council, and Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. [Text] [OW270433 Beijing XINHUA in English 0233 GMT 27 Nov 80]

JAPAN APPROVES DEFENSE LAWS--Tokyo, November 28 (XINHUA)--The Upper House of the Japanese Diet approved today three defense-related laws under which the measures in preparation for the enhancement of the self-defense forces will be put into practice. Under the laws, the number of officers of the maritime and air self-defense forces will increase by 2,331 while that of reserve officers of the ground self-defense force by 2,000. The total number of officers of the three self-defense forces will be 270,184. [Text] [OW281228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 28 Nov 80]

CUBAN EXPANSIONISM--Beijing, November 19 (XINHUA)--Jamaica believes Cuban expansionism will continue "through its role as a proxy for the Soviet Union," said Prime Minister Edward Seaga in an interview published in the November 24 issue of the U.S. TIME magazine. "The Cubans set up Jamaica as their espionage center of the Caribbean so they could have easier access to subversives on other islands, who could come here to deal with them rather than going to Havana and risking exposure," he recalled. "How can you normalize relations with a country acting like that?" He told the weekly: "If Castro wants to be accepted in this region, then he must be able to prove his credentials by not exporting revolution or ideology." [Text] [OW190722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 19 Nov 80]

CUBAN POLICY DENOUNCED--Panama City, November 24 (XINHUA)--Cuban penetration into Central America constitutes a threat to Costa Rica, said Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo Odio in a statement published by the paper LA PRENSA today. He made the remarks after a regional seminar on refugees opened in San Jose, capital of Costa Rica. President Carazo pointed out that Costa Rica had been faced with a direct threat from Somoza and reacted to his regime accordingly, and now faced with a direct threat from Castro, the country would do the same. "Castro and Somoza are men of a kind, both are tyrants, no matter what political banners they are flaunting," he added. He also pointed to the fact that Cuba is carrying out the mission entrusted by the Soviet Union in Angola and Africa as a whole and other parts of the world.

On the issue of Cuban refugees in Costa Rica, President Carazo said that we can neither sink them into the seas, nor say to them that they had better seek another planet to live on. [Text] [OW252337 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 25 Nov 80]

ALBANIAN-YUGOSLAVIAN RELATIONS--Tirana, November 25 (XINHUA)--The relations between Albania and Yugoslavia have been further improved since the beginning of this year. An Albanian Government trade delegation visited Yugoslavia last July. The two countries signed a goods exchange agreement for 1981-1985. It was reported that trade between the two countries in the next five years is expected to reach 720 million U.S. dollars, an increase of 150 per cent over the current five-year period. The exchanges in culture, education and sports have become more frequent. For the first time in many years, the minister of education and culture of Albania visited Kosovo, Yugoslavia, and exchanged views with local leaders on closer cooperation in science, culture, education and archaeology. However, Albania has not ceased attacking Yugoslavia in the ideological field. A recent article published by an Albanian paper said that "The fierce ideological and political struggle" against Yugoslavia will continue. [Text] [OW260230 Beijing XINHUA in English 0200 GMT 26 Nov 80]

AUSTRALIAN POLICIES--Canberra, November 25 (XINHUA)--Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia Zelman Cowen said today that the Australian Government "is very conscious of the need for a strong and united western stance towards the Soviet Union and to this end it will work to maintain its already strong ties with its traditional allies, and in particular with the United States." Outlining the government's policies at the 32d parliament, he said, "In the present state of international tension, my government is mindful that its first responsibility is the nation's security and it has taken appropriate steps to enhance Australia's defence preparedness. The 1980-1981 budget provides for a real increase in defence spending of about seven per cent." At home, he said, "A primary objective of the government will be to continue the fight against inflation." The government's economic strategy is designed "to restore economic stability and improve growth within a medium term framework," he added. He pledged that "during 1981 my government will take action to place increased emphasis on employment training schemes," stating that "it is not only an economic problem but a social one." On the whole, Cowen said, the government would "maintain the basic thrust of the policies which have been followed over the past five years." [Text] [OW251532 Beijing XINHUA in English 1511 GMT 25 Nov 80]

INDIAN OCEAN CONFERENCE--United Nations, November 25 (XINHUA)--The U.N. General Assembly First Committee (political and security) approved a draft resolution this morning requesting the ad hoc committee on the Indian Ocean to continue its preparations for the convening of a 1981 conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo. The resolution says the General Assembly would renew the mandate of the ad hoc committee and request it to continue its efforts to harmonize views on issues relating to the convening of the conference and to achieve the objectives of the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The committee would also be asked to finalize preparations for the conference and hold two preparatory sessions. [Text] [OW260750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 26 Nov 80]

FRANCE, MADAGASCAR ON ISLANDS--United Nations, November 25 (XINHUA)--The U.N. General Assembly's special political committee adopted a draft resolution this morning urging France and Madagascar to negotiate a settlement to the dispute over the sovereignty of the Malagasy Islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India. The four tiny islands, ranging in size from 4 to 30 square kilometres, are located in the Indian Ocean between Madagascar and Mozambique. Madagascar maintains that the islands are natural dependencies of Madagascar prior to its independence on the grounds that the international law provides that geographical proximity gives a neighbouring state a natural right of sovereignty. But, France holds that in accordance with the international law it took possession of the islands during the last century when they were uninhabited and had no master. The General Assembly took a decision at its 34th session, in which it invited France "to initiate negotiations without further delay with the government of Madagascar for the reintegration of the abovementioned islands which were arbitrarily separated from Madagascar." The draft resolution was approved by a recorded vote of 83 to 13. China voted for it. It would be submitted to the General Assembly for adoption. [Text] [OW260136 Beijing XINHUA in English 0114 GMT 26 Nov 80]

JAPANESE DRAMA TROUPE--Tianjin, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The play "Qu Yuan," written by noted Chinese poet and playwright Guo Moruo, was staged here tonight for the first time by Japanese dramatist Chojuro Kawasaki, as a gesture of promoting Sino-Japanese friendship. Mr Kawasaki not only directed the play but also starred as Qu Yuan. Despite his advance age of 78, he has undertaken the work because he takes it as the climax of his stage career and a contribution to Japan-China friendship. He is an old friend of the Chinese people and visited China several times in the past. The 39-member Japanese troupe will give 2 performances here, another 2 in Nanjing and 3 in Beijing. Qu Yuan was a patriotic Chinese poet who lived during the warring states period about 2,300 years ago. Saddened by the plight of his country at the hands of foreign schemers, he drowned himself in the Milo River. Guo Moruo wrote the play in 1942 at the time of Japanese aggression, to rouse the people's patriotism. Guo Moruo, was also a Marxist historian. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 24 Nov 80 OW]

DINOSAUR EXHIBITION IN JAPAN--Beijing, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--China's first large-scale exhibition of paleovertebrates ever given abroad is to be held in Japan at the latter hafl of 1981. A protocol on holding the exhibition was signed here today between the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association and Japanese paper ASAHI SHIMBUN. The opening of the exhibition is scheduled for 6 July 1981 in Tokyo and later it will also be held in Osaka, and Fukuoka. Among the 369 exhibits on display will be paleovertebrates that existed in China 4 hundred million years ago. They consist of primitive fish, paleoamphibians and paleoreptiles. Rare items such as a 22-metre long sauropoda mamenchisaurus, a hadrosaurus-tsiatsaosaurus, and ithyothosaur found in the Himalayas will also be shown. The protocol was signed by Yu Wen, secretary-general of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and by Miyagwa Torao, director of the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association, and Taro Sakazaki, director of cultural affairs of

ASAHI SHIMBUN, Zhou Peiyuan, vice-president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences was present at the signing ceremony. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1502 GMT 24 Nov 80 OW]

UPPER VOLTA CALMS--Beijing, November 27 (XINHUA)--Normal order has been restored in the capital of Ougadougou and other major cities of Upper Volta after a military coup on November 25, according to Western news agency reports. People in the capital went about their business as usual. Tele-communication links with the outside world were working. But the airports were closed. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was in force. The country's former President Sangoule Lamizana who was ousted in the military coup, former president of the National Assembly Gerard Kango Ouedraogo and former chief of staff of the armed forces Jean Bila Zagre have been confined in a military camp near the capital. The military committee for national rehabilitation and progress, the new junta ruling the country, said in a communique issued on November 25 that individual and collective liberties such as freedom of the press, association, labor movements and religious faith would be guaranteed, without doing harm to the public order and security. Upper Volta would respect all the international accords concluded by the deposed regime and would neither intervene in the internal affairs of other countries nor allow the other countries to intervene in its affairs, the communique said. [Text] [OW271212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 27 Nov 80]

UPPER VOLTA MILITARY COMMITTEE--Beijing, November 28 (XINHUA)--A 31-member military committee for national rehabilitation and progress has been formed in Upper Volta, broadcast Upper Volta Radio yesterday, according to reports reaching here. The military committee, headed by former Foreign Minister Saye Zerbo, includes other four former ministers who served under the ousted President Sangoule Lamizana prior to 1978, when the country returned to civilian rule. They are Gabriel Some, former minister of the interior and security, Felix Tiemtarboum, former minister of youth and sports, Mamadou Sanfo, former minister of finance and Hounsouho Bambara, former minister of information. Saye Zerbo said that the duties of the military committee would be defined at a later date. An 11-member steering committee within the military committee was also appointed to direct events. The coup leaders also appointed ten officials to deal with day to day matters of the ministries until a new government has been formed. [Text] [OW280804 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 28 Nov 80]

POLISH OFFICIAL EXPELLED--Warsaw, November 26 (XINHUA)--Jerzy Olszewski, former Polish minister of foreign trade and maritime economy, has been expelled from the Polish United Workers' Party, the party's organ TRYBUNA LUDU reported. Jerzy Olszewski, who had been removed from his post not long ago, was charged by the control committee under the party's Central Committee of taking irresponsible economic decisions to benefit foreign traders. He was also convicted of showing favoritism towards former head of the Mine Export and Import Corporation K. Tyranski, who is on trial here because of embezzling over one million U.S. dollars. Since the party's 6th plenary session on October 4, 67 party members, 51 of them top officials, have been expelled from and 79 punished within the party for abuse of trust and corruption. It was reported that 902 persons were expelled from the party in the third quarter of this year. [Text] [OW270432 Beijing XINHUA in English 0228 GMT 27 Nov 80] production, fulfilled its plan on November 25. It is expected to overfulfill its output quota by 4,500 million lei by the end of this year. So far, the five-year plan has been fulfilled in the departments of machine-tool, light, and building material industries. [Text] [OW281234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1220 GMT 28 Nov 80]

SHANGHAI CHILEAN EXHIBITION--A Chilean pictorial and handicraft exhibition opened at the Shanghai art museum on 15 November to mark the 10th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and Chile. Speaking at the opening ceremony were (Shen Youjian), deputy director of the municipal cultural bureau, and (Carlos), first secretary of the Chilean Embassy in China. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Nov 80 OW]

NEW CANADIAN AMBASSADOR--Beijing, 14 Nov (XINHUA)--Canada's new ambassador to China, Michel Gauvin, presented his credentials to Tan Zhenlin, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, this morning. Ambassador Gauvin arrived here on 5 November. Chinese vice-minister of foreign affairs Zhang Wenjin was present. [Text] [OW171623 Beijing XINHUA in English 0738 GMT 14 Nov 80 OW]

CISM DELEGATION OF PLA--Beijing, 17 Nov (XINHUA)--A sports delegation of the Chinese People's Liberation Army left here today for the 35th General Assembly of the International Military Sports Council (CISM) to be held in Venezuela from 21 to 30 November. The 5-member delegation is led by Han Fundong, director of the sports committee of the Chinese PLA. The delegation was invited by the Venezuelan Ministry of Defense. The 34th General Assembly was held in Beijing in January this year. China joined the CISM in 1979.[Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 17 Nov 80 OW]

BELGIAN DYNASTY DAY--Beijing, November 15 (XINHUA)--Roger Denorme, the Belgian ambassador to China, gave a reception here today on the occasion of Belgium's dynasty day. Among the guests were Chinese Minister of Posts and Telecommunications Wang Zigang, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Kehua and leading members of other organizations concerned. Diplomatic envoys of various countries were also present. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0725 GMT 15 Nov 80 OW]

AID TO SEYCHELLES--Victoria, 21 Nov (AFP)--A team of Chinese specialists has come to the Seychelles to prepare for the start of China's biggest aid project in the Indian Ocean republic--construction of a new high school. The specialists are making arrangements for the arrival of Chinese workers who will begin building the school early in 1981. Construction materials are on their way from China. The new school, to be built on the archipelago's main island of Mahe, will cater for more than 600 students. The cost of more than 6 million dollars will be met through a low-interest loan from China. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 0929 GMT 21 Nov 80 OW]

POLISH WORKERS REACH ACCORD--Warsaw, November 26 (XINHUA)--The Polish Transport Ministry and railway workers affiliated with the Independent "Solidarity" Trade Union reached agreement on ways of allocating a pay raise early this morning, after five-day negotiations in Wroclaw, thus putting an end to the nation-wide warning strikes, according to the Polish News Agency PAP today. The Transport Ministry finally accepted the allocation arrangements agreed earlier between his ministry and railway workers affiliated with the Independent "Solidarity" Trade Union Federation. Representative of railway workers Wlodzimierz Badelek announced that they have accepted the minister's decision and cancelled the nation-wide strike scheduled for November 26. [Text] [OW261708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1635 GMT 26 Nov 80]

PROTEST STRIKE--Warsaw, November 27 (XINHUA)--The regional Independent "Solidarity" Trade Union in the Mazowsze area called off the protest strike after Jan Narozniak, a printer of the union, and Piotr Sapelo, an employee in the state prosecutors office, were released early this morning. The two men were set free on bail by Stefan Bratkowski, president of the Polish journalists association. They were accused of illegal reproduction of state secret documents. The arrests triggered a widespread protest wave throughout the country. The presidium of the regional union and the national consultative committee of the "solidarity" issued separate statements demanding the freedom of the arrested. The Ursus Tractor Factory near Warsaw and 15 other enterprises throughout the country staged warning strikes. Faced with the danger of worsening of the situation, the provincial prosecutor cancelled the original detention decision at a late hour yesterday. [Text] [OW272001 Beijing XINHUA in English 1927 GMT 27 Nov 80]

SYMPATHY TO ITALIANS--Beijing, November 26 (XINHUA)--The Chinese Red Cross Society today sent a telegram to the Italian Red Cross Society expressing sympathy and solicitude for the Italian earthquake victims. The telegram said, "We are shocked to learn that a strong earthquake had hit the southern part of your country. The Chinese Red Cross Society expresses deep solicitude and heartfelt sympathy to your society and through you to all victims of the afflicted areas. We hope the afflicted people will quickly overcome difficulties, rebuild their homeland soon and return to normal life." [Text] [OW261718 Beijing XINHUA in English 1652 GMT 26 Nov 80]

ROMANIAN 5-YEAR PLAN--Bucharest, November 27 (XINHUA)--Industrial output quotas for the current five-year plan (1976-1980) have been fulfilled ahead of schedule by November 26 in 33 out of 39 Romanian counties and in Bucharest. Bucharest, which ranks first in industrial production among the 39 counties and one city, fulfilled its five-year plan on September 19, 103 days ahead of schedule, and its above-plan output for the year is valued at 40,000 million lei. Brasov County, which stands next to Bucharest in industrial output, fulfilled the five-year plan early this month. Its output for the rest of the year is estimated at 15,000 million lei. Ninety per cent of the increase in production was achieved through higher labour efficiency. Over 3,000 tons of metals, 40,000 tons of standard fuels, 3,000 tons of petroleum and diesel oil and 20 million cubic metres of natural gas have been saved this year. Galati County, which comes first in steel

PAINTINGS EXHIBITION IN MALTA--Valletta, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--A 15-day exhibition of 29 traditional Chinese paintings closed here today. Visitors showed deep interest in the Chinese art with an expression and technique all its own. The paintings are by such noted painters as Chi Baishi, Xu Beihong, Huang Zhou and He Xiangning. They were a gift from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries for the Malta-China Friendship Society. They were all sold to the viewers. Among those present at the opening ceremony were Calcidon Agius, speaker of the House of Representatives, and Agatha Barbara, minister of labour, culture and welfare. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1656 GMT 20 Nov 80 OW]

'CHINA WEEK' IN AUSTRIA--Vienna, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--A "China Week" of seven exhibitions on China's paper-cut, pottery and porcelain carvings, children's paintings, spring festival pictures and ink and wash in Austria's northern city of Linz closed today. The history of the relations between Austria and China which dated back 400 years was represented in photographs, relics and documents on display. China music evenings and report meetings on China's culture were also held. Despite the end of the week, the exhibitions will remain open till 7 December and more report meetings will be held. The "China Week" was the 21st of such "week" introducing foreign culture held in Linz annually and the first on the culture of a non-European country. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1640 GMT 22 Nov 80 OW]

FRG UNIONISTS' DELEGATION--Beijing, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--A delegation from the metal workers' union of the Federal Republic of Germany met here today with Ni Zhifu, president of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The visiting group is led by the union's first president Eugen Loderer. Ni Zhifu briefed the guests on China's reform of its political and economic institutions and work by the trade unions of China. Both sides hoped that the friendly relations between workers of the two countries and their trade unions would continue to develop. The West German guests arrived here on 17 November at the invitation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Since their arrival they have met with the Chinese minister of the Metallurgical Industry, Tang Ke. They will leave here shortly on a visit to southern China. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1901 GMT 20 Nov 80 OW]

SWEDISH ACADEMIC EXCHANGE AGREEMENT--Beijing, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Stockholm University of Sweden signed an agreement on academic exchanges here today. Hu Qiaomu, president of the academy and Staffan Helmfrid, president of the Stockholm University, signed the agreement. Hu Qiaomu said, "we have just accomplished something of great significance. It will lay a good foundation for the cooperation between scientists of China and Sweden for many years to come." Mr Staffan Helmfrid, who led the Stockholm University delegation to China, said "our university is the first one in Sweden to sign an academic exchange agreement with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. The agreement will promote cooperation and exchanges between the scientists of the two countries." In the evening Zhang Youyu, vice-president of the academy gave a banquet in honor of the Swedish guests. Swedish ambassador to China Sten Sundfeldt attended the signing ceremony and the banquet. The delegation arrived here on 22 November. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1623 GMT 24 Nov 80 OW]

GREEK DEFENSE SPENDING--Athens, November 27 (XINHUA)--Greece will spend 1.9 billion U.S. dollars in defence next year, up 16.7 per cent from 1980, Greek Finance Minister Miltiades Evert said in parliament last night. Submitting the 1981 state budget to parliament for ratification, he said, the defence expenditure will account for 22 per cent of total 10.1 billion U.S. dollars in the new budget. The government will spend more money in education and social welfare. The Greek parliament will debate the budget December 19-22. [Text] [OW271604 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 27 Nov 80]

U.S.-NIGERIAN ECONOMIC TIES--Lagos, December 3 (XINHUA)--A science and technology cooperation agreement has been signed and a pact on environmental protection is under negotiation between Nigeria and the United States, according to a broadcast of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria this afternoon. Minister of State in the Foreign Ministry Patrick Bolokor told the Nigerian-American Chamber of Commerce that the two countries had begun negotiations on a draft bilateral trade agreement, the radio reports. During the negotiations, the United States recognized Nigeria's main objective to diversify its economy and consequently its foreign trade. According to the minister, crude oil accounts for about 90 per cent of Nigeria's exports to the United States while imports from the U.S. consist mainly of consumer goods. [Text] [OW040248 Beijing XINHUA in English 0234 GMT 4 Dec 80]

U.S. PRESENCE IN MIDEAST--Aden, November 30 (XINHUA)--'Ali Nasir, Muhammad al-Hasani, president of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and prime minister of Democratic Yemen, yesterday evening called on the working people to strengthen supervision and management in economic affairs and oppose extravagance and waste. In a nationwide address over radio and television to mark the 13th anniversary of independence, Al-Hasani said that there in the country had been slackness in work, negligence of duty and bribery. "Severe penalty must be imposed on those sabotaging the economy," he stressed. Speaking of the international situation, Al-Hasani condemned the United States for its military presence in the Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Horn of Africa; he praised the "socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union" for their "disinterested assistance" rendered to Democratic Yemen. Foundation stone laying and inauguration ceremonies for some projects were held in the country today to mark the occasion. [Text] [OW010811 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 1 Dec 80]

SOVIET POLISH INVASION--London, December 3 (XINHUA)--The European Economic Community would take political and economic measures against the Soviet Union if it invaded Poland, British Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher warned today. The invasion would also mean the end of detente and the scrapping of the Madrid summit conference on European security, she told the House of Commons when reporting on results of the latest European Economic Community summit. The prime minister received warm support on the issue from the opposition Labour Party leader Michael Foot, who said that any attempt to interfere with the rights of the people of Poland "would be a tragedy and a crime against the whole world. Nobody would be in any doubt about the serious consequences if those rights were to be breached." In a separate report to a parliamentary foreign affairs committee, foreign secretary Lord Carrington said that Soviet intervention in Poland would be "much more serious" than previous action in Afghanistan or in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and it could result in economic sanctions by the West, the collapse of the Madrid conference and the end of all talks on disarmament. [Text] [OW040832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0709 GMT 4 Dec 80]

NATO-TURKISH TALKS--Ankara, December 3 (XINHUA)--Chairman of NATO military committee Admiral Robert Falls had talks here yesterday with Turkish head of state General Kenan Evren on Turkey-NATO relations in the military field. Falls arrived here on December 1 for an official visit and left for Brussels this morning. The Turkish daily HURRIYET reports today that Falls and Evren had discussed the current situation in the Middle East, such as the continuation of the Iran-Iraq war and the new tension on the Syrian-Jordanian borders following the massing of troops. They also, the report adds, examined the recent warning by a Soviet leader that any aggression against Syria would be resisted by Soviet forces and exchanged views on taking actions from the angle that development outside the NATC duties should not be looked upon with folded arms. [Text] [OW040256 Beijing XINHUA in English 0232 GMT 4 Dec 80]

SOVIETS CRITICIZED--Paris, December 3 (XINHUA)--"The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and subversive activities in Africa along with the stationing there of some 40,000 troops from Eastern Europe and Cuba have gravely damaged detente," said Jean Lecanuet, president of the French Foreign Affairs Commission of the Senate yesterday during the Senate's discussion of the defence budget. He stressed that "the Soviet Union has no hesitation in carrying out activities of intimidation in Europe just as she launched a campaign of intimidation against the plan of developing the neutron bomb and the deployment of the new American missiles." He also listed a lot of facts to show that detente is only a strategic technique for the Soviet Union. "The detente can only be established on the basis of equal forces." But, the equal military forces have been compromised by the military development of the Soviet Union, he noted. "With the transformation of the navy and the potential of its long-distance air transport, the Soviet Union will probably push its presence and intimidation in all regions of the world," he pointed out. He is of the opinion that detente needs a situation of equilibrium, adding "the gravity of the international situation does not allow for any impasse in the defence field." [Text] [OW031722 Beijing XINHUA in English 1652 GMT 3 Dec 80]

AUSTRALIA ON POLAND--Canberra, December 4 (XINHUA)--The Soviet ambassador to Australia Sudarikov was summoned to the Australian Foreign Affairs Department last night and told of Australia's concern about the rising tension in Poland, THE AGE reported today. Australian officials told Sudarikov that Australia did not consider the Soviet Union had an automatic right to intervene in any country whether it was in its "sphere of influence" or not. The officials said that the Polish Government should be allowed to solve its own problems in its own way. [Text] [OW040836 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 4 Dec 80]

YUGOSLAVIAN-HUNGARIAN OFFICIALS MEET--Belgrade, December 3 (XINHUA)--President of the Federal Executive Council Veselin Djuranovic and member of the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Petar Stambolic met Hungarian Foreign Minister Puja Frigyes today. During the talks the two sides expressed satisfaction with the development of relations between the two countries and decided to further strengthen cooperation in various fields, especially in economics. The two sides exchanged views on current international issues. The Hungarian minister arrived here yesterday for a two day visit. [Text] [OW040210 Beijing XINHUA in English 0204 GMT 4 Dec 80]

ECONOMIC MEETING WITH JAPAN--Beijing Dec 4 KYODO--Yao Yilin, vice premier in charge of the State Economic Planning Commission, said Thursday that China's economic adjustment measures may be carried out until 1983, two years longer than expected. Yao, in his meeting with Toshio Komoto, director general of the Japanese Economic Planning Agency, said that he doubts a proportional development of the agricultural, light and heavy industries would progress sufficiently by 1981 as he hoped. [Text] [OW041212 Tokyo KYODO in English 0738 GMT 4 Dec 80]

SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT--Tokyo, December 2 (XINHUA)--Japan and the Soviet Union have failed to reach agreement in their recent talks on terms of an additional Japanese loan to the Soviet Union for the development of forest resources in Siberia and coking coal in South Yakutia, TOKYO SHIMBUN reports today. The two sides differed in the annual interest rates of the loan in the 8-day talks which started here on November 20. Soviet representative had already left for home. Talks on the Japan-USSR cooperation for the development of Siberia had been suspended after Japan joined the United States in imposing economic sanctions on the Soviet Union because of its invasion of Afghanistan. However, Japan excluded the above mentioned two projects from the sanctions not long ago and the talks resumed. It was said that the talks would continue after U.S. president-elect Ronald Reagan formally takes office next January. [Text] [OW020838 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 2 Dec 80]

KAMPUCHEAN GUERRILLAS ATTACK--Beijing, November 30 (XINHUA)--Kampuchean guerrillas wiped out many Vietnamese aggressors in a series of attacks over the past week in different parts of Koh Kong Province, southwest Kampuchea, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported today. On November 21 and 22, the guerrillas killed 15 Vietnamese soldiers and wounded 17 others in a number of clashes in the Pras Delta and outer Koh Kong. On November 23, the guerrillas killed 21 and wounded 14 Vietnamese aggressors in Chiphat and Chikha villages. On the same day, guerrilla forces mounted simultaneous attacks on the Vietnamese aggressors stationed in Dei Kraham and O Tach along the Me Tuk River, wiping out 35 Vietnamese troops, injuring 15 others and destroying five barracks. The next day, Kampuchean guerrillas ambushed a Vietnamese contingent manoevring at the foot of the Kot Russei Mountain. Nine Vietnamese soldiers were killed and another 14 wounded during the encounter. Later more Vietnamese soldiers were killed when they touched off mines in flight. On the same day, guerrillas in Thma Sar District ambushed a group of Vietnamese troops on a road and killed 23 Vietnamese aggressors on the spot. On November 26, guerrillas in the Peat Mountain in southern Koh Kong Province intercepted a company of Vietnamese troops, killing 17 of them, wounding 23 others and capturing a quantity of arms and ammunition. [Text] [OW300854 Beijing XINHUA in English 0808 GMT 30 Nov 80]

KAMPUCHEANS ATTACK VIETNAMESE--Beijing, November 29 (XINHUA)--Guerrilla units of Democratic Kampuchea attacked Vietnamese troops guarding an oil refinery and a brewery in the city of Kompong Som on November 23, killing 13 of them, wounding 18 others and destroying three fortifications, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported. The guerrillas killed or injured 52 more Vietnamese troops and destroyed nine wagons when they attacked Kompong Som's railway station the following day. Kompong Som, the country's sole modern deep-water port city 230 kilometres southwest of Phnom Penh, is capable of berthing 40,000-ton freighters. It is connected with Phnom Penh by railway and highway number 4. The radio said that the Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas wiped out more than one hundred Vietnamese troops during their attacks on Vietnamese strongholds around the district town of Samlot and Chambak in Battambang Province from November 23 to 25 [Text] [OW290957 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 29 Nov 80]

POLISH SITUATION VIEWED--Canberra, December 1 (XINHUA)--"While representatives of all the governments of Europe, Canada and the United States sit around a table in Madrid and discuss whether detente is still alive, the Russians are indicating that if it's not dead, then at the very least, it is dying," said an article carried by THE HERALD of Melbourne today. Author of the article Michael Gawenda wrote from London, "NATO security chiefs have reported unusual army manoeuvres by Soviet troops stationed on Poland's border with East Germany." "The Russian newspaper PRAVDA published a map which showed how the Soviet Union's railway links with East Germany and Czechoslovakia run through Poland," the article went on, adding that "under the map, the newspaper warned that any stoppage of the Polish railways would be 'a direct security threat to the Soviet Union.'" "These are ominous signs for the Polish people and indeed the whole world," it said. The article pointed out that "a nation whose resistance movement fought against the Nazis like no other resistance movement will almost certainly fight if the Russian tanks do roll in." "It is probably this knowledge which has stayed the hands of the potential invaders until now," it added. [Text] [OW011518 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 1 Dec 80]

PHILIPPINES, NEW ZEALAND VENTURE--Manila, December 2 (XINHUA)--A Philippine-New Zealand joint venture was formed yesterday to provide engineering, technical and related scientific services in the development of Philippine geothermal resources. The formation of the firm, the Geothermal Technology Corporation of the Philippine National Oil Company (PNOC), was announced by President Marcos and New Zealand Prime Minister Robert Muldoon who is now in the Philippines. The corporation will be owned 70 per cent by the PNOC and 30 per cent by a New Zealand firm (Kington Reynolds Thom Allardice) which is currently developing New Zealand geothermal resources through an aid program provided by the government. New Zealand is reportedly among the world's most advanced in geothermal power production and the leading authority in geothermal exploration and development, while the Philippines is attaching much importance to develop its geothermal energy to cope with its needs. Muldoon arrived here last Sunday to preside over a special committee created by the International Monetary Fund to discuss the issue of Palestinian Liberation Organisation representation in the body. [Text] [OW020850 Beijing XINHUA in English 0702 GMT 2 Dec 80]

KAMPUCHEAN 'PATRIOTS' TRIED--Beijing, December 1 (XINHUA)--The Vietnamese-installed regime in Phnom Penh has recently brought on trial a group of Kampuchean patriots who oppose Vietnam and the Heng Samrin regime, according to a report from Phnom Penh. The report said that "14 Khmers were sentenced to prison terms of between two and 20 years." They were leaders and members of the "nationalist organization" which maintain close contacts with Democratic Kampuchea and other anti-Vietnamese forces and have been working for the "downfall of the Heng Samrin regime" since the Vietnamese occupation of Phnom Penh. [Text] [OW011557 Beijing XINHUA in English 1533 GMT 1 Dec 80]

INDOCHINESE REFUGEES--Beijing, December 1 (XINHUA)--A United Nations high commissioner for refugees spokesman said recently that about 9,000 Indochinese refugees arrived in Southeast Asian countries in November, according to an AP report. Among the refugees, 6,000 were Vietnamese boat people and the rest Laotians who waded across the Mekong River. [Text] [OW011236 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 1 Dec 80]

SOVIET THREAT--Tokyo, November 30 (XINHUA)--To cope with the threat from the Soviet Union, particularly its rapid military build-up is a common problem for Japan and Western countries which calls for a close alliance of Japan, the United States and Europe. This was contained in a major report at a seminar sponsored mainly by the Japanese Democratic Socialist Party recently. The report under the title, "The Promotion of a Peace Strategy and the Guarantee of Security of Japan" said to this end Japan was particularly in need of cooperation with other countries in the political and economic fields. It said Japan-USSR relations could be improved, but Japan should be consistent in her stand on pending issues including the territory issue. It added that for the sake of stability in East Asia, Japan should cooperate with China in its efforts to modernize its economy. The report called for a new Japanese defence program, arguing that the present program is based on the theory of "non-existence of threats." It said for a comprehensive security for Japan, measures should be taken to ensure the security of sea lanes in addition to the protection of Japan proper. [Text] [OW300904 Beijing XINHUA in English 0804 GMT 30 Nov 80]

LATIN AMERICAN ENERGY MINISTERS--Bogota, November 29 (XINHUA)--Energy ministers of Latin-American countries have decided to work out a plan on cooperation in technology and finance in a bid to rally themselves to solve the energy problem in the region. The decision was made at the 11th meeting of the energy ministers held here on November 28 and 29. The meeting was sponsored by the Latin-American Energy Organization (OLADE) and attended by energy, mining or oil ministers from 20 countries, or by their representatives.

The participating ministers believed that the meeting of interests of oil-producing and oil-consuming countries in Latin America would not only enable the region to offset the pressure from world market in terms of price and supply but also consolidate the sovereign right of the region over its energy which is of strategic significance in the economic field. The representatives also demanded that the Latin-American Energy Organization become an advisory body in the field of energy for the Latin American group in the U.N. The meeting expressed its support for Ecuador and Costa Rica in their measures to protect their natural resources and condemned the U.S. for the suspension of tuna import from the two countries. During the meeting, the Latin-American Energy Organization signed agreements on the use of terrestrial heat and the construction of small hydropower stations separately with Colombia, Honduras and Cuba. [Text] [OW301303 Beijing XINHUA in English 1245 GMT 30 Nov 80]

OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY--Beijing, November 28 (XINHUA)--The tenth general assembly meeting of the Organization of American States closed in Washington yesterday, according to a Washington report. The meeting, which opened on November 19, was reported to have extended more than ten hours owing to a heated dispute over human rights between the U.S. and other countries. At a discussion of the political and juridical committee under the general assembly, the delegates of Argentina, Uruguay and other countries voiced strong objection to a resolution on human rights in Latin America based on a report by the Inter-American Commission on human rights. The United States insisted that Argentina be condemned by name in the resolution for its "violation of human rights." Argentina threatened to withdraw from the OAS if it is mentioned by name in the resolution. To break the stalemate, Venezuela put forward a conciliatory draft resolution specifying no member states on the problem of human rights. The resolution, based on the Venezuelan draft, was passed yesterday after arduous consultations. [Text] [OW281238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 28 Nov 80]

CHINESE ATTEND CYCLING MEETING--Geneva, November 28 (XINHUA)--The representatives of the Chinese Cycling Association based in Beijing and the Chinese Taipei Cycling Association attended the general assembly of the International Cyclists' Union (ICU) held here today. The Chinese Cycling Association was represented by its secretary-general, Wei Jizhong, while two of his compatriots from Taiwan attended today's meeting in the name of the "Chinese Taipei Cycling Association." During intervals of the meeting, Wei Jizhong had a friendly conversation with the two representatives of the Chinese Taipei Cycling Association. The ICU is composed of two international cycling organizations--the International Amateur Cycling Federation (IACF) and the International Professional Cycling Federation. Both the Chinese Cycling Association and the Chinese Taipei Cycling Association are members of the IACF. At a general assembly held in Maastricht, the Netherlands, in August last year, the IACF adopted a resolution on the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Chinese Cycling Association. According to this resolution, the cycling association based in Taipei can participate in the IACF under the name of the "Chinese Taipei Cycling Association." Today's ICU General Assembly, represented by 49 member associations, discussed the working report of the union's secretary-general, financial affairs and the agenda for next year's competitions. It also revised the ICU constitution and the rules of the world cycling championships. [Text] [OW290342 Beijing XINHUA in English 0259 GMT 29 Nov 80]

MAYOTTE SOVEREIGNTY--United Nations, November 28 (XINHUA)--The U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution this morning reaffirming the sovereignty of the Comoros over the island of Mayotte and urging the French and Comorian governments to continue their efforts to seek a just solution. The resolution was adopted by a recorded vote of 100 to 1. France voted against it. Addressing the general assembly this morning, Ali Mroudjae, minister for foreign affairs and co-operation of the Comoros, said that the state of the Comoros which had been admitted to the United Nations was comprised of four islands: Anjouan, Grande-Comore, Mayotte and Moheli. The unity of these islands had never before been questioned and had been recognized by the highest French authorities, he added. France opposed the resolution on the ground that the people of Mayotte had refused to be part of the Republic of the Comoros and decided to remain in the French Republic. But its representative said that France would continue to be prepared to seek grounds for understanding with the Comoros. [Text] [OW291004 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 29 Nov 80]

THAI HEALTH DELEGATION HONORED--Beijing, November 29 (XINHUA)--Qian Xinzhong, Chinese minister of public health, gave a banquet here this evening in honour of a Thai public health delegation headed by Thongyot Chittawira, minister of public health. The delegation arrived here this morning on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Chinese Ministry of Public Health. Proposing toasts at the banquet, Qian Xinzhong and Thongyot warmly praised the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Thai peoples. They expressed the desire for growing contacts and cooperation between the two countries in the medical and public health fields. Present at the banquet were Yang Shoushan, Chinese vice-minister of public health, and Sakon Wannaphrik, Thai ambassador to China. [Text] [OW291532 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 29 Nov 80]

SENEGAL DENOUNCES USSR--Rabat, November 28 (XINHUA)--West African countries need mutual military assistance to deal with external subversion, said Senegalese President Leopold-Sedar Senghor in an interview with AL-MAGHRIB. In the interview published by the journal today, he said: "If any member of the economic community of West Africa asks for military assistance from us, we shall provide the assistance if we deem it necessary." President Senghor denounced the military presence of the Soviet Union and its partners as threatening the security of African countries. He said: "70,000 Cuban, East German and Soviet troops are stationed in Africa today." "France can play an important role in maintaining security of African countries. In fact, France has played such a role," he added. [Text] [OW281608 Beijing XINHUA in English 1523 GMT 28 Nov 80]

U.S. AID TO LIBERIA--Monrovia, November 30 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Government is to give more aid to Liberia which is facing serious financial difficulties, said visiting U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs Richard Moose here today. Moose was on a 24-hour visit to the country, his fourth since the April 12 coup. Liberian head of state Samuel K. Doe cancelled his visit to Libya due today, in order to meet the U.S. assistant secretary. Moose told the newsmen at the airport when he arrived that although the discussions between him and the Liberian leader would involve a lot of things, there would be some more American money coming to Liberia. He disclosed that the American banks were also involved in a move to help stabilize the Liberian economy. [Text] [OW010138 Beijing XINHUA in English 0132 GMT 1 Dec 80]

SALVADORANS KIDNAPPED--Beijing, November 27 (XINHUA)--Enrique Alvarez, general secretary of the Democratic Revolutionary Front and some other leaders of anti-government organizations were kidnapped today by an armed band of about 200, according to a report from San Salvador. Witnesses said that at about 11 o'clock this morning, the gunmen, arriving in several vehicles, surrounded the San Jose High School in the capital where Enrique Alvarez and other opposition leaders were having a meeting. They dragged away some of the leaders and threw them into a vehicle. The kidnappers were in army uniforms or plainclothes and looked like "members of the security forces," the witnesses said. Also taken away were Juan Chacon, general secretary of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc, Leoncio Pichinte, secretary general of the February 28 Popular League, Manuel Franco, leader of the National Democratic Union and Humberto Mendoza of the Popular Revolutionary Movement. Some said that the kidnappers were from some rightest organizations while others believed that they acted under government orders. But Minister of Defense Jose Guillermo Garcia denied the charge. Meanwhile, it is reported that government troops are continuing to mop out anti-government guerrillas. An official announcement said more than 300 guerrillas have accepted an amnesty and surrendered to the government. [Text] [OW281524 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 28 Nov 80]

SOMALIA CONDEMNS ETHIOPIA--Mogadishu, November 28 (XINHUA)--The Somali Defense Ministry said yesterday in a communique that four Ethiopian war-planes raided the Adado District of Galgudud region of Somalia at 10:45 in the morning, resulting in 31 persons killed, 39 injured, and houses and other properties destroyed. According to another communique issued by the ministry, Ethiopian war-planes on November 25 raided the town of Galkayo, the capital of Mudug Region. The raid also carried out by four Ethiopian aircraft caused damages to civilian dwellings and property, the communique said. The communique noted that air defense units of the Somali National Army have courageously countered the air raid. [Text] [OW281532 Beijing XINHUA in English 1509 GMT 28 Nov 80]

ANGOLA-CONGO COMMUNIQUE--Brazzaville, November 28 (XINHUA)--An Angolan delegation led by Lucio Lara, member of the Political Bureau of MPLA-Party of Labour, visited the Congo on November 26 and 27 and had talks with high-ranking Congolese officials on defence and security of the two countries. A final communique on the talks issued by Agence Congolaise d'Information today says that the two sides thoroughly examined the questions concerning defence and security and pledged to continue their cooperation in these fields. The two sides expressed support for the U.N. resolution on the immediate independence of Namibia and reiterated "their indefectible solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people." The two sides also reaffirmed their support for the South African people in their struggle against the apartheid system. The communique adds that the two sides "expressed deep concern over the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq and hoped that the two brother countries will quickly meet with each other to solve the conflict through negotiation." Lucio Lara was twice received by Congolese President Sassou-Nguesso during his stay here. [Text] [OW281704 Beijing XINHUA in English 1633 GMT 28 Nov 80]

EL SALVADOR OPPOSITION LEADERS KILLED--Beijing, November 28 (XINHUA)--Six leaders of the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) abducted yesterday morning were found shot dead last night in a suburb of San Salvador, police said today, according to a report from San Salvador, capital of the country. Among the killed were Juan Chacon, secretaty-general of the People's Revolutionary Bloc and Humberto Mendoza, a leading member of the Popular Liberation Movement. A so-called "anti-communist brigade General Maxiliano Hernandez Martinez" issued a communique saying that the six persons were executed by the organization. [Text] [OW281835 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 28 Nov 80]

NORTHERN ISALNDS RESOLUTION--Tokyo, November 28 (XINHUA)--The House of Representatives of Japan's Diet this afternoon passed a "resolution on promoting the settlement of the northern territories issue." The House of Councillors had passed the resolution earlier. The resolution said that an early return of the northern territoties is the desire and demand of the whole Japanese nation. The government has begun organizing various activities for promoting the return of the northern territories. The government has repeatedly demanded that the Soviet Government dismantle the military installations on the northern territories. The resolution noted that to seek an early return of the northern territories, a peace treaty between Japan and the Soviet Union should be concluded, so that stable and peaceful relations can be established between the two countries. [Text] [OW281646 Beijing XINHUA in English 1636 GMT 28 Nov 80]

CEAUSESCU ON PALESTINE--Bucharest, November 29 (XINHUA)--Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu proposed that an international conference on Palestine be convened to create new conditions and new bases for talks on the Middle East. The Romanian leader said in a cable to Ruediger von Wechmar, president of the 35th U.N. General Assembly and Kurt Waldheim, secretary-general of the United Nations, on the occasion of the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people that the proposed conference would be presided over by the United Nations and attended by all sides involved in the conflict including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people as well as some other countries which could make positive contribution to the peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. He reiterated his country and people's firm support to the just struggle of the Palestinian people for the establishment of their state and for their legitimate rights to develop freely and independently. The president added Romania would do its best to help achieve a just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem, all-round peace in this region and the materialization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. [Text] [OW291524 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 29 Nov 80]

POLISH UPRISING ANNIVERSARY--Warsaw, November 29 (XINHUA)--Commemorations were held here and in the rest of the country to mark the 150th anniversary of the November 1830 uprising today. Many Warsaw citizens and members of social organizations flocked in snow to the downtown victory square and laid flowers before the tomb of the unknown soldier. A guard of honour formed by Polish servicemen in historical army uniforms saluted those who had sacrificed their lives in the uprising. The uprising which took place in November, 1830 was a mass armed uprising of the Poles against the rule of the Russian tsar and for national freedom and independence. Defeated after a year of hard struggle, it has great significance in Polish history and was commemorated every year. Polish historians held a special seminar this year for the occasion and an exhibition was held by the Warsaw Historical Museum and the Polish Army Museum where large numbers of relics and pictures including thousands of relics collected by a historian throughout his life were on display. Plays on the uprising were performed in theatres, commemorative stamps issued, commentaries and reports concerning the event released by the press, and the broadcasting and T.V. stations. Similar commemorative activities were reported to have taken place in different parts of the country. [Text] [OW301312 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 30 Nov 80]

POLISH STUDENTS END STRIKE--Warsaw, November 29 (XINHUA)--Warsaw University students ended their strike and the occupation of a university building last night. Some 220 members of the Independent Student Association of the university announced a strike and occupied a building on the morning of November 27. The strikers demanded the release of two Lublin University students who had been arrested because of their anti-Soviet speech, revision of the organic law for students and the release of political prisoners. Janusz Gorski, Polish minister of science, higher education and technology, held talks with the striking students yesterday afternoon. The two sides signed a new organic law. A spokesman of the Independent Student Association told a press conference today: "We have decided to respond to the call of Lech Walesa, chairman of the Consultative Committee of the "Solidarity" Trade Union, and called off the strike in view of the critical domestic situation despite the fact that we have not achieved the aim of our strike." [Text] [OW301255 Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 30 Nov 80]

POLISH SABOTAGE WARNING--Warsaw, November 30 (XINHUA)--The "Solidarity" Trade Union in Mazowsze in a statement yesterday called on its regional branches to launch a level-headed and firm boycott against any attempt to sabotage the normal operation of the trade unions and plants. According to a PAP report, installations in the Polish-Fiat car factory in Warsaw were sabotaged at mid-night yesterday. Six electronic consoles were damaged, stopping work for about six hours on an automatic assembly line. The statement stressed the need to maintain stability and keep work in order so as to recover the economy. The statement also urged vigilance against rumour-mongering and called for unmasking the adventurists under the cloaks of "solidarity" trade unionists. [Text] [OW301516 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 30 Nov 80]

POLISH DOMESTIC, WORLD AFFAIRS--Warsaw, November 30 (XINHUA)--Polish Independent Trade Union leader Lech Walesa told workers today that strike is the last means, and it is not proper to use this means at present. The president of the National Consultative Committee of the Independent and Self-governing "Solidarity" Trade Unions was speaking to representatives from factories of Konin Province, central Poland. He said that under the circumstances of deepening domestic crises and tense international relations, "everyone of us is first of all a Pole, and then a member of the 'solidarity' trade union." He said that Poland badly needs a "national concord" today, "so let us join our efforts to strive for a beautiful future." "We must work for the interests of the labouring people and for justice and reformation, but we must constantly serve the interests of the country," he added. The union leader has stressed time and again in his addresses to workers in Gdansk and Warsaw the seriousness of the current domestic and international situation. He said that they are facing "a threat of tanks and rockets," and they may "lose everything" if they are not careful. He called on the workers "not to forget Poland's national interests." [Text] [OW010854 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 1 Dec 80]

UK ECONOMIC POLICIES--London, November 29 (XINHUA)--An estimated 50,000 people demonstrated today in the port city of Liverpool, northwest England, against the government's economic policies and, in particular, the high level of unemployment. The demonstration was organized by the opposition Labour Party, which has recently intensified its attack on the conservative government both in parliament and in the labour movement. Unemployment has become one of the government's biggest problems. According to official figures, the total number of people out of work now is over 2.16 million, or 8.9 per cent of the work force, the highest since the depression years of the 1930s. Among adults, the seasonally adjusted rate of unemployment is up to 8.4 per cent, compared with only 5.3 per cent a year ago. [Text] [OW300930 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 30 Nov 80]

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN PREMIER IN ROMANIA--Bucharest, November 22 (XINHUA)--Lubomir Strougal, premier of Czechoslovakia, paid a friendly and working visit to Romania on November 21 and 22, according to the Romanian press agency. Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania, met Strougal today. A joint communique, made public at the end of Strougal's visit, pointed out that Strougal and Romanian Prime Minister Ilie Verdet in their talks discussed bilateral relations and exchanged views on the international issues. The joint communique said that the total value of exchange of goods between the two countries in the next five years (1981-1985) is expected to increase by 63 per cent over the present five-year period (1976-1980). The two sides will increase cooperation in machine building, electrical engineering, electronics, chemical industry, consumer goods and agriculture. [Text] [OW230008 Beijing XINHUA in English 0757 GMT 23 Nov 80]

POLISH AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS--Warsaw, November 21 (XINHUA)--A two-day Polish parliamentary session ended today with Poland's critical agricultural situation as the main topic. Opening the discussion on the food situation, Polish Agricultural Minister Leon Klonica said the Polish farmers would receive higher prices for meat and milk as an incentive to increase production. However he reaffirmed that meat rationing will soon be implemented. He also announced increases in the prices to be paid to farmers for produce. The agricultural minister stressed the gravity of this year's food situation. The grain harvest was 3.2 million tonnes below target, the potato crop 18 million tonnes below and sugar beets, 6.6 million tonnes below. On the first day of the session, Polish Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski reported to the parliament on the status of the implementation of the agreements signed with workers in the wake of the strike. He said that while "progress has been observed in the rapprochements between the aspirations of the party and governmental authorities and those of the working people ... we shall also wage a political struggle against those forces which base themselves on negation and strive to weaken the foundations of our national existence." Polish Prime Minister Josef Pinkowski made a report at the session today on domestic political and economic situation and proposed a reshuffling of the government. [Text] [OW221306 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 22 Nov 80]

POLAND NAMES CATHOLIC OFFICIAL--Warsaw, November 21 (XINHUA)--Poland's parliament named Jerzy Ozdowski, a 55-year-old economics professor, as a deputy premier today. He was appointed deputy premier with responsibility for family and social affairs and becomes the first Roman Catholic to hold such a high government position in the People's Republic of Poland. The parliament approved the removal of four ministers. Jerzy Brzostek, deputy mayor of Warsaw, was named as construction minister. Deputy labor minister Janusz Obodowski was elevated to minister while Stanislaw Ciosek was approved as minister without portfolio in charge of labor relations. The health minister's post was left vacant. Vice minister of health Tadeusz Szelachowski was named acting chief of the ministry. [Text] [OW221557 Beijing XINHUA in English 1518 GMT 22 Nov 80]

EUROPEAN, SUPERPOWERS FUTURE--Brussels, November 22 (XINHUA)--Western Europe "should and is able to have a say about their own destiny" and the situation "is not condemned to evolving solely in the direction carved out by the Soviet Union" said Professor Thierry de Montbrial, director of the "French Institute of International Relations," here recently. In a speech to a meeting of the "Royal Institute of International Relations of Brussels" held under the title "The Future of Europe and the Superpowers," the French professor pointed out that Europeans should fulfil their obligations in defense and the neutralist tendencies which have cropped up in recent years, notably over the deployment of theatre nuclear force, should be corrected. There should be less "verbalism," but more independent actions for the Europeans in external relations, he noted. He also said that the Europeans should not limit themselves to voicing comments and views on events, they should play a greater role in the economic, historical and cultural fields. [Text] [OW221902 Beijing XINHUA in English 1845 GMT 22 Nov 80]

ITALIAN ESPIONAGE CASE--Rome, November 23 (XINHUA)--An espionage case of selling blueprints of an advanced military radar to the East was recently uncovered in Italy, according to press reports here today. When two members of an espionage organization, mainly composed of technicians of the

"Selenia" Corporation, a military electronics industrial company of Italy, handed over the blueprints to a buyer at a hotel here, they were caught in the act by Italian military security personnel. Other criminals were also arrested. [Text] [OW231542 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 23 Nov 80]

MILITARY EXERCISES--Canberra, November 22 (XINHUA)--A series of joint military exercises by Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore and the United Kingdom, including a land force mock warfare in Australia in mid-1981, has been proposed, according to a spokesman of the Australian Defence Department. The proposals were worked out by service planners from the five countries at a 3-day meeting ending here yesterday. The meeting was called in accordance with an agreement among the five countries on multinational war games. The recommendations included those for joint air exercises in the Malaysian-Singaporean area, and a joint maritime exercise in the waters of the same area in mid-1981 when planned ship visits to these two countries are made. [Text] [OW221308 Beijing XINHUA in English 1243 GMT 22 Nov 80]

INDONESIAN OFFICIAL IN THAILAND--Bangkok, November 22 (XINHUA)--Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusummatmaja left here for Singapore this morning after a two-day visit to Thailand. He had two hours of talks with his Thai counterpart Sitthi Sawetsila yesterday on ASEAN's next move following the U.N. victory on the Kampuchean problem. He was also briefed by Sitthi on the results of Thai Prime Minister's China visit late last month and a trip by Thai Deputy Foreign Minister Arun Phanuphong to the Soviet Union and other European countries. After the talks, Mochtar told correspondents that their discussion was very fruitful. ASEAN was still firm in its proposal on the Kampuchean issue despite claims by Hanoi that the ASEAN proposal constitutes an interference in Kampuchea's internal affairs. ASEAN must keep up its efforts to get Vietnam to abide by the U.N. resolution on the Kampuchean problem. But so far there had not been indication that Vietnam would attend the ASEAN-proposed international conference on Kampuchea, he said. He denied a press report that Indonesian President Suharto planned to visit Hanoi in the near future. [Text] [OW221300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1246 GMT 22 Nov 80]

INDONESIAN DEVELOPMENT POLICY--Hong Kong, November 22 (XINHUA)--Indonesian President Suharto yesterday stressed that Indonesia's development should be based on the nation's own abilities which would phase by phase release it from dependence on foreign aid, according to a report from Jakarta. Addressing the closing ceremony of the veteran legion's plenary session in the State Palace, President Suharto pointed out that "it is still our determination to remain free both politically and economically." Indonesia still accepts foreign aid, and has even invited foreign investors to participate in its development plans, and has adopted foreign technology. "This doesn't necessarily mean that we depend totally upon foreign economic power," the president added. "What we have done so far, is moving steadily, stage by stage, so we will be able to stand on our own feet." He pointed out that the most important thing is to have a strong will to develop the country based on our own ideas and according to our own direction. He said that despite the progress made in the programmes for self-sufficiency in food and cloth, Indonesia still faces many problems. "We still face housing problems, we should meet the increasing demand for health facilities, we should deal with the education problems of our children and we even have to make available millions of job opportunities in the future," Suharto said. [Text] [OW221212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1202 GMT 22 Nov 80]

SRV TROOPS IN KAMPUCHEA--Beijing, November 23 (XINHUA)--Sri Lanka and Singapore shared the view that Vietnamese troops must withdraw completely from Kampuchea, according to a report from Singapore today. Speaking to newsmen before leaving for home after a week-long visit to Singapore today, Sri Lanka Deputy Foreign Minister Tyronne Fernando said: "We take a very firm stand and will not change our view on the Kampuchean situation." Expressing his country's stand, he reaffirmed: "We will not accept any regime that violates the non-aligned movement's policy." Sri Lanka also took the same stand as Singapore on the question of Soviet aggression and occupation of Afghanistan, he added. Turning to bilateral ties, Fernando said that more than 20 Singapore companies are now operating in Sri Lanka. He expressed confidence that more investors will be coming to his country in the near future. [Text] [OW230734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 23 Nov 80]

INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY AGREEMENT--Hong Kong, November 24 (XINHUA)--The International Rubber Agreement (INRA) headquarters will be established in Kuala Lumpur, capital of Malaysia, according to Malaysian press reports recently. The decision was made in Geneva on November 21 at the first conference of the International Natural Rubber Council. Wong Kam Choon, deputy secretary general of Malaysian Ministry of Prime Industries, was elected president of the council. Malaysian Minister of Prime Industries Paul Leong Khee Seong in a message on November 21 said that since this is the first time that the headquarters of an international commodity will be set up in a developing country, this is a victory not only for his country but also for natural rubber producing and developing countries. [Text] [OW240907 Beijing XINHUA in English 0850 GMT 24 Nov 80]

PORTUGAL FIGHTS SOVIET EXPANSION--Lisbon, November 17 (XINHUA)--Portugal in the coming year will maintain its position of combating Soviet expansionism on the side of its friendly ally the United States, Vice-Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Diogo Freitas do Amaral declared in a nationwide televised speech here this evening. Portugal is not equidistant from the United States and the Soviet Union, he added. The Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan, he went on to say, "is more than a war episode on the international stage. It constitutes a new, unprecedented political reality in our times--the use of Soviet armed forces outright beyond the Warsaw Pact group." The intervention has posed a menace to an area which is vital to the survival of the West, he noted. Referring to the war between Iraq and Iran, he expressed fear that it could provide an opportunity for the Soviet Union to control the Hormuz Straits. Portugal remains neutral in the conflict between the two countries, he declared. [Text] [OW181234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 18 Nov 80]

IRANIAN DELEGATION IN PAKISTAN--Islamabad, December 3 (XINHUA)--An Iranian parliamentary delegation and Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi discussed here yesterday the Islamic countries' efforts to stop the hostilities between Iran and Iraq and to find a settlement to it based on the principle of justice. The two-member Iranian delegation led by Hujjatul Islam Imami Kashani, chairman of the Islamic preaching committee of the Iranian parliament, has come to Pakistan after visiting India and Bangladesh. Imami Kashani told the press here today that he was satisfied with the talks he had held with the Pakistani foreign minister. He said that Iran will not negotiate with Iraq as long as there is one single Iraqi soldier on Iranian territory. [Text] [OW031722 Beijing XINHUA in English 1640 GMT 3 Dec 80]

SOVIET-SYRIAN TREATY--Damascus, December 3 (XINHUA)--The Soviet-Syrian friendship and cooperation treaty went into effect yesterday, according to press communiques simultaneously issued in Damascus and Moscow last night. Soviet first vice-president of the Supreme Soviet Vasiliy Kuznetsov arrived here on December 1 specially for the exchange of the instruments of ratification of the treaty signed by Brezhnev and Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad in Moscow on October 8. Observers here believed that the treaty will strengthen the Soviet Union's presence in Syria. According to the "Tishrin," Syrian President Al-Asad had a talk with Kuznetsov last night on the Middle East and international situation. They reached like-minded views on a number of problems including the war between Iran and Iraq. [Text] [OW031542 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 3 Dec 80]

U.S. OFFICIAL IN ALGERIA--Algiers, December 3 (XINHUA)--U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher flew to Washington tonight after handing the Algerian intermediaries a message in reply to the conditions set by the Iranian Majlis for freeing the 52 American hostages. Prior to his departure, Christopher and his delegation held talks with Foreign Minister Mohamed Ben Yahia and other Algerian officials. They gave the Algerians a detailed and documented explanation. An Algerian delegation will leave for Tehran tonight to deliver the U.S. reply to the Iranian Government. [Text] [OW040833 Beijing XINHUA in English 0715 GMT 4 Dec 80]

MUSIC ENSEMBLE IN CAIRO--Cairo, December 1 (XINHUA)--China's Oriental Song and Dance ensemble tonight gave its last performance at the Serwich Theatre here to the warm welcome of the Egyptian audience. Five performances were given by the ensemble from November 28 to December 1. Among the audience were Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali, first under-secretary Fu'ad al-'Urabi and under-secretary Ahaf al-Shaq of the Culture Ministry. Both Chinese and Egyptian songs and dances, performed by the Chinese artists, were praised by the Egyptian audience, and videotaped by the television. The Chinese artists also learned Egyptian dances and learned to play Egyptian musical instruments from their Egyptian colleagues. China's Oriental Song and Dance ensemble arrived here on November 19 after giving performances in Alexandria. The ensemble will leave for the Sudan on December 5. [Text] [OW020854 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 2 Dec 80]

USSR-SYRIAN TALKS--Damascus, December 2 (XINHUA)--Syrian Premier 'Abd Ar-Ra'uf al-Kasm and the Soviet first vice-president of the Supreme Soviet Vasily Kuznetsov had a talk last night on the general situation in the Middle East and a number of events that occurred in the area, according to the Syrian News Agency. The two sides also discussed the international situation, especially the latest developments in the United States and in the Middle and Near East. Kuznetsov arrived here yesterday afternoon. During his three-day visit to Syria, the two sides will exchange the instruments of ratification of the Soviet-Syrian friendship and cooperation treaty signed in Moscow on October 8. According to observers here, Kuznetsov's visit takes place at a time when tension grows over a military build-up on both sides of the Syrian-Jordanian border following the 11th Arab summit in Amman. [Text] [OW021522 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 2 Dec 80]

AL-SADAT MEETS U.S. CONGRESSMEN--Cairo, December 2 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat yesterday expressed the hope that U.S. president-elect Ronald Reagan would play a more effective role in the Middle East peace process, AL-AHRAM reported today. In his talks with a visiting U.S.congressmen delegation here, Al-Sadat also said that he hoped a tripartite summit between Menahem Begin, Reagan and himself would be held next spring. Al-Sadat asserted that he would not give, under any circumstances, the Americans any bases in Sinai, however, he explained, "if the United States asks for help in the form of temporary facilities, it is O.K. because we are friends." Al-Sadat believed that the future of the West Bank should be determined by the people of Palestine there and if they want a confederation with Jordan it is up to them. On the Lebanon problem, Al-Sadat said that the solution to it lies in the withdrawal of Syria from Lebanon, so that the Lebanese can determine their own destiny. In another interview, with the French magazine LUI, Al-Sadat said that Reagan could not change anything in the peace process now, because the Egyptians and Israelis had decided in Camp David not to resort to war again. He explained it is possible that amendments would be made to the two Camp David accords, but they should not change anything essential. [Text] [OW021308 Beijing XINHUA in English 1256 GMT 2 Dec 80]

IRAQ URGES ARAB SUPPORT--Baghdad, December 2 (XINHUA)--Iraqi President Saddam Husayn today called on the Third World people and all honest people in the world to support the Palestinian Arab people and all other people suffering from oppression. The president made the appeal in a message to the chairman of the UN committee on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people on the occasion of the international day for solidarity with the Palestinian people. He said that the heroic struggle of the Palestinian Arab people and the whole Arab nation against Zionist occupation had drawn attention of the world to the catastrophe suffered by these people. He accused the United States of aiding the "usurpist Zionist entity." [Text] [OW030250 Beijing XINHUA in English 0240 GMT 3 Dec 80]

CHRISTOPHER MESSAGE TO IRAN--Algiers, December 2 (XINHUA)--A U.S. Government delegation headed by Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher arrived here this morning with the U.S. response to terms set by the Iranian parliament for freeing the 52 American hostages. The first U.S. delegation came to Algiers on November 10. The delegation is bringing the U.S. clarification of its reply to Iran's demands conveyed by the Algerian intermediaries to the U.S. State Department on November 25. Algeria is serving as an intermediary in the hostage negotiations between Iran and the United States. [Text] [OW021848 Beijing XINHUA in English 1841 GMT 2 Dec 80]

ISLAMIC CONFERENCE--Paris, November 27 (XINHUA)--"We do not recognize the Kabul government and Afghanistan's seat at the Islamic conference remains vacant," said Habib Chatti, secretary-general of the Organization of the Islamic Conference here today. Speaking at a press luncheon, Habib Chatti stressed that the meeting of the heads of state and government of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to be held in Saudi Arabia next January 24 will reiterate their stand of non-recognition of the Kabul regime. He noted: "The Soviet Union remains intransigent and accepts neither compromise nor dialogue." "When he made contact with the Soviet Union, it demanded the recognition of the Kabul government. To this day we have not been able to negotiate directly with the Soviet Union because we do not recognize that government. We consider the Kabul government illegitimate because it was formed after the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan and is propped up thanks to the presence of foreign troops," he said. Referring to the Iraq-Iran war, the secretary-general said that the Islamic conference is the best place for mediation between the two Islamic countries. He is prepared to go to Iran and Iraq again if "there is a gleam of hope for a cease-fire," he said. [Text] [OW281224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 28 Nov 80]

BANGLADESH SUPPORTS PALESTINIANS--Dacca, November 30 (XINHUA)--President Ziaur Rahman reiterated Bangladesh's total support for the Palestinian peoples in exercise of their inalienable rights and stressed the need for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, Radio Bangladesh reported this morning. In a message to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, on the occasion of the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people, Rahman said that no solution can be envisaged if the inalienable rights of the Palestine people to return to their homeland, to self-determination, independence and territorial sovereignty are not restored. [Text] [OW300830 Beijing XINHUA in English 0815 GMT 30 Nov 80]

SRI LANKA SUPPORTS PALESTINIANS--Colombo, November 30 (XINHUA)--President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday reiterated Sri Lanka's full support for the Palestinian people in their struggle for their inalienable rights to return to their homeland, the paper WEEKEND reported today. The president made this declaration in a Palestine day message read out by deputy foreign minister Tyronne Fernando at a special seminar held here yesterday. Speaking at the seminar which was organised by the Sri Lanka Committee for Solidarity with Palestine, Fernando said the government politically and diplomatically recognises the rights of the Palestinian people and has extended its full support to Palestine at all international fora. Sri Lanka has worked hard for the acceptance of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in the process of settling the Palestine issue, he said. The deputy minister also condemned Israeli "occupation and policy of annexation." [Text] [OW300901 Beijing XINHUA in English 0801 GMT 30 Nov 80]

PAKISTANI-INDIAN RELATIONS--Islamabad, November 21 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq said that every effort would be made to maintain peace and harmonious relations between Pakistan and India. He arrived at the Quetta Airport today for a four-day visit in Baluchistan Province. Replying to a question by a newsman about a London newspaper report that India was preparing for having another round of war with Pakistan, the president said that it was one of the statements of an Indian political leader Dr. Subramanian Swamy. However, he said that it would be his earnest endeavour to have cordial relations with India. Asked about the reported threat to Pakistan by Babrak Karmal, head of the puppet regime in Afghanistan, on his return from the Soviet Union, the president said that no power on earth could harm Pakistan and there should be no cause for any anxiety among the people so long as they remained united. Never before the nation was so united as it was today, he added. [Text] [OW211945 Beijing XINHUA in English 1938 GMT 21 Nov 80]

USSR INVASION CONDEMNED--Stockholm, November 22 (XINHUA)--An exiled former Afghan senior official said Afghanistan today has become an entirely paralyzed country, DAGENS NYHETER reported today. Shirin Gul Sherdel, who asked for political asylum last April when attending the U.N. telecommunication conference in Kalmar, Sweden, told the paper that in Afghanistan communication was at a standstill, schools and universities were closed and trade and agriculture stagnant. Shell fragments could be seen everywhere and people were fleeing the country in groups. The power struggle within the Afghan ruling party had paralyzed government activities, he disclosed. With numerous defections, the Afghan army had hardly any combat capability and found it difficult to get new recruits. The conscription age was recently reduced from 22 to 21. The central government was unable to exercise control over the provinces, he added. Sherdel had eye-witnessed how Soviet troops looted the department where he had worked and destroyed the documents there. He said the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was only a step in the Soviet effort to gain access to the warm water ports in the Indian Ocean. He demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from his country. [Text] [OW231258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 23 Nov 80]

INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION--Warsaw, 19 Nov (XINHUA)--The National Consultative Committee of the Polish Independent and Self-governing "Solidarity" Trade Union held a meeting in Szczecin on 19 November to discuss the domestic situation and the independent trade union's action program, election and other organizational work. According to a PAP report, Walesa pointed out when meeting with local workers' representatives that the new trade union's most important task was to perfect its organizational work. He stressed that in the present situation it was imperative to further stabilize the people's livelihood. [Text] [OW220515 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0757 GMT 20 Nov 80]

POLISH AGRICULTURAL PRICES--Warsaw, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--The Polish Government recently decided to raise the purchase prices for farm and animal husbandry products so as to arouse the peasants' enthusiasm for production and to help solve the increasing difficulty in market supply. According to a resolution of the Council of Ministers, the per-kg purchase price will be raised by 25 percent for milk and beef cattle, 16 percent for hogs and 21 percent for poultry, effective 21 November 1980. Effective 1 July 1981, there will be a rise in the purchase prices for farm products. The purchase price for each quintal of grain will be raised by 33 percent. In addition, the government decided to raise the sales price for highly concentrated animal feed, effective 21 November 1980. The sale price for ordinary animal feed will also be raised when the resolution of adjusting the grain purchase price becomes effective next year. Sources said that because of the higher purchase prices of farm and animal husbandry products, the net income of the Polish peasants is expected to increase by 33.4 billion zlotys (approximately US$1.1 billion) in 1981. [Text] [OW221717 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1211 GMT 21 Nov 80]

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN TRAVEL TO POLAND--Prague, 21 Nov (XINHUA)--The Czechoslovak State Bank has announced a regulation that effective 20 November, Czechoslovak citizens traveling to Poland who have bought Polish currency at the bank are eligible again for such purchase only after a period of no less than 90 days, according to a Czechoslovak News Agency report. Since the signing of an agreement between Czechoslovakia and Poland in July 1977 to facilitate travel by citizens of both countries, Czechoslovak citizens could buy Polish currency from state banks at any time. The regulation in fact has imposed restrictions on Czechoslovak citizens' travel to Poland. According to the same report, this regulation does not apply to citizens traveling to Poland for urgent matters who need special consideration. The report adds that Poland has adopted similar measures for its citizens' travel to Czechoslovakia. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1522 GMT 21 Nov 80 OW]

MOSCOW RADIO IMITATES BBC--A XINHUA report from London says that according to British press and radio broadcasts, the Soviet radio station, in recent propaganda broadcasts to foreign countries, has imitated the British radio and conducted a war of propaganda to mislead the audience. The report says: In its broadcasts to certain areas of the world, particularly to East Africa, Moscow Radio has vigorously imitated the BBC's broadcasts to foreign countries. Moscow Radio has begun its broadcasts with the sound of the chime and uses frequencies similar to British ones. To mislead the audience, Moscow Radio has intentionally not announced its station name prior to its news broadcast. The report says: The Soviet authorities have also plotted to mislead the domestic audience. The Soviet Union has been denounced by justice-upholding countries and public opinion the world over for its support of Vietnam's invasion and occupations of Kampuchea and particularly its armed invasion of Afghanistan. To cover up this predicament, the Soviet Government has vigorously interfered in foreign radio stations' Russian-language broadcasts so as to prevent the Soviet people from knowing the facts. [Text] [OW250056 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 25 Nov 80]

CSO: 4005

INSIDE LOOK AT CULTURAL REVOLUTION STRUGGLE CONTINUED

Hong Kong ZHENG MING in Chinese Nos 34, 36, 1 Aug, 1 Oct 80

[Political report by Ji Xichen [4764 1585 2525]: "The Beginning and End of the 'Adverse February Current of 1967'"; originally carried in SHI DAI DI BAO GAO [Reportage of the Times] No 1, 1980. First three parts published in JPRS 76237, 15 August 1980, No 105 of this series, pp 17-58]

[Part IV, No 34, 1 Aug 80 pp 76-77]

[Text] Besieged Zhou Enlai Suffering Another Heart Attack

In the morning of 27 August, Comrade Zhou Enlai, who had been working continuously for 18 hours, was besieged again by another batch of people and hence suffered one more heart attack. But these people would not listen to admonition, declaring that they would stop Comrade Chen Yi's car and insist on having an impact on him. Comrade Zhou Enlai very angrily warned them:

"If anybody tries to stop Comrade Chen Yi's car, I am going to thrust myself forward immediately; if you want to rush today, I am definitely going to be present and stand at the entrance of the Great Hall, and let you trample over me!"

Concerning this power seizure at the Foreign Ministry, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out at one time in June 1972 in a conversation with foreign guests:

"The Foreign Ministry was subject to power-seizure by the 'leftists.' For one month and a half, power was not in our hands but in the hands of those 'leftists.' These so-called 'leftists' were actually counterrevolutionaries!"

Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Chen Yi were revolutionaries of the older generation close to Chairman Mao at the time. When Chairman Mao received foreign guests, the two of them always participated. Taking advantage of such opportunities at the reception of foreign guests, Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Chen Yi made direct briefings to Chairman Mao on certain actual situations. Toward this, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their ilk held utmost hatred and also great fears; hence, they plotted in every way to overthrow comrades Zhou Enlai and Chen Yi in a vain attempt to upstage Chairman Mao, realize power seizure, and "manhandle the Emperor in order to boss over the princes" [like in the olden days].

Liu Xiang Slaps Tan Zhenlin

On 19 August, a criticism and struggle meeting against Comrade Tan Zhenlin was convened at the National People's Congress Auditorium." At this meeting, Comrade Zhou Enlai repeatedly emphasized struggle by reasoning and not by force in order to protect Comrade Tan Zhenlin. During the meeting, Comrade Zhou Enlai temporarily left the Hall; the female minister the "gang of four" placed at the Ministry of Public Health actually shamelessly took this opportunity to rush onto the stage and slapped Comrade Tan Zhenlin's face a couple of times.

Then, immediately, three husky fellows jumped onto the stage, lifted Comrade Tan Zhenlin off his feet, rained a whirl of fists and kicks on him, and knocked him on the floor and trampled on his back a couple of times.

Against this erroneous method, Comrade Li Xiannian protested on the spot: "Premier Zhou had an understanding with you well in advance, that you may criticize but not struggle by force! If you handle things this way, I must withdraw from this meeting place."

On 7 September 1967, part of the revolutionary teachers and students at the Beijing Normal University convened a meeting to expose and criticize the criminal conduct of Tan Houlan [6223 0624 5695] concerning his opposition to Premier Zhou and several vice premiers, and his opposition to the party and sabotage of the army. This revolutionary action was subject to suppression by Jiang Qing and her ilk, who regarded this "7 September Incident" as a counterrevolutionary political incident designed to reverse the verdict for the "Adverse February Current" and thereby persecuted more than 100 teachers, students and cadres.

Jiang Qing Declares Tan Zhenlin To Be a "Great Renegade"

March and April 1968 constituted what Chen Boda described as "the 5th round of the decisive battle" in the fight against the "Adverse February Current." At the great rally of 100,000 people on 27 March, Jiang Qing alleged criminal conduct groundlessly by declaring Comrade Tan Zhenlin as a "great renegade." At the same time, she announced that Yang Chengwu [2799 2052 2976], Fu Chongbi [0265 1504 4310], and others attempted to reverse the verdict for the "Adverse February Current" and hence dismissed them from their posts; she also arrested Comrade Yu Lijin [0151 4539 6855], appointed Huang Yongsheng as Chief of Staff, and further consolidated the power they had seized.

In the nationwide fight against the "Adverse February Current," from the central to the local levels of government, they seized power at each level and grabbed and struggled against people at each level; they set up kangaroo courts, conducted savage trials, resorted unrestrainedly to beating, smashing and looting, and continued to carry out acts of the like for more than 3 years. In this way, they succeeded in basically overthrowing the old cadres in the national arena through this fight against the "Adverse February Current," and thereby realized power-seizure in the whole country!

"A Strong Wind Reveals the Strength of Grass, a Time of Lawlessness Makes a Forthright Person Recognizable"

"A strong wind reveals the strength of grass, a time of lawlessness makes a forthright person recognizable. How can a temerarious fellow discern justice? A wise man is bound to cherish benevolence." These are the four stanzas written by Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty in his poem "Granted to Xiao Yu [5618 3846]." In the stormy weather while Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway and in those turbulent days of "lawlessness," revolutionaries of the older generation and a large contingent of old cadres all went through a stern test.

The Six Including Ye Jianying and Others Were Criticized and Struggled Against

At the 12th Plenum of the 8th Party Central Committee in October 1968, Lin Biao and his underlings plotted commando raids; they separated the six old comrades excluding Comrade Tan Zhenlin, set up a special group around each one of them, besieged them, criticized them and struggled against them ceaselessly, and indulged in obtaining confessions by compulsion in order to give themselves credence.

Comrade Nie Rongzhen once went to some of the Political Bureau members to exchange opinions on their work; Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their underlings immediately framed them as an "anti-Party clique" and proceeded to keep them under surveillance. Someone even presented the recording of Comrade Nie Rongzhen's activities while he was under surveillance and forced him to acknowledge them. Comrade Nie Rongzhen severely denounced such a fascist crime on the spot:

"Can we members of the Political Bureau not have any communication at all? Can we not discuss any problems with one another? Then, what democracy is there left in the party? What is this you are practicing? It is espionage!"

Comrades Ye Jianying, Nie Rongzhen, Chen Yi, Xu Xiangqian, Li Xiannian, and Li Fuchun would attend meetings every day while they were sick; sometimes even their request for a leave of absence to write their "self-examination" was turned down. These vice premiers and old teachers who were thus harassed to the point of exhaustion could only lie down on the sofas for some rest during the intermission between meetings. When they could not seize any problems with the old teachers at a certain meeting, they simply groundlessly accused comrades Ye Jianying and Nie Rongzhen as the dark back-of-the-scene perpetrators of the so-called "Yang Yufu [2799 0151 0265] Incident."

Mao Zedong Raised the Siege for Nie Rongzhen

Comrade Nie Rongzhen went to ask Lin Biao: What was the matter?

Lin Biao cunningly argued: Nobody was named.

Comrade Nie Rongzhen retorted angrily:

"It is worse when you refrain from naming anyone rather than naming someone. I'd rather face a revealed gun than become the target of a concealed arrow!"

Later on, when Comrade Mao Zedong received certain representatives of the masses, he said to Comrade Nie Rongzhen in front of Lin Biao:

"You don't need to shoulder the burden. The behind-the-scene perpetrators do not include you; the first of them is myself, the second is Lin Biao...."

At the conclusion of the 12th Plenum of the 8th Party Central Committee, Lin Biao and the "gang of Four," in order to continue to persecute the old teachers, again fabricated lies and planted a hidden plot by suddenly issuing a "bulletin" of a meeting that was also ready concluded for several days.

This "bulletin" not only framed the wife of Comrade Xu Xiangqian and the wife of Comrade Nie Rongzhen as "renegade, spy," but also purposely revealed the incident that, in mid-April 1948, when Comrade Mao Zedong advanced from the Shanxi-Suiyuan border area to the Shanxi-Chahar border area temporarily stayed at the military district headquarters in Chennan Manor, Fuping County, his station was subject to strafing and bombing by Kuomintang planes.

They put two events together, purposely fabricated a pretext to frame Comrades Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen, who were commanding the war effort at the front at the time, in a vain attempt to attach the label of conniving with the enemy on them to put them to death.

Nie Rongzhen Defended Mao Zedong

Chennan Manor was where the headquarters of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei military district was situated at the time. When commanding officer Nie Rongzhen of this military district heard the news about Chairman Mao's impending arrival, he immediately gathered the personnel concerned and personally deployed and arranged Chairman Mao's security and sentry work and room and board facilities.

General Nie vacated the two-room suite he himself was occupying, had it repaired, and let Chairman Mao stay in there, while he himself moved into another room right next to Chairman Mao's suite. He carefully examined the table, chairs, bed and furnishings of the like in Chairman Mao's suite, and then asked a comrade with a tall physique to sit in the lounge to test it; realizing that it was not sturdy enough, he then had his own lounge placed in its stead in Chairman Mao's suite. In order to protect him against the attack by enemy planes, he also organized people to dig a shelter at the foot of the hill not far behind the suite.

Before Chairman Mao even entered the area under the jurisdiction of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei military district, General Nie already dispatched sentry cadres to take a company of guards to meet and protect him at a distance. After Chairman Mao's arrival at the Chennan Manor, General Nie again made concrete arrangements and personal inspection of the security and sentry work for Chairman Mao. General Nie often accompanied Chairman Mao to take a walk outside, and sometimes he went to inspect the situation of the on-going security and sentry work personally even in the middle of the night.

In one morning, an enemy plane sneaked into the air space above the station on a reconnaissance mission; then two other planes also followed. When General Nie heard the droning planes, he determined that the enemy planes were going to come to bomb the area. Sure enough, the two planes that flew over later started to cruise around above the Chennan Manor. Because he worked all night, Chairman Mao did not go to bed until dawn and therefore was not yet up. General Nie woke up Chairman Mao in a hurry, saying:

"The enemy planes are about to bomb us, please enter the shelter at once!"

Then, he immediately went to inspect the shelter and the sentry situation there. Seeing that Chairman Mao was still not there when he emerged from the shelter, General Nie again rushed back to Chairman Mao's suite to urge him to hurry up. Chairman Mao observed gallantly:

"What is there to be afraid of? At most, some pieces of steel will be thrown down; we can just use them to hammer into a few hoes to reclaim land somewhere."

At this moment, the enemy planes flew lower and lower, and the situation was extremely urgent. Said General Nie:

"This won't do. The entire party and the entire army obey you, but right now you have to listen to me."

After finishing what he had to say, he immediately ordered the sentry personnel and, together with he himself and Comrade Zhao Erlu]6392 3643 7120], moved quickly to put Chairman Mao on a stretcher and take him to the shelter. And as soon as he was sent into the shelter, several loud bangs were heard, and black smoke rushed skyward.

[Part V, No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 68-71]

[Text] Jiang Qing Frames Nie Rongzhen

During this bombing, the enemy planes dropped five bombs altogether, of which two fell and exploded only a few scores of meters away from where Chairman Mao's suite stood. The windows of the house were all blown off, and furniture in the rooms were shaken into a topsy-turvy condition; the thermos bottle on the table fell on the ground and broke into pieces. When people on the scene witnessed this situation, they all hailed with relief:

"Why, if not because of General Nie's alert determination and instant order, it would have been really dangerous for Chairman Mao this time!"

Concerning this bombing by the enemy planes, it was later found out from an inspection of the files of the enemy and puppet authorities after Datong and Baoding were liberated that the culprit who originated this sortie was a traitor in the commanding headquarters. Since the evidence was authentic and verified, and the confession was made without any mincing of any words after a formal trial, the traitor, under such circumstances, was eventually executed. At the time of the bombing, it was clear that Comrade Nie was the one who did his utmost to protect Comrade Mao Zedong and who thus made a meritorious contribution to the party and the people. Jiang Qing was also at Chennan Manor at the time and was aware of the entire situation. Yet, shortly after the conclusion of the Twelfth Plenum of the 8th Party Committee, it was alleged with a bloody smear in the bulletin that included Jiang Qing's statement that Comrade Nie wanted to execute the culprit only to shut his mouth, thus heartlessly framing Comrade Nie Rongzhen for a premeditated attempt on Comrade Mao Zedong's life. This was venomous to the extreme!

Xu Xiangqian's House Was Ransacked Three Times

Comrade Xu Xiangqian has had his house ransacked three time at different times. Comrade Ye Jianying especially telephoned him and enthusiastically invited him to stay at his place. At the time, the documents, letters, and even battlefield diaries in Xu's house were all taken away; but they caught not even a single rice stalk. What did they see? They saw a loyal and sincere Communist warrior and his selfless fighting in a life of several decades in the military ranks. Comrade Xu Xiangqian, along with his comrades-in-arms and countless martyrs, has colored the war banners red with his very own fresh blood. He said:

"We have constantly flirted with death in following Chairman Mao in a revolution of several decades, and we have also made not a few mistakes. But we are loyal and dedicated to the party and to the revolution without any cringing conscience!"

General Xu's hair is grey-white, but his spirit is vigorous; a light of excitement shines in his eyes, and his voice is loud and clear.

"This is not a personal question. This is a struggle relating to the destiny of the party and the state. As the ones who have fought all their lives for the party, can we allow them to ruin the party? When we see that they have sabotaged the cause of the party to such a degree, can we refrain from feeling resentful? Can we help wanting to rise and get on with the struggle?

When we spoke of the "bulletin" by which Jiang Qing framed him, General Xu waved his arms energetically while his two hands gesticulated by now pulling together and then thrusting apart in front of him, angrily saying:

"They slandered us for wanting to stage a coup, wantonly alleging that the coup was scheduled in July, August, or September.... All these lies were meant to have us overthrown, so that obstacles in their way to usurping the party and seizing power would be removed."

Li Xiannian Was Slandered as a "Great Ringleader of the Renegades"

Comrade Li Xiannian, who had during the war years persevered in armed struggle for long period of time in the Dabie Mountain region and the central plain areas, was given the order in 1946 by the central authorities to march northward to break the siege. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" actually fabricated the rumors that he was a "great ringleader of the renegades." This was immeidately refuted with vigor by Comrades Wang Zhen [3769 7201], Wang Shusheng [3769 2885 5116], and others who had participated in leading the march to break the siege. Using a large number of sure proofs and evidence, they denounced the framing attempt and protected Comrade Li Xiannian. Bringing out the conference minutes concerning the battle to break the siege at the time, Comrades Wang Zhen and others said:

"All of these were a history personally experienced by us; how can we allow them to be turned upside down?!"

The people in the Dabie Mountain region still remember vividly that, during the great flood-like movement of the revolution, it was comrades like Dong Biwu, Chen Tanqiu and others who spread the embers of the revolution in the eastern Hubei areas, and it was comrades like Cao Xuekai [2580 1331 2818], Wu Huansheng [0702 3562 3932], Wang Shusheng and others who lighted up the storches of uprising in Huangan and Macheng. In the midst of those burning struggles, there was a young carpenter who laid down the big saw in his hand and picked up a weapon and lunged into the ocean of revolutionary war. This youth was none other than Comrade Li Xiannian.

The Red Guards and the guerrilla bands grew into the heroic Red Army. Comrade Li Xiannian served as a regiment political commissar in the Red Army. And when he became a division political commissar in the Red Army, he was but 20 years old.

Later, the Red 4th Field Army shifted from the Dabie Mountain to the Daba Mountain and opened up the Sichuan-Shaanxi Soviet District. On the Long March, he, as the army political commissar of a principal Army, led his troops to carry on the bitter struggle west of the Yellow River; their ammunitions were exhausted and their provisions low, but they had to break through the snowy and icy terrain of the Qilian Mountain region. During the War of Resistance Against Japan and wars of liberation, he again led his troops to spearhead the march through the central plains and fought between the Changjiang River and its tributaries and the great lakes.

Such a heroic warrior should actually be slandered by the Lin Biao gang as a "great ringleader of the renegades," how can one help feeling resentful?!

Jiang Qing Frames Ye Jianying and Resorts to a Coup

The Lin Biao gang looked upon a Comrade Ye Jianying dedicated to the cause of liberation of the Chinese people as an insurmountable obstacle in their attempt to usurp the party and seize power, and hence plotted in every way to have him overthrown. At one meeting of the Central Committee, renegade Jinag Qing suddenly took the plunge and slandered Comrade Ye Jianying as "wanting to stage a coup!"

That adviser, "theoretical authority," immediately followed with: "I also have some opinion about Xu Xiangqian and Chen Yi!" She thereby also slandered these old teachers for wanting to "stage a coup."

Comrade Ye Jianying retorted on the spot:

I have followed Chairman Mao in this revolution for several decades; whether it was during the Long March, or at Yanan, whether in the planning and directing of the whole Army in battle, or in the various struggles over the line since the liberation, I have always faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's directives and persisted in standing on the side of Chairman Mao, defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and protected Chairman Mao's security!"

Comrade Ye Jianying is heroically dedicated to the Communist cause. During the first revolutionary civil war, he actively joined the fighting in the Northern Expedition. At the perilous point of defeat in the wake of the Great Revolution, it was the three of them, he and Comrades Ye Ting and He Long, who plotted the march on Nanchang in a small boat on the Boyang Lake at the foot of the Lushan Mountain.

In the flame of the uprising at Guangzhou, he held high the red banner and, along with comrades like Zhang Tailei and Ye Ting, led the struggle that helped establish the Guangzhou Commune. In the fight to explore and set up the base at Jinggang Mountain, he directed the battle and signed the Red Army's battle orders.

In the world-renowned Long March, He courageously struggled against Zhang Guotao's splittist line, reporting in time Zhang Guotao's sinister activities to Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai; he thus successfully defended the party and the revolution.

During the Xian Incident, he nad Comrade Zhou Enlai both joined the Xian talks and forced Chaing Kai-shek to accept a moratorium on the civil war and the conditions for joint resistance against Japan.

At Yanan during the periods of the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, he helped Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Zhu De to direct the fighting of the whole Army. All this is going to shine in the pages of history forever.

Ye Jianying's Five Children Are Detained

Against this general with such meritorious contributions to the motherland, the Lin Biao gang also raised their vicious hand. Shortly after the aforesaid meeting, they openly violated the discipline of the party and the laws of the state by despatching a bunch of people to ransack Comrade Ye Jianying's house and also dig up the floor to see if there were any weapons or a radio station.

On 2 April 1967, Ji Bengyu gave a speech; that very afternoon, there appeared on the streets of Beijing great posters such as "Down with Ye Jianying," "Down with the Reactionary Line Backed by a Gun," "Cut Off the Black Hand Ye Jianying Is Stretching into the Literary and Art Circles," etc. A "Grab-Ye Liaison Station" was set up at the Central Institute of Drama; it arrested Comrade Ye Jianying's five children and their relatives and governesses at different points and detained them respectively from 1 to 4 or 5 years.

The 9th Congress of the Party manipulated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" became their stage from where to make their moves to usurp the party, seize power, and oppose the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries. At the Congress, Comrade Zhu De and Comrade Dong Biwu also became objects of their open criticism and struggle apart from the original vice premiers and vice chairmen of the Military Commission already subject to such criticism and struggle.

Zhu De and Others Were Subject to Criticism and Struggle During the "9th Congress"

One afternoon, the secretary of Comrade Li Fuchun suddenly received a telephone call from the diehard crony of Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, who declared to him an imperative edict:

"Imperative edict: Zhu De, Dong Biwu, Li Fuchun,Nie Rongzhen, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, and Xu Xiangqian must honestly relate their criminal conduct against the party. "

Comrade secretary turned over the recorded telephone message to Comrade Li Fuchun. Comrade Li Fuchun took one contemptuous look and evinced a cold smile, and then he angrily threw the slip on the ground and said to the secretary:

"Don't pay attention to him!"

During the '9th Congress," comrades like Zhu De, Dong Biwu, Li Fuchun and Chen Yi were again subject to criticism, struggle, and beseige.

Chen Yi Held "Quotations" in a Wrong Way and Was Subjected to Prolonged Criticism and Struggle

One time, Comrade Chen Yi attended a group meeting in East China and he happened to hold the "Quotations" upside down. They immediately seized this minor incident to exert their pernicious counterrevolutionary authority and struggled against Comrade Chen Yi for a long while, shouting frantically: Do you still want to oppose Chairman Mao, to oppose Mao Zedong Thought?

Comrade Chen Yi answered humorously:

"When Comrade Zhu De and I went to the Jinggaug Mountain to follow Chairman Mao in the revolution, I hardly knew where were many of you present today!"

This sharp statement flew across the hall like a shining sword, frightening all the flock of chirping "political sparrows" into not knowing what to say. They could only put up a false front and cried in a droning voice:

"You are still not honest, not honest!"

Comrade Chen Yi was an honest man, a man who was most accustomed to speaking the truth in the world. In those very days when the "gang of four" held the sway, several provincal Party committee secretaries came to Comrade Chen Yi's house. The old General Chen celebrated the unexpected reunion of former comrades-in-arms, saying:

"Come on, this might be our last reunion!"

"Isn't this too pessimistic?" asked someone.

The old General Chen sighed a long sigh, shaking his head:

"It is very hard to say!"

After saying this, he burst into tears....

One comrade said nothing; he picked up a brush and wrote the two words: "Forceful Pine!"

> A thick layer of snow lies on top of the evergreen pine;
> The evergreen pine is both erect and straight.
> If you wish to know how tall and clean the pine is,
> Wait until the snow melts away.

It was like the evergreen pine which withstands frost and snow that the older generation of revolutionaries resisted the strong gale and torrential downpour of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with their lofty revolutionary spirit.

The Old Generals Were Dispersed to All Parts of the Country

When Comrade Mao Zedong saw the "bulletin" about the ransacking of Comrade Xu Xiangqian's house, he immediately put down instructions on the "bulletin," pointing out that good relations must be worked out with respect to all the old comrades who participated in the so-called "Adverse February Current" and their family members.

These instructions were passed on to counterrevolutionary double-dealer Lin Biao. Lin Biao, on his part, put up a front by writing alongside those instructions the comments "I agree with the Chairman's instructions," "no new obstacles should be created," on the one hand; on the other hand, he secretly instigated a bunch of his cronies to carry forward persecution of the older generation of revolutionaries even more fiercely.

Lin Biao and his gang, in order to speed up their planned usurpation of the Party and power seizure, took war preparations as a pretext, hoodwinked Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou, and privately signed the so-called "Order No 1" to have old revolutionaries residing in Beijing suddenly dispersed all to other parts of the country.

Thus, through this so-called dispersion, Lin Biao and his gang proceeded to separate the old teachers and keep them under surveillance, so that they "became surrounded and awaited extermination." Comrade Xi Xiangqian arrived in Kaifeng; Comrade Ye Jianying arrived in Hunan; Comrade Li Fuchun arrived in Guangzhou; Comrade Tan Zhenlin arrived in Guilin. These old teachers so subjected to criticism and struggle were, along with members of their families, old and young, thus scattered in different locations and prevented from communicating with one another. By way of a special design, Comrade Nie Rongzhen's wife was arranged to engage herself in labor at a May 7th school in the prairie in Jilin near its border.

Chen Yi Conducted Investigation and Study at the Basic Level in Shijiazhuang

In the days when the seven vice premiers and vice chairmen of the Military Commission were thus subject to such an impact and criticism and struggle at different times, while they were physically detained and spiritually tortured, they continued to have boundless hope and confidence in the party and the people and were fraught with a heightened fighting spirit.

After Comrade Chen Yi arrived in Shijiazhuang in Hebei Province, he regularly went down deep in the factories to station himself at these local points and conduct investigation and study at the basic level. When new rumors threatened him, he dismissed them with a smile, observing unconcernedly: a good man is not afraid of others speaking ill of him; a good man cannot be turned into a bad man this way, nor a bad man into a good man!

At that time, major domestic and international matters were almost entirely under the care of, and handled by, the esteemed Premier Zhou. From night to dawn, from sunrise to dusk, he looked after the motherland's problems on various fronts. From the necessities of life such as cooking oil, rice, fuel and salt, to the artificial satellites that roamed the universe, from the hilltop fortresses of the minority nationalities to the vast ranks of the millions upon millions of people in the cities and the countryside, everything was in his care at all times!

Premier Zhou's physique became skinny and weak. One day, an offspring of a martyr came to see the Premier, and he asked the Premier to take care of his health for the sake of the people of the whole country. Upon hearing this, the Premier halted his steps in the yard at dusk and, his eyes flickering under the two thick eyebrows, affectionately looked at this comrade, observing with provoked emotions:

"During the Cultural Revolution, I followed only these words: Carry out my duties faithfully until I die!"

Carry out my duties faithfully until I die! Such was the lofty character demonstrated by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries in the storm of struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They were above-board and frank, selfless and fearless, and they have set up brilliant examples for us!

Mao Carried Out Rectification for the "Adverse February Current" after Lin Biao's Death

History is an impersonal judge. The clowns who acted against history could not escape the punishment of history. On "13 September" 1971, Lin Biao's counterrevolutionary armed coup thoroughly failed, and he was ultimately thrown to his death in the desert of Undur Khan in Mongolia.On 14 November, Comrade Mao Zedong received those personnel who participated in the forum of the Changdu region. Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Ye Jianying were present at the reception. When Comrade Ye Jianying stepped in the meeting hall, Comrade Mao Zedong told everyone:

"You should no longer talk about his 'Adverse February Current'; what was the nature of the 'Adverse February Current'? They were dealing with Lin Biao, Chen Boda, and Wang Guanqi [3769 7070 2058]."

Comrade Mao Zedong also said many times thereafter:

"This matter is now cleared away; don't talk about the 'Adverse February Current' again."

This is to say, Comrade Mao Zedong at that time already personally reversed the verdict for the 'Adverse February Current' and carried out its rectification. Comrade Mao Zedong's words revealed the historical truth and reflected the wishes of the people.

Comrade Ye Jianying went to the hospital to see the seriously sick Comrade Chen Yi, and told him the good news about Comrade Mao Zedong's rectification of the case of the "Adverse February Current."

Chen Yi Heard the Good News at His Sick Bed

Comrade Ye Jianying walked before the sick bed in slight steps. He bent down with grief, his hands caressing the comrade-in-arms who had fought with him shoulder-to shoulder for several decades, and said with a loud,trembling voice, as if he was afraid that it would not be heard:

"General Chen, General Chen! Chairman Mao said we are not going to talk about the 'Adverse February Current' any more!"

As he was saying this, his head bowed down, and his tears flew to his cheeks....

As General Chen heard his calls, he suddenly woke up from his woozy state of mind; a hardly detectable smile rose on his pale face. General Chen seemed to have many things to say, but he was too weak to say them.

"............"

General Chen opened his mouth slightly, his lips trembled, and he started to utter some stuttering words:

"The Party Central Committee.... the Red Army...."

"Charge forward to overcome the enemy...."

This Communist warrior who fought heroically during the so-called 'Adverse February Current' was deprived of his life by cancer on 6 January 1972.

In October 1976, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng smashed the "gang of four" with one stroke, returned to order from disorder, and hence once more reversed this history which had been turned upside down.

At the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Central Work Conference in 1978, Comrade Hua Guofeng again solemnly declared on behalf of the Party Central Committee: All those comrades who were wronged because of the "Adverse February Current" would have their reputation restored; all those comrades who were implicated and punished would also have their cases rectified.

The historical truth became clear to the whole world. The wise decision of the Party Central Committee cleared away the sinister fog and revealed once more the brilliance and dignity of history; it was upheld and welcomed by the people of the whole country! Across the sacred land, the mountains are dancing and the multitudes are rejoicing!

(The end)

9255
CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

JILIN AIR FORCE COMMISSAR--Changchun, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--Zhao Bingyao [6392 3521 5069], political commissar of a certain flight division of the PLA air force, has given 63 lectures on the current situation and the party's line, principles and policies to the troops in the past year. Some cadres and fighters from rural areas did not quite understand the policies on setting up various forms of production responsibility system in the rural areas and on allowing some people to become well-to-do first. After listening to Zhao Bingyao's lectures, they have come to understand these policies better. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0230 GMT 27 Nov 80 OW]

SHANGHAI DEMOBILIZED SERVICEMEN--Work on the placement of demobilized servicemen for 1981 will begin mid-December 1980. Shanghai Municipality on 28 November called a meeting to discuss how to help demobilized servicemen settle down, urging the people's governments at all levels and departments concerned in the vicinity of Shanghai to render vigorous support for this task. The meeting called on all communes and brigades to make arrangements for the placement of demobilized servicemen who have families in the suburban areas. Vice Mayor Wang Jian attended the meeting and delivered a speech. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Nov 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

YOUNG CADRES SELECTED FOR LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Oct 80 p 1

[XINHUASHE Report: "Fifth Ministry of Machine Building Selects Large Number of Young Cadres for Leadership Training"]

[Text] The Fifth Ministry of Machine Building recently selected a large number of young cadres to leadership positions in various units of the enterprises under the ministry and has been quite effective in accomplishing this task among the departments and commissions of the State Council.

Most of the enterprises under this ministry have shown a visible change in leadership. First, the leadership is younger. Formerly, the average age for plant (office) level cadres was 53. The average age of new cadres is 5 years younger. The newly selected chief engineers are only 44 years on the average. This injects youth into the "old group" and the "sick group" and makes them a young and energetic "strong group." Second, the professional and educational level is raised. Formerly, only 24 percent of the cadres had middle school or higher educational training. Now 84 percent of new plant-level cadres have a middle school or higher education. Newly appointed chief engineers and deputy chief engineers are all college and technical school graduates.

The experiences of the Fifth Ministry of Machine Building in selecting young cadres are: 1. Leading cadres of the ministry have dealt with the problem in person. Starting in April of this year, nine leading cadres of the ministry led five working groups to more than 100 units in enterprises under the ministry in the southwest, south-central, northwest, northeast, and north and engaged in investigation for 3 months. They studied the cadres and became familiar with the situation. Discarding erroneous concepts, they discovered a large number of persons with excellent talent. Combining their personal experiences with the opinions of party secretaries at different levels and the masses, they selected more than 140 young plant (office) level cadres (including chief engineers) and nearly 80 deputy chief engineers, more than 260 reserve cadres, and 110 backbone technicians. 2. Spread propaganda concerning the urgency of selecting young cadres, correctly establish a standard for selecting cadres, and break the feudal concept of the superiority of experience and generation and the thinking whereby knowledge and professional talents are slighted. 3. Discover talents from production and study activities. Change the workstyle of digging in the files and summoning the personnel department to make reports. Instead, emphasis is to be put on learning from the cadres in the production department and reviewing the performance of cadres in production, research and study. 4. Follow the mass line and combine the upper with the lower in various forms of conferences, individual conversations, and opinion polls. Select young cadres whom the people regard as suitable. 5. Combine selection, placement, and adjustment. In selecting young cadres, suitable arrangements are made for old cadres of advanced years and poor health, and adjustments are made for cadres ill fit for their positions.

A total of 450 plant-level cadres and young reserve cadres of the Fifth Ministry of Machine Building recently entered cadre training classes sponsored by five higher educational institutions.

This measure is designed to raise the professional level of cadres in enterprises and to meet the needs of the four modernizations. During their training at Beijing College of Engineering, Huadong College of Engineering, Sian College of Engineering, Shenyang College of Engineering, and Changchun College of Optical and Precision Machines, the cadre-students will acquire a knowledge of modern scientific technology such as applied mathmatics, computer science, theory of automatic control, systems engineering, and industrial management. They will study for 1 or 2 years. Those with a high-school education will, after training, attain the level of college graduates. Those who graduated from college some time ago will increase their knowledge and ability after a year of training.

9507
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TIBETAN CADRES SELECTED TO LEADING POSTS IN GANSU

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 80 p 1

[News report by Gu Yunggau [7357 3056 7559]: "Counties in Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of Gansu Elect Tibetan Professional Cadres to Leading Posts"]

[Text] Party and government leaders of the Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture are actively discovering and selecting to leading party and government posts in the counties professional cadres who are of monority nationality, in an effort to bring minority nationalities and professionalism to the cadres. Since June, the prefecture has selected 42 middle-aged and young professional cadres, most of whom are Tibetans. The percentage of minority nationality cadres has changed from 34.7 to 52.3 percent, creating a more favorable condition for carrying out the party's policy of self-government in nationality regions.

In the first half of this year, seven agricultural and pastoral counties of this autonomous prefecture submitted names of 37 cadres who needed to be approved by the party cadres at the prefectural level. Among those cadres, few were Tibetans and even fewer were professional personnel. Party and government leaders studied the problem and regarded this situation as being unsuitable for the needs of the four modernizations in the locality. To enable the nationalities to practice their right of self-government, it is necessary to purge the remaining evils and influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who denied the special characteristics of nationality districts, and actively discover professional cadres who are of minority nationality. Therefore, they went down to the agricultural and pastoral districts of the counties to engage in propaganda on the significance of selecting [minority] nationality professional cadres and to mobilize the [minority] nationality cadres and masses to recommend candidates. They investigated individual cases. After the work had been underway for some time, seven counties of the prefecture selected 42 middle-aged and young professional cadres of minority nationality. Approved by the upper level, they joined the leadership ranks of party and government in the counties.

Among the newly selected leading cadres of Gannan Prefecture, many are Tibetan cadres familiar with the characteristics and customs of the local nationality, professionally knowledgeable, young and energetic. Kung Zhaofang [1313 3564 5364], age 38, graduated from Gansu Normal University in 1967 and worked for 8 years in the educational department in Xiahe County of Gannan. Having become party secretary for Qingsui commune in the county, he dealt with educational problems by mobilizing schoolage children to attend school. He also worked on production and took the lead in scientific cultivation according to the conditions of the locality. In order to help changing the backwardness of two teams known for their poverty, he studied agricultural techniques and took key measures--for example in fertilizers and seeds, to increase production. He improved the life of the masses and was praised by the local masses. Now he serves as deputy party secretary of Xiahe County. A young Tibetan woman, Dan Zhicao [3927 4249 5335], who is only 28 years old, studied at Northwest Nationality College and Gansu Normal University. After graduation, she served as general cadre in the commune. Enthusiastic about work, feisty and righteous, she was able to communicate with the masses. She now serves as deputy party secretary of Tewo County.

9507
CSO: 4005

SHANGHAI EDUCATION WORKERS ON ENROLLMENT SYSTEM

OW021044 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] According to a report by the Shanghai branch of XINHUA News Agency, in a recent discussion of the reform of the current enrollment system and method used by schools of higher learning, education workers at some schools of higher learning in this city maintained that it is highly unreasonable that one's fate is determined by a piece of examination paper being turned in and that this method affects to a certain degree the principle of enrolling only those who are outstanding and brings definite difficulty for universities trying to raise the quality of their education.

To improve the current enrollment system, they proposed: schools of higher learning should have more enrollment powers. Enrollment should not be handled by the government instead of the schools. The schools should have the right to select and enroll the students they need according to student academic credits and specialized abilities and have the right to refuse to accept the students whose total credits are satisfactory but whose performances in the examinations on their specialized subjects are relatively poor. In enrolling students, it is essential to base enrollments on scores in examinations from schools of higher learning and on a review of middle school performance. The present enrollment system deals only with scores on examinations, thus turning the principle of enrolling only those who are outstanding into that of enrolling according to scores.

If it is possible, we should give as much respect as possible to student preferences. It would be best if students were allowed to fill in their preferences after they take the examinations.

CSO: 4005

HAINAN CONFERENCE ON BROADCASTING

HK290621 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] A recent Hainan regional conference on broadcasting emphatically demanded that all county and municipal broadcasting stations persistently follow their own path, bring into play the superior features of broadcasting, and strive to do well in putting out their own programs of all kinds, to insure that radio propaganda can better serve the four modernizations.

This meeting was held to implement the spirit of the 10th national broadcasting work conference. Present were responsible persons and editors of the broadcasting stations of the Hainan Li-Mao Autonomous Prefecture, Haikou Municipality and all counties throughout the island. After listening to a report conveying the spirit of the national broadcasting work conference and reading about the experiences of many broadcasting stations throughout the country in successfully putting out their own programs, the participants explored the questions of how to follow their own path, bring into play the superior features of broadcasting, and organize their own programs of all kinds. They also exchanged experiences and voiced many valuable opinions.

The meeting pointed out: In common with wireless broadcasting and television, wired broadcasting must follow its own path, bring its superior features into play and put out its own unique programs that are welcomed by the masses in order to attain its own social status and enjoy development prospects. The meeting demanded that each broadcasting station put out a number of news, literature and art, general knowledge, and service programs. This should be done under the direct leadership of the local party committees and in light of the station's capabilities. Particular attention must be paid to successfully organizing local news broadcasts. In this way the station will become one of the centers of news and public opinion in its municipality or county.

The meeting also looked into the question of launching cooperation and stipulated tasks for each station in submitting scripts to the Hainan broadcasting station. The meeting also studied the question of television construction in Hainan.

CSO: 4005

XIZANG BROADCASTING WORK CONFERENCE OPENS IN LHASA

OW032157 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 3 Dec 80

[Text] The Xizang Autonomous Region opened its second broadcasting work conference in Lhasa on 1 December, according to a report by the staff of this station.

The main task of the conference is to study and discuss how to coordinate the region's broadcasting propaganda work with its current effort to curb poverty and bring prosperity to Xizang by upholding the party's general line and central task for the new period and by closely integrating broadcasting propaganda work with the region's actual conditions. How to present better broadcasting programs that have a local flavor and will attract the masses will be a subject of discussion. The conferees will also study and discuss how to give play to the special characteristics of broadcasting and television transmissions, exploit their strong points and avoid their weaknesses so that they can better serve our drive to build a united, prosperous, civilized new Xizang. The expansion and management of the region's broadcasting facilities, especially the broadcasting networks in Xizang's rural and pastoral areas, will also be discussed in order to give full play to the role of broadcasting and television stations in propaganda and education.

Participating in the conference are responsible persons of the propaganda departments under various prefectural and municipal party committees, representatives of the relay and broadcasting stations, leading members of the Xizang Broadcasting Bureau and various regional departments concerned as well as reporters.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL EDUCATION INSTITUTES--With the development of educational undertakings, Nei Monggol has established or reopened a number of normal schools and colleges. At present, Nei Monggol has 17 normal schools in leagues and municipalities, 2 in mining and 77 secondary normal schools and training courses run by industrial and mining enterprises. About 15,400 students are studying in these schools. Nei Monggol also has 2 normal universities and 2 normal institutes with some 8,000 students. [SK032353 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Nov 80 SK]

LIAONING BROADCASTING CHANGES--Dear listeners: the schedule of some of our programs will be changed effective 1 December. The English lecture program of the Central People's Broadcast Station will be relayed from 0800 to 0830 [0000-0030 GMT] on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The advertisement program at 1430 [0630 GMT] on Tuesday will be changed to 1400 [0600 GMT]. Except on Sundays, the third transmission will begin at 1650 [0850 GMT]. On Sunday the third transmission will begin at 1620 [0820 GMT] and the part-time Japanese language lecture program will begin at 1630 [0830 GMT]. Please tune in these programs accordingly. [Text] [SK010240 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Nov 80]

NANJING WRITER-ARTIST CONGRESS--The Fourth Nanjing Municipal Congress of Writers and Artists was held from 28 November to 2 December. Through democratic election, Comrade (Tian Wu) was elected chairman of the Fourth Committee of Nanjing Municipal Federation of Literacy and Art Circles. Associations of writers, dramatists, artists, musicians and dancers, photographers and calligraphers were established at the congress. Some 300 representatives heard an important speech delivered by Comrade Chu Jiang on behalf of the Nanjing Municipal Party and Revolutionary Committees. The congress adopted a resolution calling on Nanjing's writers and artists to emancipate their minds and create more and better works for the masses. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 80 OW]

SHANGHAI CYL COLLEGE CLASS--The college-level class of Shanghai CYL School, the first of its kind in China, was officially opened at a ceremony held in Shanghai today. The ceremony was attended by Han Ying, first secretary of the CYL Central Committee and head of the central CYL school; Zhong Min, secretary of Shanghai party committee; and leading comrades of Shanghai CYL committee. They extended warm greetings to 126 students who will reach college level after 2 years of study. After graduation, they will be assigned as full-time CYL cadres in middle schools. Speaking at the ceremony, Han Ying encouraged the students to strive to become ideologically red and professionally expert through study at the college-level class. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 2 Dec 80 OW]

SHANGHAI WELFARE MEETING--The Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau called a meeting on urban social welfare work on 27 November. Over the past year, Shanghai's nine districts and four countries have set up 63 welfare units and provided welfare benefits to 2,470 persons. These welfare units include 57 welfare factories to settle blind, deaf-mute, disabled and other needy people. In addition, five homes for the aged and helpless and an institute for mentally retarded children have been set up. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 27 Nov 80 OW]

JILIN TECHNICAL SCHOOL--Zhenlai County in Jilin Province has enacted marked changes in the structure of secondary education since the beginning of 1980. Its principle is to popularize primary schools, strengthen middle schools and reduce the number of high schools. The 16 high schools in rural areas have been merged into 3. A technical school and another six vocational courses have been instituted with the help of labor, industrial, commercial and education departments. Of the middle school graduates, only 40 percent entered high schools; 22 percent entered technical schools. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 18 Nov 80 SK]

ZHEJIANG MEETING ON DICTIONARY--The compilation of China's largest Chinese language dictionary is under way. The committee for compiling the dictionary held its second meeting in Hangzhou 19-25 November to discuss ways to speed up work compiling the dictionary. The compilation of this huge dictionary, with more than 300,000 entries and 40 million characters, started in 1975 with Premier Zhou Enlai's approval. More than 400 language experts are participating in the compilation. [OW011337 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Nov 80 OW]

CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 77034

18 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 150

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 77034

18 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 150

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' Discusses Parliamentary System
(Wu Daying; RENMIN RIBAO, 2 Dec 80).............................. 1

'RENMIN RIBAO' Comments on Functions of Bicameral System
(Zhou Xinming; RENMIN RIBAO, 2 Dec 80)........................... 3

Two Foreigners Stabbed in Beijing by Mental Patient
(XINHUA, 19 Nov 80).. 5

PARTY AND STATE

Hong Kong Paper Reports Indictment of Gang of Four, Associates
(Chun Tsu; TA KUNG PAO, 19 Nov 80)............................... 6

'TA KUNG PAO' Supplies Background of Defendants in Lin-Jiang Trial
(Chun Tsu; TA KUNG PAO, 19 Nov 80)............................... 10

Jiang Qing's 26 November Court Appearance
(Chen Lin; TA KUNG PAO, 28 Nov 80)............................... 13

Law Authority Explains Foreign Exclusion From Lin-Jiang Trial
(TA KUNG PAO WEEKLY SUPPLEMENT, 20-26 Nov 80).................... 16

Guangzhou People Call for Jiang Qing's Death
(Lan Ching-Chung; WEN WEI PO, 30 Nov 80)......................... 18

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Gang's Plotting, Wang's Changsha Trip
(Ji Xichen, et al.; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Nov 80)..................... 20

Frame-up of He Long Discussed
(WEN WEI PO, 1 Dec 80)... 27

'Dilemma' of Cao Gang Examined
(Tu Feng; CHENG MING, 1 Nov 80).................................. 29

Panchen Lama's Marriage, Situation in Xizang
(Hsiao Cheng; CHEN MING, 1 Nov 80)........................... 33

'WANBAO' Urges Mass Recommendation of Talent
(WANBAO, 5 Nov 80).. 38

'WANBAO' Urges Action To Promote Talented People
(WANBAO, 7 Nov 80).. 40

Guangzhou Controversy Over Hong Kong Television
(I Ming; TUNG HSIANG, 16 Nov 80)............................ 42

Historical Source Material Conference Views Problems
(Xinhua Domestic Service, 29 Nov 80)........................ 45

'GONGREN RIBAO' Carries Liu's Children's Memoirs
(KYODO, 6 Dec 80).. 46

Article on Evils of In-laws
(Meng Chu; WEN HUI BAO, 17 Nov 80).......................... 48

Forum on 'Idealist' Philosophy Closes in Zhejiang
(Zhejiang Provincial Service, 2 Dec 80)..................... 57

Peasants Urged To Promote Collective, Sideline Production
(Da Fengquan; RENMIN RIBAO, 10 Oct 80)...................... 58

PRC's New Economic Policy Brings Hopes to North Shaanxi
(He Jiazheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 10 Oct 80)...................... 60

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BA YI Radio Comments on PLA Cadres and Trials
(BA YI Radio, various dates)................................ 63

PLA Men Unhappy About Trial
Cadres Retiring Under Protest
Tolin Biao Conspiracy Trials

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC National Meeting Discusses Peasant Education
(XINHUA, 1 Dec 80)... 67

'XINHUA' Carries PRC Educational News in Brief
(XINHUA, 2 Dec 80)... 68

Youth Must Face Historical Task
(XINHUA, 6 Dec 80)... 69

Heilongjiang Canvasses Folk Songs of Minorities
(XINHUA, 7 Dec 80)... 70

PRC Historical Data Committee Meets
(XINHUA, 8 Dec 80).. 71

Anhui Catholic Association Holds Meeting, Elects Officials
(Anhui Provincial Service, 4 Dec 80)........................... 72

Anhui Christians Hold Meeting, Inaugurate Association
(Anhui Provincial Service, 4 Dec 80)........................... 73

'WANBAO' Stresses Importance of Experts
(WANBAO, 6 Nov 80).. 74

Briefs

Nei Monggol Religious Activity 75

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

HK040812 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Wu Daying [0702 1129 5391]: "Supervision of Governments by Parliaments in Various Countries"]

[Text] In various countries today, the work of their parliaments is to make laws and adopt the state's budget (state budgeting is also legal work but it has its own characteristics). At the same time, the parliament has the right to supervise the government. Supervising the government is a very important role played by the parliament. If the parliament does not play this role, the laws it makes will become empty talk and the government will abuse its power, act arbitrarily and have its own way.

There are three ways in which the parliament supervises the government.

1. It raises questions. According to the constitution of Yugoslavia, each delegate of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly has the right to question the federal executive council and the leading federal administrative organs, to ask these chambers to demand reports from these organs on their work, and to request special assistance in exercising his functions and powers. In France a meeting is held every week especially for members of the parliament to raise questions, which are to be answered by government officials. Members of the parliament may raise questions verbally or in writing and debate on the government's policies and statements. However, they may raise questions only in their capacity as members of the parliament and may not raise questions in the form of resolutions, and these questions are not to be put to the vote. The ministers concerned should answer these questions within 1 month. In Japan it is laid down in the rules of the Diet that when a member of the Diet wants to raise a question, he must submit a written statement on the main points of his question to the speaker of the house who, if he agrees, will forward the statement to the cabinet. The cabinet must give an answer within 7 days after receiving the statement. In Britain, according to the rules of the parliament, every day from Monday to Thursday when the parliament is in session, an hour's time is set aside for secretaries of state to answer questions raised by members of the parliament.

2. The parliament may put forward a no confidence motion. In a country which has a cabinet system, the parliament may put forward a no confidence motion if it disagrees with the policies and measures adopted by the government. When the no confidence motion is carried, the government must resign as a whole or ask the

state leader to dissolve the parliament and form a new one, which will decide whether the government should resign. For example, according to the provisions of France's constitution, after discussing the matter at a cabinet meeting, the premier should report to the National Assembly and assume responsibility for the government's administrative program or a general policy adopted by the government. The National Assembly may impeach the government and ascertain that the responsibility lies with the government. If the National Assembly adopts the no confidence motion and succeeds in impeaching the government, the premier must submit resignation of the government to the republic's president. When the government clashes with the National Assembly, the president may, after consulting the premier and the presidents of the Senate and the National Assembly, announce dissolution of the National Assembly and form a new National Assembly. According to Japan's constitution, if the cabinet does not dissolve the House of Representatives within 10 days after the House of Representatives adopts a no confidence motion or vetoes a confidence motion, the cabinet must resign as a whole.

3. The parliament investigates the activities of government organizations. This investigation does not have judicial characteristics in some countries. For example, when making investigations according to law, the working organizations and the joint working organizations of the two chambers of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly may ask for information, data and documents from the state organs, self-government bodies and working communities in order to accomplish their tasks. However, these organizations do not function as detective and judicial organs. In some other countries, the investigations conducted by the legislative organs have the nature of the powers of a judicial organ. For example, according to Italy's constitution, the two houses of parliament may conduct investigations concerning public interests. To achieve this end, these two houses may appoint commissions of their members according to the proportion of membership held by various political parties. These investigatory commissions have the powers of a judicial organ when they make investigations and studies. As another example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, the federal parliament has the right to form investigatory commissions to collect necessary evidence either openly or secretly. To produce evidence, an investigatory commission may exercise power according to some regulations for criminal lawsuits. The law courts and the administrative organs have the duty to give the investigatory commission legal and administrative assistance. The resolution adopted by the investigatory commission is exempted from examination by the law court. However, the law court is free to assess and judge the facts discovered by the investigatory commission.

Although the parliament may supervise the government in these three ways, it sometimes fails to play its entire supervisory role. However, the parliament doubtlessly may check on government activities. In fact this makes it possible to avoid overconcentration of power and to prevent the government from arrogating all authority to itself and having its own way.

CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO' COMMENTS ON FUNCTIONS OF BICAMERAL SYSTEM

HK040821 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Zhou Xinming [0719 2450 6900]: "Some Facts About the Bicameral System of Bourgeois Parliaments"]

[Text] Historically, the bicameral system originated in Britain. Later, it gradually spread to various major capitalist countries and became the most common organizational parliamentary structure in capitalist countries. Subsequently, legal circles in Western capitalist countries have spoken very highly of the bicameral system. Famous British bourgeois jurist John Bright said that the bicameral system as an organizational form is "universal and eternal." British jurist Sir Henry James Sumner Maine said that almost always, any form of a second chamber is better than none at all. The reason why people place their hopes on the second chamber is not for it to become "an infallible rival to the first chamber, but for it to become an extra safeguard." Walter Bagehot believed that "it is very useful to regard the second chamber as a legislative organ for examining errors and for leisurely deliberation."

Bourgeois jurists believe that the bicameral system has at least three advantages:

1. The two chambers act as a check and a balance to each other. Montesqieu strongly believed in this proposition. He believed that "to prevent the abuse of power, power must be restrained by power." ("The Spirit of Law," Vol 1, p 154) He commended Britain for having "a legislative organ with two chambers which act as a check and a balance to each other through their power of dissent." (ibid pp 163-164) To him, inasmuch as each has the power to act as a check, the two chambers of the legislative organ are able to restrain each other. This view exemplifies the famous theory of checks and balances. Other scholars believe that the bicameral system could resolve conflicts between the executive and legislative branches. That is, when conflicts occur, one chamber of the bicameral legislative acts as the arbitrator. It does not only mediate, but could also play a decisive role. Leon Duguit, in his famous work "On Constitution," said that the rationale behind having two chambers was one chamber represented individuals while the other represented social or professional groups. The two chambers respectively accomodated various social forces. Thus, they serve as a buffer to enable various forces controlling the society to adjust to each other. If one force was growing too rapidly, it could be slowed down; and if another force had been growing too slowly, its pace could be accelerated.

2. The bicameral system could prevent hasty legislation. Some jurists are of the opinion that under a unicameral system, a bill only has to pass through the deliberation of one organ. Thus, it is naturally less thoroughly examined than one that has to pass the deliberation of two chambers. They believe that the second chamber's concurrence with a bill passed by the first chamber enhances the stability of law, and that the stability of law guarantees social stability. On the other hand, if one chamber disagrees with the other, it could restrain the other chamber. Mutual faultfinding between the two chambers forces the legislators to take a prudent approach.

3. It accomodates special interests and is able to recruit experts. Some scholars proposed that if one chamber represents public opinion, the other chamber should represent experts with practical experience. If one chamber is the chamber of the people, the other chamber should be the chamber of the statesmen. They believe that particularly in a federal state, there must be a chamber representing the whole country which represents the people by ratio of population and another chamber representing the federated states, regardless of their size and with equal representative rights for each state. If there is no second chamber which represents the special interests of individual states, then the federal system will be undermined in practice. They also feel that in a country, there are usually people who are particularly competent in public affairs but who, due to various reasons, could not campaign for a public position. Moreover, there are usually not many experts in parliament, and even if there are, they are usually preoccupied with political campaigns, leaving no time to conduct thorough studies on legislation concerning various economic and social problems. Thus, a second chamber must be established in order to recruit experts who are knowledgeable and who have practical experience to undertake studies on various problems.

With regard to the above advantages of the bicameral system, some bourgeois scholars hold different views. Their main point is that having a bicameral system is tantamount to recognizing two sovereigns in a state. They said: "If the second chamber differs with the first chamber, it becomes a harmful obstacle, while if it agrees with the first chamber, it becomes an unnecessary nuisance." In short, they deny the need for check and balance between the two chambers of parliament. Yet, although some people oppose the bicameral system for various reasons, looking at it from experience, the bicameral system has become the most popular system among the major capitalist countries. In French history, more than 10 constitutions were promulgated in a span of a century, but the unicameral system was adopted only twice (in 1791 and 1848). During the "republican" period, Britain also adopted the unicameral system for a while, but the abolished House of Lords was revived shortly after. Although there were no nobles in the United States, during the constitutional convention in 1781, all the participants, with the exception of Franklin, supported the adoption of a bicameral system. We all know that the Yugoslav Federal Assembly also has two chambers. The assembly is composed of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Nationalities (also called the Chamber of Republics and Provinces).

Bourgeois bicameral parliaments have a history of at least 700 years since the first British "parliament" appeared during the 13th century. During all these years, although some countries had adopted the unicameral at one time or another, in the end, they all adopted the bicameral system.

CSO: 4005

TWO FOREIGNERS STABBED IN BEIJING BY MENTAL PATIENT

OW191230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1220 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, 19 Nov (XINHUA)--Two members of an Australian business mission, who were knifed by a young Chinese man in Beijing on Monday, are recovering well and are expected to leave the hospital in a few days, a surgeon at the Capital Hospital said today.

They are Walter James Howarth, 46, technical director of the Australian Mineral Development Laboratory (AMDEL), and Keith John Henley, 40, manager of the Geological Division of AMDEL. Mr Henley is British. The two men are part of a delegation here to discuss ore processing.

The assailant, He Lianyong, 26, is a schizophrenic, say psychiatrists at Beijing's Anding Psychiatric Hospital, where his illness was diagnosed in 1975.

The attack took place at about 4:30 on Monday afternoon when Mr Howarth and Mr Henley were waiting for their car outside the Nationalities Hotel in central Beijing.

The young man attacked them from behind, first stabbing Mr Howarth in the head and then stabbing Mr Henley twice in the head. He tried to flee but was caught and overpowered by two taxi drivers.

The injured men were taken to a nearby hospital for first-aid treatment and then transferred to the Capital Hospital where they were admitted. Mr Howarth was suffering from a scalp wound 6 cm long and Mr Henley had received scalp wounds 2 cm and 9 cm long.

Su Changbao, a surgeon at the Capital Hospital, said today the wounds were not infected and "if things go on smoothly they will be discharged in a few days, after the stitches have been removed."

Beijing Municipal People's Government said today it is to call for discussions on the control of mentally ill people. The assailant has been working at the Beijing February Seventh Rolling Stock Plant, despite his previous history.

The psychiatrists from Anding Hospital, who were present when He Lianyong was questioned by the police, said his behaviour indicates he is still suffering from schizophrenia.

CSO: 4020

HONG KONG PAPER REPORTS INDICTMENT OF GANG OF FOUR, ASSOCIATES

HK191022 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 19 Nov 80 pp 1, 2

[Special dispatch by TA KUNG PAO contributing reporter Chun Tsu from Beijing on 18 November: "Scenes of the 10 Accused Receiving Their Indictment Were Filmed--Jiang Qing Wanted Someone to Speak for Her; While Zhang Chunqiao 'Refused to be Indicted'"]

[Text] Eight days ago, the 10 accused including Jiang Qing received their indictment from the Special Procuratorial Office. They each showed different expressions and gave different reactions.

The indictment was sent to the 10 accused in the Qingcheng prison on 10 November. The whole process was filmed by the central television station on the spot. According to a friend who has seen part of the film, the 10 accused were escorted one by one by bailiff into an office to receive their indictment. Two office desks were placed at one end of the office and two clerks from the Special Procuratorial Office were sitting behind the two desks. The accused were brought before the two clerks and either stood or sat not far in front of the two desks. Microphones were placed before the clerks and the accused. The clerks first stated that they were sent by the Special Procuratorial Office to deliver the indictment and then announced the decision of the NPC Standing Committee on setting up a special procuratorial office through the Supreme People's Procuratorate and a special court through the Supreme People's Court to try the case concerning the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. A bailiff then handed the indictment to the accused and the accused signed a receipt on another office desk placed beside the accused. The next step was that the clerks asked the accused whether or not they wanted to commission a defense lawyer. If they wanted a defense lawyer, they could write a letter of commission and it would be delivered by the Special Procuratorial Office on their behalf. Finally, after the clerks announced the regulations of the special court, the accused were escorted back to their cells.

According to informed sources, the first of the accused to be escorted into the office was Wang Hongwen. This man had built himself up through beating, smashing and looting. Though he once usurped a high position in the CCP Central Committee, he had in fact always been a hatchet man whom Jiang Qing could summon anytime she wanted. He is the youngest among the 10 accused and is now 45. He was wearing a faded blue uniform and a cloth cap. The cap was pulled down close to his eyebrows and his face was filled with a gloomy expression. With knitted brows and lowered head, he stood stiffly before the microphone as though he was listening with rapt attention to the clerks reading aloud the relevant documents. When the clerks asked him whether he wanted to commission someone to defend him, he answered no. This man was comparatively willing to confess his crimes during the preliminary trial.

The Literary Prostitute Yao Wenyuan Has Had His Head Shaved; He Looked Disturbed and Kept on Blinking His Eyes

It was Yao Wenyuan after Wang Hongwen. This literary prostitute, whom Jiang Qing called the "golden stick," was a ruffian who killed people with his pen. The articles in the past years which framed up charges against Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Wu Han, Zhou Yang and the "three-family village" were all either written or modified and finalized by him. He is now 49 years old. He was wearing a black suit and has had his head shaved. He is fat and stout and there was a beard on his cheeks--it seemed that he had not shaved his beard. His face was filled with a cunning look and he stood there feeling very disturbed, blinking his eyes all the time. When the clerks asked him whether he wanted to commission someone to defend him, he hesitated for a while before he said that he had never thought about the question. He said he had no knowledge of such a thing and that he did not know how his case would be defended. He kept on saying that he should be given time to think it over. This man had a blig tongue before Jiang Qing during the past years; but now he has become very clumsy in expressing himself.

The third one escorted into the office was Zhang Chunqiao. This man had once always wanted to become the premier; and he was a careerist who had constantly borne in mind the thought of changing the dynasty during the cultural revolution. He is now 63 and was wearing a black suit. He was bareheaded and was wearing a pair of spectacles. He looked thin and pallid and wore a long face, with his mouth tightly shut. He stood there silently as though he would not listen to anything. When the clerks asked him whether he wanted to commission a defense lawyer, he went so far as to say that he refused to be indicted.

Jiang Qing Spoke in a Pretentious Manner; Her Neck Was Full of Flaccid Muscles and She Made an Effort to Appear Composed

The last of the "gang of four" escorted into the office was Jiang Qing. This woman, who had dreamed of becoming "empress dowager the second," was still showing her qualities as a female hooligan. She is now 67 years old. She wore a pair of spectacles and a suit of black clothes, with a black cotton shawl on top. Her face and neck were full of flaccid muscles and yet she was standing there trying to look coquettish and pretending as though nothing had happened. When the clerks asked her whether she wanted to commission a defense lawyer, she said with her usual husky voice and a sloppy intonation that she would like someone to speak for her because she was in ill health. She might not be able to speak and would therefore like to have someone speak for her.

Jiang Tengjiao [literally: soaring dragon] Has Become a Feeble Snake; Wu Faxian Appeared With a Dull Look

The fifth one was Jiang Tengjiao. This man is now 61. He is short and has gray hair. He looked very miserable and was wearing a gray uniform. His appearance did not match his name at all. He did not have the appearance of a "valiant military officer." When he was asked the question whether he wanted a lawyer, he said he trusted the court and did not want a defense lawyer.

Next came Wu Faxian. This man once called himself a lackey of Lin Biao; and he lauded his young master Lin Liguo as a "super-genius." The man is short and fat and had a dull look in his eyes. There was a thin patch of grizzled hair at the back of his head; and the flaccid muscles in his neck almost filled up the hollow space between his head and his chest. He is now 65 and he was wearing a coat and a pair of pants of a different color. He stated that he did not need a defense lawyer. He received the indictment and requested to have a copy of the court regulations and took it with him before he was escorted back to his cell.

Huang Yongsheng Requested to be Seated; He Was Dumb as a Wooden Chicken and His Response Was Slow

The seventh one escorted into the office was Qiu Huizuo, former director of the PLA General Logistics Department. During the 10 years of great calamities, the General Logistics Department set up its own private prison and extorted confessions by torture. It had framed up charges against some 400 people. The man is now 66. He is thin and tall and was wearing an old uniform. His face was thin and dry and he just stood there silently with his head half-lowered. He also said that he did not need a defense lawyer.

The eighth one was Huang Yongsheng; This man ranked first among Lin Biao's "four great warrior attendants" (Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo) and was especially fond of and trusted unduly by Lin Biao. He is now 70 and he was wearing a green military uniform. He is tall but was somehow very weak. It was said that he had just recovered from an illness. After standing for a while, he asked for a wooden bench and sat down. He also said that he did not need a defense lawyer. People have seen his photograph arm-in-arm intimately with Ye Qun on the Great Wall. At that time, he was immensely proud; but this time he was dumb as a wooden chicken and was slow in response. When the clerks told him that he might leave, he was nevertheless at a loss and sat there and did not move. It was not until the bailiff urged him that he stood up and was escorted away.

Chen Boda and Li Zuopeng received their indictment in another room. Chen Boda is now 76 and is in fact the oldest among the accused. This man called himself a "petty, ordinary person" during the cultural revolution. He was a queer man. He was short, fat, pale and bareheaded and walked with difficulty. A seat was arranged for him in the room and there was also a small desk. When he was asked whether he wanted to have a defense lawyer, he answered with a shrill voice in Fujian dialect that he had not thought about the question.

There Was a Fierce Look on Li Zuopeng's Face; Zhang Chunqiao Refused to Accept the Indictment

Li Zuopeng was the last one to receive the indictment. He is now 66, tall and was wearing a suit. His hair was dark gray and he looked ugly and ferocious. He knitted his brows throughout and there was a fierce look on his face. As soon as he entered the room, he sat down on the seat and put his hands on the small desk in front of him. He stated that he did not need a defense lawyer. When the clerks read the court regulations to him, he said he could not hear them clearly nor could he remember them. He requested that he be given one copy of all the documents read to him.

Among the 10 accused, only Zhang Chunqiao did not accept the indictment. However, this should not hinder in any way the process of their trial.

The special court has made full preparations for the trial. The trial will be carried out in a balanced way in two courts--each trying five of the accused. During the trial, a large amount of crime evidence will be produced and the relevant witnesses will be called. New uniforms have also been made for the judges, judicial officers and procurators. This is the largest trial since the establishment of New China and it has in fact attracted world attention. From the trial, the people will be able to see true records of the countless crimes committed by the counterrevolutionary clique. At the same time, we hope the special court will pass the proper verdicts on those criminals.

CSO: 4005

'TA KUNG PAO' SUPPLIES BACKGROUND OF DEFENDANTS IN LIN-JIANG TRIAL

HK190556 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 19 Nov 80 p 2

[Special dispatch by TA KUNG PAO contributing reporter Chun Tsu: "Before the Trial Opens"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 Nov--All 10 Culprits Detained in Qincheng Prison

The special court of the Supreme People's Court will soon open its trial of the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Starting on 15 November, XINHUA News Agency has been releasing daily reports on the contents of the indictment. Undoubtedly, this is a sign that the trial is about to open officially.

Those who will appear in court to face trial include Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and eight other defendants. These 10 defendants have been detained in the Qincheng prison located in the suburb of Beijing all along. Chen Boda has been imprisoned for more than 10 years; Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo have been in prison for more than 9 years; while the "gang of four" have been locked up for more than 4 years.

The "Eminent" Positions of the 16 Principal Culprits

One look at the list of 16 principal culprits in the cliques is enough to terrify people. Among the 16, 13 had been members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; 3 had been party vice chairmen, namely: Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and Wang Hongwen; 2 had been Standing Committee members of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee; namely: Zhang Chunqiao and Chen Boda; 1 had been vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee--Kang Sheng; 2 had been vice premiers of the state council, namely: Zhang Chunqiao and Xie Fuzhi; 1 had been chief of the general staff of the PLA--Huang Yongsheng; 3 had been deputy chiefs of the general staff, namely: Wu Faxian (concurrently commander of the air force, Li Zuopeng (concurrently first political commissar of the navy) and Qiu Huizuo (concurrently director of the General Logistics Department). These people are all traitors who brought great calamity to the country and who had infiltrated the CCP and the Chinese Government for many years.

These people ascended the top level of the organs of power of the party and government during the 10 years of "great cultural revolution." They controlled great power in the party, government, military, fin ancial and cultural sectors and did whatever they pleased in defiance of all laws. At that time, only Premier Zhou Enlai could restrain their evildoings a little within the limits of his ability. This group of people had tried to use the disaster of the "cultural revolution" to "overthrow the regime" in China in order to establish a feudal fascist dynasty and become the emperor or empress and founders of the Lin or Jiang dynasty. The calamity created by these people affected the whole country. Those who were directly or indirectly persecuted by them number almost 100 million. Such a serious calamity can rarely be found in the history of China and of other countries of the world. Therefore, all 1 billion Chinese people are of the opinion that they ought to die. However, the NPC Standing Committee still decided to charge them according to law and subject them to public trial. Furthermore, they will only be made to account for their criminal offenses while the errors they committed in their work and in their line will be dealt with separately. This is an important effort on the part of China to enforce the rule of law.

Among the 16 principal culprits, Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi require special mention. The true features of these two persons were only exposed recently. The CCP Central Committee has issued special documents on the crimes of these two. These documents are being circulated among the party members and masses.

The People Are Filled With Righteous Indignation About the Monstrous Crimes of Kang, Xie

The roles of Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi in the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques was by no means minor. Kang Sheng was the No 1 villainous adviser of this clique [as published]. His position was higher than Zhang Chunqiao. Jiang Qing was under his tutelage during her early years and he had been her principal political patron. This fellow was not only good at manufacturing counterrevolutionary fallacies such as the "criticism of the doctrine of primary of productive forces," the theory that "classes and class struggle still exist in the entire historical period of socialism" and the "determination of class status by political attitude," but also at fabricating false charges, making up false cases and framing good people. Many cases of miscarriage of justice involving a great number of people during the cultural revolution, such as the case of the "New Monggol People's Party," were his masterpieces. On 21 January 1968, he even accused Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee Secretary Zhao Jianmin (incumbent deputy minister of the Third Ministry of Machine Building) of being a traitor in the latter's presence at the Jingxi guesthouse. What evidence did he have? He said, based on his 40 years of revolutionary experience, he had a sensitivity. He then arrested Zhao right then and there. There were numerous similar incidents.

During the period of the "cultural revolution," Xie Fuzhi was a vice premier and concurrently the minister of public security. He had the power of life and death over people. Therefore, he indulged in torturing and interrogation to make people confess and in making up false cases. There had been numerous revolutionary cadres and ordinary people who were framed and killed by the partnership and close collaboration of Kang Sheng and [words indistinct] counterrevolutionary clique. They were only good at framing people and extracting confessions by torture and interrogation and seeking reward and promotion.

These two fellows and their wives (Cao Yiou is a Standing Committee member of the Fifth NPC and has not been removed from that post while Liu Xiangping was once the minister of health) were such good partners. Cao and Liu also made their contributions to the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques' framing and persecution of cadres and masses, breaking up and bringing disaster to many families. The broad masses of people and cadres deeply hate these two couples. Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi have already been expelled from the party, yet people feel that it is a shame that their crimes have not been completely exposed and criticized. The forthcoming trial will not look into the legal responsibility of their crimes because they have already died. Inasmuch as the criminal law has such a stipulation, the indignant people will have to suppress their fury.

Jiang Tengjiao Was the Commander of the Operation to Assassinate Chairman Mao

The background of another principal culprit, Jiang Tengjiao, is unfamiliar to overseas readers. Who is he? What were his serious crimes that include him in the ranks of the principal culprits? This person was originally the air force political commissar of the PLA Nanjing units and he was one of the principal culprits in the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique's conspiracy to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong. In February 1971, after Lin Biao sent his son Lin Liguo to Shanghai to organize the so-called "joint fleet" and drew up the plan for a counterrevolutionary military coup, the "571 project," Lin Liguo was assigned to go to Shanghai to organize a leading core to implement this coup plot. Jiang Tengjiao was included in that group. In early September 1971, after Lin Biao's counterrevolutionary conspiracy was leaked, Lin Liguo started making detailed plans to assassinate Chairman Mao at a secret base in Beijing. Lin Tengjiao was again appointed the first line commander in the Shanghai area. According to the plans, they intended to seize an opportunity in Suzhou or Shanghai to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong. Therefore, Jiang Tengjiao was the chief commander of the conspiracy to kill Chairman Mao Zedong. On 11 September 1971, Lin Biao was about to flee southward to Guangzhou and establish another central committee. Jiang Tengjiao was also included in the list of people to be evacuated to the south. Therefore, this person is by no means a minor character in the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique. Moreover, he has committed a great crime. It is not surprising that he is named as a principal culprit.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

JIANG QING'S 26 NOVEMBER COURT APPEARANCE

HK290152 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 28 Nov 80 p 2

[Contributing article by Chen Lin: "Comments on Jiang Qing's 'I Don't Know'"]

[Text] The 26th of November was the seventh day of the trial of the important case involving the Lin-Jiang cliques. It was also the day which attracted people's greatest attention.

Through satellite relay by "TVB" and "RTV," Hong Kong's two television stations, people could see from the special news report of the Beijing Central Television Station that the witch Jiang Qing, who had brought extremely serious calamities to the Chinese people, was still trying to put up a deathbed struggle in the solemn court. She was both ferocious and cunning and gave an extremely ugly performance.

The aim of the trial is to investigate the crimes of the "gang of four" in slandering and persecuting party and state leaders as well as in usurping party and state power. When Zeng Hanzhou, chief judge of the first tribunal of the special court, interrogated the chief criminal Jiang Qing and asked what they had secretly talked about on the evening of 17 October 1974 when she summoned her sworn followers Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen to building No 17 at Diaoyutai, the witch first pretended to be calm and flatly denied the event. Next, she acted shamelessly and consecutively answered three times "I don't know." Jiang Qing, who had committed the most vicious crimes, thought that she would be able to escape the net of justice simply by flatly denying everything, and all her crimes seemed to have ceased to exist. This was really too ridiculous.

Jiang Qing's monstrous lies were laid bare in just a few minutes later by the testimony of her confederate and other witnesses. In front of Jiang Qing, her confederate Wang Hongwen testified that on the evening of 17 October 1974, it had been Jiang Qing who summoned Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen to building No 17 at Diaoyutai to hold a sinister meeting, who took the lead in plotting to frame up charges against Premier Zhou and Deng Xiaoping, who wanted Wang Hongwen to go to Changsha to see Chairman Mao Zedong and frame up charges against Premier Zhou and Deng Xiaoping as well as conspired to stop Deng Xiaoping from taking up the post of first vice premier.

The testimony by Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng further exposed that despite the fact the Wang Hongwen was rebuffed in Changsha in their attempt to frame up false charges, the "gang of four" headed by Jiang Qing still did not drop their vicious idea. They had wanted to make use of Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng in a second attempt to frame up false charges. On 18 October 1974, Jiang Qing summoned Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng to building No 10 at Diaoyutai, where she unscrupulously slandered that the leaders of the state council "often established ties with each other under the pretext of discussing work." She said that "the premier was very busy even in the hospital and was not really recuperating. Xiaoping, the premier and Marshal Ye were of the same gang and the premier was their boss behind the scene." Jiang Qing also asked the dog-head staff officer Zhang Chunqiao to make a report of the so-called current situation and they compared the Political Bureau meeting on 17 November to the "February counter-current." They would only be satisfied with the down of all the revolutionaries of the older generation. When the demand by the "gang of four" was rejected by Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng, Jiang Qing still insisted on their reporting to Chairman Mao once more. We can thus see that throughout the vicious conspiratorial activities to usurp party and state power, Jiang Qing was the chief instigator. However, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen can hardly evade their criminal responsibilities--especially Zhang Chunqiao, who had always dreamed about "changing the dynasty."

In the face of the testimony by her confederate and the witnesses, the witch Jiang Qing showed her original colors. She felt as though she was sitting on a bed of nails and was later escorted down the defendant's dock like a stray cur.

The chief judge of the tribunal finally announced that the accused Jiang Qing's refusal to answer questions or denials had been put on record. Nevertheless, with all the reliable exhibits and testimony by the witnesses and her confederate Wang Hongwen in confrontation with the accused, the fact was that there were numerous and ample evidence; and the court had completed its investigation.

People could see from the television that the trial and investigation was very serious and it had upheld the principle of taking both the points of facts and the points of law as the basis. Before the conclusion of the trial of the case, the special court neither found the accused guilty, nor acquitted the accused as not guilty. Jiang Qing's shameless denials were all put on record. However, it does not matter whether the two poisonous snakes Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao were rendered speechless or they made flat denials in the court, the final decisions of the court will not be affected. This is because the Chinese courts attach importance to evidence and not testimony and convict people of their crimes based on facts. It is stipulated in the PRC law of criminal procedures: "Even without the testimony of the accused, the accused may be found guilty and punished according to the criminal law when there are ample, reliable evidence." The fact that Zhang Chunqiao refused to accept a copy of the indictment and that Jiang Qing flatly denied everything has demonstrated that they are a gang of incorrigibly stubborn arch usurpers of state power. They do not have the courage to face the trial by the 900 million people.

Some people are worried that the "gang of four" will be dealt with leniently because Article 9 of the PRC "criminal law" stipulates the principle of giving a "comparatively lenient treatment" when there is a difference between the new and old criminal codes. However, the "criminal law" at the same time specifically stipulates that "those who cause particularly serious harm to the state and the people, and whose crimes are particularly vicious, may be sentenced to death."

The serious harm the "gang of four" has done to the Chinese people and their vicious crimes are all unprecedented; and there is absolutely a legal basis for punishing them by death. There is no such question as having no appropriate law to follow.

The "gang of four" ran amuck for 10 years and committed all manner of crimes. The Chinese people had watched and loathed the towering crimes committed by them. Jiang Qing may say "I don't know" ten thousand times in broad daylight. However, the people throughout the country know very well how they cruelly slaughtered the loyal and innocent people. The quibble and stubborn resistance by Jiang Qing and her clique will only arouse the people's great hatred and speed up their own destruction.

CSO: 4005

LAW AUTHORITY EXPLAINS FOREIGN EXCLUSION FROM LIN-JIANG TRIAL

HK200138 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO WEEKLY SUPPLEMENT No 751 in English 20-26 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by Beijing correspondent]

[Text] On 10 November, the 10 members of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques were served the bill of indictment and asked if they wanted defense lawyers. The event took place in the town of Qincheng, about 50 km north of Beijing, where the 10 were held in custody. Their reactions:

Wang Hongwen, 45, dressed in faded blue cotton uniform and with a cap pulled down to his eyebrows, said simply 'no', meaning he doesn't need a defense lawyer.

Yao Wenyuan, in black cotton uniform, bald and unshaven, hesitated before saying he had not given thought to the question, he didn't know anything about court trials or in what way his case could be defended and that he would have to think about the matter.

Zhang Chunqiao, 61, dressed in black cotton uniform, hair shaved, said that he did not accept the indictment.

Jiang Qing, 67, in black cotton uniform, asked someone to speak for her (at the trial) as she was not in good health.

Inside the special court, the national emblem will be hung in the center, according to RENMIN RIBAO. Underneath the emblem will be the bench. The dock with iron railings will be in front of the bench.

The verdict to be passed at the end of the trial will be decided by majority vote among the judges. At least one judge and one defense lawyer are from Taiwan Province, an informed source said. Taiwan is also represented in the public gallery.

In an interview with a law authority by this correspondent, the conversation was as follows:

Question: The trial is a focus of world attention. Why is it that foreigners are not allowed to hear the trial?

Answer: Why should they be? A Chinese trial does not have to be heard by foreigners, especially if the case is a major one tried by a special court and the vast amount of state secrets involved. Will it do to have foreigners present?

Question: I understand that the public gallery is limited to 800 people. Why should there be this limitation if the trial is a public one?

Answer: The special court allows not more than 900 people in the public gallery. Some 400 odd people will hear the trial in each of the first and second tribunals. The post war trial of war criminals in Tokyo only allowed 200 odd people in the public gallery. Our allowance of 400 odd people is twice as many as the Tokyo trial. And don't forget those who sit in the public gallery will be representatives of all sections of the population.

Question: Doubts have been expressed abroad regarding the judicial fairness of appointing victimized persons as judge, in any case, such appointments should be avoided. Why were Jiang Hua and Wu Xiuquan who were persecuted by Lin Biao and the gang of four appointed president and vice president of the special court?

Answer: The cultural revolution was a disaster in China in which no one was directly or indirectly unhurt by Lin Biao and the gang of four. To try to avoid people who were hurt (to be court presidents) would be tantamount to asking Jiang Qing to pass judgment on herself or asking the ghost of Lin Biao to pass judgment on Jiang Qing.

Question: People familiar with English and American laws have doubts about the phrasing of "usurping the party and state." They don't think usurping the party and the state should be mentioned in the same breath and raised in the same charge.

Answer: China has her own laws. We can only judge the case on the basis of Chinese laws. This is why usurping the party and the state are mentioned in the same breath. People outside do not understand the conditions that exist in China. In China, the communist party is the party in power. It would be impossible to usurp the state without usurping the party. It is absolutely necessary to first usurp the party before usurping the state. The two are linked together.

CSO: 4005

GUANGZHOU PEOPLE CALL FOR JIANG QING'S DEATH

HK011140 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 30 Nov 80 p 1

[Newsletter from Guangzhou by correspondent Lan Ching-Chung: "Everyone in Guangzhou Says Jiang Qing Must be Put to Death"]

[Text] In the past few days, people throughout Guangzhou have been greatly agitated by the unskillful performances of Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao at court and said that: "It is necessary to kill Jiang Qing in order to please the people," and "the people will not be pacified if Jiang and Zhang are not put to death." A person of the law circles said: The attitude of a criminal, who deserves death penalty, in pleading guilty has an effect on whether the sentence will be suspended or not.

In the wake of the progress of the trial, the people who had suffered during the 10-year catastrophe were greatly annoyed by the shameless acts of these major culprits. An observant person of the upper levels has once made a clear analysis and believes that Jiang Qing would not be put to death immediately. The grounds supporting his analysis were: the crimes which Jiang Qing committed certainly deserve the death penalty. However, China still has more work to do in order to eliminate all historical shadows. Jiang Qing had usurped a high position and had a thousand and one links. Can the country deal with all this at one time? Currently, when he saw the arrogant performance of Jiang Qing and heard her "I don't know," he could not help asking himself: What is the point of keeping Jiang Qing alive?

This reporter heard from a person of the Beijing film circles say that: One day, when a photographer of the Central Newsreels and Documentary Films Production, who always shot documentary films inside the Zhongnanhai, was shooting pictures at Jiang Qing's pre-trial, smiling and grimacing, Jiang Qing greeted him: "Xiao X, have received a recent promotion assignment? If not, I can recommend you to XXX (note: responsible person of the Central Newsreels and Documentary Production)." This "fantastic story" left us not knowing whether to laugh or cry. Meanwhile, it reminded us of the posturing of Jiang Qing in front of the cameras at the court. A person of the literary and art circles profoundly said: Jiang Qing was still in her sweet dream of being the empress when she stepped into the historical court. Did she only want to arouse public indignation? In the statements of the Lin Biao clique concerning the "571" coup d'etat conspiracy, it was said that: "Lin Biao has occupied a superior position where state power is concerned." This is of course a miscalculation by an ambitious man. But today Jiang Qing is still alive and can we deny the fact that Jiang Qing is still ambitious? The counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin and Jiang had been painstakingly going about their business for more than 10 years before they were imprisoned for 4 years. How could she not but make use of a few shoots to "cast amorous farewell glances" to the spirit of the counterrevolutionary forces? He sighed and continued: When history sounded the death knell of the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin and Jiang, it, in the meantime, sounded to us the alarm of "be thorough in exterminating evil."

Lin Biao wanted to set up another central committee in Guangzhou in accordance with his plot, ajd Jiang Qing had directed her dream of "empress of the red capital" in Guangzhou as well. Their evil sabotaged the country, and they persecuted the people during the 10-year catastrophe, and thousands and millions of Guangdong families also lived in hardship. However, justice has a long arm. The people have always been waiting to see the end of Jiang Qing's gang. People were happy when they heard of the trial of the 10 culprits. Since the trial was televised, a "full house" was found in every house where there was a television set, some people even watched from the windows outside the houses. There were only a few people on the streets around half past seven, and not many people went for the late show at the cinemas. On 25 November, Jiang Qing had been scheduled to be brought to trial at the court (later changed to 26 November), people thought they could watch it on the television. Thus, the cinemas became even emptier. Taking only the news cinema into account, the number of spectators was reduced by more than 400. Many young people also gave up their dates. In the past few days, rumors of "Jiang Qing should be put to death" were heard everywhere. A military officer of the Guangzhou PLA unit told this reporter that: The PLA unit watched the trial of Jiang Qing on the television on 26 November and became very furious. Many of them held that: Jiang Qing has committed such serious crimes, and yet she is still so arrogant. The people will only be pleased when she is sentenced to death.

This reporter talked with a dependent of a person who had been cruelly prosecuted during the great cultural revolution and asked about her feelings. She straightforwardly said: This is an unprecedented case of sabotaging the country and persecuting the people in history. If the major culprits are not sentenced to death and serious hidden dangers are not eliminated, we will be ashamed to pray to the spirits of the deceased and we will be unable to pacify the hatred of millions of millions of dependents of the deceased. Honestly speaking: "I won't feel good at heart either."

People are anticipating the death of Jiang Qing.

CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON GANG'S PLOTTING, WANG'S CHANGSHA TRIP

HK280930 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Nov 80 p 7

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Ji Xichen [4764 1585 2525], Lin Gang [2651 6921] and Lu Nan [7627 0539]: "Circumstances Surrounding the False Accusations in Changsha--First in a Series of Sidelights on the First Tribunal of the Special Court"]

[Text] Conspiracy, conspiracy... During the "great cultural revolution," the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques cooked up one conspiracy after another.

The false accusations made in Changsha was one among the "gang of four's" many conspiracies.

On 24 and 26 November 1980, the first tribunal opened hearing on this conspiracy.

Jiang Qing Was the Mastermind

At 0900 on 26 November, defendant Jiang Qing was brought to the courtroom by two female bailiffs.

Sitting in the dock, Jiang Qing's actions were clumsy and her face was expressionless. It seems that she has not awakened from her dream of becoming an empress.

The chief prosecutor Zeng Hanzhou asked her: I ask you this question: Is it not true that on the night of 17 October 1974, you called Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen to a meeting in building No 17 of Diaoyutai to draw up secret plans? What did the four of you plot?

Jiang Qing denied: I do not know.

The chief prosecutor asked: Was Wang Hongwen's second trip to Changsha part of your plot?

Jiang Qing shook her head and did not answer.

The chief prosecutor announced: Defendant Jiang Qing denies the facts established by the indictment. This will be put on record.

At 0915, Wang Hongwen was called to court to testify. He repeated all the facts that he confessed during the court hearing of 24 November and made some additional remarks. Wang Hongwen said that he volunteered to go to Changsha and Jiang Qing immediately agreed, saying that if he was going, he should go early, preferably before Chairman Mao met with foreign guests.

During the court hearing of 24 November, Wang Hongwen testified that on 4 October 1974, it was Zhang Yufeng who told him over the telephone that Chairman Mao Zedong had nominated Comrade Deng Xiaoping to be the first vice premier of the State Council. At that time, Wang Hongwen made a record of that phone call.

The staff of the court showed the record on a slide. It reads:

Comrade Zhang Yufeng called: The leader said that 3,000 characters would be long enough for the report on the work of the government. He also said how many vice premiers should there be and who should be first premier. (Deng)

The chief prosecutor asked: What was your motive in going to Changsha to make accusations?

Wang Hongwen answered: To prevent Deng Xiaoping from becoming the first vice premier.

On the 24th, Yao Wenyuan admitted in court that he had said that the atmosphere at that time "had the smell of Lushan conference." He testified that the "accusations in Changsha" were Jiang Qing's idea.

How did the "gang of four" carry on their conspiratorial activities to charge Premier Zhou with false accusations and stop Comrade Deng Xiaoping from becoming the first vice premier?

The Villain Flew South

At around 0900 on 18 October 1974, a silver-colored special plane took off from Beijing, aboard this plane was Wang Hongwen, who had usurped the position of vice chairman of the Party Central Committee. Without the knowledge of Premier Zhou and other Political Bureau members, he secretly left Beijing in order to see Chairman Mao before he received foreign guests, for the purpose of making false accusations against Premier Zhou and Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping.

The false accusations fabricated by Jiang Qing and her clique started from the counterrevolutionary farce they cooked up--the incident of the vessel "Fengqing."

Right after May Day in 1974, the first Fengqing vessel built in our country sailed from Shanghai to Europe, carrying with it the great expectations of the motherland. The trip to Europe and back covered a distance of 32,000 nautical miles and lasted for 150 days. The ship returned to Shanghai before the national day.

This was on the eve of the opening of the Fourth NPC, a time when the "gang of four" was most heavily involved in the conspiratorial activities to form a "cabinet." When they learned that a deputy political commissar of Fengqing once made unfavorable remarks against the "gang of four," they intentionally tried to exaggerate the matter, aiming to use it to persecute Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping.

On 14 October, the Jiang Qing clique repeatedly wrote comments on a document on the question of Fengqing. Jiang Qing questioned belligerently: "Is the Ministry of Communications a ministry under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee?" She clamored that in the Ministry of Communications "the comprador bourgeois class dictates over us."

Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan also fired a barrage of epithets like "slavish comprador philosophy," "national betrayal" and "imitation foreign devil" to make oblique accusations against that deputy political commissar and slander him as an "alien class element who infiltrated the ranks of the revolution" and a "representative of the comprador bourgeois class" who "stood for a revisionist line." They also clamored for dragging out his backstage supporter.

On the night of 17 October 1974, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held a meeting. Jiang Qing took this opportunity to create an incident and provoke conflict. She handed out reading materials on the Fengqing and questioned Comrade Deng Xiaoping about his opinions.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: I have read these materials and made comments these materials must still be investigated.

Jiang Qing pressed Comrade Deng Xiaoping further on his attitude toward the criticism of "slavish comprador philosophy"--whether he approved or disapproved of such criticism.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointedly rebuffed Jiang Qing. He said: How can we cooperate in a Political Bureau like this? Why do you force your views on others? Is it always necessary to write an opinion which agrees with yours?

After the meeting adjourned and Comrade Deng Xiaoping left, Zhang Chunqiao, who loved to fan up intrigue, immediately made a provocative remark, saying that "Deng Xiaoping has come out again."

Four People Conspire

After the Political Bureau meeting ended, the "gang of four" returned to Diaoyutai. On that same evening, Jiang Qing told Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan to "get together" at the building No 17 which was occupied by her, so that they could analyze and discuss the causes of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's quarrel with Jiang Qing at the Political Bureau meeting.

Jiang Qing said: Deng Xiaoping complained because he was not happy with and angry about the great cultural revolution. He was against the great cultural revolution.

Zhang Chunqiao said: Deng Xiaoping's loss of temper probably had to do with the nomination of the general chief of staff when the subject of the 4th NPC was being discussed. This was a great outburst on his part. He also said: I had expected something to happen and now it did.

Wang Hongwen said: Deng Xiaoping was unhappy with and angry about the great cultural revolution. He refused to support what is new.

Yao Wenyuan also gave his own views at this get-together.

In his diary on 18 October, Yao Wenyuan wrote:

"The situation of struggle has suddenly changed. At the end of yesterday's meeting, Comrade Deng Xiaoping rose to his feet scolding Comrade Jiang Qing....There was something smacking of the Lushan conference. The development of things is independent of one's own will...."

After Jiang Qing and others made their plot, Wang Hongwen suggested that he go to Changsha. Jiang Qing supported it. The second day, he took a special plane to Changsha.

At around 1400 on 18 October, Chairman Mao received Wang Hongwen. Present at that time was Comrade Zhang Yufeng. In an affidavit dated 18 July 1980, she wrote:

"Wang Hongwen first inquired about Chairman Mao's health and then said: Beijing now has much of the atmosphere that smacks of the Lushan conference. I have now come to Hunan, leaving the premier and the other comrades of the Political Bureau in the dark. It was decided at a meeting attended by Chunqiao, Jiang Qing, Wenyuan and me last night that I should come and brief you. The premier is still convalescing. With your approval, I immediately started on my way. In doing so, I am taking a risk.

"Wang Hongwen also said: At the Political Bureau meeting, Jiang Qing and Comrade Deng Xiaoping argued about this matter and quarreled bitterly. He repeated what Jiang Qing and Comrade Xiaoping had said at that time. Wang also said: It seems that Deng is still promoting the policy that considers it better to buy than to build ships, better to hire than to buy ships. He also hinted that such a great outburst on Deng's part had to do with the recent selection of a general chief of staff.

"Continuing, Wang Hongwen said: Though the premier is now ill and in the hospital, the people are talking with him late into the night. Almost every day someone calls. Among those comrades who often go to see the premier are Xiaoping, Jianying and Xiannian. He also said: The frequent appearance of these people has to do with lining up personnel for the 4th NPC.

"Wang Hongwen also praised Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Jiang Qing before Chairman Mao....

"After the talk, Wang Hongwen said: I must make it back to Beijing today as the several of them are waiting for the chairman's advice.

"The chairman said: Well, after this trip, you must see more of the premier and Comrade Jianying. Don't get involved with Jiang Qing. You must keep watch on her."

The court secretary read out excerpts from Zhang Yufeng's testimony.

What Is in the Mind of a Venomous Snake

The "gang of four" slandered and persecuted Zhou Enlai, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee and premier of the State Council.

In November 1973 before the convening of the 4th NPC, Jiang Qing at an enlarged Political Bureau meeting found an excuse to maliciously attack Premier Zhou. She slanderously charged that he "could not wait to be the chairman's replacement."

On 9 December 1973, after Chairman Mao received the Nepalese king at Zhongnanhai, he said, with Jiang Qing's attack against Premier Zhou in mind: "It is not the premier but she (meaning Jiang Qing) who could not wait."

At noon on the same day that Wang Hongwen flew southward to Changsha, Jiang Qing sent for Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng to come to the building No 17 of Diaoyutai--the two who were due to leave for Changsha for an interview.

Jiang Qing said: The chairman will shortly go abroad to meet with foreigners. You two must also help him. So I have sent for hou to discuss an important matter. She also asked them to report it to the chairman.

Jiang Qing said: At a Political Bureau discussion on the problem of the Fengqing on the evening of the 17th, Comrade Xiaoping slipped away after quarreling with her, thus interrupting the Political Bureau meeting. Jiang Qing also said that the leading comrades of the State Council often used business as an excuse to get together. The premier has also gotten very busy in his hospital and was not actually recuperating.

Jiang Qing said: Comrade Xiaoping, the premier and Marshal Ye always band together, with the premier pulling the wires behind.

Jiang Qing and company also slanderously accused Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and others of carrying out activities to usurp power the way Lin Biao did in 1970. She said the nonsense that Beijing now had much of the atmosphere smacking of the Lushan conference.

In an affidavit given on 27 June 1980, defendant Wang Hongwen wrote:

"The aim was to discredit Comrade Deng Xiaoping before Chairman Mao, so that he could no longer remain in office and, still less, as the first vice premier.... The trip to Changsha to make an accusation...was chiefly a case of a villain trying to get the upper hand by complaining first--a villain seizing an opportunity when Comrade Deng Xiaoping was busy accompanying foreign guests. The aim was to make Chairman Mao know the so-called 'truth' of the quarrel, or the so-called problem involving Comrade Deng Xiaoping....It was actually an intrigue to vilify and victimize Comrade Deng Xiaoping...."

Jiang Qing Is Still Making Trouble

Wang Hongwen returned to Beijing that afternoon.

When he was in Changsha, Wang Hongwen promised Chairman Mao to act according to his directives. However, when he returned to Beijing, he went immediately to Diaoyutai to report his Changsha trip to Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan instead of going to see Comrades Zhou Enlai and Ye Jianying.

On the night of the 18th, the four people once again met at building No 17 of Diaoyutai. They also called Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng to the meeting. The two interpreted and took minutes when Chairman Mao talked with foreign guests.

On 26 November, Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng also appeared in court as witnesses.

Wang Hairong said that when she arrived at building No 17, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen had already arrived. At the meeting, Jiang Qing asked Zhang Chunqiao to brief them on the question of the so-called situation. Zhang Chunqiao talked about the deficits in China's revenue and expenditure and in foreign trade after the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. He attributed this to the worship and blind faith in foreign things by the leading comrades in the State Council. He even went so far as comparing the meeting of the Party's Political Bureau on the 17th with the "adverse February current."

Jiang Qing wanted Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng to go to Changsha to frame Deng Xiaoping again. In the talk, it was revealed that Wang Hongwen had already seen the chairman, and that Chairman Mao asked him to unite with Comrade Deng Xiaoping because the latter was good at fighting.

On the next day, Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng reported to Premier Zhou Enlai who was then in the hospital on what Jiang Qing had told them. The premier said that the four had planned to attack Comrade Deng Xiaoping. They had attacked Comrade Deng Xiaoping on many occasions and the latter had long been tolerant toward them.

On 20 October, after Chairman Mao had met with foreign guests, Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng reported to him on their talk with the premier. On hearing the report, Chairman Mao said angrily: The Fengqing question is a minor one. Moreover, Comrades Li Xiannian and Ji Dengkui are solving it. Yet, Jiang Qing is still making trouble.

The chairman also suggested that Comrade Deng Xiaoping be appointed the party's vice chairman, the first vice premier, the vice chairman of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee and concurrently chief of the general staff. The chairman highly commended Comrade Deng Xiaoping. He was diametrically opposed to Jiang Qing and asked Wang Hairong and Tang Wensheng to tell Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chinqiao and Yao Wenyuan not to follow Jiang Qing in making criticism.

However, the "gang of four," who had been blinded by lust for gain, would not stop. They continued to attack Deng Xiaoping in an even more frenzied manner.

On 2 March 1976, at a meeting with the leaders of some provinces and autonomous areas, Jiang Qing spoke incoherently and tried her best to spread rumors and sling mud. She said: "Deng Xiaoping is the general manager of the rumor company....he incites one against the other and engages in rumormongering and mudslinging. He is an out-and-out counterrevolutionary doubledealer and exposes even faster than Lin Biao....As I have mentioned before, we must get together and fight against Deng Xiaoping. He has sold fuel to those big capitalist countries which we ourselves lack. So I say he is a comprador capitalist, and represents the interests of the comprador-landlord class. There is an international capitalist agent in China and his name is Deng Xiaoping. Is it not correct to call him a traitor?...."

Not long afterwards, on 26 April 1976, Jiang Qing wrote a letter to Chairman Mao Zedong to frame Deng Xiaoping: "I think Deng Xiaoping and others have resorted to the tricks of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao....I wonder whether they are even worse than Lin Biao. It is said that there are some similarities and dissimilarities between the activities of their large fleets and small ones. Their small fleets are worse than the large ones."

At the end of the letter, she said: "Eat well, sleep well and fight to win another even greater victory."

Whom did Jiang Qing and company want to fight against? Only against Comrade Deng Xiaoping? No. They were fighting against the 900 million people throughout China.

The people are victorious in this fight. The "gang of four" was escorted into the people's court.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

FRAME-UP OF HE LONG DISCUSSED

HK020650 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 1 Dec 80 p 2

[Long-distance call from correspondent in Beijing: "Inside Story of the 'February Mutiny' Revealed"]

[Text] "BEIJING WANBAO" carried the story of the "February Mutiny" on 30 November, revealing an unjust case. The story was revealed in the special report entitled "Trial of the Treacherous Court Officials" written by a "BEIJING WANBAO" correspondent after an interview with the wife of He Long, Xue Ming. The following is an abstract of the article:

When the reporter came into Xue Ming's sitting room, he saw several sheets of paper hanging on the wall on which there was a poem written by Xu Fanting, a hero in the war of resistance against Japan. The poem read: "He is similar to Zhao Yun in obedience and loyalty to the country; yet his resolution and vividness are more prominent. The heroic spirit of Comrade He Long is beyond compare with that of General Li Mu and Lian Po."

Xue Ming said to the reporter: "The law is promoting righteousness for the people today. I have kept two things concealed in my heart since Comrade He Long was persecuted. I can tell you now. The first thing is the so-called 'February Mutiny.'"

Kang Sheng Made Irresponsible Remarks and Spread Rumors

Xue Ming said: "Around July 1967, the 'February Mutiny' created a scandal in Beijing and in other big cities in the country. The true story is that in the spring of 1966, a certain regiment was posted to the Beijing Wei Shu district to be in charge of militia training and so on. They borrowed premises from the University of Beijing and the Chinese People's University because there was not enough room for accommodations. Certain individuals put up big character posters which 'suspected a mutiny.' Realizing an opportunity, Kang Sheng then slandered He Long and Peng Zzen for 'mobilizing the army at their personal command and promoting the February Mutiny' at the mass meeting of the Beijing Teachers University and at the meeting of the Central Revolutionary Group. He also spread the following libel: 'He Long personally mobilized the army and built a blockhouse in the suburbs of Beijing. He organized the coup d'etat forces in Tiyukou in accordance with his plot.' In April 1968, Kang Sheng spread a more horrible libel. He told the personnel engaged in the examination of the case: 'He Long has issued guns and cannons to the sports committee. The cannons are placed in Shishahai, aiming directly at Zhongnanhai.... He has issued more than 700 guns to his men at one time.' However, as a matter of fact, there was only a small number of guns used especially for military exercises issued to the men and there were no cannons at all."

He Long Knew Nothing About This Till His Death

"In fact, these slanderous remarks would have been clarified if the people in charge had carried out investigations. However, Comrade He Long, being a member of the Political Bureau as well as vice premier and vice chairman of the military commission, knew not a word of the 'February Mutiny' till the day he died. No one ever came to him about this."

Xue Ming sighed and said: "'He Long died because someone was spreading slander against him behind his back.' Another thing that I would like to reveal is the story that He Long received representative of the Kuomintang Xiong Gongqing. At that time, He Long let Xiong come into the Red Army because he wanted to find out the enemy's targets and intentions. On the other hand, He Long, Guang Xiangying and Xia Xi of the Central Subbureau for West Hubei and Hunan had submitted reports to the central organ before and after this incident. A couple of decades later this incident became He Long's crime of 'turning traitor and going over to the enemy.'"

Wong Yongsheng Said the Last Word

Xue Ming said: "As far as I know, those engaged in the examination of this case had come across these reports when they read over the file. However, they had to work in accordance with the instructions from the higher level. They convicted He Long of the 'crime' first and then began to look for evidence. They did not consider what was right or wrong. They concealed the unfavorable evidence and pretended that they had never heard of it before. We had written some articles of appeal when we were imprisoned. However, we heard that Wong Yongsheng said the last word and all became invalid. In addition to this, Kang Sheng ordered others to torture us and let us die quietly."

Xue Ming said: "Today, we have a relatively complete set of lawful procedures. We persist in regarding facts as truth and the law as the criterion. Whether you deny or pretend to be deaf and dumb, you can never escape from the punishment deserved once you are proved guilty. On 21 November, when I listened to the indictment read by the chief judge, I remembered He Long's words: 'There are treacherous court officials in the party. If we let them continue creating chaos, the results will be dreadful to contemplate. But I believe that they will come to no good end.' What Comrade He Long had predicted has come true. At last we see the end of the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. I could not sleep that night not for any other reason than that I was so happy."

The Whole Class Supervises an Old Woman

Xue Ming also talked about her suffering during the great cultural revolution. She said that she was sent to a party school in the hilly areas of Guizhou after He Long had been isolated. She was punished to do heavy work there and was supervised by a whole class of people. Nobody knew who she was except that she was a secret old woman. Thanks to the concern of Premier Zhou, she returned to Beijing after Lin Biao's counterrevolutionary coup d'etat had been smashed.

CSO: 4005

'DILEMMA' OF GAO GANG EXAMINED

HK211132 Hong Kong CHENG MING No 37 in Chinese 1 Nov 80 pp 18-19

[Article by Tu Feng: "Can the Gao Gang Dilemma Be Resolved?"]

[Text] I have read an article by Mr Miao Shuo entitled "Has the Gao Gang Question Been Put on the Agenda?" in Number 35 of "CHENG MING." The Gao Gang question is indeed a mystery. Will this question be put on the agenda? Mr Miao added a question mark to the title of his article. Recently, I have had a chance to meet two people who have close contacts with Gao Gang's family. They have provided me with a great deal of precious information. Perhaps this information can answer the question raised by Mr Miao.

A Recent Directive Issued by Deng Xiaoping

Deng Xiaoping has recently issued a directive concerning the question of Gao Gang. It contains two ideas: 1. From now on, we should refrain from mentioning Mao Zedong's way of life and his political tricks. 2. The way in which Gao Gang and Rao Shushi were treated was not too harsh.

Judging from these two ideas, the question of Gao Gang will not be put on the agenda and will be left unsettled.

What is the nature of the Gao Gang and Rao Shushi incident? The account given by Mr Miao is basically correct. Gao Gang was a victim of Mao Zedong's political tricks. The tragedy was caused by Mao Zedong's attempt to get rid of Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai.

Gao Gang Trumpeted the "Party of the Army Theory"

In the summer of 1953, the CCP held a conference on financial and economic work. On 10 September, it held a conference on organizational work. During these conferences, Gao Gang conducted many activities, the most important one being the advocation of the "party of the army theory." He said that the CCP could be divided into two, one being the "party of the bases and the army," the other being the "party of the white area." He stressed: "The party was created by the army." This implied that "the party of the white area" was unimportant. Whom did the so-called "party of the white area" represent? Obviously, it represented Liu Shaoqi.

Gao Gang conducted such activities not only because he had long term conflicts with Liu Shaoqi, but mainly because he was incited to do them by Mao Zedong.

Gao Gang was rather displeased by Liu Shaoqi's being the number two man of the CCP. He wrote to Mao Zedong, demanding that Liu Shaoqi's post be held by different people by turns. At the same time, he revealed that when Mao Zedong attended the Chongqing negotiations in 1945, Liu Shaoqi put forth the slogan of the new period of peace and democracy and planned to reorganize the PLA.

Mao Zedong Hints to Gao Gang That He May Secretly Organize a Cabinet

Mao Zedong grasped the conflict between Liu Shaoqi and Gao Gang and took advantage of this opportunity to achieve his personal aims. He talked to Gao Gang and expressed his dissatisfaction with the "cabinet" of Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai, giving Gao Gang a chance to approach some people to secretly form a cabinet so as to replace Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai.

Deng Xiaoping's Attitude

Mao Zedong's suggestion fit in exactly with Gao Gang's wishes. He approached some leaders of the major CCP regions--Peng Dehuai of the northwest, Deng Xiaoping of the southwest, Rao Shushi of East China and Lin Biao of Central China--in an effort to form a new cabinet. Deng Xiaoping did not approve of what Gao Gang was doing and he told Mao Zedong about this.

On hearing what Deng Xiaoping said, Mao Zedong immediately pretended that he was also displeased with Gao Gang. He asked Deng Xiaoping to advise Rao Shushi, Peng Dehuai and Lin Biao not to follow Gao Gang. Since Deng Xiaoping was not aware of the truth at that time, he did what Mao Zedong told him to do. All of them, except Rao Shushi, accepted Deng Xiaoping's advise and rejected Gao Gang's proposal.

Under these circumstances and after serious consideration, Mao Zedong decided to sacrifice Gao Gang.

Mao Zedong Absents Himself From the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee

At a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee on 24 December 1953, Mao Zedong suddenly raised the question of "underground headquarters." He then suggested that the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee be held in Beijing in February 1954. In order to avoid direct confrontation with Gao Gang, he found a pretext and absented himself from the meeting which he had proposed. Liu Shaoqi, Gao Gang's opponent, presided at the meeting. The relevant CCP documents recorded: "The Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee was held in Beijing from 6 to 10 February 1954. Present at the meeting were 35 CCP Central Committee members and 26 alternate CCP Central Committee members. Moreover, 52 leading cadres of the party, government, army and people's organizations attended the meeting as observers. Comrade Liu Shaoqi, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee, presided at the meeting. Comrade Mao Zedong did not attend this meeting because he was not in Beijing." This meeting formally raised the question of the "alliance of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi." It revealed and criticized the antiparty alliance of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi who schemed to split the party. It also ordered them to confess their antiparty crimes. The meeting adopted the "resolution on strengthening party unity" proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong. The so-called "strengthening party unity" implied that Gao Gang was engaged in activities to split the party. In fact, who was the person hiding behind the scenes, drawing in one faction, hitting out at another and taking advantage of their conflicts to attack his opponents? Most party members did not know this because they were kept in the dark.

The "Forums" on the Question of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi

Of course, Gao Gang and Rao Shushi were dissatisfied with the resolution adopted by the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. They refused to "plead guilty." Therefore, Mao Zedong asked Zhou Enlai to chair a forum on the question of Gao Gang on October 1954. At the same time, he asked Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun and Tan Zhenlin to chair a forum on the question of Rao Shushi. He asked them to continue to reveal and criticize Gao Gang and Rao Shushi at these two forums. Under such great pressure, Gao Gang eventually committed suicide.

From 21 to 31 March 1955, Mao Zedong complacently presided at the national conference of the CCP in Beijing. He made the opening speech and the conclusion at this conference. Deng Xiaoping delivered the report on the antiparty alliance of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi. The conference adopted the resolution concerning the antiparty alliance of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi and decided to expel them from the party and dismiss them from their posts within the party and outside it. This conference also adopted two resolutions, one concerning the draft of the first 5-year plan for the development of the national economy (Chen Yun made the report on this plan). Another was on the establishment of central and local party's control committees. It established a central control commission headed by Dong Biwu.

When handling the case of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, Mao Zedong craftily drew in Liu Shaoqi and attacked Gao Gang. Who could have imagined that a similar tragedy would happen to Liu Shaoqi several years later. Moreover, the tragedy was a more terrible one.

It was a common occurrence in the history of the CCP that Mao Zedong played political tricks. However, in the current campaign to criticize Mao Zedong, his reputation is still preserved to a certain extent. Thus, not many vile activities of this kind have been mentioned.

The Marriage Between Gao Gang and Li Liqun

In his directives, Deng Xiaoping mentioned that Gao Gang had not been treated too harshly at that time. This probably implied that Gao Gang had committed suicide and that he had not been as ill-treated as Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai and some others during the "cultural revolution." This, things had not been too bad for him.

In fact, since the Gao Gang incident, his family members' circumstances have not been too bad.

Gao Gang's wife was Li Liqun. Of course, she was not his first wife. His first wife was a woman with bound feet in a Shaanxi village. Li Liqun joined the revolution when she was very young. She worked as a library assistant in Yanan.

She was very beautiful and Gao Gang fell in love with her at first sight. However, Li Liqun was too young to understand his desire at that time. Gao Gang's subordinates understood it perfectly well. They often invited her to Gao Gang's house. One night when Li Liqun visited Gao Gang, he did not allow her to go home. Soon afterwards, Li Liqun married Gao Gang when she was only 16 years old.

The couple had five children, two boys and three girls. The eldest one was a boy called Gao Xuan. The second, third and fourth were girls called Yan Yan, An An and Bin Bin. Yan Yan and An An were born in Yanan. The youngest one was a boy. He was conceived after Gao Gang's grave incident and was born in 1955. The character of this youngest son was obviously different from that of his brother and sisters. He was weak and fond of crying. This was allegedly due to the poor "prenatal education" he had received. Because of this, Li Liqun often complained to her good friends about Gao Gang: "When he knew he was going to commit suicide, why did he make me pregnant?"

After Gao Gang's grave incident, the organization department talked many times to Li Liqun, asking her to reveal and account for Gao Gang's crimes. In fact, Li Liqun knew very little about her husband's political activities. She was previously deputy chief (of the training bureau of the labor department). After Gao Gang's grave incident, Li Liqun was demoted one grade to the post of section chief. The reason for this was that she had been promoted too rapidly due to her relations with Gao Gang and she was put back to the position she deserved. Before the "cultural revolution," she worked in the education department.

The State Gives a Living Allowance to Gao Gang's Children

After Gao Gang committed suicide, Li Liqun and her children moved to a residence at Al Dasitiaokuan Street, Xinjiekou, Beijing. It was a dormitory of the organization department and was a good residence. It was a Chinese-style compound with houses around a courtyard, five big rooms facing the north, rooms in the east and west wings and a row of rooms facing the south for the workers. Gao Gang's family used to have many guards and attendants. After his death, they only kept two servants. One was a watchman called Lao Li, Gao Gang's previous groom who worked under him for a long time. The other was a cook.

The state has provided Gao Gang's children with living allowances of 50 yuan each, which is not a small amount in China where wages are low. Compared with other CCP high-ranking cadres attacked during the "cultural revolution," Gao Gang's family members have not been treated too badly. Thus, things "have not been too bad" for them.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'GONGREN RIBAO' CARRIES LIU'S CHILDREN'S MEMOIRS

OW060216 Tokyo KYODO in English 0142 GMT 6 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 6 Dec (KYODO)--Three children of the late head of state Liu Shaoqi have implicitly criticized the late Chairman Mao Zedong in their memoirs of their father.

The memoirs, written by Liu's daughters Pingping and Tingting and his son Yuan, were carried by the WORKERS DAILY, an organ paper of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, on Friday.

In the memoirs, Liu's children implicitly accused Mao of having fueled the anti-Liu campaign.

The memoirs covered incidents in detail from the first appearance of an anti-Liu wall poster in 1966 to the virtual confinement of Liu by the Red Guards in 1967.

The WORKERS DAILY will carry a sequel of the children's memoirs.

The anti-Liu storm spread nationwide immediately after the press media reported the first wall poster against Liu, the memoirs said. The poster was written by Nie Yuanzi, then lecturer on philosophy at Beijing University, and others.

Chairman Mao highly praised the anti-Liu wall poster as "the first Marxist-Leninist poster in China."

One of the major charges against Liu had been his dispatch of officials to Beijing University and two other places in 1966 to quell the Red Guards campaign.

The memoirs, however, said Chairman Mao himself had approved the dispatch of the officials. At the time, Liu tried rather to persuade the citizens demanding the dispatch of the officials not to take hasty action, the memoirs said.

At the time of the Red Guards campaign, Liu repeatedly telephoned Chairman Mao, then staying in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, and sought Mao's instruction, the memoirs said. But Mao gave no clear instruction, it said. Finally, Liu and Deng Xiaoping, then party secretary general, flew to Hangzhou to seek Mao's instruction, but Mao ignored their request, entrusting the handling of the campaign to Liu and Deng, the memoirs said.

PANCHEN LAMA'S MARRIAGE, SITUATION IN XIZANG

HK210410 Hong Kong CHEN MING No 37 in Chinese 1 Nov 80 pp 22-24

[Article by Hsiao Cheng: "The Panchen Lama's Marriage and the Situation in Xizang"]

[Text] The Panchen Lama's Formal Marriage

The Panchen Lama was formally married recently.

How is it that the living Buddha has gotten married? This is indeed incredible. However, it is a fact that has occurred in 1980.

Who is his wife? She is the granddaughter of Dong Qiwu, a KMT general who defected to the communists. The matchmakers of this marriage were two drivers.

Once when the Panchen Lama and Dong Qiwu were attending a meeting in a conference room, their drivers chatted outside the room. In their conversation, the Panchen Lama's driver unintentionally mentioned that the Panchen Lama had been very lonely. On hearing this, Dong Qiwu's driver felt sympathy for him. He had a very fantastic idea--to act as a matchmaker for the Panchen Lama. The other driver also agreed to help enthusiastically.

At that time, Dong Qiwu's divorced daughter was living with his family. She had two unmarried daughters: The elder one was about 24 to 25 and the younger about 21.

After a discussion, the two drivers agreed to introduce Dong Qiwu's elder granddaughter to the Panchen Lama.

The driver told the Panchen Lama about this idea. The latter happily agreed. The two drivers then made arrangements for the Panchen Lama to meet Dong Qiwu's granddaughter.

The two sisters both appeared at the meeting. Although the drivers intended to introduce the elder sister to the Panchen Lama, he took a fancy to the younger one.

As there was sign of a positive outcome, the grandfather Dong Qiwu voiced his objections. Later, a high-ranking official talked to him and changed his mind.

400,000 Yuan as Cash Gift for Betrothal

Not long afterwards, the Panchen Lama was formally married. It was said that he gave the bride 400,000 yuan as cash gift for betrothal.

Being a living Buddha, the Panchen Lama is very rich. A drawer in his room is filled with 10-yuan notes. Before the 1964 incident, he had a "Panchen Affairs Office" at Beichang Street, Beijing. On religious occasions, many Tibetans and Lamaism believers paid homage to him and had him touch their heads as a sign of blessing. At the same time, they donated a lot of money. This is one of the sources of the Panchen Lama's income. After the 1964 incident, he was put under house arrest in a red western-style house on the (Dongzongbu) alley of Beijing (originally Li Jishen's house). He could walk about under the inspection of guards. During the cultural revolution, he was put in Qincheng prison. Of course, his properties were either confiscated or frozen at that time. When he was released from prison, he got back his savings. That is why he could offer 400,000 yuan as cash gift to his bride.

Before the marriage, the Panchen Lama's wife was an unemployed youth. After the marriage, she has appeared in public as the Panchen Lama's secretary.

The Panchen Lama and Martin Luther

There has been another marriage like the Panchen Lama's. Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, the number one living Buddha of Qamdo has also married. Both marriages have aroused some people's comments. A lama's marriage is a challenge to Buddhism--the tradition of Lamaism. In fact, religion is similar to all other things in the world. It undergoes development and changes. In the past, Christian priests were not allowed to get married. But Martin Luther carried out religious reforms and established a new religion, which allowed the priests to get married. The new religion stood up to Catholics as an equal. The writer of this article dare not make any improper comment on whether the Panchen Lama wanted to be a Buddhist "Martin Luther." However, it seems that his decision to get married is irreproachable.

The Background of Which Yang Jinren Is Appointed Vice Premier

During the recent NPC, the Panchen Lama made some mild criticisms on CCP policies. He said: "Local organs at all levels should allow the minority nationalities to be their own masters...instead of making them 'puppets' controlled by others." He added: "The masses in Xizang said: 'The Tibetan cadres are the masters while the Han cadres make the decisions.' The Han language is used in most documents of the leading organs. Although the basic-level cadres and masses do not understand the Han language, they are not allowed to use the Tibetan language. In evaluating cadres, recruiting workers and admitting students, the level of the Tibetan language is not taken into consideration. However good one's Tibetan language is, one is still regarded as 'illiterate.' As a result, many people are unwilling to learn the Tibetan language, which is declining fast. No respect has been shown for the customs and habits of the Tibetan nationality. For example, the national costumes have been criticized as black clothes. Another for example, the brocade stole, which the Tibetans often use as a gift to show respect and as a symbol of nobility and purity, has been arbitrarily regarded as white and not revolutionary and has thus been banned."

Over the past 30 years, many problems have arisen from the CCP's policies toward national minority regions. Because of this, many knotty problems which put the CCP in a difficult position have occurred in Xizang and Xinjiang. In order to rapidly solve these problems, Yang Jingren, the minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, has been appointed a vice premier.

After the peaceful liberation of Xizang, some Han cadres were sent to Xizang. When the rebellion was suppressed and democratic reformation was carried out in 1958, more Han cadres were sent to Xizang. They took up various important posts in the leading groups. Most of these Han cadres cherished high hopes, voluntarily gave up their comfortable lives and went to Xizang. However, due to erroneous policies, their dedication did not yield good results. Although Xizang has made some improvements and developments in production in comparison with the preliberation period, it is still very poor and backward. This was particularly true during the cultural revolution when Ren Rong was the leader of Xizang. He vigorously pushed the ultraleftist line and led Xizang into greater poverty. For example, he tried to get rid of small merchants and hawkers and ordered the Tibetans to grow high-yield winter wheat instead of barley. However, the Tibetans were not used to eating winter wheat. Nor were they good at growing it. Moreover, the Xizang plateau was not suitable for growing wheat. As a result, there was a poor harvest which ended in famine. Some people even went to Sichuan and some other places to beg for food.

Quantitative changes can develop into qualitative changes. However, people always treat quantitative changes lightly. They always think that nothing will go wrong. When they discover that qualitative changes have taken place, it is "too late." The many years of poverty and backwardness in Xizang and various ultraleftist policies have sown seeds of national and religious antagonism in the course of quantitative changes. When the Dalai Lama's delegation visited Xizang last year, the seeds suddenly germinated.

The Shock Caused by Dalai Lama

Last year, the Dalai Lama sent a delegation to negotiate with the CCP. The delegation included his brother, brother-in-law and secretaries. They visited Lhasa, Qamdo and Gannan. They were received with a display of unprecedented fervor wherever they went. Tens of thousands of "emancipated serfs" voluntarily gathered at (Luobulinka) in Lhasa to welcome their previous owners. They even put out their tongues at the delegation as the "untouchables" had done in the past whenever they met nobles. In Gannan, the party and CYL cadres also rushed to welcome the Dalai Lama's delegation along with the masses.

This display by the Tibetans greatly shocked the CCP cadres: has their work (including ideological work) been a complete failure? Why do the emancipated serfs so fervently welcome their previous owners who had suppressed and exploited them in the past? And why are they willing to behave as the "untouchables?"

In fact, this is not difficult to explain. On the one hand, Xizang has so long been backward that many people are still keeping to their ignorant habits. On the other hand, the many years of poverty has caused them to be disappointed with their "liberators."

Hu Yaobang's Tour of Xizang

The disturbance caused by the Dalai Lama's delegation greatly concerned the CCP Central Committee. Yang Jingren, minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission personally toured Xizang to understand the situation and listen to public opinion. After hearing his report, the Central Committee felt the seriousness of the state of affairs. Thus, it sent Hu Yaobang, CCP general secretary, to do something about the situation.

On 22 May, Hu Yaobang, Wan Li, Ngapoi Ngawang-Jigmi, Yang Jingren and Zhao Zhenqing went to Xizang. In order to foster a closer relationship between the Han and Tibetan nationalities and between the people and cadres, Hu Yaobang deliberately took a "minibus" (similar to 14-seat bus) instead of a car. Since he could not adapt himself to the plateau, he suffered from mountain sickness. However, he still hurried from one place to another.

On behalf of the Central Committee, Hu Yaobang announced the following "six major things" to be done: 1) full play must be given to the right of national regional autonomy; 2) the policy of recuperation should be carried out to reduce the burden of the masses; 3) specific and flexible policies suitable to the conditions in Xizang should be carried out in all fields of economic work; 4) the funds allocated by the state to Xizang should be used to boost agricultural production and animal husbandry, and to raise the living standard of the Tibetan people; 5) culture, education and science in Xizang should be energetically revived and developed; and 6) the party's policy on cadres of minority people origin must be correctly carried out.

Many cadres in Xizang (including Tibetan CCP cadres) do not have a good understanding of these six tasks. They think that the policies have been changed too rapidly. However, the Central Committee thinks that this change is inevitable.

Some cadres also have misgivings regarding the return of the Dalai Lama. Some people asked: "If the Dalai Lama and his men who are in exile return, the more than 20,000 professionals among them will take up most of the key technical posts. What will happen if they try to restore capitalism?" Hu Yaobang answered humorously: "If advanced capitalism is achieved in Xizang, we will be the ones benefiting."

What Is the Most Difficult Problem?

The most difficult problem for the CCP is the question of cadres in Xizang.

One of the six things to be done well by the CCP is "full-time Tibetan cadres should make up more than two-thirds of the total number of government functionaries in Xizang within the next 2 or 3 years.... It is glorious for the Han cadres to leave after accomplishing their historical task."

Why should the Han cadres withdraw so rapidly and completely?

Most cadres went to Xizang in the 1950's because they responded to the party's call and were imbued with revolutionary ideals. They have lived in Xizang for more than 20 years and most of them suffer from mountain sickness. Women cannot give birth to children in the plateau. Moreover, many people died during the Xizang rebellion. Some of them were oppressed in different ways during the cultural revolution and no one cared for them. Some of them have given their youth, health and even lives and have grown old. They should retire and go back to their native places. Yet, who will succeed them? Although some other Han cadres have gone to Xizang to provide help, they are different from those who went there in the 1950's. In view of the small number of volunteers and in order to encourage people to go to Xizang, the Central Committee stipulated: by going to Xizang, those who have not been admitted to the party will be admitted into it; they will be promoted by two grades and will be able to return to the interior of China within 3 years. When this stipulation was put into practice, a number of cadres went to Xizang. As they were not prepared to settle down there and as they were not able to familiarize themselves with the local conditions within the 3-year tenure of office, they did not have great success in their work. In addition, when cadres who went to Xizang in the 1950's compared themselves to the newcomers, they felt that the government had been unfair. Thus, they could not keep their minds on their work.

Therefore, the question of cadres in Xizang is the most difficult problem for the CCP. The CCP has no alternative but to withdraw the Han cadres and energetically train Tibetan cadres. It has now been stipulated that all Han cadres, except soldiers, can be transferred to the interior of the country.

However, such rapid reshuffle has also caused a real problem in Xizang. The Tibetan cadres are worried about whether they can shoulder such heavy loads by themselves. If a small number of the Han cadres are asked to stay behind to provide help, no one will be willing to do so. Up to now, there is still no miraculous cure for this problem.

In fact, the CCP has been supplying subsidies to Xizang since its liberation. However, a difference will soon emerge. In the past, Xizang was managed by the Han cadres and in the future it will be managed by the Tibetans themselves. Due to the erroneous line and policies, Xizang became very poor over the past 20 years. This was the main cause of the recent minor disturbance. No one can accurately forecast what will happen. However, the CCP is trying its best to remedy its past mistakes. The recent promotion of Yang Jingren to the post of vice premier of the state council and the 1-month theatrical festival of minority nationalities which was unprecedented in scale and put on in Beijing demonstrate the CCP's determination to do a good job in the national minority regions.

CSO: 4005

'WANBAO' URGES MASS RECOMMENDATION OF TALENT

HK220526 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by the editorial board: "The Masses Know How to Recognize Real Talent"]

[Text] Over 1,100 years have elapsed since Han Yu moaned: "The existence of winged steeds in the world was unknown until the appearance of Bo Le, who knew how to judge horses."

Indeed, there has been no lack of stories in history about "Bo Les" discovering "winged steeds." Look, Xiao He discovered Han Xin; Liu Bei discovered Zhu Geliang; Li Shimin discovered Wei Zheng; Zhu Yuanzhang discovered Liu Ji; Guang Xu discovered Tan Sitong. These "winged steeds" did something for "Bo Les." However, with just one "Bo Le" looking for talent, there are bound to be limitations to the effort. It often happens that real talent has not been recognized while the one chosen as a talent proves to be the wrong choice. Zhu Geliang's assigning Ma Su to defend Jieting and Guang Xu's selecting Yuan Shikai with his military power to support "the reform movement of 1898" may be cited as historical lessons.

Therefore, we must review today what Han Yu said: "Alas, is there really no winged steed? Or is it really because people know little about horses?"

Winged steeds do exist. It depends on whether people can recognize them. How can we judge like Bo Le, who had an eye for the right horse? First, we must overcome several obstacles that block our "vision:" 1) rating or ranking people according to seniority--in selecting cadres, we first check whether the prospective candidate's length of service is long enough and whether he is now in a high or low rank; 2) staying in the rut--we dare not promote intellectuals as cadres, erroneously thinking that we can put our hearts at ease only with leading cadres selected from among worker-peasant cadres and political work cadres; 3) failure to take ability and political integrity into consideration and to pay attention to one's real talents. Meanwhile, we also tend to get confused about "political integrity." Saying yes to everything and taking one's cue from the leadership is equated with "political integrity." A display of genuine knowledge, or a show of courage in pointing out what is wrong with work and making suggestions is equated with lack of "political integrity." 4) A disposition to regard anything short of perfection as unacceptable--we never forget general mistakes committed by one in the past. We take note of only his past records and his family background and pay no attention to what his future performance is likely to be, and especially what is his present performance. Second, we must not rely solely on leading cadres at a given level to be "Bo Les." Nor must we rely only on organization or personnel departments to be "Bo Les." Instead we must let the masses and the leadership, and the organization and personnel departments all act as "Bo Les" at the same time. To switch from letting a small number of people act as "Bo Les" to letting the masses and the leadership play the role together helps the leadership's judgment in selecting talent and helps to remove ideological obstacles in promoting talented people. Thus, such defects as listening only to one side, making the wrong choice, being jealous of talented people, and so on and so forth that are likely to appear in selecting talent can be corrected. Those "winged steeds" that combine ability and political integrity can also be given a chance to show their full powers.

Therefore, we are all for the method of selecting talent on the recommendation of the masses and with the approval of the higher authorities, as adopted by the Beijing Aviation College.

CSO: 4005

'WANBAO' URGES ACTION TO PROMOTE TALENTED PEOPLE

HK220538 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by editorial board: "We Cannot Just Sit and Discourse on Theory"]

[Text] For the sake of our dear motherland, and to accomplish the four modernizations as soon as possible, we must be bold in promoting to leading positions capable talented people and middle-aged and young cadres who are in the prime of life. This is a general principle acknowledged by all.

The Party Central Committee has reiterated this general principle to everybody, in particular to the lower levels. However, there is very little response from the lower level, and nothing has yet been done. We can only see people discoursing on theory at various meetings. It is just like holding arrows and appreciating them, saying "fine arrows, beautiful arrows," without putting them to the bowstring and shooting them.

Theories are not to be discoursed on without putting them into practice. The Party Central Committee has clearly stipulated the principle and policy. What we have to do is to carry them out.

Arrows are to be shot. However, first of all, we have to aim at our "targets." Only after the "target" is set can we shoot the arrow at it, and only then can the capable people excel themselves and be promoted to high positions.

This has reminded us of two examples from ancient times on how talented people were discovered, recommended and employed.

Xiao He, the renowned minister of the Western Han Dynasty, was acquainted with Han Xin who was well versed in both polite letters and martial arts. In his contacts with Han, he found that he could be a talented general and recommended him to Liu Bang. However, Liu Bang did not employ him. Han Xin had no alternative but to go elsewhere. When Xiao He learnt of this, he was so anxious that disregarding his old age, he travelled many miles in the moonlight to bring back Han Xin.

The second example comes from the Eastern Han Dynasty. When Xu Shu was the adviser to Liu Bei, Cao Cao acquired him as an adviser by trickery. Liu Bei cried when he said farewell to Xu Shu. He stared into the distance in tears. However, his view was blocked by the woods. Liu Bei pointed at the woods with his whip and said, "I want to cut down all these trees." When his followers asked him why, he said: These trees blocked my view of the departing Xu Shu. Suddenly, Xu Shu rode back and recommended Zhuge Liang to Liu Bei. Xu Shu said: If you could have Zhuge Liang, it is like Wen Wang of the Zhou Dynasty having the service of Jiang Ziya, and Liu Bang having the services of Zhang Liang. Guan Zhong of the state of Qi in the spring and autumn period and Le Yi of the state of Yan in the period of the warring states were incomparable to Zhuge Liang. This led to the story of Liu Bei visiting the thatched hut three times to solicit the service of the talented Zhuge Liang.

These instances of Xiao He chasing Han Xin under the moonlight, Liu Bei seeing Xu Shu off in tears, Xu Shu riding back to recommend Zhuge Liang and Liu Bei visiting the thatched hut three times to solicit the service of Zhuge Liang showed how anxious they were in recommending the talented people. There are numerous stories in Chinese history concerning the admiration and promotion of talented people to maintain stability and run the country.

However, why are the leading cadres still discoursing on theories in the face of so many outstanding talented people? Why should it take so long for them to promote and employ the talented? Why should we put up so many obstacles to obstruct ourselves?

In developing the four modernizations, can we stroll along at a casual pace?

Today, if we still merely discourse on theories, that will be very bad.

CSO: 4005

GUANGZHOU CONTROVERSY OVER HONG KONG TELEVISION

HK211322 Hong Kong TUNG HSIANG No 26 in Chinese 16 Nov 80 pp 21-22

[Article by I Ming: "Debate in Guangzhou: What Attitude to Take Toward Hong Kong Television"]

[Text] On 26 May of this year, the Guangdong Provincial Revolutionary Committee issued a circular prohibiting the watching of Hong Kong television. After the ban was issued, many "fishbone antennas" erected for the purpose of receiving Hong Kong television broadcasts were ordered to be removed. However, there is still quite a number of people who watch in secret. People are debating on the merits of this ban.

Last month this controversy over Hong Kong television finally came out into the open in the newspapers.

The debate started with an article in the 8 June issue of YANGCHENG WANBAO entitled "'Hong Kong Television' and Others" signed by Shun Zhi. This article said that Hong Kong television "is nothing but commercials propagandizing the 'pleasure-seeking mentality' of that 'dazzling world' and various 'farces' about the bourgeois philosophy of cheating and outwitting others," while television series "are nothing but fantastic films about swordsmen and martial arts, suspense or horror films about murders and detectives and vulgar erotic films.

On 7 October, YANGCHENG WANBAO carried another article by Huang Shushen, expressing dissenting views on Shun Zhi's opinion and the ban on viewing Hong Kong television.

The article cited a middle-aged man living in the special zone, who often had the opportunity to watch Hong Kong television, as saying: "There are both serious and nonsensical programs on Hong Kong television. Some inspire people to understand life while some pollute the mind with decadent ideas." "Hong Kong news programs are fast, concise and natural. There are also reports which expose the short-comings of Hong Kong society." The author criticized Shun Zhi's article by saying: "In our literary criticism and propaganda work, there is indeed an erroneous tendency toward oversimplification, speaking in terms of absolutes and bias. Conclusions are too inflexible and rigid with no analysis and no room for argument. They make the readers confused, unsure and unable to distinguish good from bad and true from false. This is worrying. Comrade Shun Zhi's article also has these defects."

The author asked the following question: "Hong Kong television did a live coverage of a performance by the Guangdong Academy of Cantonese Opera; in its reports on the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth NPC, it expressed a certain wish for the achievement of the motherland's 'four modernizations;' it has condemned and attacked the darker side of Hong Kong society--could you call all this a 'cancerous toxin to the mind' which 'corrodes' and 'pollutes'? Is this not too much of an over-simplified and arbitrary conclusion?"

The author holds that although there is rubbish and poisonous weeds on Hong Kong television, there are also quite a number of wholesome, serious and even outstanding works.

Based on this view, the author presented a dissenting opinion on the ban on Hong Kong television. He said that it is strange and perplexing, and of course unconvincing, that some foreign books and magazines and television programs dealing with science, practical knowledge and others can be imported and published, while programs on Hong Kong television are only supposed to be totally negated and people are only supposed to "know its 'defects'."

He believes that according to Marxist principles, we must analyze, differentiate, criticize and appropriate for our own use things belonging to the realm of human culture, and must not adopt the policy of hostility, fear and prohibition. Hong Kong television is a kind of culture. The same policy must apply. If we are not supposed to indiscriminately boycott and prohibit negative things, then we should all the more adopt the policy of studying, investigating and differentiating, propagating the good and eliminating the bad and praising the good and rectifying the evil with regard to Hong Kong television, which contains both good and bad elements. We must not think of the masses as being like "a dou" [infant name of Liu Shan (207-271), last emperor of Shu Han, known for his lack of ability and weakness of character] nor must be think that socialism is that fragile. We must never forget this in our discussions on questions of culture.

It is a bit surprising that YANGCHENG WANBAO printed this article. Apart from the surprise, this also makes one happy: the discussion of political affairs has really become an actual right of the people.

After 10 days, Shun Zhi published another article in YANGCHENG WANBAO refuting Huang Shushen's article.

The article admitted that it was wrong to negate certain "good things" in Hong Kong television which ought to be affirmed, but he stressed that although there are some wholesome and desirable things in Hong Kong television, on the whole, it is full of decadent, vulgar, erotic and fantastic negative things. It transmits bourgeois thinking and sentiments, advocates the bourgeois lifestyle and instills a bourgeois outlook on life into people's minds. All this has a subtle corrosive effect on people. The article also cited Hong Kong newspaper reviews of various television programs saying that Hong Kong television is full of violent scenes and portrayals of underworld activities. Even the Hong Kong audience is strongly critical of its contents.

Shun Zhi still insisted that in dealing with the spread of evil winds and noxious influences, apart from enforcing a strict ban, much work also has to be done, the most important of which is to conduct ideological education among the masses. He censured Huang Shushen, saying: "To firmly resist the corrosion of bourgeois thinking" is a great task. It is a new and important task for Guangdong which is presently implementing "special policies and flexible measures." What must our literary criticism circles do? I think that rather than boasting that we are "not that fragile," as certain comrades do, we had better do some work in eliminating pollution, such as conducting ideological education on resisting corrosion among the masses and creating public opinion against corrosion, in order to make everyone consciously stop watching Hong Kong television programs.

It seems that both Shun Zhi's and Huang Shushen's articles have a tendency to seize on the minor errors of the other for lengthy attack. However, the two have one thing in common, that is, neither one claims that everything on Hong Kong television is good or that it has more "rights" than "wrongs." The only difference between the two is that one believes that a "ban" must be adopted to deal with the "wrongs" while the other feels that the "ban" is improper.

Even the Hong Kong audience would agree that there are bad elements in Hong Kong television. However, is a "ban" the way to solve the problem? Some of our friends in Guangzhou started watching Hong Kong television in secret only after the government's clampdown. They said they wanted to see why the government is so scared of Hong Kong television. I believe that those who proclaimed the ban would never have thought that the ban could have such contrary effects.

Can "bourgeois things" really be banned? Most people in Guangzhou have relatives and friends in Hong Kong. Everyday, there are many overseas Chinese and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots going to Guangzhou. Are we to ban these "people who are not living in socialism," whose words and deeds propagate "bourgeois things," from going back to China? Are we to stop correspondence between Guangzhou and Hong Kong? Is it not contradictory to say that we must study the strong and weak points of capitalism to use them as a guide for the building of modernization and yet ban people from having contact with capitalist things?

I admire one statement by Shun Zhi. He said that we must educate people to consciously stop viewing Hong Kong television. However, the ban is now in force. The act of viewing itself is a violation of the law. There is no need to talk about conscious or unconscious.

This author thinks that the Guangdong authorities should rescind the ban on watching Hong Kong television programs. At the same time they should strengthen criticism work, discussing and analyzing with the audience how to sort out the wheat from the chaff in order to make people really "benefit" from watching Hong Kong television. On the other hand, the authorities should run their own socialist television stations well, bring into play the superiority of socialism in fair competition and win the support of the audience. Otherwise, the trend of watching Hong Kong television cannot be stopped by administrative orders.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HISTORCIAL SOURCE MATERIAL CONFERENCE VIEWS PROBLEMS

OW302202 Beijing Xinhua Domestic Service in Chinese 1147 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--The Third National Conference on Literary and Historical Source Materal Work opened on 26 November. It was attended by nearly 200 literary and historical source material research workers from 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country as well as from all democratic parties and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce.

All the participants proposed that all leadership levels, the CPPCC committees at all levels and the departments concerned should attach importance to doing a good job in safekeeping literary and historical source materials. They held that many people of the older generation keep abundant literary and historical source materials in their minds, but since they are old and ill, an urgent task is to put these source materials in to safekeeping.

During the discussion, many representatives held: with the passing of time and as a result of the persecution by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, many people of the older generation have passed away. Someone who had personally experienced the 1898 reform movement cannot be found any longer and those who had actually participated in the 1911 revolution can be counted on one hand. Veteran comrades of the early period of the founding of our party are also very few and those who are still alive are mostly over 70 and ill. Materials lost with the death of some comrades cannot be retrieved. If the materials kept by those who are still alive are not collected and put in safekeeping, the resulting loss can never be made up.

The representatives held: Since the downfall of the "gang of four," particularly after the convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have made progress in literary and historical source material work. The lively political situation of stability and unity and the implementation of all the party's policies have all contributed to laying a good foundation for and creating favorable conditions for the work of putting literary and historical source materials in safekeeping. It is not only necessary but also possible to carry out this work well.

CSO: 4005

After returning to Beijing, Mao convened a meeting in July 1966 and criticized Liu and Deng, it said.

In August of the same year, Chairman Mao issued an order "to fight against the commanders" and Liu dropped from the second to the eighth party ranking after the decision to name Marshal Lin Biao as a successor to Mao, the memoirs said.

While under growing criticism, Liu repeatedly said that, though he and Mao differed in opinions in some routine tasks, he had not been against the Mao line under any circumstances, the memoirs said.

When Liu was called by Mao to the Great Hall of the People in January 1967, Liu said he would step down as the head of state and appealed for the release of many accused officials, it said. But Chairman Mao did not reply to Liu's appeal and merely puffed tobacco, the memoirs said.

The current special trial of Mao's widow Jiang Qing, the late Marshal Lin Biao and their followers has taken up mainly charges on their persecution of Liu. The indictment papers, however, do not refer to the responsibility of Mao himself.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE ON EVILS OF IN-LAWS

HK060227 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Meng Chu [1322 2906]: "The Evil Caused by Women and Imperial In-Laws in Feudal China Times"]

[Text] Through the ages, men of insight were strongly against and detested the interference of empresses and imperial in-laws in politics. The official histories, biographies of empresses and imperial concubines and the "histories of emperor in-laws" were full of "records of the devastation done to the state by those evil women and the evil deeds and upheavals caused by imperial in-laws" ["The History of Late Han, Biographies of Empresses Book 1"]. There were "critiques" and "eulogies" to analyse the calamities they had caused; what they had done was, in fact, clear to all wise emperors and capable ministers. For example: Emperors Gaodi and Guangwu Di of the Han Dynasty established systems when they ascended the throne in order to curb the political interference of imperial in-laws. Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty wrote brilliant and wise tracts to list and stress the maladies that resulted from empress dowagers governing the nation as regents. Gu Yong of the Han Dynasty presented a petition to Emperor Yuan Di, which said: "Give the relatives of the imperial concubines as much money as they want, but never allow them to interfere in state affairs. Keep yourself away from the relatives of the empress and allow no power to them and their cliques." ("Biographies of Gu Yong and Du Ye in the History of Han Dynasty") Yao Chong, the renowned minister who helped Emperor Xuan Zong of the Tang Dynasty to revive the Kai Yuan regime, also submitted an appeal to the emperor on 10 government orders and regulations at the time. Of his 10 prohibitions 2 stated that the empress should not govern the nation as a regent, and 6 stated that imperial in-laws must not hold government posts in the key organs. They held that dictatorship by empresses, concubines and imperial in-laws was closely related to the rise of decline and peace or chaos of a dynasty and they took the warning from history. The warning from history indeed teaches posterity something important, and a summation of it is necessary.

I

Empresses mean empress dowagers, empresses or beloved imperials concubines. According to the records of the biographies of empresses and imperial concubines in official histories, and the "history of imperial in-laws," imperial in-laws were relatives of the court who had different surnames. Most of them were the relatives of the empresses and imperial concubines. The families of the married imperial princesses were included as well. In the imperial court, the imperial in-laws, and the guest advisers, government officials and their associates attached themselves to the imperial in-laws and formed a strong political power. Such power was called the clique of the in-laws. It was also named the clique of the empress because it was directly attached to the empresses and the imperial concubines.

In ancient China, there were two ways, the official and the unofficial, to become government officials, to seize political power and enter the central organs. The official way was appointment by recommendation or through civil service examinations, or promotion to central organs on account of meritorious service, outstanding administration, ability and political integrity. In the unofficial way, the imperial in-laws were conferred noble ranks and became government officials merely because they were relatives of the empresses or imperial concubines. If a girl won the favor of the emperor, she would be made an empress or imperial concubine. Then, her family would be ennobled and members of her family such as her father, brothers and nephews would immediately enjoy a meteoric rise, become nobles and hold influential posts in the government; they were involved in decision-making in state affairs. For example, during the reign of Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty, an ordinary woman surnamed Wang won the emperor's favor and was made empress dowager, whereupon her mother was conferred the title of supreme ruler of Pingyuan, her brother Tianfen was made the Marquis of Wuan, minister of military affairs and prime minister, another brother Sheng was made the Marquis of Zhou Yang, and the daughter she had by her former husband was made the supreme ruler of Xiu Cheng. Another example happened during the reign of Emperor Zuanzong. Yang Guozhong, who was an ignorant and incompetent Philistine rascal, became prime minister and held scores of posts at the same time just because his cousin Yang Guifei won the favor of the emperor, and the whole family became renowned and influential. Originally the feudal system attached great importance to family status, personal background and status. However, when it came to the in-laws, they became nobles merely because they were relatives of the empresses or concubines. This is indeed ironic: the in-law clique was authorized great power in state affairs and formed a special structure in the feudal system.

The participation of the empresses and imperial concubines in state affairs, and the involvement of the in-laws in politics later led to usurpation of the throne and dictatorship by the in-law cliques. This was so called dictatorship by empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws. Liang Qichao analysed the specific conditions that produced such dictatorship. He held: the emperor was either too young and inexperienced, or no longer interested in politics, or too submissive and weak, or too violent, or too extreme. As a result he lost power. This is indeed a sound analysis. We can again group the emperors under two major categories: the first group composes those who were stupid, libidinous or tyrand, and granted power to the empress and imperial concubines and acted in collusion with each other; or else the empress or the imperial concubines made use of the emperor's favor to seduce him by their charm and thus manipulated power for personal ends. Examples can be found in the dictatorship of the imperial concubines Yang and Jia in the Western Jin Dynasty, and the favorite concubine of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang Dynasty, Wu Zetian. Emperor Zhongzong entrusted Empress Wei and woman official Shang Guan to handle state affairs. Emperor Xuan Zong was infatuated by imperial concubine Yang. The other group is composed of emperors who were both young and submissive, thus the empress dowager seized the opportunity to govern the nation as regent, and the power fell into the hands of women. Examples can be found in the Eastern Han Dynasty when six empresses, Dou, Deng, Yan, Liang, Dou and He governed the nation as regents; and in the Qing Dynasty, dowager Cixi held court from behind the screen and monopolized power. There was a traditional idea in ancient China: "Hens cannot crow at dawn, if they do so, it will be the end of everything." The real meaning is to forbid women from interfering in government and political affairs. Such a traditional idea is obviously erroneous today. However, it was not unreasonable to say that in ancient times. At that time, women were deprived of the right to receive education, and even if they were nobles like empresses or imperial concubines, they were ignorant and ill-informed and did not possess any actual ability to govern the nation, because they lived a secluded life in the court. Therefore, in feudal society all so-called virtuous women abode by the teaching not to interfere in state affairs. Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty once discussed nation affairs with Empress Zhengsun. The empress said, "Is it possible that if women participate in national affairs it will cause great troubles to the state?" Emperor Taizong insisted that she should expound her ideas, but the empress just refused to answer. When the empress dowagers governed the nation as regents or women monopolized power and practiced dictatorship over the country, they would not personally appear in the imperial court, instead they entrusted the power to some eunchs of powerful government officials just as empress dowager Sixi of the Qing Dynasty did. Some of them "entrusted the power to their own cliques," ("The History of the Jin Dynasty: Biography of Jia Chong") or "entrusted state affairs to their maiden families," ("The History of the Han Dynasty: Biographies of Gu Yong and Du Ye") and the in-laws monopolized power and practiced dictatorship over the state. Thus, women could extend their power with the help of the in-laws while the in-laws themselves played up to people of power and influence for they had the power delivered them by the empresses and imperial concubines. With the power and influence of the empresses and imperial concubines, the in-laws were able to usurp power, their acts were closely related to an empress's participation in national affairs. In-law politics was a form of court politics that resulted from the emperor's favor toward women and the dowager's participation in nation affairs. Let's put it this way: in-law politics was an extended form of women usurping power. Women won the favor of the emperor because of their beauty, while men became nobles because their relatives were in the court. The formation of petticoat relations of cliques and gangs and the nature of imperial court politics made the dictatorship of empresses and imperial concubines extremely corrosive, and this led to great calamities in the feudal dynasty and to the common people. Therefore, traditional historians named the usurpation of power by empresses and in-laws as evils caused by women and emperor in-laws.

II

There are several regular phenomena in the course of the formation and the development of empress and in-law politics:

First: emperors were but political puppets of the empresses and imperial concubines and in-laws who monopolized power.

The imperial court was the center of feudal power. Under normal circumstances, the emperor was the representative of the power center. Once the power was monopolized by the empresses, imperial concubines and the in-laws, most probably the emperors became political puppets.

If the empresses and imperial concubines and in-laws could interfere in the imperial power when the emperor was young and capable, most of them manipulated the emperor by some evil means. For example Tian Fen and Dou Ying attacked each other because they had empress dowagers Wang and Dou to back them up, and so the imperial court was split into two factions. Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty was so angry that he wanted to kill both Tian and Dou, however, he was prevented by empress dowager Wang. At that time, empress dowager Dou was dead. The emperor thus killed Dou Ying and Guan Fu in order to put an end to the matter. In other cases, if the emperors were stupid and libidinous even though adult, "after they had intimate relations with women, they would agree to whatever their beloved said; if the women's beauty won the favor of the emperors, they could get everything they wanted." ("The New History of the Tang Dynasty: Biographies of Empresses and Imperial Concubines Book 1") Naturally, the emperor was nothing but the puppet of his beloved empress and imperial concubines. For example, Emperor Gaozong of the Tang Dynasty lost his power because he "indulged himself in sex in disregard his greying hair." ("The New History of the Tang Dynasty: Biography of Emperor Gaozong") Hence, Wu Zetian seized the opportunity to "have the emperor in her power and monopolized power for herself to govern the state." ("The Eulogies" in "The New History of the Tang Dynasty: Biographies of the Empresses and Imperial Concubines") Under the reign of Emperor Chengdi of the Jin Dynasty, Empress Yu governed the nation as regent, and thus executed Sima Zong, prince of Nandun. When the emperor expressed his doubts over the charges against the prince of Nandun, his mother Empress Yu hit his head with an ivory ruler in front of others and said, "Why should you say such a thing?" The timid Emperor Chengdi was stupefied. ("The Study Notes" of Wang Yinglin Vol 13) According to the record of "The History of the Jin Dynasty: Biography of Emperor Weidi," when Emperor Weidi heard the croaks of toads in the garden of Hualin, he asked his followers, "Who is making that noise, is it official or private?" When the country was in upheaval, the common people starved to death. However, Emperor Weidi was surprised to learn about this and said, "Why don't they eat pork porridge?" When such an idiot emperor fell into the hands of Jia Nanfeng who monpolized power to herself and was extremely cruel and despotic, he could only be a puppet. As for Emperors Shangdi, Andi, Shaodi, Shundi, Zhongdi, Zhidi, Huandi, and Lingdi, all of them succeeded to the throne when they were ignorant and young, so naturally, the imperial power fell into the hand of the empress dowagers.

Feudal politicians and historians drew conclusions from these examples. They held: "If the empress dowagers participated in state affairs, they would disrupt the imperial court." ("The History of the Han Dynasty: Biographies of Gui, the Xias, Hou, Jing, Yi and Li") "If the in-laws were too dominating and monopolized all power for themselves, there would be no discrimination between emperors and ministers." ("The Chronological History of Cima Guang, Vol 25")

Second: leading to the decline of the feudal dynasties.

In feudal dynasties, the imperial court succumbed to interference by various political forces even if the emperors and prime ministers were capable. The dictatorship of empresses and in-laws was a disruptive interference. When empresses usurped power and in-laws practiced tyranny, the dynasty was destined to decline.

In a revival period, during the reign of Emperors Zhaodi and Xuandi in the Han Dynasty, at first Emperor Xuandi could be considered wise and capable, however, he entrusted his in-laws Shi Gao and Xiao Wang to administer the nation before he died. After then, beginning with Emperor Yuandi of the Western Han Dynasty, "the state was ruled either by eunuchs or in-laws." ("The History of Ancient China" by Xia Zengyou") During the reign of Emperors Yuandi, Chengdi, Aidi and Pingdi, the Wang, Fu and Deng in-laws practiced dictatorship over the state in succession. Consequently, the power of the state sharply declined, and the dynasty collapsed after setbacks. Although Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han Dynasty was able to revive the country and there was a period of good order during the reign of Emperors Ming Di and Zheng Di. Ever since the Dou in-laws usurped power during the reign of Emperor He Di, empress dowager Deng ruled over the imperial court throughout the reign of Emperor Shang Di and An Di; she was in command of everything. "During the 10 years when the empress dowager held court, the state never had enough funds." ("The Study Notes of the Chronological History of Sima Guang"--Wang Fuzhi Vol 7) The latter empresses "all manipulated the state affairs from behind the screen and entrusted their father and brothers to administer the state affairs. They preferred having child emperors so that they could extend their influence in state affairs, and persecuted the capable so that they would be able to rule over the imperial court." ("The History of the Late Han Dynasty: Biography of the Empresses and Imperial Concubines" Book 1) Protracted dictatorship by in-laws corrupted the political scene of the Eastern Han Dynasty; "there was no peaceful day," and "the state was subjugated." ("Study Notes of the Chronological History by Sima Guang" Vol 7)

Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty ruined the period of orderly peace during the reign of Kai Yuan, for he indulged himself in his love of imperial concubine Yang. This is a typical example illustrating how in-law politics could lead to the decline of a dynasty. When Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty put down the rebellion of the Empress Wei Di's clique, the Tang Dynasty was revived. On his succession to the throne, he appointed Yao Chong and Song Jing as prime ministers. Every family was well-fed and well-clothed and the country was so prosperous that it was known as "the golden age of Kai Yuan." However, later he spoilt himself by indulging in love for concubine Yang and other beauties, and forgot about state affairs. He appointed the treacherous Li Linpu and the foclish Yang Guozhong as prime ministers, and this led to the rebellion of An Lushan and Shi Siming, after which the Tang Dynasty declined.

Third: when the interference of empresses and the in-laws came to a climax, there was a change of dynasty.

Change of dynasties happened many times over 2,000 years and there were numerous reasons for the changes. One of them was the dictatorship of the empresses and imperial concubines and in-laws. Their dictatorship corrupted the imperial court and the government got into a chaotic state. The country was then poor and weak and was in so difficult a situation that it declined. Similar examples could be found in the decline of the Eastern Han and the Western Jin dynasties. Some dynasties were subjugated directly by in-laws; for instance, Han Dynasty was conquered by Wang Mang and Wu Zetian changed the Tang Dunasty into the Zhou Dynasty.

The change of dynasty was not necessarily a bad thing. For example Liu Bang conquered the Qin Dynasty and established the Han Dynasty, and Zhu Yuanzheng drove out the Mongolians of the Yuan Dynasty and established the Ming Dynasty. They drove the evils away on behalf of the people, which was a righteous and correct deed. The Li family conquered the brutal Sui Dynasty and established the Tang

Dynasty, and the Zhao family put an end to the upheavals of the five dynasties and established the Song Dynasty. Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty and Emperor Taizu of the Song Dynasty brought peace and prosperity to the people. However, the empresses and imperial concubines and the in-laws monopolized power to usurp the dynasty by means of conspiracies. They were brutal and cruel, and entrusted their cliques to manage state affairs. They did not trust and appoint capable men to attain to the state affairs. They even slaughtered the honest and the weak and exploited the common people by cruel means. There was no peace for the people. The usurpation of power by Wang Mang in the Western Han Dynasty was the product of in-law politics. Historians called that the usurpation of the Han Dynasty by Wang Mang. Wang Mang was "extremely vicious and committed monstrous crimes by persecuting the innocents." ("The History of the Han Dynasty: Biography of Wang Mang," The eulogy) What Wang Mang had done did not push history forward, but instead pulled it backward. Wu Zetian was a typical example of empress dictatorship. Although she scored some achievements during her reign, she established her dynasty by force. "Thousands and millions were slaughtered and the whole country was smothered with blood and terror." ("The New History of the Tang Dynasty: Biographies of the Empresses and Imperial Concubines") We can never approve of her cruelty.

Fourth: no in-laws who monopolized power to themselves could escape from the fate of ruining themselves and exterminating the whole family.

The imperial in-laws were a political clique backed up by the empresses and imperial concubines. They could not stand on their own and possessed no actual power. Empresses and imperial concubines were the wives and concubines of the emperors; they themselves did not possess legal power, but had to be backed up by their emperors, and used the name of the imperial power to extend their influence. The empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws cliques were the appendages of the imperial power. Their fates could either be like Wang Mang and Wu Zetian, who took over the dynasty and established a new one; or they would be executed by the royal family and replaced by another political clique. History has clearly illustrated how a family was honored because one of the members won the favor of the emperor, but it also tells how the family was exterminated when one lost power. Once there was a new emperor, the old empress dowager had nobody to turn to, she would then lose her power or be killed, and the in-law clique would then also lose their supporters. Ever since the in-laws monopolized power and exervised tyranny, "the common people were discontented and complaints were heard everywhere." (The History of the Late Han Dynasty: Biographies of Ligu and Dugen") "The whole country suffered." ("The History of the Late Han Dynasty: Biographies of Feng, Cen and Jia") Thus the common people would seize the chance to drive the in-laws away. Usurpation of power by empresses in feudal society was illegal. The in-law dictatorship had no political or social foundations, so they were very often easily demolished. Dictatorship by in-laws could never escape the destiny of ruining themselves and exterminating their families. The numerous notorious in-law cliques in the Eastern Han Dynasty were executed as the empress dowagers who backed them up died. Some were even executed when they were still in power, such as the Jia and Yang families in the Western Jin Dynasty, the imperial concubine Yang, and the Wu and Wei families in the Tang Dynasty. The eulogy of "The History of the Han Dynasty: Biographies of the In-Laws" said: In the prosperous years of the Han Dynasty, between the period when the Lus usurped power and the usurpation of the dynasty by Wang Mang, "only four families, namely those of the empress dowagers of Emperors Wendi, Jindi and Wudi and Empress Qiongcheng could preserve their status and maintain their families. As for the prince's concubine Shi, Empress Wang Dao and Xu Gongai, they were all killed; their families were maintained since they relied on the deceased emperors and they dared not play tyranny. The rest were either exterminated or exiled." This was shown to be a regular phenomenon.

III

The historical figures of empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws in Chinese history were not all evil. Some of them did score some achievements and we should not condemn all of them. We must analyse them specifically. For example, the Empress Lu of the Han Dynasty closely followed the policies of the deceased emperor and governed the country by doing nothing that went against nature. The in-laws Wei Qing and Huo Qubing drove out the barbarian Xiongnu in the north, and Huo Guang assisted in the administration to restore prosperity during the reign of Emperors Zhaodi and Xuandi. Empress Zhengsun of Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty opposed empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws interfering in state affairs. Empress Ma of Emperor Taizhu of the Ming Dynasty would not persecute people who rendered oustanding services. Some empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws made contributions to history, however, we cannot just cite those examples to affirm that interference by empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws in state affairs was good, just as we cannot cite a few outstanding figures in the feudal society as a basis for affirming the feudal system; the feudal system still has to be criticized. As a political system that was strongly tinted with palace chambers and as the appendage of the imperial power, the interference by the empresses, imperial concubines and the in-laws in politics had its special rotten, conspiratorial and cruel nature.

Rotten nature: the appointment of the capable to the court could overcome and restrain the rotten nature of the feudal system to a certain degree, so there could be enlightened politics. However, if the in-law clique interfered in state affairs because of their relations with the empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws and ruled over the country, naturally they would establish their own clique and form their own gangs to back up themselves and discriminate against the capable. For example during the reign of Emperor Yuandi of the Han Dynasty, Shi Gao assisted in state affairs, "he appointed and employed only his own advisers and friends, and relatives of his maidservants." During the reign of Emperor Aidi, the Fus were in power, "the virtuous and the capable were slandered, the ministers were falsely charged, and many outstanding people could not maintain their positions." ("The History of the Han Dynasty: Biographies of Kuang, Zhang, Kong and Ma") More absurb still, the lovers of the empresses were appointed to important positions in the imperial court. Wu Zetian made her lover Xue Huiyi the commander-in-chief of the troops. The women official Shangguan openly asked for employment in the imperial court for her lover. This was indeed rotten. These corrupt in-laws who gained power because of their relations with the empresses or imperial concubines lived in an extremely luxurious and extravagant way when they were in power, savagely oppressed the people, sold government positions to earn money for themselves, and openly accepted bribes and gifts. Thus there was no justice in society, for people were accustomed to ask for a favor to get themselves to the imperial court. Xiao Wang said to Emperor Yuandi: "When the in-laws were in power, most of them were extremely luxurious and libidinous." ("The History of the Han Dynasty: Biography of Xiao Wang") This is in fact a very good summation of a regular phenomenon.

Conspiratorial nature: the politics of the imperial court was conspiratorial politics. Most of the activities were carried out in forbidden palaces and behind bamboo screens. Entry to the palace was strictly forbidden and its ways were very secretive, thus conspiracy had its way in the palace. When there was a change of royal family, the conspiratorial nature of the empresses, imperial concubines and in-law dictatorship was particularly obvious. For example: when Emperor Zhongzong of the Tang Dynasty was poisoned and died suddenly, Empress Wei blocked the passage of information, "kept the secret and did not declare the death of the emperor." ("The History of the Tang Dynasty: Biography of Empresses and Imperial Concubines" Book 1) During the period that she "kept the secret and not declare the death of the emperor," she deployed forces to be stationed in and guard the capital, she fabricated a posthumous edict and put the crown prince on the throne so that it would be perfectly justifiable for her to "govern the nation as a regent." The empresses and in-laws placed spies and agents throughout the country to extend their power. Wu Zetian openly asked for secret information, Empress Jia ordered "her trusted followers to dress in civilian clothes and gather information outside the imperial court." ("The History of the Jin Dynasty: Biography of Zheng Hua") Empress dowager Cixi controlled Emperor Guangxu by placing spies around him so that "whenever the emperor summoned an interview with his ministers, the empress dowager ordered eunuchs to eavesdrop behind the screens." ("The Examination of the Qing Dynasty") Thus, the 1898 reform movement was sabotaged.

Cruel nature: the murders done out of jealousy in the palace were indeed cruel and savage. Jia Nanfeng once stabbed the pregnant concubine of the crown prince in the stomach, and the fetus fell to the ground at the blade of the spear. A cruel empress would kill anyone who challenged her position even if it was her own son. For example the empress dowager of the late Wei Dynasty poisoned her own son Emperor Mingdi and practiced tyranny. Wu Zetian was notorious for her cruelty. To usurp power and win the favor of the emperor, she even strangled her own daughter. When Empress Wang and the prince's concubine Xiao were dethroned and consigned to limbo, she still would not let them go. They were both flogged 200 times with a stick and their limbs were broken. She threw them upside down into barrels and gave orders to "intoxicate the bones of the two women." A few days later, Wang and Xiao died. The empresses and imperial concubines even used the same crule means to slaughter the ministers. As a matter of fact, most of the cruel officials were found during the reign of Empress Wu in the Tang Dynasty. She connived at the cruel officials Zhou Xing and Lai Junchen in framing false charges and throwing many people into prison, and everyday many people were put to death. Tens and hundreds of ministers were "lined up and slaughtered like sheep and pigs." Furthermore, she dispatched attorney generals to the prefectures of Jiang Nan and central Guizhou, and "killed all the officials banished from the court and those in exile, as if they had not killed enough." ("Notes on the Studies of the 22 History Books" Vol 17 by Zhao Yi) Even her own son Li Hong, Li Xian, her grandsons and son-in-laws were persecuted, she was extremely cruel.

In a word, the politics of the Chinese patriarchal, feudal autocratic society was corrupt and rotten, conspiratorial and cruel in nature. Generally speaking, the periods of dictatorship by empresses, imperial concubines and the in-laws were the darkest periods, which thoroughly exposed the rotten, conspiratorial and cruel nature of the feudal autocratic society.

Interference by empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws in politics had long coexisted with the feudal autocratic system from the Qin Dynasty till the end of the Qing Dynasty some 2,000 years later. It was one of the characteristics of the Chinese feudal autocratic system. Although precautions were taken against their interference in many dynasties, their influence was still there. Although empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws were killed, another group would crop up. Just like terminal-stage cancer, they spread so fast that there was no permanent cure for them. This has shown that unless the feudal autocratic system was uprooted and the monarchy abolished, the empresses, imperial concubines and in-law dictatorships would be revived in a new guise, stir up great troubles and bring about great calamities. All this has given us a lesson on the evils brought about by the empresses, imperial concubines and in-laws. We must seriously guard against them.

CSO: 4005

FORUM ON 'IDEALIST' PHILOSOPHY CLOSES IN ZHEJIANG

OW021422 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] According to a station report, the forum on the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties, jointly sponsored by the east China chapter of the China Society of the History of Philosophy and the Provincial Social Sciences Institute closed in Hangzhou after a week in session. This was the first forum on the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties since the founding of the nation.

(Feng Xi), director of the east China branch of the China Society of the History of Philosophy, delivered a speech at the forum. He pointed out: The idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties is of particular importance to east China. (Chen Bingqing), deputy director of the Propaganda Department under the provincial CCP Committee, also delivered a speech at the forum. Attending the forum were more than 180 people including professors and specialists from east China, Beijing and various provinces and municipalities, members of various philosophy research institutes and foreign scholars. Theses with a total of 500,000 words were submitted to the forum. (Qiu Hansheng) and (Deng Anmin), and others also spoke at the forum.

They all believed: The school of idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties ruled the later stage of China's feudal society for as long as 700 years. The current study of the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties is of great significance in inheriting cultural legacies with a critical attitude and in eliminating the pernicious influence of feudal ideas. The specialists and researchers also studied Zhu Xi's thought and its role in history and Wang Yangming's theory on innate knowledge as well as methods on how to study the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties.

The book entitled: "The Study of Wang Yangming's Thinking" by (Shen Shanghong) and (Wang Fengqing) is a provincial academic achievement in studying the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties. Specialists and scholars attending the forum praised this book highly.

The idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties also has deep influence abroad. Japanese scholar (Sukeo Fukizawa) and historian (Akira Ken) have each described how the idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties is being studied in Japan, Europe and the United States.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PEASANTS URGED TO PROMOTE COLLECTIVE, SIDELINE PRODUCTION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by Da Fengquan [6671 7685 0356]: "Let the Spring Breeze Blow"]

[Text] "Boundless grasses over the plain come and go with every season; wildfire never quite consumes them; they are tall once more in the spring wind." This well-known poem by Bai Juyi of the Tang Dynasty, which extols the physical capacity of wild grasses to survive any hardships and which revive with the advent of every spring season following wintry hibernation, reminds me of the household sideline production in rural villages, which like the grasses in the plain, revives again in the spring wind and rain following a wildfire.

The commune household sideline production was once condemned as the "capitalist tail" and was therefore restricted and banned in our country. Today, as a necessary complement to the socialist economy, it is permitted to exist and grow again. This is a very significant change that has taken place in the rural economy in the wake of the criticism of the ultraleft line. I am delighted to see that the ending of that wildfire across the land has brought to life those "lush grasses" in our vast countryside.

In recent years, the rural household sideline production has resumed and developed as a result of the development of the collective production. Nevertheless, we must also be aware that no effective measures have been taken by some localities to encourage and support the development of the household sideline production. Although slogans have been issued to promote it, substantial aid and guidance are nowhere in sight. Authorities concerned are still indifferent to the development of this production. What worries commune members most is their action to restrict it in various crafty ways. As a result, the enthusiasm generated by the party's policy has been suppressed, causing damage to the development of the household sideline production. This fact shows that mere slogans without action will get nowhere, the leave-it-alone attitude must be discarded, and urgent measures must be taken to encourage and support the development of the household sideline production. It appears that the move to annihilate the wildfire must be followed by actions to breathe new life into sideline production. The key to success in bringing about this change lies in the ability of leading groups at all levels to overcome apprehension resulting from the development of the household sideline production. Why should they look forward to this development with apprehension?

It was reported that if commune members are given a free hand to develop sideline production, it may tamper with the development of the collective production and tarnish the superiority of the collective economy. Actually, this worry is not justified. For example, Changsha Commune of Kai County in Sichuan Province has scored a dual success in developing collective production on the one hand and sideline production on the other. Changsha Commune, a well-known orange and tangerine producing center, attributed this success to its new policy of helping commune members develop collective and sideline production simultaneously. To boast sideline production, it has provided them with seedlings of perennial crops, assisted them in growing fruit trees, set aside special plots for growing feed crops, set time for them to work on sideline production, and supplied them with fertilizer at reasonable prices. In this way, commune members have been encouraged to raise more pigs and produce more oranges and tangerines. An increase in the output of pigs has made more organic manure available for growing crops, thus effectively resolving contradictions resulting from acute competition between collectives and individual commune members and between crop growers and fruit plantation owners for manure. Furthermore, the per-unit grain output has also increased considerably. In 1979, this commune's total grain output was 42 percent more than in 1976; per-capita income from collective production and from growing oranges and tangerines and raising pigs increased by 112 and 48 yuan respectively.

With this rising income, commune members are now all smiles, and are more willing than ever to promote agricultural production, thus giving new impetus to the collective economy. Facts show that rural economy is an integrated economic system; the development of commune household sideline production is dependent on the growth of the collective economy, while the former can give strong support to the latter. The two are interconnected. If they are handled properly, they can become more and more mutually supportive and more forward to complement each other. Changsha Commune's comrades have displayed courage to develop the collective economy on the one hand, and have taken effective measures to encourage and support commune members to develop household sideline production on the other. Their successful experiences in this field deserve our promotion, and their spirit of seeking truth from facts merits our commendation.

9574
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PRC'S NEW ECONOMIC POLICY BRINGS HOPES TO NORTH SHAANXI

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 80 p 2

[Newsletter by RENMIN RIBAO correspondent He Jiazheng [0149 0502 2973]: "The Confidence and Hope of Peasants in North Shaanxi"]

[Text] Whenever I went in north Shaanxi, I felt that this loess plateau plagued by poverty for years is undergoing changes as a result of the implementation of the policies for the countryside. Although such changes are not too astonishing and north Shaanxi is still confronted with numerous difficulties, it can be said that this famous pocket of poverty has found a direction in which it can move forward, and look to the future with hopes.

A Bright Future

At one end of a trubulent river, I climbed a denuded mountain. Soon I saw a few shabby caves sheltering a number of households which make up the Qudai Brigade, known for its poverty in Yanan Municipality. I sighed in seeing such an impoverished place surrounded by denuded cliffs. Soon I was surrounded by many smiling faces and was told that "we are now eager to work; as long as the present government policies continue in effect, good days are sure to come a few years from now."

Why were people living in such a hopeless place so optimistic? The reason is that these impoverished souls have seen a ray of hope through the implementation of the party's present policies. The trip also took me to many other poor villages similar to Qudai. Typical is the Sunjiahe Brigade of Zichang County where the residents were also very poor, partly subsisting on food grains and partly on wild vegetables. Each adult could earn 0.3 or 0.5 yuan daily. Over the years, over 40 residents had to leave their homes, and eked out a living somewhere else. Last year, the brigade was hit by another prolonged drought. Despite this, 38 of them returned home last spring, saying that as long as the present policies continue in force, they could expect better days to come and were looking forward to the future with hopes. Old man Chen Yuru [7115 3768 1172] cheerfully told me: Since the work teams were disbanded, private plots were returned to their original owners, and commune members were permitted to raise their own pigs and cattle, they now knew what is in store for them in the future. They said that they will have no trouble making ends meet this year, will be able to pay off their old debts next year and build new homes for themselves the year after.

A Turning Point

This loess plateau is dotted by yellowish clay dunes everywhere. Is there any hope for development at this plateau plagued by drought and poor soils even after the economic policy is liberalized? Pressed for an answer to this question, a comrade in north Shaanxi said to me: There are soils everywhere in this vast and sparsely populated land. We can grow crops, plant trees, and grazing grass and raise cattle and sheep out there. There is a great economical potential to be tapped. The simultaneous development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, and sideline production in north Shaanxi is very hopeful, if we can utilize this land to the best advantage and do everything in a manner appropriate to the local conditions.

While in north Shaanxi, I found that many units have played an exemplary role in improving their economic well-being, and in bringing new hopes to this region. For example, Liulin Brigade of Yanan Municipality has stepped up the farm capital construction in an effort to increase the per-unit output and lay a groundwork for retiring certain low yielding fields and for transforming them into forest and pastoral areas for growing grazing grass and trees and for developing sideline production. Last year, it grossed over 380,000 yuan, a third of which came from sideline production; its per-capita income, public savings, and grain reserves were 181 yuan, 700,000 yuan and 240,000 jin, respectively. It has established a film projection team and opened a close-circuit television room and built and put into operation cooperative medical service centers and schools. For years, under the influence of the ultraleft line, north Shaanxi had adopted the same national pattern of the economic development without taking into account the local conditions, which differ in many ways from the rest of the country. In this way, it was prevented from demonstrating its own prowess to develop the economy. Since 1978, a tax cut approved by the state for north Shaanxi has enabled it to develop agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry simultaneously. This year, Zichang and Mizhi counties have been successful in growing grazing grass in 80,000 mu of land and 70,000 mu of land respectively, thanks to that tax cut. On the basis of suggestions from various sources, the Shaanxi Provincial Party and the North Shaanxi Capital Construction Committee have proposed to "develop agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry simultaneously, and to gradually retire certain low-yielding fields and concentrate on growing crops in high-yielding land." This economic policy has been endorsed by the masses.

Seek Truth From Facts

Many communes and brigades in north Shaanxi have instituted some new systems suitable to the local conditons on the basis of the documents issued by the central authorities. A typical example is the Mengjiaping Brigade in Mizhi County, a brigade which has 16 households and 310 mu of farmland. For years, it had failed to increase production, causing the masses there economic difficulties. Since 1979, radical changes have taken place in that brigade as a result of the implementation of two agricultural documents issued by the central authorities and the adoption of the system of division of responsibility for production as suggested by its party branch secretary Meng Shiming [1322 1102 2494]. Pointing at their newly purchased bicycles and sewing machines, commune members cheerfully said: "We never dreamed that good days could come so soon." How could north Shaanxi make such a remarkable progress? They attributed this success mainly to local basic level cadres' persistent efforts to seek truth from facts and take actual conditions into account.

A radical change has also taken place in the way of thinking amont the many basic level cadres in north Shaanxi, who have displayed courage to seek truth from facts. Comrades in Yanan Municipality said: In the past, "units at lower levels often exaggerated their achievements in reports to their higher authorities, which often assigned them production quotas unlikely to be fulfilled." Under the influence of the political movement, instances of insubordination never occurred to the bureaucracy there. Today, this malpractice is gone. Statistical figures on achievements in farm capital construction and in growing trees and grazing grass included in a report to the higher authorities last year have been verified by facts. This change in the way of thinking has proven e-sential to success in agricultural production.

Hope

North Shaanxi has taken an initial step for changes. Nevertheless, it still faces many practical difficulties that need to be overcome. It still faces shortages of food grains. Although north Shaanxi can count on the state for a supply of food grains, in the long run, it must rely on its own efforts to solve such shortages. Comardes of some communes and brigades have suggested that the following measures be taken to improve the economy of north Shaanxi:

First, it is necessary to concentrate efforts on growing crops in high yielding fields, to promote farm capital consturction and scientific farming as a step in raising the per-unit output. Careful and active consideration must be given to retiring certain low-yielding fields; edible oil and meat should be considered as euqally important as grains.

Second, some ways must be found to alleviate the shortages of funds. Although the state has given strong financial support to north Shaanxi, thus, far, almost no funds have been eramarked for developing forestry and animal husbandry. Comrades there hope that the state will delegate to north Shaanxi greater power to use its funds for developing that loess plateau.

Third, commercial circulation needs to be imporved. For example, when two communes in Yanan wanted to sell their surplus grain to the state as a result of bumper harvests last year, they were inexplicably rejected by a food department. Some brigades were not paid the right prices for surplus grains sold to the state. Last year, some 300,000 or 400,000 jin of apples in Fengzhuang commune could not be shipped out of the area because of lack of transportation. Some agricultural products which were accepted by food departments yesterday might be rejected today. The masses there said: "We are still in the dark as to what the state really wants." The cadres and people in north Shaanxi earnestly hope that service of this kind can be strengthened so that north Shaanxi can take a giant step forward in production.

9574
CSO: 4005

BA YI RADIO COMMENTS ON PLA CADRES AND TRIALS

PLA Men Unhappy About Trial

OW291611 BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] Judging by reports on ideological trends received by the General Political Department, the vast numbers of commanders and fighters are very skeptical and unhappy about the trial of five former principal leaders of the PLA. Some comrades are of the opinion that denying the right of the former principal leaders of the PLA to cite relevant important documents and records of conversations for their own defense cannot be regarded as legal.

An example is the indictment of Wu Faxian on charges that acting on Lin Biao's instructions he appointed Lin Liguo deputy director of the general office and deputy chief of operations of the air force headquarters. Wu Faxian admitted this. But, at a preliminary hearing, he pointed out that the appointment was made according to Chairman Mao's instruction and that Lin Biao merely passed on Chairman Mao's order. Therefore, Wu Faxian asked the court to make public during his trial the instructions of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou on Lin Liguo's assignment, which are on file at the air force headquarters. Wu Faxian has the right to defend himself with these documents. However, the second tribunal refused to look into these documents, saying that it was meaningless to examine the words and deeds of people already dead and that Wu Faxian should be held fully responsible for Lin Liguo's assignment to the important positions. In no way can the second tribunal's action be regarded as objective and fair.

Many take exception to the indictment of Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao as principal culprits, equating them with Jiang Qing and company. Particularly unhappy about this are those comrades who worked together with Huang, Qiu, Li and Jiang during the cultural revolution and understood them. It is only natural, for as the court is trying our army's former principal leaders on charges that they engaged in so-called counterrevolutionary criminal activities, a certain person, with motives that cannot bear the light of day, can now accuse cadres at any level, who were under their commands, of having directly participated in counterrevolutionary criminal activities. And the formal decision of the Supreme People's Procuratorate--that, besides the 10 principal culprits, the other accomplices involved in the case will be tried separately according to the circumstances and that public prosecution against them will be instituted with the Supreme People's Court, local people's courts and military courts--has caused even greater agitation among the vast numbers of military cadres. The decision has in effect given the power to a certain person to punish at will any cadre involved in the cultural revolution who were under the commands of the five leaders.

However, it is not fair to blame all the cadres of the PLA for carrying out the "three support's and two military's" tasks. The army's involvement in the cultural revolution and intervention in party and government work was entirely based on orders of the chairman of the military commission. Therefore, the responsibility should be borne completely by the supreme commander. Certainly the responsibility for the crime should not be passed on to our army's cadres at various levels. It is even more wrong to use the law as a means to get even with personal enemies and vent personal spite.

However, a certain person is ignoring the facts and willfully exaggerating the issue of so-called Lin Biao's sworn followers hiding in the army. For example, not long ago Vice Chairman Deng said: because some cadres have not thoroughly resolved the problem of their feelings for the Lin Biao clique and are ideologically tied in a hundred and one ways with Lin Biao and company, a new wave of ideological confusion has emerged in the army. It is imperative to continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao in the army.

Moreover, a certain person has also spread rumors and slanders with ulterior motive, alleging that the time bomb which exploded in the Beijing railway station not long ago was (?secretly) brought to the railway station by some cadres of Beijing PLA units, that it was originally intended to be placed on Vice Chairman Deng's special train in a plot to assassinate Comrade Deng Xiaoping, and so on and so forth.

A certain person is trying to use such sinister methods to create a tense atmosphere, while our army's former principal leaders are on trial, to stir up people's dissatisfaction and hostility toward the army in order to apply greater pressure on the army and strike blows at those army cadres whom he does not like. In short, in its history of over 50 years, the army has never been suppressed, (?despised), persecuted and attacked as it is today. Therefore, the extremely demoralized state today of our army's commanders and fighters, especially cadres at the middle and upper levels, is by no means accidental.

Cadres Retiring Under Protest

OW020213 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] In his speech at a recent enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Committee's military commission, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: I have been told that a number of veteran army comrades have recently retired in order to relinquish their posts in favor of those better qualified. This is a good thing to which we should give wide publicity.

However, we should view this "good thing" from two aspects: as far as those who wish to drive all army veteran cadres out of office are concerned, the more they retire or leave their posts, the better. For those people, it would be ideal if all army veteran cadres retire or leave their posts.

However, viewing from the other aspect, as Comrades Huang Kecheng, Xiao Hua and Zhang Tingfa have said, it cannot be regarded as a "good thing" when veteran army cadres are retiring or leaving their posts one after another at a time when Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao are being tried and other defendants interrogated. This view is entirely correct.

Huang Huoqing announced that, except for the principal defendants, other offenders will be tried separately. After proceedings were instituted against offenders before the supreme people's courts, local courts and military tribunals, especially after the special court regain trying the principal defendants, those who are not eligible for retirement or who did not plan to retire for a few years began submitting their requests for retirement. In less than a month, many cadres at the corps and division levels alone have retired--81 from the Guangzhou PLA units, 79 from the Nanjing PLA units, 76 from the Shenyang PLA units, 64 from the Kunming PLA units, 91 from the Beijing PLA units and 24 from the Xinjiang PLA units. This situation in various services is similar.

It cannot but be noted that, except for a small number of the above veteran comrades who are indeed old and infirm and whose abilities have fallen short of the requirements for army work, most of them have retired or left their posts mainly for the following two reasons:

1. They are greatly dissatisfied with the present trial because the truth and the then objective circumstances have not been considered, and criminal liability has been exaggerated. They have retired to protest the trial.

2. When the 10 principal defendats are sentenced, military tribunals will start investigating and trying thousands of army cadres. A preliminary estimate shows that the army cadres directly or indirectly implicated number as many as over 13,000. In addition, those whose crimes are not serious enough to be tried will be dealt with in the 3-year process of purifying the party, which will begin next year.

All this has naturally caused fears among our army cadres, especially among those at the middle and higher levels. Therefore, old cadres want to retire or leave their posts earlier than planned in order to escape from increasing mental pressure. Other cadres can only wish that that person on the military commission of the CCP Central Committee will retire earlier through implementation of the party Central Committee's decision to abolish the system of lifelong tenure of office for leading cadres. In this way, the CCP Central Committee and its military commission will be able to adopt a correct policy in solving questions left over from history.

Tolin Biao Conspiracy Trials

OW040324 (Clanestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 3 Dec 80

[Text] The PLA units under all military regions have already started preparations for trying other criminals in the case of the so-called Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. That is to say, they have started carrying out the decision by the Supreme People's Procuratorate to hold trials according to varying conditions for criminals other than the 10 principal culprits, and to respectively institute proceedings against them at the Supreme People's Court, local people's courts and (?military tribunals.)

Moreover, Vice Chairman Deng recently said: affectionally, some cadres at PLA units have not yet made a clear break with the Lin Biao clique; ideologically, they still maintain close links with the clique. We should eliminate the pernicious influence left by Lin Biao at PLA units.

These remarks of Deng are precisely an instruction requiring PLA units to conduct a new purge among their cadres. This sort of political persecution has caused great uneasiness and misgivings among the broad masses of cadres in our army. In view of endless quibbling over this question by certain people at the central authorities, comrades one after another made requests for retirement and demobilization.

In addition, according to classified reports received by the PLA general staff department and the party military commission, cadres in some military regions and at PLA units stationed at border provinces made excuses to leave their units, disappear or desert their duties since they fear being implicated during the trials. Among these cases the most serious one involves a stealthy escape from the country that occurred with the coastal defense force in the Shandong peninsula. Late at night, bearing arms and driving three motorboats, seven cadres of the force fled from Shibao to the high seas. Two of them went to South Korea for shelter, and the whereabouts of the other five is still unknown. According to relevant reports by the coastal defense force, the seven cadres always actively took part in the tasks of three support's and two military's given to the PLA during the cultural revolution. Since the trial of the Lin Biao incident started in the capital, they have been sternly criticized at the force, and the materials regarding their trials were delivered to a military tribunal.

With respect to an incident at the Guanzhou PLA units, its scale and impact far exceed those of the incident of the fleeing abroad of the coastal defense force members; 480 cadres and fighters bore arms and ammunition and fled to Guangxi's Shiwan Dashan Mountain. This serious mutiny is the 2d of its kind over the past 30 years since the founding of our people's republic. One major cause of the incident is that some people charged many cadres at the units with being culprits in connection with Huang Yongsheng's conspiracy to stage an armed coup d'etat.

Large numbers of troops have now been mustered to encircle and suppress the cadres and fighters scattered on the Shiwan Dashan Mountain. However, their greatest crime is their taking flight when they feared being implicated in the trials. Judging from any aspect, it is improper to resort to force or make merciless suppression in handling incidents of troops.

CSO: 4005

PRC NATIONAL MEETING DISCUSSES PEASANT EDUCATION

OW010801 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--Eighteen million Chinese peasants are studying in various kinds of spare-time cultural and technical classes, and interest in education of this kind is growing.

At a recent national meeting on peasant education, participants discussed how to provide peasants with more channels to raise their educational and technical level to meet the needs of the country's agricultural modernization. They stressed popularization of agro-technical knowledge, in addition to the general knowledge and literacy classes offered in the past.

Spare-time cultural and technical classes are now set up by the three levels of rural collective--the people's communes, production brigades and teams. The more advanced county run agro-technical schools offer two or three-year courses of study which include Chinese language, mathematics, agricultural technique and agricultural machinery, health and medicine and accounting. Often technical centers and regular secondary schools provide the teaching staff. Sometimes short-term training classes are given according to farming seasons.

In addition, secondary schools at the countryside have also begun adding agro-technical classes to the curriculum.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' CARRIES PRC EDUCATIONAL NEWS IN BRIEF

OW021224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--More than 1,100 students have been enrolled in the just-resumed correspondence college of the People's University of China which is to begin 13 December after nearly 15 years of suspension.

Mostly factory and office workers under 35, they will study in the four disciplines of industrial management, commercial economy, Chinese literature and journalism respectively, each for 3 years.

* * *

A night college of law has been set up in Beijing with a first enrollment of 150 students. The students will in 4 years study 21 compulsory courses as required in full-time law faculty.

The college is jointly run by the Beijing Municipal Judicial Bureau and the Beijing branch of the Jiushan Society with the assistance of the law faculty of Beijing University.

* * *

Music will again be included in the curriculum of the middle schools in east China's Anhui Province. This was decided upon at a recent meeting called by the Provincial Education Department.

Music lessons in China's schools were arbitrarily stopped in mid-1966. They were resumed in the past few years first in primary schools and some middle schools in major cities.

* * *

The "GUANGMING DAILY" carries a reader's letter urging the addition of calligraphy lessons in middle and primary schools. The hand-writing of many of our young people, including middle school graduates, is very poor, the letter complains, because they did not have proper guidance and regular training at school.

CSO: 4020

YOUTH MUST FACE HISTORICAL TASK

OW061221 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 6 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--A "CHINA YOUTH NEWS" editorial urges the country's young generation to fulfill the task that history entrusts to them with the same dedication as their predecessors in the Chinese Youth Movement showed in their times.

"Each generation has its particular work to do. For the present young generation, their task is to achieve the four modernisations and build socialism in China," the editorial says.

Honoring the two anniversaries of the student movements of 9 December 1935 and 1 December 1945, led by the Chinese Communist Party in the Kuomintang-controlled areas to resist imperialist aggression and oppose Kuomintang reaction, the editorial points out that these struggles lighted the fire of patriotism and dedication in tens of thousands of young people, who went to the battlefield to fight for national independence and liberation.

New China has ended once for all the social system of exploitation, established the socialist system of public ownership, and built up considerable material strength for socialist construction. It is true that due to a number of reasons the superiority of the socialist system has not yet been fully developed, but we have laid the basis for further advance, says the editorial.

Now with the party's decisions on reforming the economic system, government management and cadres system and reforming party leadership, a new current has appeared that is rallying all forces to work for the modernisation program, strengthen democracy and legal system, and revive and promote the fine tradition of the party. "This is an unconquerable current which reflects the will of the party as well as the desire of the youth," the editorial stresses. To carry out the party decisions on reform, supervision and support from the people are essential. The youth should be an active force in this. Any attempt to depart from party leadership while pursuing democracy and freedom can only fall into destructive acts, as the chaotic decade had shown.

China is facing a turning point of the new superseding the old, the editorial says. Setbacks of the past have caused losses, but they will lend lessons to future success. Everybody realizes that hard work is needed. Only irresponsible persons are demanding that a solution to all problems be found overnight.

The national paper places great hope on the young people and urges them to play a positive role in developing the country's economy, carrying out reforms, and helping the party and government to do away with bureaucracy and bad styles of work.

CSO: 4020

HEILONGJIANG CANVASSES FOLK SONGS OF MINORITIES

OW070239 Beijing XINHUA in English 0230 GMT 7 Dec 80

[Text] Harbin, 7 Dec (XINHUA)--Heilongjiang Province in northeast China is systematically collecting ballads and folk songs of the nine minority nationalities living in the province, reflecting a new nationwide interest in studying and preserving minority cultures.

A team of specialists travelled around fishing villages of the Hezhe people. With a population of more than 800, the Hezhe is one of the smallest minority groups in China. They are fishermen or hunters living in compact communities in two people's communes on the Heilongjiang River and in another commune on the Wusuli River. They sing folk songs at festival times, and the older generation passes on ballads to youngsters which incorporate singing, dialogue and commentary. The Hezhe nationality has no written language.

The team recorded five Hezhe narrative ballads and more than ten folk songs, and also discovered that the Hezhe were using a primitive kind of mouth organ, a small fish-shaped instrument made of steel bands which gives both merry and deep tones.

The team included representatives from the Literature Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Heilongjiang branch of the China Society for the Study of Folk Literature and Art and the Heilongjiang branch of the Chinese Musicians Association.

More teams will be going to other minority areas.

CSO: 4020

PRC HISTORICAL DATA COMMITTEE MEETS

OW081256 Beijing XINHUA in English 1241 GMT 8 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--The Third Conference of China's National Historical Data Research Committee has called on people of all walks of life--particularly old people--to write about their recollections of important events that have occurred in China since the reform movement of 1898.

The committee, which operates under the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee (CPPCC), ended its conference over the weekend.

The conference agreed that historical events should be viewed against as wide a social background as possible.

Some members mentioned specifically the value of contributions from intellectuals, former capitalists and businessmen, leaders of China's many nationalities, religious leaders and Chinese people now living overseas.

Some members of the meeting spoke of a pressing need to record the recollections of old people before they are lost for ever.

The Data Research Committee is composed of veterans of China's revolutionary movement, members of the Chinese Communist Party and of China's democratic political parties.

Fifty-five volumes of such data were published between 1959 and 1966.

CSO: 4020

ANHUI CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION HOLDS MEETING, ELECTS OFFICIALS

OW042122 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Dec 80

[Text] The Anhui Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association recently held the second meeting of its representatives in Hefei municipality, according to a report by the staff of this station.

Beaming with joy, Catholic bishops, fathers, clergymen, sisters and representatives of Catholic believers, 43 people altogether came from all parts of the province and discussed the independence of Catholicism and how to rely on its own efforts to run Catholic churches in the province.

The meeting called on the Catholic elders and fellow believers throughout Anhui to continuously advance the spirit of patriotism; to persist in the principle of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in one's own hands and relying on one's own efforts to run churches; and to take the road of loving their country and their religion. Efforts should be made to help the government implement the policy of religious freedom; to adhere to the policies, laws and decrees of the state consciously; to uphold stability and unity; and to guard against a few bad elements' illegal use of religions to start rumors, deceive the masses, sow discord and create a split among the general public.

The meeting elected the second committee of the Anhui Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association and the Provincial Catholic Affairs Committee. (Zhou Yuzai) was elected chairman of the Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association and chairman of the Provincial Catholic Affairs Committee. (Lu Yusheng), (Wang Dai), (Bai Zhaosheng) and (Lu Yungfei) were elected vice chairmen of the Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association with (Bai Zhaosheng) as concurrent secretary general. (Wang Dai), (Cheng Biyao) and (Yang Ti) were elected vice chairmen of the Provincial Catholic Affairs Committee, and (Fang Antong) was elected secretary general of the committee.

CSO: 4005

ANHUI CHRISTIANS HOLD MEETING, INAUGURATE ASSOCIATION

OW042231 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Dec 80

[Text] According to a report by this station's staff, the Second Provincial Meeting of Christians in Anhui was held recently in Hefei municipality. Fifty-five godmothers, godchildren and representatives of Christians from all parts of the province happily gathered under the same roof. They discussed in earnest the Christian church's current pressing tasks, adopted a revised charter of the Anhui Provincial Christian "(Sanzi)" Patriotic Movement Committee and elected the second committee of the Provincial Christian "(Sanzi)" Patriotic Movement.

The Anhui Provincial Christian Association was inaugurated at the meeting, and the participants adopted the association's constitution.

(Pan Junxiang) was elected chairman of the Provincial Christian "(Sanzi)" Patriotic Movement Committee and president of the Provincial Christian Association. (Dan Puan) and (Cai Chongfen) were elected vice chairmen of the Provincial Christian "(Sanzi)" Patriotic Movement Committee with (Xu Fumin) as the committee's secretary general. (Fan Minzuo) and (Cai Chongfen) were elected vice presidents of the Provincial Christian Association with (Xu Fumin) as the association's executive secretary.

The meeting urged Christians throughout the province to unite as one; to adhere persistently to the principle of relying on their own efforts in administering and supporting Christian church affairs and in preaching Christian teachings; to join the people of the country in working with one heart and one mind; and to make still greater contributions to achieving the country's four modernizations, realizing the return of Taiwan to the motherland, combating hegemonism and safeguarding world peace.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'WANBAO' STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF EXPERTS

HK220531 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 6 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by editorial board: "The Four Modernizations Need Experts"]

[Text] In a certain period of time in the past, some comrades were proud to be "uncouth fellows." In fact, they misunderstood the meaning of "uncouth fellows."

So-called "uncouth fellows" refer to people who have low cultural level and no professional knowledge. At the time of liberation, many illiterates existed in our distressed motherland and this was the hallmark of backwardness created by the semifeudal and semicolonial society. Therefore, there was no reason for people to be proud of having no culture and no professional knowledge.

Some other comrades posed as "uncouth fellows" and equated "uncouth fellows" with the revolutionary history of fighting north and south on many fronts. The comrades who rendered meritorious military service in founding the new China should be respected by all people. However, not all revolutionaries who gained battle achievements were "uncouth fellows." Many leading comrades of our party and army have very high cultural level and are statesmen, strategists, philosophers, economists, jurists and at the same time poets and educationists. Many comrades who were promoted from the grassroots might have had a low cultural level originally but, after they were trained and educated by the party and studied hard by themselves, attained certain cultural and professional levels. In the war of liberation, if the cadres of our party were not expert in waging war and doing mass work, could they have won war?

Since the founding of the new China, the problem is that as we have shifted the focal point of work to economic construction, many leading cadres who cannot rely on their original knowledge must study new topics. Our party has therefore proposed that we should be good at study and become experts in our own work. Thirty years have elapsed. Many comrades have become experts but some comrades still lack rudimentary knowledge. What shall we do? It is impossible for us to pose as "uncouth fellows." There are two methods: 1) except for the old and weak, all young and energetic people must be determined to study and become experts in a given time; 2) we must be determined to promote to leading cadres those who are red and expert and have both ability and political integrity so that the experts can lead the experts.

The four modernizations need expert staff and workers, and need the leadership of experts even more.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY--The Hohhot Municipal Buddhist Administrative Committee held a religious ritual 2 December in Hohhot municipality to celebrate the 623d birthday of the founder of Lamaism. Such religious activities had been banned since 1962 and were restored after the state's policies on nationalities and religions were implemented. Thousands of religious figures recited and chanted scriptures at the ritual. Among them were E-Qi-Er-Hu-Ya-Ke-Tu, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Nei Monggol Regional People's Congress, and responsible persons from Islamic, Catholic and Christian organizations. [SK041222 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Dec 80]

CSO: 4005

END

JPRS 77074

29 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 152

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 77074

29 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 152

CONTENTS

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Reforms Badly Needed in Militia Training
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 28 Sep, 17 Oct 80)........................ 1

Fewer 'Evaluations', by Shan Chengxiang and Zhang Jiming
Better Training Programs by Wang Tzuping

PARTY AND STATE

Geng Biao on Indochina Situation Prior to Sino-Vietnamese Conflict
(CHUNG-KUNG YEN-CHIU, 15 Oct 80)................................ 3

Reforms Needed To Alter Widespread Bureaucratic Thinking
(Zhao Shugan, DAZHONG RIBAO, 2 Oct 80) 18

Importance of Considering Everyone's Views Stressed
(Lu Man; TIANJIN RIBAO, 12 Sep 80) 20

Practice Said Sole Criterion for Testing Truth
(Ma Ming; ZHEXUE YANJIU, Aug 80) 22

Column on Reeducation in Historical Materialism Launched
(Wang Jiayang; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 7 Oct 80) 28

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Writers, Politicians Urged To Work for Modernization
(Guo Fengqi, et al.; XINGANG, Mar 80).......................... 33

Kang Sheng's Role in Destruction of Education Reported
(Zhang Xuexin; RENMIN JIAOYU, 20 Sep 80) 42

[III - CC - 80]

Proper Employment of Talented People Urged
(RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Oct 80) 49

10-Point Proposal, by Zheng Yimin and Chen Gengzheng
More Proposals

Outrage Expressed at Seizure of Literary Magazine
(Lian Zhengxiang; WENYI BAO, 12 Oct 80) 53

Relaxation of Control Over Literature, Art Urged
(He Junying; RENMIN RIBAO, 8 Oct 80) 55

REFORMS BADLY NEEDED IN MILITIA TRAINING

Fewer 'Evaluations'

Haerbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Shan Chengxiang [0830 2052 4382] and Zhang Jiming [1728 4949 2494]: "Reform Needed in Method of Evaluating Militia Training"]

[Text] When we visited several factories to inspect militia antiaircraft training we heard some comments on the method of evaluating militia training. After an investigation, we were appalled by what we discovered.

Taking the Dong An Machine Factory as an example, we learned that 624 members of the militia in that unit had been evaluated last year by the provincial, municipal, and district authorities no fewer than 21 times on antiaircraft practice, infantry marksmanship, handgrenade throwing, military tactics, and communications, etc. Although fewer evaluations have been conducted this year, members of the militia had been evaluated 10 times up to August.

The frequency of evaluating the training of the militia by the authorities in the past few years has had certain adverse effects on the work being done on the lower levels. It has not only reduced the productivity of the units concerned and the income of the participants, but is has also encouraged falsification and formalism. It has tied down members of the armed units and left them little time for the solution of problems on the grassroots level.

It is our opinion, first of all, that authorities at the various levels should change their style of work, that they should go deeply into the grassroots in helping grassroot units and militia companies to master basic military tactics and techniques under actual combat conditions, and that they should overcome their habit of sitting in the office thinking up plans and fanciful ideas and relying solely on evaluations as a means of gaining an understanding of the effectiveness of the training. Secondly, militia training should be evaluated by the responsible authorities at one certain level instead of by all the different levels. Evaluations should be undertaken where necessary and eliminated where not. In other words, the method of evaluation should be reformed. Aside from the antiaircraft and heavy artillery units which require the evaluation of higher authorities under a unified system, a uniform system of training and evaluation on the local level should be adopted to reduce the time spent on evaluations and the unnecessary waste of manpower and materials.

Better Training Programs

Haerbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Wang Tzuping [3769 1311 1627]: "Reforms Should Be Made in Militia Training"]

[Text] It is our understanding that the daily activities of not a few members of militia units are confined to the same old routine. Aside from group training, target practice and handgrenade throwing, few other courses are being offered. Even within the same old routine, there has been no change in training methods for a number of years. For this reason, some members of the militia have lost interest in the military exercises. This should furnish food for serious thought on the part of those who are engaged in work with the militia.

To keep pace with the continuing development of the four modernizations, there is need for major reform, not only with regard to organization but also in such areas as training policy, the training program, and methods used in militia training. If we are to continue to use established methods and to go round and round in a circle like an aged donkey turning a mill, we will fail to cope with the new developing situation.

What should we do? Nothing will suffice except to introduce reforms. In bringing about reforms, it is necessary to make a study of potential new developments in a future was so that we may come to know our own position as well as that of the enemy in order to ensure our victory. What new situations are likely to develop in a future war in the sky and on the ground, in our offense and in our defense, in the cities and in the villages? Those of us who are engaged in militia training must have in our minds a plan to cope with whatever situation may develop. Only thus can we come to realize what militia training should entail. Otherwise, we will be firing empty shells.

In bringing about reforms, it is also necessary for us to have an understanding of the thinking of the militia members. We should realize that the shifting of emphasis in the work of the party and the changes in many major policies have raised a number of questions that weigh on the minds of the militia members. Many of these questions are resolved satisfactorily, they will affect not only the personal welfare of members of the militia, but also their training program and their productivity. This is a problem that should not be ignored.

In introducing reforms, it is further necessary to take heed of the special characteristics of the militia. Our entire militia is comprised of young people. That means that in studying and formulating plans for their training and their activities, we must make sure that these plans are in tune with the characteristics of young people. Only then can we achieve the objectives of militia training and ensure the development of organized training and the productive potential of the militia.

In any case, reforms in militia training work cannot be avoided. Those of our comrades who are engaged in work with the militia should come to terms with realities and endeavor to raise our work with the militia to a new and higher level in this new era.

9621
CSO: 4005

GENG BIAO ON INDOCHINA SITUATION PRIOR TO SINO-VIETNAMESE CONFLICT

Taipei CHUNG-KUNG YEN-CHIU [STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM] in Chinese Vol 14 No 10, 15 Oct 80 pp 141-162

[Introducing a Document: "Chinese Communist Party Central Political Bureau Member Comrade Geng Giao's 'Report on the Situation in the Indochinese Peninsula,' 16 January 1979"]

[Text] Introducing a Document

"Report on the Situation in the Indochinese Peninsula" is an internal report given on 16 January 1979 by Geng Biao, "Chinese Communist Party [CCP] Central Political Bureau member, Chinese Communist Party Central Military Commission Secretary-General." The original text of the "Report" published in this journal here is the text originally transcribed from a recording cassette by the "International Liaison Department of the CCP Central Committee."

It has been almost 2 years since the "Report" was first given. During these 2 years, the Indochinese Peninsula and related international situation have both undergone new changes; but this does not affect the important referential value of this "Report" as a document to the study of Communist China and related questions.

As can be seen from its content, Geng Biao's "Report" was closely related to the Sino-Vietnamese border war that occurred in February 1979. This war was another important border war involving the use of large military forces since the mid-1950's and more than 10 years since Communist China concluded its border with India. The year 1979 was a time of continued escalation of the internal political power struggles of the Chinese Communist Party after the death of Mao Zedong and the collapse of the "gang of four," a time when the internal situation of the Chinese Communist Party was facing disintegration and ramification and when all troubles seemed to have broken loose. Why did the Chinese Communists carry out a border war involving large military forces and great costs against "socialist" Vietnam at this time? What was the Chinese Communists' estimation of the international situation, especially the Indochinese situation, at the time? And what were the task and goal of the Chinese Communist war against Vietnam, and the policy arrangements in the domestic and external aspects?... There are fairly reliable (because they come from internal report) data revealing all of these to us in Geng Biao's "Report." Therefore, even though this "Report" has already become dated by two years, it still bears multiple, useful referential value to our study of the on-going development of the Indochinese situation, the present conditions of the relationship between the Chinese Communists and the Vietnamese Communists, between Communist China and Indochina and "the world of the two superpowers," and their application, and questions of the like. This is one of the main reasons why this journal decides to have it published here.

--CHUNG-KUNG YEN-CHIU Editorial Department

Secret

Member of the Political Bureau, CCP Central Committee Comrade Geng Biao's "Report on the Situation in the Indochinese Peninsula,"

16 January 1979

Transcription from Recording Cassette by the International Liaison Department of the CCP Central Committee, printed on 21 January 1979

Comrades:

Phnom Penh fell; Sihanouk and Ieng Sary have arrived in Beijing in succession. The former liaison office of the Kampuchea Unity Government is now again vacated. All this is going to bring to our comrades many problems. Because the situation has changed very rapidly, Chairman Hua, in order to let the Party Central, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and leading cadres and comrades of their various departments at various levels have a clear understanding, has especially permitted me to represent the Party Central and make a brief report to our comrades on the situation in the Indochinese Peninsula and also to explain preliminarily the Party Central Committee's estimation of the situation and attendant principles and policies in preparation to solve it from now on, so as to avoid the forthcoming possibility of inconsistency and resultant difficulties among us.

My speech today is not going to be issued as the Party Central's formal document to the subordinate departments and units; on a part of its contents, we must do a good job of protecting its secrecy. Apart from communication at concerned departments and units, comrades may also make a summary record of its main spirit and major points. As to how to communicate and communicate to what extent, you will be notified separately.

Up to today, except the two or three provinces which are still being defended by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Party and Government organs are making orderly retreat. Vietnamese troops have already reached the Thai border; within less than 10 days, Vietnamese troops may occupy Kampuchea entirely. From the very beginning, Vietnam sent three columns, and then five columns, to march respectively but all converge on Phnom Penh and finally occupy it; now, it has further diverted a part of these troops to form a flank along Route No 5 to coordinate with another contingent advancing along Route No 6 toward Kompong Thom, and continue to press forward the attack toward Pursat, Battambang, and Siem Reap. In order to retard the enemy troops' speed of advance and cover the retreat, the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army has organized a defense line between Kompong and Bang-ko-tai [transliteration] and a second defense line at Siem Reap so as to effectively retard the enemy troops and win some more time. In most of the other areas, active retreat is being undertaken under the condition of offering no defense in order to move to more advantageous terrains. But because the troops of Vietnam have advanced along highway No 6 at a far greater speed than expected and threaten to skirt around to Battambang at any time, the morale of the [Kampuchean] troops became seriously affected, and the defense lines collapsed all of a sudden; more than 7,000 Kampuchean soldiers were killed at different times or captured. Even Comrade Sung Cheng nearly failed to pull out. Later on, Comrade Sung Cheng personally organized the defending battle at Battambang; within 36 hours he organized more than 20 counter charges and succeeded in exterminating completely the 18 tanks and one battalion spearheading the enemy attack. This served at least to win some time, let the Party Central convene an urgent meeting, and stabilize the situation to accomplish the retreat. After completing their shifting operations, Kampuchean forces entered the Dangrek in two contingents to set up base there; another contingent marched northward to guard the rear so as to let the troops and Government personnel concentrated in the area adjoining Battambang and Siem Reap retreat to the Oddar Meanchey base. Before the fall of Sisophon on 13 January, the Kampuchean Government and troops had already completed their strategic retreat, successfully perserving half of the Government organs and resources and two-thirds of the troops. These vital forces will be the capital for counter-attack in the future, and are also the basis for us to declare Democratic Kampuchea to be the only legitimate government today.

Vietnam will discover that what they have gained today is not victory but the beginning of defeat. I would say that Vo Nguyen Giap has become senile, and the head of Van Tien Dung is turning in a whirl, so that even today they still cannot tell whether Kampuchean troops are retreating in defeat or carrying out a strategic shift. From the Vietnamese documents captured at Battambang, it is possible to see that the headquarters of their invading forces is now being really troubled by its inability to find the principal force of the Kampuchean Army. According to intelligence report, the whole invading Vietnamese force includes 14 divisions and 9 mechanized armed units, plus the original Kampuchean rebel forces and one division and two artillery battalions from Laos; these units are now all bogged down, whereas the heroic Kampuchean Revolutionary Army proceeds to launch an action of vehement counter-attack. Life for Vietnam and the puppet National Salvation Front regime simultaneously propped up is not going to be comfortable in the days to come. Why Vietnam did not direct its forces to carry out the invasion last year when Kampuchean-Vietnamese relations were interrupted, but drag until today before getting the action started? The fact is that even before South Vietnam was liberated, Vietnam already harbored a sinister plot; its handful of war fanatics, under the behind-the-scene instigation of their back-stage boss, social imperialism, had already thought of putting a finger in Kampuchea's pie by dragging the latter into the so-called "Indochinese Federation" so as to make it the jumping board and advance base for the social imperialism to realize its worldwide strategic plan and to expand toward the Southeast Asian region. But under the condition of large-scale intervention by American forces in the Vietnam war at the time, South and North Vietnam were hard put in coping with that war and hence had no surplus energy to divert to the question of Kampuchea. Meanwhile, when

Prince Sihanouk was in power, and pursuant to his rejection of American aid in March 1964 and severance of relations with the United States in May 1965, the country's political inclination was still to support and sympathize with Vietnam and to allow North Vietnam to pass through the country in order to transport to South Vietnam the supplies of materials and personnel consigned to the southern liberation movement. Therefore, Prince Sihanouk had granted favors to Vietnam, and Vietnam was in his debt. Yet, the country now is confronted with a return of enmity for its favors, in contrast to his practice of virtue in the face of animosity; perhaps we should say that Sihanouk has made a similar mistake like we did in giving Vietnam too much, so that we are both suffering such a consequence today. To begin with, if the United States did not instigate Lon Nol, Sirimata, to take advantage of Sihanouk's trip abroad to stage a coup and overthrow the monarchical government, the situation would not have been like this today. The Nixon Government of the United States is indirectly responsible for the fact that Kampuchea finds itself in such a situation today. When the coup succeeded and Kampuchea became another kind of state, this Vietnam war very naturally expanded into an Indochina war at large. At this juncture, Vietnam's support for the liberation war led by the Kampuchean National Unity Government was imperative. The reason was very simple: without the support of Kampuchea's Sihanouk Government, Vietnam would have disappeared long ago. Another important reason was that they both could not do without China's aid. In helping Kampuchea at the time, Vietnam was like "Xiang Zhuang [7309 5445] who put up a sword dance with Pei Gong [3099 0361] in his mind," i.e., as it sought on the pretext of carrying out its internationalist duty to bring its expansionist and hegemonist thinking into this just war. At that time, we also sensed that this kind of involving relations was hard to accommodate, and winding up this involvement would be difficult. From what Le Duc Tho said to Premier Penn Nouth of the Kampuchean National Unity Government in Beijing at the end of April 1972, a discerning person would immediately detect something ominous, as he said: "we can drive out Lon Nol for Kampuchea." At the time Penn Nouth replied: "we have nothing; how are we going to return Vietnam's selfless assistance in the future?" Le Duc Tho glaringly said: "it does not matter; what we give you we can also take back by that time." As early as 1971, Chairman Mao had already told Prince Sihanouk: "We must solve our own problems by ourselves; we must have confidence in ourselves. We may accept foreign aid, but cannot depend on it." In 1973, Chairman Mao also told Sihanouk about the fact that Ho Chi Minh once also mentioned to Chairman Mao his intention to set up an "Indochinese Federation," so he asked the Kampuchean leadership not to lose vigilance. After 1974, Vietnam took the opportunity of coordinating with the Kampuchean Liberation Army in carrying out fighting in Kampuchea to foster pro-Vietnam elements in the country, thus sowing the seeds of misfortune. On 15 August 1975, Khieu Samphan came to China; he also discussed in detail this potential problem. Upon the liberation of Phnom Penh in May 1975, at first the Vietnamese troops made some excuses not to leave the country; but because South and North Vietnam were still not unified at that time, and the faction opposed to unification was still very powerful; China, in the meantime, repeatedly applied pressure and supported the new government in Kampuchea, so that Vietnam, while dragging its feet, finally took half a year to complete the withdrawal of its troops. On the other hand, there were too many factions in the military ranks of Kampuchea; at that time, there were already three such factions. One was under the direct control of Pol Pot, Khieu Samphan, and others consisting mainly of Kampuchean workers and peasants; it was the majority faction in the military ranks and also the principal force. Another was a faction of the original royal troops loyal to Sihanouk and the old patriotic officers and soldiers who bolted Lon Nol units to join the liberation war; this part of people was not very numerous, but they were all well trained, all allies of the Communists, and also sympathizers of the revolution. The third was no other than the pro-Vietnam faction, which had not a few members, nor very bad equipment. If these three factions were properly handled when the Kampuchean Army began to consolidate its ranks in 1976, the situation could have been better. But the Kampuchean Communist Party did not follow the correct approach in handling them, thus leading to an expansion of mutual contradictions. In the first place, they failed to treat Sihanouk well, this made the old soldiers recalcitrant; nor did they evince the correct attitude in treating these soldiers, as they did not proceed to transfrom this contingent of old soldiers with rich fighting experience like we did to the troops of Wu Huawen [0702 0553 2429], Dong Qiwu [5516 0366 2976], and others. In certain districts, they did especially badly, as they even treated them and their families as reactionary troops and reactionary families, who were subject to either persecution, or the fate of disbandment and disarmament. This way of doing things inadvertently forced a part of the forces previously in support of the Communist Party to revolt and turn around to merge with those remnant units of Lon Nol who had become bandits in the hills and change into counterrevolutionary armed guerrillas. In handling the pro-Vietnam faction, the commanding officers also failed to make a distinction between the question of stand and the question of ideology, grabbing all at once more than 4,000 of them, who were either put to death or imprisoned; thus everybody felt threatened and ultimately ended up in open revolt. This greatly affected the morale and inclination of those units that were originally loyal to the party.

Strictly speaking, discipline of the Kampuchean Army had been rather lax; stirring up trouble along the Kampuchean border was representative of the blind actions of the units and of their anarchism. In February last year, the Kampuchean forces sought to enforce disciplinary rectification; this was a correct approach. When Song Cheng came to China later, he also indicated that after the disciplinary rectification campaign was completed, Kampuchea would have sufficient confidence to completely eliminate all the pro-Vietnam forces within 6 or 7 months. We believed him and also provided necessary assistance. Little did we imagine that this was not to be the case. These units, which were not good enough to help bring about success, felt compelled by some mere, slight excuses to pull into the hills right away and start their guerrilla activities; this also made our plan and effort to re-establish the Sihanouk regime completely fruitless. At first, contact was also made with the United States on this plan, and they also nodded, indicating that so long as the peaceful situation in Southeast Asia could be maintained to contain the social-imperialist forces of expansion, the Americans would be working even harder than we. So long as we can see this clearly, we need not worry about the Americans not intervening. But now, isn't everything dandy! Phnom Penh is evacuated 7 months earlier; we can only support Sihanouk's accusations at the United Nations in conjunction with the United States, Japan, Britain, France, and members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and try to force Vietnam to withdraw its forces. In reality, however, we have calculated for sure that Vietnam is not going to withdraw its forces; in doing so, we aim merely at winning some more time to re-deploy and wait until the raining season comes before doing anything else.

Vietnam signed a treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union in November; thus the Soviet Union stepped forward from behind the scene to bind Vietnam tightly onto its war chariot and at the same time also back Vietnam up with the same treaty of alliance and hence help aggravate Vietnam's cockiness. Vietnam did the right thing in joining the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and thereby gaining a great deal of aid from the Soviet Union; but none of what the Soviet Union could give it could not be enjoyed as food, clothing, or daily amenities. We have had the experience of being short-changed by this "big brother"; how can we fail to know what they sent to Vietnam? The Soviet Union transferred to Vietnam the kind of equipment which cannot be considered very advanced at a price higher than that in the international market; can this type of aid be still called selfless? Perhaps only Heaven knows! Since the Soviet Union sold petroleum to Vietnam at US$13 a barrel, we can most certainly sell it to Kampuchea at US$5 a barrel to test its avaricious appetite and see how it is able to bear it. We can say this: we have been too generous in the past. After losing our large amount of aid and trade exchange with us, Vietnam will lack still more foodgrain and basic daily necessities. In addition, a flood disaster last year caused a loss of 4 million tons of foodgrain harvest; this has further aggravated the country's economic difficulties and accelerated the contradictions between the South and the North. In order to divert the people of Vietnam from the material shortage which has resulted because the present regime leaned to one side and economically depended entirely on the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and from the increasingly sharpening contradictions aroused by the Labor Party's forcible enforcement of its production and distribution plans and policies in the new economic zones and by the unreasonable distribution and deployment of power and construction plans and arrangements between the South and the North, the Vietnam Labor Party began, on the one hand, to persecute a large number of southern cadres from September 1977 onwards, passing the so-called "Resolution of the Labor Party Central on Work After the Unification of the South and the North" to exclude, attack, and cruelly struggle against those with different opinions and views and those who had feelings of dissatisfaction toward Vietnam's southern economic policies; on the other hand, it was forced to intensify the engineering of Kampuchean-Vietnamese border conflicts, thus ultimately encroaching upon Kampuchea to divert the people's sight and to molify the various increasingly sharpening contradictions by the act of aggression. This was also a major reason for invading Kampuchea. Another reason was that the Soviet Union and Vietnam have seen how China and Japan signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, how Vice Chairman Deng, after visiting members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, also visited Japan; in addition, the success of Chairman Hua's visits to Romania and Yugoslavia both directly and indirectly rendered a great blow against social imperialism; such frequent diplomatic activities served to greatly raise China's international prestige and win the sympathy and support of even more countries; in thus reaching mutual understanding, the Western countries have concluded huge trade agreements, scientific and technological cooperation, and even technical exchange and trade on atomic energy, space and electronics; in the military field, similarily, the developed countries of the West are helping us with great interest to work on the modernization of our national defense, and hence upsetting the plot of social imperialism to vainly attempt to isolate, attack, contain and strangle China. Today, we are shifting the focus of our work to economic construction; the four modernizations are being carried out with increasing speed. A powerful China, just like a rising sun, is looming above the horizon with full vigor. But social imperialism is most afraid of the appearance of such a situation; therefore they are bound to play all sorts of tricks in order to interfere and sabotage it. The expelling of Chinese from Vietnam and the invading of Kampuchea, plus the engineering of bloody incidents along the Sino-Vietnamese border, the intention lies also here. On 16 December last year, in particular, China and the United States declared their readiness to establish diplomatic relations on 1 January this year; just this resulted not only in the writing of a new chapter in the history of Sino-American relations but also entirely changed the ratio of the world's forces. Vietnam abandoned all preconditions in an attempt to establish diplomatic relations with the United States, but the U.S.Government paid no attention; instead, it was a China still with the Taiwan problem on hand that first established such relations with the United States. This was a great sarcasm. Therefore, the establishment of Sino-American relations hit the body of the Soviet Union but hurt the heart of Vietnam. These two brothers could not help turning a feeling of shame into anger; in order to save their face, they could only try out their sword on Kmapuchea. Thus occurred the Kampuchean incident. Later, when Le Duan mentioned the situation about his talks with Pol Pot in Phnom Penh, we also frankly pointed out that the Vietnam Labor Party lacked the spirit of treating a brotherly party equally; Pol Pot merely disagreed with the Vietnam Labor Party's thinking about establishing an Indochinese Federation, and there was absolutely no question of opposition to Vietnam. Also, the talks this time were somewhat different in spirit from 1975 when Pol Pot went to Hanoi to participate in the Kampuchean-Vietnamese talks then. At that time, Le Duan himself also indicated that it was still premature then to talk about establishing an Indochinese Federation; the Vietnam Labor Party meant merely to exchange opinion with the Kampuchean Communist Party on the future development of the three Indochinese states, and had no intention of imposing its own opinion upon a brotherly party. Since this was the case, apart from the fact that the demarcation of boundaries between Vietnam and Kampuchea still remained to be solved, no great contradictions actually existed any longer. Since today Le Duan chooses to accuse us in reverse of supporting Kampuchea to oppose Vietnam, we are forced to issue a refutation to such an "improvised" accusation, and at the same time indicate our own attitude:

(1) On the basis of the principle of fraternal relations between our parties, we would absolutely not allow any approach designed by political party to encroach upon the independence of another Communist Party or interfere with the internal affairs of another fraternal party.

(2) We support the Kampuchean Communist Party headed by Pol Pot and the Democratic Kampuchean Government under its leadership.

(3) We oppose any forcible approach to compelling Kampuchea to join any federation of the three Indochinese states.

(4) The Vietnam Workers Party must solve its contradictions with Kampuchea with an egalitarian and sincere attitude.

By the time of the talks between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties in November 1977, differences between Vietnam and Kampuchea were no longer concealable. Our painstaking intention to endeavor to avoid making such contradictions public since Kampuchea's liberation in 1975 thus finally failed. Therefore, in December the Party Central Committee decided to assist Kampuchea in force so as to equip them with a greater capability to cope with new situations that could occur because a solution through talks proved impossible; we made efforts all around, falling only short of sending troops. When Comrade Wang Dongxing went to visit, the Kampuchean Government actually made such a request; Comrade Su Zhenhua [5685 2182 5478] also made the suggestion to dispatch a detachment of the East China Fleet to Kampuchea to help Kampuchea guard its territorial waters well, or even just to send a fleet there for a visit. Comrade Xu Shiyou also said to let him take some units to Guangxi to manage for a while. But, after prolonged deliberations, the Party Central Committee rejected both Comrade Su Zhenhua's suggestion and disagreed with Comrade Xu Shiyou's opinion, and in the end sent no single soldier. Why?

(1) We are a socialist state; we have never sent any troops, planes, or war vessels to other countries, and we also oppose any other state for doing so. Even though we agree today that the United States should retain certain armed forces in the Asian-Pacific region, we are merely indicating our understanding about the stationing of American troops in Japan, the Philippines, and places of the like; this is absolutely not the same as supporting the long-range stationing of foreign troops in foreign territories, or the establishment of military bases. Our comrades must never think that, since our relations with the United States are now normalized, we can henceforth forget the imperialist and hegemonist essence of the United States. We are very different from the United States. If we should send troops to Kampuchea, not only would we have broken this principle, but what impression would this convey to the countries of Southeast Asia and other countries of the world? Not only the anti-hegemonist united front in unity with the Third World cannot be established, we would also have become a new hegemonist power; there would be no end once this erroneous step is taken.

(2) In the case of most countries of the world today, whether they like the regime led by Pol Pot or not, they still insist on recognizing Democratic Kampuchea and blaming Vietnam for its aggression as well as supporting China's just stand; this is precisely because, very obviously, only Vietnam has troops in Kampuchea. If we had also sent troops there, the situation would have been very different. In the least, Comrade Chen Chu would not have been able to speak in his usual forthright manner at the United Nations; and if there should be the slightest mishandling, he might even have to stand in a defendant's stead. Hence, to be unable to hold one's ground in the international arena is one thing, but, more seriously, Vietnam and its puppets would be able to relish on taking this as a pretext and launch their vicious attack on us in reverse, alleging that we are interfering with the internal affairs of other countries and thereby turning its previous war of aggression around. By that time, it would not be easy even if we wished to extend assistance in force. See what a fine situation it remains today! If we choose to extend whatever assistance we please, we are supporting a just struggle against aggression; this good point is clearly on our side.

(3) In the context of Indochina's geographical environment and various political, economic and ideological backgrounds, plus many other complicated factors, it is impossible to adopt a blitzkrieg in Hitler's style in trying to solve the general situation. The Americans have had a taste of the consequence in this regard; it is possible that their understanding is more profound. To fight a war in Indochina is a laborious but fruitless thing. Vietnam has already stepped into this patch of mud; it is bound to be dragged to collapse. Should we send troops, we would be dragged down too, and it would be very difficult to tell what the final outcome might be. We ourselves already lack sufficient strength to fight such a war of exhaustion, unless we no longer wanted the four modernizations, or if we had the kind of economic conditions and productive power like the United States and Japan. To us, not sending troops today puts us in an advantageous position from whatever angle, and this constitutes also a training for the Kampuchean Communist Party. Our all-out assistance, plus Kampuchea's confidence, determination, and daring and dexterous struggle, would spell nothing but bad luck for Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

(4) If you think that just because Vietnam knew we would not send any troops so it ventured to invade Kampuchea without fear, this is not entirely correct either. Its back-stage boss, the Soviet Union, most certainly hoped that we would send troops

because, to Vietnam, under such circumstances, the place to suffer war devastation would be Kampuchea and not Vietnam, and to the Soviet Union, once you in China should get involved, we in the Soviet Union can both blame you in international public opinion and openly support Vietnam to fight to the end. Vietnam, on its part, also figured that once you get involved, we would also be no longer subject to restriction and seek assistance from both the left and the right, and domestically, too, there would be a pretext for mobilizing more forces to join the war effort. Thus both Vietnam and the Soviet Union have long figured things out: in the short run, they would make it impossible for you to carry out your four modernizations; in the long run, if you Chinese troops should enter into direct conflict with Vietnam and the fire of war thus spread to Vietnam itself, then on the basis of the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty the Soviet Union would have reason to despatch troops from the north to conduct a pincer attack; by that time, even the United States, West Europe and Japan would find it difficult to say whether they were the aggressor or you were the aggressor. Kampuchea is only a small country; its area is but the size of Hubei Province and its population is less than that of Beijing. But the things happening here are so complex, with one easily affecting all of the rest; we must be very careful. If we should once start to fight a big battle with the Soviet Union, the populace would be greatly pleased; but, by that time, what hope is still there for the investments, loans, and assistance to our four modernizations from the United States, Europe, and Japan? This is not a question of whether or not we are afraid, but a question of considering the beneficial or ill consequences. On this question, we can conclude with three points: one, we will not send any troops; two, we will not stop our assistance; and three, we will support [Kampuchea] to the very end.

Although we cannot directly send troops to Kampuchea in support of their war effort, we cannot deny that we still have not a few personnel working Kampuchea today; apart from construction work, a part of them is also helping Kampuchea fight the war. This contingent of personnel numbers about 1,500. When the war situation became urgent in December last year, our Foreign Ministry already notified Ambassador Sun Hao [1327 3185] to ask all the personnel assisting Kampuchea to retreat in separate batches; thus we did not prepare to participate in the fighting. But the situation changed too precipitously; many failed to retreat in time, and they still remain in Kampuchea today. Now they all willingly give up their Chinese citizenship to take on Kampuchean citizenship, and therefore refuse to accept the directive of China's Foreign Ministry to retreat and volunteer to join the struggle against Vietnam and for national salvation. We have no way of stopping them from doing so; nor can this be termed an exportation of revolution. Our principle on this matter is not to encourage, but nor to oppose or stop them; when Kampuchea becomes liberated for the second time, they will still be the sons and daughters of the Kampuchean people and their heroes, who are our relatives but not Chinese. In doing so, they have provided the equivalent of a powerful explanation as to the Vietnamese regime's attempt to confuse right and wrong and turn things upside down by slandering, passing on the rumor and accusation that there are Chinese personnel participating in the fighting.

We already gave permission for representative delegations and groups of the governmental organs of Democratic Kampuchea and their party to set up a temporary government office in Beijing; they are also actively asking Thailand to allow them to set up such an office inside Thai territory or at the border; on this matter Vice Premier Ieng Sary has already put forward a formal request to Premier Kriangsak. Last time, our Vice Chairman Deng also made the following requests to Vice Premier Sunthon Hongladarom of Thailand:

(1) Carry out more effective cooperation with China in order to resist the expansionist forces of the Soviet Union and Vietnam and safeguard the peace and stability of the Southeast Asian region and Asian-Pacific region.

(2) Continue to support the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, recognize its legitimate status, and, on this premise, reject the request of the present puppet regime to take over the country's diplomatic establishment in Thailand and allow [the Government of Democratic Kampuchea] to set up an office at the Thai border, whether public, semi-public, or not public at all.

(3) Continue to provide political asylum to the persecuted Party, political and military personnel and people of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and also grant them the right to enter Thai territory and proceed further to China or other areas.

At the same time, Vice Chairman Deng also asked Vice Premier Sunthon to relate to Premier Kriangsak and the Thai Government that the Chinese Government wished the Thai Government would allow the passage of aid materiel to be transported to Kampuchea through Thailand. The fact that the Thai Government still evinces a non-committal attitude on this matter show that it faces its own dilemma, and not wishing to run into direct conflict with Vietnam is the main reason; we can well understand.

However, we must lay bare the facts. We told Sunthon that the relationship between Kampuchea and Thailand, or between Kampuchea and Southeast Asia, is like that between the lips and the teeth; it is impossible to try to keep oneself out of it. We believe Thailand can appreciate this principle from the following three aspects:

(1) To Thailand at present, the greatest threat comes not from Kampuchea but from Vietnam; even if Democratic Kampuchea were not subject to Vietnamese aggression this time, the manpower and material resources of that country still cannot compare to those of Thailand. I remember that when Vice Chairman Deng visited Thailand, he already explained to Premier Kriangsak that Kampuchea had no intention of resorting to expansion but wished only to improve relations between the two countries; on this, China would be in a position to guarantee. In the past, bloody conflicts often occurred along the Kampuchean border; this could only be said to be due to the lax discipline of the Kampuchean troops. For over a year now, the disciplinary rectification work on the part of these troops has been too slow; these conflicts resulted only from problems of hilltop tendencies and blind actions within the Kampuchean units, and they by no means constituted any threat to Thailand.

(2) Thailand understands that Vietnam's next target is no other than Thailand. If Thailand is intelligent enough, it should go all out to support the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to launch guerrilla warfare; not to mention allowing China's aid materiel pass through Thailand, it should itself round up other members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or even the United States and Japan, to carry out the support together. After doing so, Kampuchea's strength for resistance becomes augmented and succeeds in stemming Vietnam's expansionist forces off its door, so that the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army would be guarding Thailand's gate against the enemy: why is this not just fine?

(3) So long as the resistance movement in Kampuchea perseveres for one day, Vietnam would be detained one day, and the time for the realization of an "Indochinese Federation" and the perpetration of a direct threat to Southeast Asia would also be delayed one day. The longer Vietnam is detained, the more its internal forces would become

exhausted, and the more sufficient time would also be won, so that the revolutionary forces inside Vietnam would also grow stronger, and ultimately, like Lenin said, "turn an imperialist war into a civil war," and thereby cause the collapse of the reactionary ruling clique of Vietnam from within. Thus, war causes revolution, and revolution in turn stops war: the possibility for such an outcome is very great. Thailand has the responsibility to create such conditions, and that would also be the best policy for safeguarding Thailand's own security.

At a time like this, the Thai Communist Party really demonstrated an appropriate internationalist spirit. Although its strength is limited, it resolutely dispatched several military units to traverse the long road southward to the Thai-Laotian-Kampuchean border to help in the fighting. In order to avoid running into direct conflict with the Thai military units, some even crossed the area of several hundred li through Laos to help reinforce Kampuchea's force-shifting work. The underground comrades of the Thai Communist Party even risked their lives in doing their best to help Democratic Kampuchea, as they did a good job in carrying out intelligence work in the rear of the enemy. Only in hardship is true affection shown; the performance of the Thai Communists is indeed very moving. In the meantime, seven central responsible comrades and working cadres of the Thai Communist Party Central Committee also organized a delegation; they have already arrived at the Chinese border on the 12th on their way to Kunming, and will reach Beijing in a few days. The main purpose of this delegation is to study with us and the Kampuchean Communist Party the Indochinese situation and define the direction and plans of struggle from now on as well as the details of our aid to them.

Previously, according to our aid-Kampuchea plan, we were going to provide before December last year equipment for three divisions and enough food, medicine and ammunitions for 100,000 troops, and also to guarantee the maintenance of the basic figure of 15 bullets per man for the first line of troops. But we do not share a common border with Kampuchea, and are separated by Vietnam and Laos; in order to provide a large amount of assistance, therefore, even though the sea route can still be used, it is estimated that shortly after the fall of Kampuchea, Soviet and Vietnamese submarines will appear in Kampuchea's territorial sea; if under such circumstances we should use the sea route opposite the converging point of the Thai-Kampuchean borders to enter Kampuchea, we would be committing the error of making ourselves conspicuous targets.

Even if we are not stopped on the sea, our regularity in using such an approach may become easily detected and we would hence be cut off on land later. Although it is difficult to render aid through both sea and land routes, there are still other ways; at least the American naval forces in this region can give some minor assistance, such as watching the Soviet vessels while at the same time communicating with us and telling us the Vietnamese vessels' direction of movement. When Vice Chairman Deng visits the United States at the end of this month, he is going to make this special suggestion to Carter: if the United States can actively participate, that would be most ideal; but even help under cover will still do. Furthermore, the United States has requested that we open up the Shanghai harbor for the 7th fleet to anchor there; as we look at the matter now, will it be more helpful to the stable situation in Southeast Asia if we opened up the Yulin harbor instead? The function of keeping a watch on the Cam Ranh Bay should be at least not amiss. As for Thailand, so long as they can keep an eye open and an eye closed, that would do; let them spar with Vietnam when necessary, there should be no problem here.

Apart from all this, we would have to rely on the north-south land route to extend our aid. In the Vietnam war in the past, there was the Ho Chi Minh Trail which passed through Kampuchea; now we might as well also do a little research and work out some kind of trail to pass through Burma and Thailand. This will mainly depend on the Thai Communists; without them, it will not do. Although from one end to the other, this route stretches some 1,000 kilometers, and there would be difficulties to put through large quantities of aid, at least there won't be any problem in sending through convoys of Sino-Kampuchean personnel, setting up communications depots and liaison lines in the future. The reason the Thai Communist Party despatched a delegation here secretly this time is of course not just to talk about this matter; the Thai Communist Party mainly intends to connect the northern and southern forces together, and take this opportunity to put up an earth-shaking struggle. But the Thai Communist Party itself is subject to powerful pressure from the Vietnamese Communists, and the revisionist elements within its own ranks are also making some moves in an attempt to engage in sectarian and splittist activities. It is therefore forced to come to China, so as we can all sit down and discuss a little; these problems should be soluble. In my own personal opinion, in our effort to help Kampuchea from now on, the Thai Communists, on their part, will play an important role. Therefore, we are trying presently to persuade them, to have them realize that, in the face of a powerful enemy, they should be able to adopt a consistent stand with the Thai Government on the question of coping with Vietnamese hegemonism. We are not, of course, asking them to lay down their arms and go before the Government building in Bangkok to register; but they may well seek to reduce their tendency of running into frontal conflict with the Thai Government to the minimum. In doing so, we can help the Thai Communist Party to preserve its substantive strength on the one hand, and encourage Kriangsak to make up his mind to cooperate with us in helping Kampuchea. If we can round up ASEAN from this, things will be even easier. If we further secure the support of the United States, Japan, Britian and France, Kampuchea's future will become even inestimable. Even if Premier Kriangsak does not agree, it will not matter very much; at least the Thai Communists will be supporting us; it will not be possible for us to let Thailand keep itself intact like a wise man. The situation before us is self-evident: it is impossible for Thailand to stay away from the region's affairs. If you take out a map and look at it, you will immediately know that it would be most convenient for us to go through the territory of Laos in order to open up supplemental transportation routes on land in our effort to aid Kampuchea; the guerrillas in Laos can be just put to the right kind of use in this connection. We need not dwell on this point any further; you will naturally understand.

In the hilly areas of Thailand, Burma and Laos, there is still another force which is most useful, even more useful than the Thai Communists: this is namely the force of the Kuomintang. You should not belittle the contingents the Kuomintang has deployed along these areas; the Burmese Government troops have attempted several times to move them, but each time they ended up with losses plus apology. Nor dared the armed units of the Burmese Communist Party and the Thai Communist Party to touch them. As we figure it, almost 30 years have elapsed; except those two occasions when we exercised our international influence and succeeded in forcing a part of them to be sent back to Taiwan, their basic strength has never been weakened; even today, the Burmese and the Thai Government still adopt a tolerant attitude toward them. The Kuomintang troops' fighting power is not bad; they concentrate on swiping at our rear. If we can convert this force to help us swipe at the rear of Vietnam, the situation will far exceed what the batch of pitiful little fellows of the Thai Communist Party can bring about for us.

The estimate of the present international situation by the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee is entirely correct. At present, nothing is more important than the rapid establishment in the international arena an international united front centered on opposition to Soviet socialist imperialism. Whether or not we can stop the expansion of the social-imperialist aggressive forces, whether or not we can turn the revolutionary parties of the world back to the correct Marxist-Leninist road and get them united, whether or not we can get the international Communist movement to step on a new journey, whether or not we can help all the enslaved peoples and oppressed nations rid themselves of the shackles binding them, and effectively prevent a new world war from breaking out ahead of time all depend on whether or not we mobilize and organize the people who make up more than 95 percent of the world's population into a vast revolutionary army in opposition to social imperialism. We must unite all forces that can be united in order to isolate and encircle social imperialism, the Soviet Union, and to deter it from taking a single step beyond its prescribed boundary. We have already successfully won the United States over and prevented the under-the-counter bargaining between the United States and the Soviet Union in the two hegemons' preparedness to partition the world. Today, a united front which includes the First World's secondary enemy, U.S. imperialism, and most countries of the Second World and the Third World in opposition to the social-imperialist hegemony is already forged. Today, isolated is no longer China but the trembling new Tsar. At the end of this month, when Vice Chairman Deng goes to the United States to visit, he will more or less work out some clear outline as to the questions how to jointly resist the expansion of forces of the Soviet Union in various parts of the world and how to prevent the Cuba of the East from swashbuckling across the Indochinese Peninsula at random. If there are no great difficulties, and the guerilla fighting in Kampuchea can last until 1981, the situation can then be completely reversed. Our tasks at present are very heavy; not only in the diplomatic arena openly we must exercise our influential power to make through various means countries of the world refuse to recognize the puppet regime supported by Vietnam, but must also intensify our support of the Government of the Revolutionary Army inside Kampuchean territory in order to prevent it from collapse before the appearance of that fine situation. Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Deng have both represented our party and government to declare to the world our wish to support the resistance effort of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to the very end; all of us must do a good job in this within the jurisdiction of our respective responsibilities.

As the last point, I would like to talk about our work and tasks from now on. We must unswervingly continue to support the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. This is not only our unshirkable internationalist duty, but also [a task] designed to safeguard peace and stability of our world. If, in the face of diverse challenges of hegemonism, we refrain from delivering powerful counter-blows, we would only boost the cockiness of the reactionaries. No matter how the Kampuchean Communist Party and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea have in the past accommodated this and that kind of shortcomings and mistakes, as a sovereign state it must not allow any regime to take that as a pretext to carry out intervention, subversion, and aggression. The Kampuchean Commust Party is our brotherly party; the people of Kampuchea are friends of the Chinese people. Their struggle is our struggle; their victory is our victory. Just as in the past, when true affection was shown in circumstances of hardship, we shall support them with our greatest determination and strength in their effort to carry forward the movement against Vietnam and for national salvation; no matter how long the time is going to be, how great the price is going to be, we are going to support them to the very end. At the same time, we need to remind the people of the whole world, especially the people of Southeast Asia: Vietnam's aggression against Kampuchea is absolutely not an isolated affair; it is the first step on the part of Soviet social imperialism to instigate Vietnam, this Cuba of the East, to carry out its expansion in Southeast Asia, and an integral part of Soviet social imperialism's worldwide strategic plan. If anyone should continue to indulge in appeasement, continue to placate it by means of detente, then today's Kampuchea will be tomorrow's Southeast Asian and other Asian-Pacific countries, and yesterday's Czechoslovakia would become the reflection of tomorrow's Europe and America. If no sufficient vigilance is aroused on this matter, if the people of the whole world continue to lag in making ideological preparations, a new world war will be inevitable, and will break out ahead of time. Vietnam has been carrying out naked aggression against Kampuchea on the one hand and, on the other hand, engineering one bloody incident after another along the Sino-Vietnamese broder, making troubles, moving demarcation tablets, occupying more than 600 square kilometers of Chinese territory, and repeatedly ignoring our Government's protests. We have already issued statements to let the Vietnamese Government know clearly that our tolerance will have its limit. Comrades, today I represent the Party Central to indicate once again that the attitude we have adopted today is absolutely not any showing of weakness, but an effort to demonstrate limited tolerance according to the principles of rationality, potential benefit, and proper control. When we say we do not want a war today, that does not suggest that we will not fight a war in the future. If we are forced to the point of being able to do nothing else except to take action, then we shall not cringe from going to war and from fighting to win. We have already completed defense arrangements in the southwestern region; then why have we hesitated in taking action? First of all, we must create public opinion, let the governments of all countries of the world see clearly who is the perpetrator of bloody conflicts and who is the aggressor. Through toleration time and again, everybody would see the aggressive face of the Cuba of the East clearly. Only through such an expose can we push Vietnam to the stand of trial before the world, can we educate the people, including the Vietnamese people, can we exalt the morale of the vast ranks of our commanding officers. Justice is already in our hands; the people of the whole world are sympathizing with us and supporting us. When the time comes, we are surely going to be able to exert ourselves all at once and render it a thorough beating. The second point is that we cannot just look at the conflicts in Yunnan and Guangxi; we must see that this is on the surface merely a Sino-Vietnamese contention but in substance really a struggle between social imperialism and socialist China. From now on, we must immediately make ideological preparations and all necessary preparations; since social imperialism dares to start an aggressive war, we must have the determination to fight a boundless great war. Our attitude toward war has always been very clear; that is, first, we don't want it; and second, we are not afraid of it. If a war is imposed forcibly upon us, then we can only cope war with a war. Thirdly, even though we have already done our mobilization work and the morale of our commanding officers at the front is also high, and resolution letters are sent to Beijing like snow flakes, for the sake of blood-and-flesh friendship between the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people, in consideration of the Vietnamese people's interests so that as soon as they have achieved victory in their war against the United States and for national salvation they would not be entrapped in the fire of war again, we still entertain the last bit of hope, a hope that their government can change its ways and stop at the brink. Even though this chance is small, we still need to strive for it. If they still do as they please, and insist on pushing us toward to path of war, then we shall not mind meeting them in war, and drive them out. The Party Central Committee has recently issued a document, calling upon the whole party, the whole army, and the people of the whole country to do a good job in making practical preparations. The whole Party, the whole Army and the people of the whole country must make such preparations in two ways: they must do a good job in managing their economy, and they must be prepared for war. Party organizations at various levels must grasp well economic management and also grasp well military work. We entirely believe that the heroic Kampuchean people and revolutionary forces will be able to overcome the Vietnamese aggressors; we also entirely believe that, so long as the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country unite together, we can both do a good job in our production and drive out all aggressors who dare to come to attack us.

Now, I would also like to take a little time to relate to you on this occasion the Party Central Committee's directive on the question of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. On 16 December last year, we and the United States simultaneously announced that the two sides were going to formally establish diplomatic relations on 1 January this year. This not only attracted the attention of all countries of the world, but different viewpoints and reactions also surfaced in different parts of this country. The relevant directive related was already issued on 17 December last year, and I believe everybody has already read it. The Party Central Committee has made it a rule that it must be read at all meetings in order to do a good job in the communication of ideas. I cannot do otherwise. The establishment of Sino-American diplomatic relations is a victory of the proletarian revolutionary line, and another proof of the nature of U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger, and not as an iron board. At present, U.S. imperialism is bogged down in a situation of converging domestic and international difficulties and great discomfiture; so it is easy to be befriended. But you must know that, even though the United States lacks any magnificent political goals, its scientific and technological development, new weaponry and economic resources are still very abundant and advanced. In this regard, it is going to be of great help to us. The establishment of new Sino-American relations can unite the forces of the two countries, and we must at the same time make use of such forces to unite the Third World and to win over the Second World so as to render common blows against the social-imperialist hegemony. This victory helps divide and disintegrate the reactionary clique of international class enemies, win a period of precious time, and win a part of external resources and capital so as to consolidate and develop our national economy and speedily realize our four modernizations. All this is beneficial to the accumulation of our strength, the strengthening of our army construction and national defense construction, the early realization of the motherland's unification, and the struggle for ultimate victory in the future war against aggression. Now I have finished what I wish to say.

9255
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

REFORMS NEEDED TO ALTER WIDESPREAD BUREAUCRATIC THINKING

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by Zhao Shugan [6392 2885 1626]: "Uphold the Mass Line; Overcome Bureaucracy"]

[Text] In a speech delivered at the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng put forward an important task: to overcome bureaucracy and improve the work of the government. He solemnly pointed out: "Bureaucracy not only has obstructed economic reform and the progress of construction of the four modernizations, but it has also obstructed all of our work. It has long aroused the strong indignation of the people." At present, the phenomenon of bureaucracy exists extensively in government organizations at all levels. This is indeed a very serioud problem, and now it is the time that this problem must be solved. In order to alter this situation, the most important thing is to carry out a thorough reform of the current political and economic administrative systems. At the same time, feudalism and bourgeois ideology must also be criticized from an ideological point of view, so that a sense of the mass line can be firmly established.

The mass line of the party is the line for the masses to liberate themselves. History is made by the masses. The working class can accomplish its own historical mission only by relying on the strength of its own class and that of the laboring people as a whole. Unlike the political parties of the bourgeoisie, the political party of the working class does not regard the masses as its own instrument, but consciously maintains that it itself is the instrument for the masses to accomplish a specific historical mission in a specific historical era. The reason why it has become an advanced force and plays a significant leading role among the masses is because it is the wholehearted servant of the masses, because it reflects their interests and their will, and because it strives to organize the masses to struggle to fulfill their own interests. It does not possess any power that transcends the masses. The mass line of the party strictly demands us to let the masses liberate themselves. The overall task of the party is to wholeheartedly serve the people. The party's leading role is to correctly point out to the people the direction of struggle and to help them use their own hands to surmount all difficulties to struggle for building our motherland into a modernized great power and for realizing the supreme ideal of manking—a socialist society. The practice of the Chinese revolutionary struggle led by the party has proved: No matter whether it is achieved in the period of democratic revolution or in the period of socialist construction, every great success achieved by us has been the result of relying on the masses and faithfully carrying out the mass line of the party. Following the implementation of the party's general line in the new era and the shift in the focus of party work, it is more than ever necessary to carry out the mass line of the party continuously and conscientiously, in order to unite the people of the whole nation to wage a protracted and tenacious struggle with one heart and one mind.

In practical work, bureaucratic malpractices which run counter to the mass line of the party are a common occurrence. First there are overstaffed and overlapping administrative organizations. There are those persons who enjoy high positions and live in clover, yet are irresponsible and tend to shift responsibilities onto each other. They are not concerned about the well-being of the masses. They remain indifferent toward the opinions and demands of the masses. Second, there are those who are divorced from objective reality or have lost contact with the practice of struggle. When they ponder a question or make a decision for work, they divorce themselves from the masses and from reality. They act blindly by relying only on personal imagination. They carry out instructions from higher levels mechanically, acting in compliance with administrative orders without taking note of the current situation. Third, there are those who work only in a mechanical way without paying attention to actual results. They report the good news but not the bad. They practice fraud and fish for fame and compliments. Fourth, there are those who are busy with official documents and correspondence and indulge in meetings. They are red-tapists and routinists. Fifth, there are those who are strict toward others but broadminded with themselves. They care only about their personal fame, authority, and interests, but are indifferent to the gratitude, resentment, and distresses of the masses. They attach primary importance to factionalism and put party spirit second. Sixth, there are those who take the individual for the collective and the collective for the individual, and also the individual for the masses and the masses for the individual. They exaggerate the role of the individual and abuse their authority. They violate the law and discipline. They retaliate against those who criticize them. The above mentioned are among those who have caused enormous losses to the party and the people.

Bureaucracy is a manifestation of the rule of feudal patriarchism. People who are contaminated by such a style of thinking are basically unaware that they are merely servants of the people, and that they have only the duty to serve the masses but not the right to stand high above them. Of course, they also do not understand that a party and its members are able to point out the correct direction to lead the masses to march forward only through conscientiously accumulating the experience and pooling the wisdom of the masses. The mass line of the party itself requires us to maintain a modest and prudent attitude and to cultivate a style of work in order to enable us to serve the people, consult the masses when matters arise, and share the comforts and hardships of the masses. In order to overcome bureaucracy, we must uphold the mass line of the party, break through outmoded conventions and customs, and reform our regulations and systems by criticizing the residual influence of feudalism and bourgeois ideology so that our work will become more adaptable to the situation and needs in implementing the four modernizations.

9560
CSO: 4005

IMPORTANCE OF CONSIDERING EVERYONE'S VIEWS STRESSED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Lu Man [7120 3355]: "We Must Listen to Different Opinions"]

[Text] Isn't it good to have different opinions in doing a job, holding a meeting, or solving a problem? Some persons feel that in order to do a job smoothly, to hold a meeting successfully, or to solve a problem satisfactorily, it is better to have identical views. It is easy to get bored once there are different opinions.

What is opinion? Opinion is a certain kind of idea and a way of looking at something. In view of the fact that everybody is in a different situation, is at a different ideological level, and looks at a problem from a different angle, it is a normal phenomenon for each one to have a different understanding of things. Different opinions can be discussed or debated, and sometimes they are not totally opposite; thereby we can learn from or help each other to make up each other's deficiencies and draw on collective wisdom to absorb all ideas that are useful.

For instance, speeches made at the recent session of the National People's Congress were realistic and straightforward, sharp and sincere, and appeared to be vigorous and greatly satisfy the people. Indeed, it is necessary to listen to different opinions. To listen to other's views is to see whether their views are better than our own and whether some of their views are acceptable. On the contrary, we may also consider whether our own ideas are well rounded and whether they are correct. Even opposite opinions may sometimes help regain one's own sober thinking and thereby help to prevent us from making mistakes. Of course, wrong opinions may also emerge. However, isn't it good to distinguish clearly between right and wrong through a comparison of that which is correct with that which is mistaken? At present, while we are carrying out the construction of the four modernizations, we face a lot of new problems due to lack of experience. Therefore, we need more than ever to listen to more opinions, to different opinions, and even to opposite opinions. This is extremely advantageous to us to minimize blindness, to maintain sober thinking, and to advance daringly.

The accident of the capsizing of the drilling vessel Bohai No 2 shows that once a person becomes arrogant, it is hard for him to listen to different opinions. If certain leading cadres had listened to different opinions or handled things more carefully, the accident would never have been allowed to happen in the first place. Yet, the result was that "we, the sovereign, have made the decision, and no advice is necessary"; this caused the vessel to capsize and resulted in many casualties. The so-called getting things into a mess by giving wrong orders refers not only to the problem of pretending to know what one really doesn't know, but also to the problem of being blindly self-confident. To forecase high winds is in itself not a sophisticated matter; yet some people want to go so far as to "do things right away" in order to display an unparalleled posture of "I dare to have the final say." Being a leader, it is easy for one to become malfessant or even to commit serious crimes if he becomes arrogant and considers himself always in the right without listening to different opinions.

Haughtiness and bureaucratic airs are the shadows of some leading cadres. It may become even worse if one who is arrogant does not exercise his authority properly. Things that go this way can really be viewed as the rump of a tiger, which makes one fearful to look at, not to mention to touch. A person like this who takes charge of a job or presides over a meeting usually feels that he is 100-percent right and has unanimous support. Prior to holding a meeting, he proposes in advance to prevent differing opinions from arising. This does not mean that he either is or is not willing to accept different opinions, but rather that he is basically not inclined to listen to others, or even to allow others to speak out.

The incident of the capsizing of the drilling vessel Bohai No 2 reflects the fact that some leading cadres treat differing opinions just this way. Wrong decisions made by them are for the purpose of carrying out instructions of higher levels, but suggestions made by lower levels are different. They do not listen in the least to the opinions of persons at lower levels, no matter how good or how realistic these suggestions might be, because what is in their mind is that they are responsible only to higher levels. Judging from this, it is obvious that in order to listen to others' opinions with an open mind, it is necessary to correct the line of thinking, to start off from reality, and to seek truth from facts. This is what makes us responsible to our work, to the people, and to higher levels.

Being good at listening to different opinions is an indication that one is adept in his work, conscientious, and responsible. A segment of the libretto in "15 Guan" which Kuang Zhong sings reads: This pen weighs 1,000 jin. When it falls, it kills two. After having heard a man and a woman who had been sentenced to death crying out about their grievances, he discovered flaws in the case and therefore hesitated to make a court decision. This example can be considered as accepting different opinions even when those who cry out about their grievances are the litigants themselves. If crying out about grievances is considered making trouble and the flaws discovered are set aside, no wonder those two innocent lives were destined to be doomed. In the case of the capsizing of the drilling vessel Bohai No 2, the leading cadre who made the mistake was holding in his hand a pen weighing almost 10,000 jin. How could he do his work in such haste without conscientiously listening to different opinions!

Truths, facts, and lessons all tell us that we must listen to different opinions.

9560
CSO: 4005

PRACTICE SAID SOLE CRITERION FOR TESTING TRUTH

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 8, Aug 80 pp 13-16,12

[Article by Ma Ming [7456 7686]: "Neither Aim Nor Benefit Is the Criterion for Testing Truth"]

[Text] How is the problem proposed?

Some comrades say that if we use the success or failure of practice to test the correctness or error of knowledge, what criterion do we use to weigh the success or failure of practice? In fact, there is a criterion for this, and it is the objective of the practice. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, "A communist's every word and action must serve the greatest benefit of the broadest masses of people, and the highest criterion is what is supported by the broadest masses of people." Therefore, the conclusion is that "everything that conforms to the benefit of the people is successful practice, and everything that damages the welfare of the people is failed practice. We must use this criterion to judge the success or failure of our practice, and from this to test the truth or falsity of our knowledge." Some comrades ask, if practice is the criterion, and the welfare of the people is also the standard, how can it be said that we believe the criterion of truth and the political criterion to be completely uniform."

It was in this way that the problem of "people's welfare" as a criterion was raised. Moreover, it was felt that the aim of practice, that is to say, the greatest benefit to the people, can be used not only to judge the success or failure of practice, but to test the truth or falsity of knowledge as well. Some comrades said, "This is the embodiment of the practice criterion." We do not agree with these views. Following is a discussion of some of our simple opinions on this problem.

I. I believe that the foregoing quote from Comrade Mao Zedong is no doubt completely correct, but it is untenable to use that as a basis for proposing a "benefit criterion." It should be clear that when we discuss what is the criterion for examining truth, this is an epistemological question. When Comrade Mao Zedong here speaks of a criterion for examining and discriminating between the words and deeds of our Communist Party members, it is not an epistemological question. Making the criterion Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of into the embodiment of the practice criterion is mixing up two questions of different natures and different categories. There are two points that should be differentiated here. First, examining the correctness or error of a bit of knowledge (the criterion of truth) and judging whether an act (work, practice) is good or bad, or has succeeded or failed, are two questions of different natures. Whether man's knowledge is correct or not can only be examined through social practice; judging whether man's behavior (practice) is right or wrong must be weighed against some different standard, a political criterion, a moral criterion, etc. There is fundamentally no way to make the criterion for judging practice the criterion for examining knowledge. Second, the practice criterion and the political criterion are two different categories and can not be confused with one another. Practice is the only criterion for examining truth, and this is an epistemological category; the criterion proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong for judging the words and deeds of Communist Party members, which is to say whether or not they represented the greatest benefit to the greatest number of people and whether or not they received the support of the broadest masses of people, etc., is a political criterion and belongs to the political category. While discussing the practice criterion of epistemology, we have introduced a political criterion and have stressed only the unanimity of the two, without specifying under what circumstances they are unanimous and under what circumstances they are not unanimous. It is just because of this that some comrades confuse the political criterion with the practice criterion, and confuse questions of the epistemological category with questions of the political category. Thus, not only are we unable to clarify the questions, we are only able to confuse them further.

If we make the criterion proposed by Mao Zedong the standard for examining truth, we can see what an absurd situation it will land us in. First, Mao Zedong said "Every word and act of a Communist Party member must conform to the greatest benefit to the broadest masses of people." Benefits can be distinguished as high or low, big or small, more or less. If this is made the criterion for examining truth, can we say that a large benefit means a large truth and a small benefit means a small truth? Clearly, we cannot say this. Next, Comrade Mao Zedong also said "The highest criterion is what is supported by the broadest masses of people." Could we then say that what most people support is the truth, and what most people do not support is not true, but a fallacy? Of course we cannot say this. If the criterion of truth is whether or not something obtains the support of most of the people, then, as Lenin pointed out, "we can say that the doctrine of the Catholic church is true." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 122), because Catholicism had the support of most people during a certain period and within a certain area. If obtaining the support of most of the people is made the criterion of truth, then there is no objective truth. From this we see that it is a mistake to confuse two questions of different natures and different categories. If we assume that the political criterion Nao Zedong proposed for judging practice is the criterion for the examination of truth, it is deliberate distortion of Comrade Mao Zedong's original meaning.

II. Practice is the substantive activity of man's purposeful transformation of the objective world. The purpose of practice is of course included among the essential factors of practice. Can we say that the purpose of practice is to provide a criterion for the examination of truth? We cannot. Because purpose is a thing of the subjective category, it cannot be independently made the criterion for the examination of truth, this is clear. However, some comrades suggest that the purpose of practice is a criterion for the success or failure of practice. Since we have also said that our highest purpose is the greatest benefit to the broadest masses of people and that the standard of the people's benefit is unanimous with the standard of practice, then it seems as though the purpose of practice can also become a standard for examining the truth or falsity of knowledge. This makes the question even more confused.

The purpose of practice is a subjective category, but whether or not it correctly represents objective reality can be examined by practice. The success of practice proves the unanimity of our original conception (purpose) with objective reality. If practice fails, it shows that the originally conceived purpose does not conform to reality and is erroneous. Purpose must be examined through practice. But now what is contrarily being said is that the purpose of practice is a criterion for judging the success or failure of practice, and this completely inverts the relationship between subjective and objective. If practice examines purpose and purpose also judges (which is also examining) practice, besides leading us into a circular argument, this cannot advance the question in the slightest.

Some comrades say that since practice includes the purpose of practice, the method, the target, the procedure, the result, and other elements, then practice as a criterion for the examination of truth implies that the included purpose of practice can become the criterion for the examination of truth. There are also some comrades who say that making practice the criterion is the same as making the subjective purpose the criterion for examining truth, and this introduces subjective idealism, which is not clearly differentiated form pragmatism. We feel that although these two viewpoints are proposed from different quarters, they both isolate a single element of practice from the whole process of practice, and so both are erroneous. Practice is a process of subjectively seeing something in the objective, and the various elements of practice are a unified individible whole. Departing from the whole process of practice is departing from the unified whole of practice, and no element of practice can exist independently. Without the process of practice, where would the purpose of practice come from; without the process of practice we could not talk of the results of practice. When practice is made the criterion for examining truth, it should be comprehended as a whole, which is to say as the total of the whole process, and we must not take some one of its elements in isolation to be, singlehandedly, a criterion for the examination of truth. If we depart from the whole process of practice and discuss the purpose of practice independently, there is no purpose for action, so it is a kind of pure subjective fantasy, and this purpose cannot be the purpose of practice, so naturally it cannot be the criterion for the examination of truth. The purpose of practice can only have significance as a part of the whole process of practice, transforming subjective intentions into objective reality. It is through the process of practice and its results that people examine the truth of knowledge. The results of practice are the substantiation and embodiment of purpose. This is an objective material criterion and so is clearly differentiated from pragmatism and other subjective theories of criteria of one sort and another. Practice of course includes a specific purpose, but purpose alone cannot be the criterion for examining truth, the reason being as given here.

Some comrades say that the purpose of Communist Party members is to seek the greatest benefit for the people, and that this is the fundamental point of departure and home base of all of our work, so "people's welfare" is the highest criterion for examining the truth or falsity of our party's policies and theories. We must ask, how then will we know if the party's policies and theories conform to the greatest benefit of the masses? This must still be examined through practice. What is the greates benefit of the people? This is a relatively complex question, including long-term benefit and also including immediate benefit, overall benefit as well as partial benefit. Starting from the purpose of seeking the greatest benefit, how to realize in practical terms the various items of policy and measures cannot be solved simply on the basis of purpose and point of departure, but must be examined through practice to see whether or not they really embody the greatest benefit of the people. Take for example the setting of a production norm. After all, does a 10 percent production increase or a 100 percent (doubling) production increase best conform to the greatest benefit to the masses? If we proceed purely from purpose, there is no doubt that there is greater benefit to a 100 percent increase than in a 10 percent increase in production. However, if the results of practice show that this is a "high norm" divorced from reality, not only will its result not provide people with the greatest benefit, it may even cause great harm. We need only think back to the concept of"running toward communism" of 1958. Wasn't its purpose the benefit of the people? Why then was it not true? Because it was totally divorced from the actual circumstances, practice showed it to be in error. Therefore, when we speak of purpose and benefit to the people apart from reality, not only can it not be a criterion for examining truth, it can easily provide a theoretical basis for erroneous lines of the "left" or right.

III. Some comrades, using the unanimity of truth and the people's benefit as an argument, say that making the "people's benefit" a criterion for examining the truth or falsity of knowledge is just the complementing and particularization of the practice criterion. This formulation cannot be established.

The so-called unanimity of the practice criterion and the political criterion is only accurate within a specific scope. That is, as far as the knowledge and practice of the proletariat and the Communist Party members are concerned, because our party uses Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as a guide and to represent the proletariat and the greatest benefit to the masses of people. The scientific nature and the class nature of Marxism-Leninism are also completely in agreement. Therefore, our party's knowledge of a given affair, and the policies and measures that are adopted, when shown to be correct through examination in practice, are also certainly the best representation of the greatest benefit to the broadest masses of people. Only within these limits, the results of examination in practice and the criterion of the people's welfare, which is to say, the practice criterion and the political criterion, are in complete agreement. However, when we discuss the problem of the criterion of truth, we are not speaking only of the knowledge and practice of Communist Party members, but we include the knowledge and practice of all people. Everyone's knowledge must be subject to examination by practice, and everyone's social practice can become the objective criterion for examining truth. For example, bourgeois knowledge of certain questions of the natural world and human society, when proved correct through examination in practice, should be acknowledged as objective truth in their command of these questions. Then, does this mean that it also conforms to the greatest benefit for the masses of people? Clearly not. Imperialist command of the secrets of rocketry and the atom (the objective truths concerning atomic fission as well as electronic technology, etc), when used to build weapons that will kill people, seek world domination. Can we say that this conforms to the greatest benefit for the greatest number of people? In this, the practice criterion and the political criterion are completely inconsistent. Therefore, either we must not acknowledge imperialism's command of atomic secrets as objective truth (of course this violates common sense), or we must acknowledge that the people's welfare cannot be universally applied as a criterion for examining truth. Our conclusion is that the benefit criterion and the practice criterion are two different criteria, and we cannot simply say that the benefit criterion is the substantiation of the practice criterion, but that the two cannot be confused.

Consequently, some comrades declare that we discuss questions only in the realm of social science, and "how to prove the truths of natural science is not within the scope of our discussions." This kind of limitation is of no help whatsoever. This is because no matter whether it is natural science or social science, the only criterion for examining whether it is true or not is practice. The differences in form between production struggle, class struggle, and scientific experiment do not alter the fact that they are all the essence of man's social practice. The reason some comrades what to make such a delcaration is simply that they feel that the "benefit" criterion does not apply in the realm of natural science because the bourgeoisie can also command the truth of natural science, and that does not represent the benefit of the greatest number of people. Therefore, does the "benefit" criterion hold for the realm of social sciences? We feel that it likewise does not apply. This is because although the bourgeoisie does not have complete command of the ojbective truth of the laws of social development, they can acknowledge and can command some individual, specific, and partial social historical truths. For example, the existence of classes and the mutual struggle between classes was initially proposed by bourgeois historians. If the proletariat can be acknowledged, the bourgeoisie can also be acknowledged, so who does this represent the greatest benefit to, and who is harmed by it? Furthermore, in considering one period after another of China's ancient history, how can we use the criterion of people's welfare to examine whose proposition was true? Therefore, making "benefit" the substantiation of the practice criterion to examine the truth of social science is likewise inapplicable.

Some comrades say that we are only discussing questions of a criterion for whether the party line, policies, and theories are true or false. Can it be that the greatest benefit to the broadest masses of people is not the highest criterion for examining the truth or falsity of the party's line, policies, and theory? Our answer is still a denial. As we have already pointed out, although the practice criterion for examining the truth or falsity of knowledge and the people's benefit criterion are consistent as far as Communist Party members are concerned, this definitely does not mean that we can use the people's benefit criterion as a substitute for the practice criterion. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "People's knowledge, having been tested in practice, can produce a great leap. The significance of this leap will be even greater than that of the leap that preceded it. It is because only by having this leap can we prove the first leap in knowledge, which is that the thinking, theory, policies, plans, methods, etc, obtained from the process of reflection of the objective external world are after all correct and not in error, and except for this there is no other method of examining truth." The people's benefit as a criterion at most proves that party policy is only correct when it conforms to the benefit of the people. Whether or not a specific item of policy conforms to the benefit of the people cannot be examined and proved until it has undergone practice, and only through practice can we prove whether or not party policies are consistent with actual circumstances, whether they conform to (or reflect) the highest benefit to the people. Therefore, in the final analysis, practice is the only criterion for examining whether or not the party line, policies, and theories are correct, and any other criterion proposed is incorrect.

IV. Making the people's welfare a criterion for examining truth is using a subjective criterion as an objective criterion and must lead to a denial of the objectivity of truth, confusing Marxism with pragmatism.

What we call truth is correct knowledge of the essence of the objective world and its regularity. Since the world stands alone outside of man's consciousness, its objective existence does not depend on man's consciousness. Therefore, the content of truth is completely objective and is independent of man's will and benefit. Therefore, it is also called objective truth. Since truth is objective, how can benefit be made the criterion for examining truth? Because benefit is mutually connected with the main body (man or a certain group of men), and furthermore is always inseparable from man's subjective desires. We cannot discuss any benefit apart form this main body of people. In a class society, benefit has a class nature. If we make "people's benefit" the criterion for examining truth, it is a criterion for examining objective truth according to the benefit or harm to the main body, and is substituting a subjective criterion for an objective criterion. Everything that conforms with the benefit of the people is truth, and everything that does not conform with the benefit of the people is falsehood. Isn't this the same as saying that truth cannot exist apart from this main body of people? Is it also the same as saying that there can be no truth that does not depend on the main body or that does not depend on mankind, that there can be no objective truth. Denying the existence of objective truth is unavoidably standing at the side of idealism.

Making "benefit" the criterion for examining truth is precisely a confusion with the pragmatic view of truth. The basic point of the pragmatic view of truth is that truth is usefulness, and "if something is useful, then it is true." It does not recognize the objectivity of the world and its laws, and therefore also denies objective truth. It assumes that truth is only a product of subjective experience, a thing that satisfies man's subjective needs, it is a method devised by man to cope with his environment, and it is a useful tool for man. The pragmatic view of truth is a subjective and idealistic view of truth. It only acknowledges using subjective criteria for examining truth and denies the objectivity of the criterion of truth. If we make the benefit of the main body the criterion for examining truth, even if we imagine this main body to be the proletariat or the masses of people, the result cannot be much different from the conclusions reached by pragmatism.

In summary, practice is the only criterion for the examination of truth, and there can be no other criterion aside from it. If we make the purpose of practice or the benefit of the people the criterion for examining truth, it must lead to the substitution of a subjective criterion for an objective criterion, and it will lead to a denial of the objectivity of truth, and from this, to a confusion of Marxism with the realms of idealism and pragmatism.

(Composed from statements made at a philosophical discussion held in June 1980)

9284
CXO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

COLUMN ON REEDUCATION IN HISTORICAL MATERIALISM LAUNCHED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Wang Jiayang [3769 1367 2254]: "We Must Pay Attention to Propagation of and Education in Historical Materialism"]

[Text] Marxist historical materialism is the world view of the proletariat. Historical materialism affirms that the masses of people are the creators of history and the decisive power in the development of history. A proletarian political party must correctly recognize and deal with the relationships between leadership, political parties, classes, and the masses and must trust the masses, rely on the masses, and faithfully represent the masses' will and desires throughout the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction for the benefit of the broadest masses of people. Since the founding of our country, both positive and negative aspects of practice have proved that when our party's line, guiding principle, policy, and the party's actual work have embodied the welfare and requirements of the broad masses of people and adhered to the basic principles of historical materialism, we have been able to arouse the people, mobilize and organize the masses to struggle for their own benefit, and our affirs thus succeeded and developed. Otherwise, they encountered setback and defeat. After the breakup of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee reviewed historical experience and promptly proposed shifting the key task of the whole party to economic construction, proposed the grand mission of building our country into a strong, modern socialist nation, and thus completely embodied the fundamental benefit and common desires of the people of the whole country. To realize this glorious and arduous task, we must have favorable conditions in all aspects. Of these, one fundamental condition is that we must trust and rely on the broad masses of people, fully develop socialist democracy, and truly allow the masses of people to be master in their own house in the nation's political life, economic life, social life and such areas, to fully develop the activism, creativity, intelligence and wisdom of the masses. Without this condition, our affairs cannot succeed.

In reviewing the initial period after the founding of the country, our party carried on very wide education in historical materialism among the cadres and the masses. For example, party schools on all levels and cadre schools of all kinds all made this one of their important courses and universally organized the cadres to study the principles of Marxist philosophy and the history of social development: in the rural land reform and the urban democratic reforms, we developed mass education in "Who lives off whom?"etc. This raised the consciousness of the cadres in recognizing that labor had created the world and the truth that the masses are the real heroes, and that the cadres should serve the people, established the viewpoint that we should rely on the masses with all our hearts and souls, developed the excellent tradition of the party's mass line, and all achieved very good results.

However, we should see that after winning victory throughout the country, our party became a governing party. This change in the status of the party held the danger of easily developing subjectivism, bureaucratism, and commandism divorced from the masses, and held the danger of some cadres easily changing from public servants into lords of the people. Beginning in the late 1950's, some cadres in the party really did develop a spirit of arrogance and of claiming credit for themselves, self-worship, and exaggerating the function of the individual, and the development of individuals deciding important questions and other circumstances weakened and damaged the party's system of democratic centralism and principle of collective leadership, socialist democracy failed to develop, and at times there was not even any respect for the welfare of the masses. In 10 years of creating confusion, the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing mob took advantage of the mistakes of the party leadership, advocated a hero view of history, fabricated modern superstition, began a deification movement, and made "loyalty to the leader" the highest political conviction of people throughout the country. On the other hand, they despised the masses and fundamentally did not care whether they lived or died, and they instituted a fascist "overall dictatorship" against the cadres and the masses. As a result, the pernicious influence of feudal autocracy spread unchecked, and the idealistic view of history became rampant. The party's world view was seriously eroded. This pernicious influence was such that it blunted the concern of many of our comrades for historical materialism, even making them forget it. At that time, when there were still irregularities and unhealthy circumstances in our party life and social life, such as bureaucratism, a family-head system, one person having the say, a special privilege mentality and the seeking of privileges, serious waste and loss to the financial resources of the country through blind subjective leadership, as well as no one who was concerned about the production safety or immediate welfare of the masses, etc, which in the final analysis were all inseparable from the deviation from and violation of teh basic principles of historical materialism, deviation from the will of the masses, and the inversion of the relationship between the cadres and the masses. All of the foregoing shows that the implementation of effective propaganda and education in historical materialism for the party members and cadres, carrying on education in serving the people with the whole heart and soul and being a good servant of the people, clearing out the various pernicious influences of historical idealism, clearing away the remnant influences of feudalism, and preventing erosion by bourgeois thinking all have urgent theoretical and practical significance.

Implementation of propagation of and education in historical materialism must be centered on the four modernizations, must maintain the principle of integrating theory with reality, must clearly distinguish between historical materialism and the idealistic view of history through discussions of problems in present-day life, sift out various kinds of foolish notions, encourage reform of the national management system, the administrative agencies work system, and the cadre system, strengthen the system of cadre inspection and oversight, improve party leadership, bring about advances in our work and style, and promote modernization.

In carrying on propagation of and education in historical materialism at the present time, I feel that we must emphasize raising the cadres' recognition of the historical position and historical effect of the masses, set right the positions of the cadres and the masses, and improve the relationships between the cadres and masses that were damaged by the Ling Biao-Jiang Qing mob.

We must firmly establish the viewpoint that "history is the history of the masses." We must really make clear the difference between historical materialism and the idealistic view of history, whether history is after all the history of the masses of people or the history of a few heroes and leaders, whether we will trust in and rely on the masses or have blind faith in ourselves. The history of social development is the history of the development of production, the history of constant development and transformation of social and productive style, and is the history of development of productive force and productive relations, so it cannot but be the history of the producers of the material goods themselves, cannot but be the history of the laboring masses. The masses of people are the creators of society's material wealth and spiritual wealth, and they are the decisive force in transforming society and in moving history forward. In countries where the socialist revolution has achieved victory, the people are the true masters of their country. People being masters in their own house should not be an idle saying, but should be be seen practically as a real practice. The responsibility of the party leadership is to educate and arouse the masses' recognition of their historical position and historical mission, and believe firmly that there never has been any saviour, that they must depend on themselves for their salvation; we must further develop socialist democracy and the legal system to make it possible for the broad masses to exercise their right to manage government affairs, economic affairs, and social affairs effectively. Our economic construction and the various items of work must respect the desires of the broad masses of people, proceed from the immediate and long-term benefit of the masses, uphold the mass line, consult with the masses when matters arise, be concerned with the important questions of vital interest to the masses, and definitely not be settled by the decisions of one man or a few men.

We must firmly establish the view that the cadres are the "public servants" of the masses. The various grades of party cadre must consciously accept the inspection and oversight by the masses, become used to listening to the opinions and criticisms of the masses, and be good servants of the people. Whether the cadres are the servants of the people or the lords of the people standing over their heads is yet another difference between historical materialism and the idealistic view of history. We should not regard the masses as the party's tools, but the party as the tool to be used by the masses in completing the historical tasks of a specific historical period. Therefore, whether a cadre's position is high or low, he should place himself in the midst of the masses, share their comforts and hardships, become one with them, discuss affairs with them on an equal footing, spare no effort on behalf of the people's welfare, and definitely not sit on the backs of the masses, lording it over them and seeking his own benefit. In his speech to the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: "The greater a man's power and merit, the greater his political responsibility and moral responsibility to serve as a model for the people, for the workers of the lower ranks, and for the children of the next generation." The thinking and viewponnt that the masses are subjects under one's control, establishing relationships of attaching oneself to some other person, being responsible only to superiors, not being responsible to the masses, regarding anything good done for the people as a "favor" to the people, and feeling that they of course ought to receive "gratitude gifts" from the people, etc., are all manifestations of feudal thinking and bourgeois thinking, and are intolerable to historical materialism.

Third is that we must correctly recognize the effect of the individual on history, apply great efforts to study and do good work. While historical materialism confirms the great effect of the masses of people on history, it does not deny the effect of the individual. The question is to see whether the actions of the individual conform to and reflect the laws of social development at that time, and whether they represent the welfare and demands of the broad masses of people. The appearance of any outstanding person always requires that the people give him space and sunlight before he can flourish and develop. In the long stream of historical development, in the production, work, and struggle of the masses, the people need leaders and choose them to manage things for the people, and seek their own liberation. Often, the leadership is not a single person, but a circle or a large group. After this leadership mounts the stage of history, it must still maintain an intimate relationship with the masses, and not cut off the wisdom and strength that flows from the masses, but develop the outstanding competence of the individual to make his own contribution to the development of history. Leaders like this should naturally enjoy the deepest love and esteem of the masses. In clarifying this question, we must not neglect the responsibilities of the leadership. We must improve and strengthen party leadership, develop the core leadership function of the party organization, develop the role of the party branch as a fighting bastion, and develop the roles of Communist Party members as models of the vanguard. To be a leader, one should apply even more effort to the study of theory, the study of cultural and scientific knowledge, and of professional knowledge, conform to the historical trend of the times and the expectations of the people, and make a positive contribution to the four modernizations.

The initiation of a column on "Carrying On Re-education in Historical Materialism" by the ZHEJIANG RIBAO is a very significant thing. We hope that everyone will actively develop ideas and strive together to make this column a success.

To the Readers:

Communist Party members and revolutionaries should understand the basic common knowledge about historical materialism and respect its basic principles. However, because of the 10 years of chaos caused by the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing mob, people forgot about the basic common knowledge of historical materialism and the idealistic view of history has run rampant. Some people may be able to give a very clear and logical oral recitation of the principles of historical materialism, but their actions are something completely different. In view of these circumstances, we have begun a special column on "Carrying On Re-education in Historical Materialism." Historical materialism is involved in a great many questions, and this column will emphasize the solution of the problems of how to deal with the masses correctly. To this end, we have selected a number of subjects to reflect on and here provide them for everyone's review.

Is it heroes who create history, or is it slaves?

How can we recognize the historical effect of outstanding persons? What is the relationship between proletarian leaders and the masses of people? Should the people be loyal to their leaders, or should the leaders be loyal to the people?

Why must we "apply less propaganda to the individual"? Why must we oppose blind faith in the individual and worship of the individual?

Why do we say that "one person having the say," "the head of household system," bureaucratism, lifetime appointments to cadre leadership, and various kinds of special privilege are all things of the idealistic view of history? How can we overcome these abuses?

If the people are the "masters" and the cadres are the "public servants," why do some cadres invert the relationship between "master" and "public servant"? Where is the reason? What must we do to be able to set the relationship between these two right again? How should we guarantee that the masses of people can fully exercise their democratic rights and develop their role as "master"?

In the new historical period, how can we strengthen the mass viewpoint (including trusting the masses, the viewpoint of liberating oneself, the viewpoint of doing everything for the masses and serving the people with our whole heart and soul, the viewpoint of being responsible to the people in everything, and the viewpoint of learning from the people in everything)? How can we best follow the mass line?

We welcome everyone's enthusiastic efforts to compose articles around these subjects. You can write specialized essays or short peices; you can discuss something learned from experience or write comments on something you have read. There are no requirements for form and no limits on length. Say what's on your mind and everyone freely express his views. Present the facts and reason things out, try to strike home at current abuses, and discuss problems clearly on the basis of a combination of theory and practice.

The Editors

9284
CSO: 4005

WRITERS, POLITICIANS URGED TO WORK FOR MODERNIZATION

Tianjin XINGANG in Chinese No 3, Mar 80 pp 79-83, 91

[Article by Guo Fengqi [6753 7685 1477], Fang Bojing [2455 0130 2417], and Fan Hongbing [5400 4767 0365]: "Literary and Art Works Cannot Be Separated From Politics"]

[Text] At present, a debate has taken place over the issue of the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and politics, an issue that is now at the heart of the theory of literature and art, the principle of creative writing and literary and artistic reviews. We feel that the proposal "to attach literature and art to politics" is not a scientific approach. But we also want to say that literature and art cannot be, in one way or another, separated from politics, and must go hand in hand with politics.

I

Before proceeding to talk about the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and politics, we must first clearly understand what politics and literature and art really mean. According to the basic Marxist viewpoint, both politics and literature and art are part of the superstructure. The superstructure which serves the economic base can be divided into the following two parts: First, the political and legal systems including the army, police and courts; second, sociological ideas, including politics, legal viewpoints, religions, codes of ethics, philosophy and literature and art. Based on this fact, politics refers not only to the political system but also to the political doctrines and viewpoints in the sociological and ideological fields; literature and art are part of the social ideology and a reflection of politics and economics in a specific society. A discussion about the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and politics must be accompanied by a discussion about the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other.

Marx said that the whole relations of production make up "the socio-economic structure on top of which stands the legal and political aspects of the superstructure, and at the bottom of which is a solid base coupled with a specific social ideology." ("Preface to 'The Criticism of Political Economy'") This indicates that as part of the social ideology, literature and art are in rapport with the specific political system; a specific political system requires a specific form of literature and art that can echo its needs; in the process of developing and formulating its political system, a specific class also needs a specific form of literature and art to create public opinions in favor of such a struggle; as soon as that political system is established, literature and art will be required to play a role in defending, improving and consolidating it.

While maintaining harmonious relations with politics, literature and art are subordinate to the economic base and must echo and serve its needs just as politics does. Nevertheless, the position of literature and art and that of politics in the superstructure are at variance with each other. For example, politics which is the concentrated expression of economics occupies a dominant position in the superstructure and can have greater and more direct impact on the economic base, while literature and art is a reflection of the economic base, playing a role of checks and balances with politics. Normally, they have no direct impact on the economic base but can make their influence felt there through the political channels.

This analysis of the roles of literature and art and politics in the superstructure shows that the relationship of literature and art to politics is not one of servants to their master, although they cannot be separated from each other. The history of the development of literature and art in socialist society powerfully proves that never before have literature and art been separated from politics nor is it likely in the future.

Some comrades have epitomized the relationship of literature and art to politics during the period of the reactionary rule as one of "rivalry." This theory of "rivalry" has been proven theoretically untenable and incorrect by Lu Xun. In a speech delivered by the end of 1927, Lu Xun said: "I always feel that literature and art never stop clashing with politics; originally, literature and art are not opposed to the revolution because they share the same feeling of discontent with the status quo. But politics has the tendency of maintaining the status quo, and therefore is moving in a direction of clash with literature and art, which reflect discontent with the status quo." (Speech to Shanghai Jinan University: "Difference Between Literature and Art and Politics") We understnad that "politics" in that speech by Lu Xun refers to the reactionary political system designed to defend the economic base of the exploiting classes; "literature and art which reflect discontent with the status quo" refers to the revolutionary literature and art aimed at criticizing, exposing and destroying the economic base of the exploiting classes. This form of literature and art which reflects discontent with, exposes and criticizes reality and demands reforms is certainly moving in a direction of clash with the politics of the reactionary classes. At the same time, "that form of literature and art that reflects discontent with the status quo, and the people's interests and aspirations" is in harmony with that kind of politics that is dissatisfied with the status quo, and is in accord with the trend of social development and the political demands of the revolution. Just as Lu Xun said in that same speech: "Politics tends to maintain the status quo in an attempt to turn back the clock, while literature and art play a role in pushing society forward and encouraging it to gradually break with the old order." This is why the progressive and revolutionary form of literature and art has become a thorn in reactionary politicians' flesh and many revolutionary writers and artists not tolerated by politicians have fled their motherland to other countries while others who could not do so have either been banished or even murdered. Under such circumstances, a clash between the progressive form of literature and art and reactionary politics seems unavoidable or a matter of course, just as it has been the case between the reactionary form of literature and art and revolutionary politics. This clash between work in literary and artistic fields and politics differs in essence with the normal relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other. Normally, the terms "literature and art and politics" refer to literature and art and politics of the same class. That kind of politics often places specific demands on literature and art, inducing them to suit its needs and to move in the same direction of its development. Of course, it is also possible that sometimes they contradict each other. However, when this occurs, politics always takes timely action to bring literature and art into line again with interests represented by politics and into the orbit set by it. A review of the history of feudal society in China shows that reactionary ruling classes of all dynasties had done everything possible to promote such feudal codes of ethics as loyalty, filial piety, chastity and faithfulness in an attempt to preserve the hereditary feudal order and the political system of the landlord class. Consequently, the society was deluged with poems eulogizing "kindness, decency, and tolerance," prose-style articles full of "flatteriers," and plays and novels glorifying the feudal society and disseminating feudal codes of ethics. These literary and art works werw soon tossed to the garbage heap by the people and were shortlived because they were produced to serve the political needs of the reactionary ruling classes in betrayal of the people's interests. There were other literary and art works opposed to feudal politics, works written by ordinary laboring people and by some members of the feudal ruling class who cherished progressive democratic ideas. These works are the democratic cream of our cultural heritage. Although they were once suppressed and stifled by the reactionary ruling class, they have been warmly loved and welcomed by the people from generation to generation. In feudal society, there were two categories of literary works—those opposed to feudal politics and those which cherished feudal politics. The fact that we can see only works opposed to feudal order today does not mean that other category of literary works which occupied a dominant position in feudal society did not exist.

As early as 1913, Lenin pointed out: "In every nation and culture, there are nascent democratic and socialist elements. The reason is that every nation has a vast number of laboring and exploited people who live in poverty and who cherish the democratic and socialist ideological systems. Nevertheless, bourgeois culture also exists in every nation along with sinister and church-state cultures which occupy dominant positions in society." ("Critical Views of National Problems") Judging from this statement by Lenin, we cannot apply the fact of rivalry between progressive works in the literary and artistic fields and reactionary politics as a basis for concluding that literature and art are always at odds with politics. In socialist society, the fact that literature and art are in rapport with politics is clearly more visible. The socialist system is brand-new political system in human history, which "is far superior to the social system of the old society." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" by Comrade Mao Zedong) The socialist relations of production are based on the system of public ownership of the means of production. In socialist society where the system of the exploitation of man by man and injustice characterized by oppression of man by man have been eliminated, the working people have become masters of their own country with their interests being represented by the socialist political system.

In the final analysis, under the socialist system, the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and politics is essentially one between literature and art on the one hand and the people on the other. Their identity with politics means their identity with the people's interests. Alining literature and art with politics means taking into account the people's interests. Socialist literature and art should graphically reflect the people's life and their needs and interests in various stages of history. In doing so, they should not move in a collision course with politics. On the contrary, they should work in close coordination with politics and enhance politics in a significant way. It can be said that in the old society the more a writer dared to clash with the political system, the more praise his works would receive; the opposite is true in socialist society. In socialist society, the more a writer or an artist dares to clash with the political system, the greater his works will harm the people's interests, thus calling their value into question.

True, the socialist system is relatively new to our country. It is only 30 years old, and therefore needs to be further improved in certain respects. In reflecting the real life in socialist society, writers and artists certainly can touch on the dark side of society and condemn the social ills harmful to the people. This can also be called an "interference" in life and politics. This form of "interference" differs in many ways from "clash," which refers to the clash of fundamental interests. By "interference," we mean exposing, criticizing and eliminating the old in the people's interests and further improving our socialist system rather than jeopardizing the political system and shaking it to its foundation. Graphically speaking, we mean "improving the system" rather than "destroying it." Judging from this fact, the theme of "interference in life" contained in literary and art works is in every sense consistent with the aim of politics and the people's interests, and therefore will in no way clash with politics. Writers and artists will go astray if they are encouraged to estrange from politics.

Will literature and art be in danger of reducing to formulas and talks in abstract terms if they are placed in the orbit of politics? In answering this question, we must draw a distinction between politics and some specific political tasks. By politics, we mean a political system which represents the basic interests of a specific class. Although politics may take various forms, it does not refer to any specific political movement, or political slogans and policies. Nor does it mean any simple accumulation of numerous political tasks and political events. All specific political movements, political slogans and policies must undergo changes made necessary by changes in the domestic and international situation; they must be reviewed and revised as a result of practical implementation. We must also be aware that some policies that are correct at one time and place may turn out to be invalid at another time and place; any mistaken assessment of class forces and inaccurate analysis of the situation can also call certain policies into question. But no such problems exist under the socialist system because everyone in socialist society is committed to constantly perfecting and consolidating such a system. By emphasizing that literature and art should not be separated from politics, we mean that literature and art should be adapted to the needs of the socialist system, or at least the political needs of a specific historical stage. During this new historical period, our task is to adapt them to the needs of the four modernizations. In the past, the narrow-minded and one-sided interpretation of the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and politics and the lopsided emphasis of the metaphysical aspect of literature and art were determined as factors for causing many problems in the literary and artistic fields. Among them were the problems of how to "portray, paint and sing the central issue," and how to simplify literature and art into formulas and stereotyped forms of writing in abstract terms. It is wrong to say that these problems were caused by the insistence on alining literature and art with politics. As a result of interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who pushed the line in literature and art to the extreme in order to serve their self-interest, the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and politics became more confused than ever in the people's minds. This is a serious lesson we must draw from the modern history of literature. Today, we must correctly understand and handle the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and politics when efforts are made to sum up related experiences and draw lessons from such experiences. We can neither attach literature and art to politics nor allow them to become a tool for any specific political movement, or forums for interpreting certain political slogans and specific policies. We should never permit literature and art to estrange from politics and the socialist system, and to move along a course in violation of the people's interests.

II

After concluding a discussion on the relationship of literature and art to politics and their positions in the superstructure, we feel that every writer has his own political views which more or less will affect his work. This is another reason that literature and art cannot be separated from politics.

As we have mentioned earlier, politics not only refers to the political system but also to the political doctrines and viewpoints in the ideological field. This being the case, how can we relate literature and art to politics in the ideological field? Engels once said: "The development of politics, law, philosophy, religions, literature, and art must be based on the development of economics. They can affect each other as well as the economic base." Politics in Engels' terms refers to the political doctrines and political viewpoints in the ideological field. An observation of the roles of literature, art and politics in the ideological field shows that they are independent and mutually related elements capable of influencing each other. "The ideology of the ruling class is a dominant ideology in every era." ("German Ideology" by Marx and Engels) When this ideology spreads to all walks of life in society, it is bound to have direct or indirect, and considerable impact on literature and art. Under the influence of this ideology, writers and artists may produce works which graphically, directly or indirectly, and implicitly or explicitly reflect their political viewpoints, political ideals and political aspiration.

The effect of politics on literature and art is often reflected in a writer's works and his views of the universe. In class society, every writer has his own class status and political views. A specific school of political thought may lead and influence him to offer his views on reality, to express his feeling about life, and to observe and evaluate problems in his own right. It can also affect his decision as to what to write, what to praise and what to repudiate in real drama. In short, every writer's political views and political inclinations are always reflected in his works. For this reason, writers of different political persuasions always have different feelings and views about life, apply different criteria to evaluate the true, the false, the good, the bad, the beautiful and the ugly, and produce work with different political inclinations. For example, there are two extremely different portrayals of the rickshaw in Lu Xun's novel "A Trivial Thing" and Hu Shi's [5170 6684] poem "A Rickshaw." In other words, extremely different pictures of the same scene are often reflected in works by writers of different political persuasions.

Contradictory world outlooks that exist in a writer can also be vividly reflected in his works. This is another way in which writers' political views can affect their works. There are progressive factors in their world outlooks which lead them to produce advanced works reflecting the true nature of society. There are also backward and reactionary factors in their world outlooks which induce them to present to the public works full of negative and reactionary characters. A typical example is Leo Tolstoy praised by Lenin as "a mirror of the Russian revolution." Contradictions were evident in his political views and political doctrines and were reflected in his works. On the one hand, he bitterly hated Tsarist Russia's tyrannical system, and capitalism characterized by cruelty, and displayed sympathy for the oppressed working people and especially peasants. This progressive way of thinking coupled with outpouring of affection for the oppressed brought him fame as a conscientious realist writer, leading him to present to the world an epic picture of the Russian life and the world's first-rate works exposing the true feature of the reactionary rule. On the other hand, he was a devout Christian, a landlord, and a dawdling and hysteric intellectual in Russia. These backward and reactionary factors in his world outlook sometimes compelled him to depict characters in violation of the principle of realism and to produce works full of characters fanatically promoting the principle of nonviolence as a means to resist evils, and to preach a new religion to lull the masses into sleep. Some people called this "a clash between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other." On the contrary, we recognize this as a proof that the writers' political beliefs will have profound impact on their works and ways of thinking. It is undeniable that no political tones are present in some literary and artistic works such as watercolors, idyllic poems and songs. Based on this fact, can we say that literature and art have nothing to do with politics, or literature and art can be separated from politics? No. In this connection, we must straighten out the following two points:

First, it is necessary to distinguish literature and art from individual literary and artistic works. Literature and art sometimes can represent a cultural heritage as a whole. One or several literary and artistic works cannot present a panoramic view of literature and art. We must draw a distinction between part and whole and between general and individual works. Individual literary and art works often express their political beliefs either directly or indirectly, either explicitly or implicitly, either blatantly or subtly. Even positive and negative political beliefs can be found in a single literary work. The political tendency of literature and art for a specific period of history cannot be represented by a few individual literary and art works in that specific period. There might be literary and art works whose political tendency is unclear. But this cannot be determined as an indication that literature and art can be estranged from politics. Noting that the history of literature and art as a whole is composed of individual literary and art works, some comrades have asked: Is it fair to say that we cannot use the results from the evaluation of individual literary and art works as a basis for explaining the general tendency of literature and art? True, the entire history of literature and art is composed of countless literary and art works; the general tendency of literature and art for specific period of history can be noted only through an analysis of many individual works. In other words, the general political tendency of literature and art can be make known only as a result of a survey of hundreds of thousands of literary and art works. This political tendency cannot be represented by a few literary and art works. It is ridiculous to use the results from the survey of a few non-political literary and art works as a basis for concluding that literature and art can be separated from politics?

Second, it is also necessary to conduct a detailed analysis of even such non-political literary and art works as watercolors and idyllic poems. As a matter of fact, in the process of producing these works, their authors are often consciously or unconsciously affected by certain political thoughts. Typical are the tapestry "Great Wall" now hung in the United Nations building, and the Chinese painting "Splendor of Landscape." These art works appear to be non-political because they are appreciated not only by the Chinese and foreigners but also by the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as well. Evidently, their authors were not immune to specific political influence when they produced these masterpieces, a process in which themes and subject matters--a reflection of their love for and pride in the scenic splendors of their motherland were selected. Can anyone deny that this demonstration of love for the motherland and people has nothing to do with the specific political faith? Another example are poems by Tao Yuanming [7118 3220 2494] which reflect his political ideals and his discontent with the dark rule of his time. In short, in class society, no one can transcend politics; literature and art cannot be divorced from politics. Lu Xun said it well: "As far as I know, even those poems by the so-called 'hermit-poets' and 'idyllic poets' in ancient times, could not transcend politics, and the worldly affairs. Even poems dealing with the mundane affairs will remind the people of what has happened in this world." ("Mannerism and Literature of Wei and Jin Dynasties and Relationship Between Drugs and Wine")

Facts show that no writers can produce works without political undertones. Aware of this Lenin once taught the writers that socialist literature must be full of socialist ideas and sympathy for the working people. Our party has also called on our writers and artists to diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and to apply the scientific Marxist world outlook to know and dramatize life and to correctly reflect and evaluate reality. Only in this way can they advance along the correct socialist course of literature and art.

Nevertheless, politics cannot be put on a par with literature and art. By demanding that literature and art be not divorced from politics, we do not mean that politics can replace literature and art; nor do we mean that a writer's world outlook can take the place of realism in writing. They are all irreplaceable. Art is something unique in the world. Politics also cannot be separated from literature and art. There are also laws governing their development and growth. Literary and artistic works result from performances of creative mental labor. By way of thinking and by graphic method, a writer can create typical and vivid characters and skillfully depict and dramatize life, giving readers an education and inspiration, inspiring the general public to work for the common good. Such literary works have nothing in common with instructions on philosophy offered by schools. Life is the source of raw materials for literary and artistic creations; honesty and faithfulness are the life of art. To a writer and artist, life means everything and anything. They must be true to life, and write what they observe, feel and believe in. They must realistically portray life and vividly dramatize characters according to the law governing the development of art. In class society, politics pervades all aspects of life while in socialist society, the proletarian and socialist political beliefs occupy a dominant position. As long as a writer or an artist can realistically portray social life and firmly take hold of the essence and mainstream of life, he will be able to present to the public a correct attitude toward life and politics in his works. This being the case, every writer can skillfully soft-pedal his political views in a natural way through the depiction of various scenes and acts rather than in an unscrupulous and straightforward way. If a writer proceeds from his political beliefs to plot his story in violation of the law governing the development of art and the socialist principle of literature and art, he can never present to the public any truly good works.

III

Viewed from their social functions, literature and art also cannot be separated from politics.

The Marxist theory of literature and art tells us that literature and art originate from life and can play a great role in enriching life in society; in a nutshell, theirs is a role of education, entertainment, enlightenment and appreciation of beauty. Some works present to readers a truthful picture of social life, giving the people an insight into the social activities of all ages and an opportunity to broaden their knowledge about history and life, thus enabling them to increase their ability to know and observe the world. Through the portrayal of characters and events and interpretation of ideas, some works can help the people distinguish truth, goodness and beauty from falsehood, evils and ugliness respectively, form correct political views, foster lofty ideals and broaden the horizon of knowledge through education. There are other works which provide workers and students with entertainments and sensations of enjoyment and inspire them to take a positive attitude toward life and work. This is why literature and art can be called a kind of spiritual food for people, and writers are regarded as engineers of human souls. These roles played by literature and art can be either reflected in a single work or emphasized in different works. Judging from this fact, literature and art can benefit politics or at least do it no harm. In other words, a literary or artistic work must take into account the people's and party's interests which, in our view, constitute politics.

In his report to the Fourth National Cultural Congress, Comrade Zhou Yang [0719 2254] pointed out: "The aim and political task of our literature and art is to foster socialist new personalities, to raise the moral level of the people, to further perfect socialist society and speed up its development, and to satisfy the growing needs of the people's cultural life." This statement reminds the people of the functions of socialist literature and art and the role they should play in the revolution. We oppose any attempt to interpret the social functions of literature and art in a narrow-minded and mechanical way and to turn them into a purely political teaching and monotonous and stereotyped styles of writing, thus leading the people into a dead alley. We also oppose attempts to steer literature and art away from their intended goals and political aim and to convert them into a profitable business catering to the vulgar interests of the people which bodes ill for society.

For a considerable time to come, the overriding central task facing the people throughout the country is to promote the four modernizations with one mind and one heart; it is also the supreme political task for the present. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Whether or not whatever we do will benefit the goal of the four modernizations should be applied as the most fundamental criterion for evaluating all work and for distinguishing right from wrong." This should also be regarded as the most fundamental criterion for evaluating all literary and art works and for distinguishing right from wrong in this field. We must coordinate literature and art with politics in serving the objective of the four modernizations. Whether a literary and art work is good or bad depends on whether it will enhance or hamper the four modernizations. Instead of shackling the hands and feet of literary and art workers, this demand will stimulate them to take a step forward in emancipating their minds, and in fully and freely pooling their wisdom at the service of the four modernizations. It is gratifying to note that all our writers can now enjoy full freedom in deciding on their themes, in selecting subject matters, in portraying typical characters, and in developing styles of writing for works that benefit the development of the four modernizations. In this connection, the party has unequivocally declared that the question of what to write and how to write should be gradually resolved by the writers themselves through a period of practice and exploration without outside interference. This means that the party now wants to trust writers and artists and pay them due respect and lead them in accordance with the law governing the development of literature and art. The fact that the party wants to trust writers and artists will not result in reducing but increasing their responsibilities, and in placing greater demands on themselves. All conscientious and revolutionary writers and artists must constantly bear in mind their responsibility to society, and must take into account the possible effect of their works on society. They must understand that literary and art works with different political tendencies will have a different effect on society; bad literary and art works will have an adverse effect on society.

During the past few years following the downfall of the "gang of four," many writers and artists have presented to the public a great number of outstanding works which have played a positive role in smashing the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," in eliminating their pernicious influence, in helping the people emancipate their minds, and in inspiring them to march toward the goal of the four modernizations. But is must be pointed out that a few works still merit our attention because of their bad effect on society. Our writers and artists are urged to give due consideration to the overall situation, act in the interests of the people and party, and present to the people the best spiritual food that can help them emancipate their minds, and promote stability and unity of the motherland and the four modernizations program.

9574
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

KANG SHENG'S ROLE IN DESTRUCTION OF EDUCATION REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN JIAOYU [PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] in Chinese No 9, 20 Sep 80 pp 15-18

[Article by Zhang Xuexin [4545 1331 2450] and Huang Zhanpeng [7806 1455 7720]: "How Kang Sheng Undermined Our Country's Education"]

[Text] At Beijing Universtiy on 25 May 1966 Nie Yuanzi [5119 0337 2737] and others displayed a big character poster which trod on history, confused the enemy with ourselves and sounded the drum for the opening of the "historically unprecedented Great Cultural Revolution." The likes of Lin Biao, "the gang of four" and Kang Sheng called this big character poster "The Twentieth Century Manifesto of the Beijing Commune." Not long thereafter Kang Sheng quite openly said, "I myself wrote the draft for that big character poster." History is fond of toying with such schemers. At that time Kang Sheng very openly and shamelessly bragged about his deeds, but they have not become a confession of how he used the battleground of education to lay down his anti-revolutionary plot.

Since Kang Sheng and the rest used the battleground of education to open their attack on the Chinese people and caused them to suffer such a great calamity, then, in order for us to give a true picture of Kang Sheng, it is helpful to expose the criminal way in which he destroyed our nation's education.

(1)

The big character poster of Nie Yuanzi was an anti-revolutionary conspiracy planned by Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and Jiang Qing. At the end of 1965, after Yao Wenyuan's evil writingsPING XINBIAN SHIJU 'HAI RUI BAGUAN' [A NEW CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORICAL DRAMA 'HAI RUI IS DISMISSED FROM OFFICE'] and PING 'SANJIACUN' [A CRITIQUE OF 'THREE FAMILY VILLAGE'] made their appearance, China was then faced with dark storm clouds hovering over the land. On 14 May 1966 the "small theory group" controlled by Chin Boda and Kang Sheng sent some people to Beijing. The pretext was to "carry out an investigation" but the real purpose was to overthrow the party committee and carry out a plot. Kang Sheng incited these people to "start the fires at Beijing University and work on upwards" to "cause a series of disasters." After ten-some days of secret plotting and two revisions of the draft Nie Yuanzi displayed his big character poster on the afternoon of May 25th. On June 1st the Renmin Ribao published this big character poster and with deliberate exaggeration called upon the people to, "decisively, thoroughly, quickly and completely eliminate all ghosts and monsters and all Khrushchev-style anti-revolutionary revisionist elements." Because of this a great disaster then began to descend upon the heads the Chinese people.

If the big character poster of Nie Yuanzi was a "proud creation" planned by Kang Sheng and others in their secret rooms then the speech that Kang Sheng gave at Beijing University two months later was the "shocking undertaking" that shook the foundations. He openly insulted Lu Ping [7120 1627] who was then the president of Beijing University and Secretary of the Party Committee as an "anti-party, anti-socialist scoundrel." Moreover, he took steps to arrange a "struggle against Jian Bozan [5054 0130 6363]," "overthrow bourgeois political power" and later began the so-called "educational reform." The trilogy that Kang Sheng wrote for the cultural revolution consisted of "struggle against evil gains, struggle for political power and undertaking political reform." In an instant the campus of Beijing University was overshadowed by a cloud of fear. Over 260 people were labelled, made to wear dunce hats, paraded through the streets and beaten and sent for supervised labor reform. Over 530 people were illegally stripped of their political rights. They even believed that Beijing University was anti-revolutionary "political showcase" and organized "tours." According to incomplete statistics, in the one month from 29 July to 28 August of 1966, 2.124 million people took this tour. Immediately thereafter the whole nation was engulfed in chaotic criticism, chaotic struggle and chaotic fighting. As soon as any person had been named by Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing then "no matter who they were, how high their status, or how well qualified" then "they could not escape the flames of the fire." The famous historian Jian Boxan, the party secretary and vice president of Beijing Teachers College Cheng Jinwu [4453 0093 0710], the party secretary of Huadong Teachers College Chang Xiping [1603 3305 5439] and the deputy party secretary of the Zhongnan College of Mining Lin Na [2651 4780] were all named by Kang Sheng, the "gang of four" and the rest and subsequently were hounded to death. After that, Kang Sheng and the rest granted "special privileges" to some of the younger students of Nankai University and five other colleges to carry out a "big roundup" of the so-called "traitors." This one move alone harmed over 5,000 old cadres. The chaos of the cultural revolution continued for the next ten years, but a hint of its basic plan could already be seen in these words and deeds of Kang Sheng. Kang Sheng proved to be a worthy advisor to the theft of party power by Lin Biao and the gang of four. His hands are covered with the blood of the Chinese people!

(2)

Kang Sheng brought harm to the intellectuals by repeatedly saying, "the cultural revolution is a class struggle on the ideological level." (Actually, the harm and repression that Kang Sheng and the rest brought to the intellectuals and other elements of the masses was not limited to the "ideological level" but was an "all-around dictatorship.") With this, he flatly negated Lenin's definition of the division of classes and took over party policy making. In 1950 the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government clearly ruled that: "the class membership of an intellectual is to be legally determined by his main source of livelihood." Those for whom wages "constitute the total or main source of livelihood are called office workers and office workers are a part of the working class." From the time this policy was issued to just before the cultural revolution our intellectuals followed the socialist path, they made great progress in serving the people and many of them joined the communist party or the youth brigade. Kang Sheng negated all of this with one stroke by irresponsibly saying that the division of classes "must be made according to ideological categories, from the aspect of service to the economic foundation by the superstructure and from political categories." He shamelessly announced that this was a "development" in the theory of the new age. After that, the "gang of four" and their minions labelled all of our intellectuals as "bourgeoise" and lumped them together with landlords, rich peasants, traitors and scoundrels, calling them "nine old stinkers." In this way they exercised "total dictatorship" over the intellectuals. This has both theoretical and historical sources and Kang Sheng is representative of the spread of this reactionary theory.

Kang Sheng has long been an ultra-leftist. In 1958 he said, "it must be clearly understood bourgeois intellectuals are determined by ideology and not by economics," and that "the bourgeoise and the intellectuals both belong to the exploitive classes." He therefore strongly advocated implementation of high pressure policies against the intellectuals. He said, "they are now not sufficiently pressured," "not sufficiently repressed" and "if they are now surrounded on four sides than they ought to be surrounded on eight sides." All the intellectuals whom he considered to be "no good" were to be "treated coldly to teach them a lesson." During the cultural revolution Kang Sheng played the same old tricks. He joined together with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and reached unprecedented heights of evil.

Why would this gang of conspirators and ambitious people all become such "cruel persecutors" of the intellectual class? The basic reason is that they wished to sweep away all obstacles to their theft of party power and the spread of their ultra-leftist baggage.

There are two facts which support this:

The first is that in 1958 Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and the rest broadly engaged in extreme leftism but this was reproached and resisted by the broad people including the intellectuals. Kang Sheng thereupon said that they were "white flags" and initiated a movement to "uproot the white flags" among the intellectuals. With great venom in his voice said, "use the principle of the 'three head motions.' Just ask them who told you to nod your head. . . you are bourgeois things and the more you do not nod your head the more that we believe that you are. You have the right to shake your head." "It is our hope that you will bow your head, . . . nodding the head is no excuse, you have the right to shake your head, but bowing the head is what we hope for." This high pressure was to carry out extreme leftism.

The second fact is that on the eve of the cultural revolution, after Yao Wenyuan's PING XINBIAN LISHIJU 'HAI RUI BAGUAN' appeared, all of the famous people in China's historical and literary circles were repressed. At a conference, Professor Jian Bozan said, "in all matters one divides into two so how can a comrade write an article that is completely without error;" the writer Wu Han long ago during the War of Resistance participated in the democratic revolution and in ideological cricitism, so to judge a person his individual history must be known;" "if Wu Han is criticized then all progressive intellectuals will become afraid." This move worked against Kang Sheng and Jian Qing and gave them a little trouble in carrying out their political plot. At the beginning of the cultural revolution Kang Sheng announced that Jian Bozan was a "bourgeois 'authority'," and "evil gangster," and a "royalist."

As members of the intellectual class historians advocate accurate writing, writers and artists emphasize being true to life, and news reporters take a mass stance as the "voice of the people." This of course was a thorn in the flesh of those unprincipled ambitious plotters. They thereupon took advantage of their powers, used high pressure tactics, carried out literary inquisitions, or manufactured false cases in order to obtain their secret goals. In the past and in the present throughout all the world this has always been the case. The likes of Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Kang Sheng with their vain hopes for feudal fascist dictatorship of all China developed this evil political trickery to a degree which startled people.

(3)

Kang Sheng, who was annointed as an "authority on theory" by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," actually never wrote anything worthwhile. His special skill was to alter the works of Marx-Leninism. At the beginning of the cultural revolution he said to a few of those deceived young people, "its all right to be a little more active and a little more 'leftist'." From the very beginning he used his old familiar trickery to set the keynote: the line in education is a "bourgeois educational line implemented by a reactionary dictatorship." Later, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan developed this theory further and cooked up the reactionary "two estimates." They distorted what Marx said about the unity between education and productive labor, abolished intellectual education, trampled on the rules of pedagogy, destroyed all semblance of order in teaching, and claimed that "it is better to be a worker than to be cultured." All of these are revisions of old tunes that Kang Sheng made in carrying out the extreme left line in education.

Let us take a look at some of Kang Sheng's old tunes.

In 1958 the party central issued a directive regarding educational work. Kang Sheng referred to Marx's work Das Kapital, completely distorting what Marx said about child labor and education under the capitalist system and then travelled over the whole country to sell this idea.

Marx wished to protect child workers by "preventing excessive capitalistic exploitation," and "save the next generation by giving them the opportunity to receive a primary school education until their thirteenth birthday and thus wipe out the condition of total ignorance." He loudly called for the passage of laws which would limit the total amount of time a child could work and which would "unite productive labor with intellectual education and physical education," thus developing people with all around training. Marx believed that in terms of complete education for the proletariat it was insufficient to "make primary school education a mandatory prerequisite for physical labor" and that the working class "after winning political power should establish theories and practices that would give industrial arts education its rightful place in the workers' schools." (Das Kapital) In 1893 Engles pointed out that among university students there ought to be "produced just such proletariat mental workers" (emphasis added by this writer). The liberation of the working class "requires doctors, engineers, chemists, agronomists and other specialists. This is because the problem is not simply that of controlling the political machinery but is also that of controlling all social production and what is needed for this is not a loud and clear voice but rather abundant knowledge." (A Speech to the International Socialist Congress of University Students) When the revolutionary leaders speak of education their thoughts are always complete and advanced on everything from the limitation of and interference with capitalist expoitation to the great ideal of educating specialists after the proletariat gains political power. However Kang Sheng paid no attention to time, space or social conditions. He took the idea of student participation in physical labor completely out of context and made it into the only correct policy and meaning of the proletarian reform of education after winning power. On 20 October of 1958 he spoke to the faculty and students of a "Young Pioneer steel plant" in Henan and said, "according to what Marx has said, children can participate in certain physical labor from the age of nine and your work has already proved the truth of this. However, not just nine-year-olds but also seven-year-olds, eight-year-olds and children have the necessary qualities and can be organized for productive labor." He presented the responsible comrade of the Henan Office of Education with a timetable: "the schools are one organizational element of the entire great army of workers," "they can go to class for two hours and work for three hours, work for six hours and go to class for two hours," "those involved in steel work need only work and not go to school." During the First Five Year Plan the state built a number of new middle schools to train the large number of specialists necessary for national construction. Kang Sheng spitefully said, "this is spending money in the wrong place." Such things as physics buildings, chemistry buildings and large libraries "lack a revolutionary atmosphere" and had a "bourgeois appearance." So how are they to be reformed? In one word--labor. Kang Sheng said "its the same way that monkeys became mankind. Monkeys don't know how to work and must learn to do so to become mankind." He ordered the students to get out of the four walls of the classroom." "Go among the fields, to the mountaintops, to the blast furnaces, stop classes and work," "carry dirt, dig mud, build artificial ponds, this is the socialist revolution." He ruled that this was not "rustication, school vacation or voluntary labor," but is a "part of the school plan" and not to do so was to follow the "doctrines" of "bourgeois ideology." He also said that the system of school rules was "chains and fetters" and announced that they were "totally abolished." He claimed that the normal progression of basic education was "doctrinaire," "empty talk," "garbage" and "empty theory" and demanded that students "learn a year's lesson in 15 days," and so on.

During the 1850s Marx was filled with revolutionary enthusiasm and struggled so that child workers whose "bodies were not yet mature and whose limbs were still pliant" might have the right to an education. However, in the fifth and sixth decades of the 20th century the great "authority on theory" Kang Sheng wishes to abolish the schools, replace education with labor, replace teaching with labor and take away the young generation's right to an education. How could there be any similarities between what Kang Sheng has said and the educational ideology of Marx! The "gang of four" became the heirs of Kang Sheng with such nonsense as "digging holes as a profession" and "capturing a captialistroader is worth a grade of A." Under the pretext of "open-door schooling" they drove the students into society to look everywhere for "capitalistroaders" and capture "traitors." They tied very tight bonds between education and their plot to usurp party power. In searching for the source of all these disasters Kang Sheng is found to be the culprit.

(4)

Education is the foundation for the development of science and the train of human talents. The destruction of education naturally obstructs developments in scientific matters, nonetheless Kang Sheng and the rest directly ran rampant through our scientific efforts.

Marx believed that upon entering the age of the steam engine any person who was still hampered by a "handicraft mentality" was "incredibly stupid." When the whole world has entered the age of high scientific and technological developments the "gang of four" still spout such nonsense as, "the more knowledge the more reactionary" and "its better to be an uncultured worker." Doesn't this throw our society back into the age of the cave man! Kang Sheng was the first person to advocate such a perverse theory as this.

One of Kang Sheng's "famous sayings" is that "science is a lot of nonsense." As early as 1958 he used the pretext of "eradicating superstition" to trample on and destroy our nation's scientific efforts.

Science is the crystalization of mankind's knowledge and makes progress on the basis of previous discoveries and inventions. Kang Sheng on the contrary labelled science as being "class oriented" and negated objective rules in order to advance metaphysics and the theory of willed determination. He not only announced that psychology was "pseudo-science," and also said that there was nothing at all to agricultural science except veterinary medicine and the prevention and control of pests and plant disease. He wished to expose the "falseness of the old bourgeois agricultural science and permit farming techniques to reach a new stage of development."

He said, "what is called scientific research is nothing but the courage to manipulate some fundamental facts," "all one needs is the courage as there is no mystery to it." When he heard that the milk cows of an agricultural college were producing 2,000 kilograms per year he issued a "directive" saying, "milk production is too low so you ought to call the cows together and have a meeting to increase production." He ordered that the colleges not have any direct links with the Academy of Sciences as otherwise "there is the danger of being fettered by rules and regulations." He also wanted the Beijing College of Agriculture to determine a student's standing according to the quantity of production, "per mu production of 1,000 jin for a trainee; 10,000 jin for a research student; 30,000 jin for an expert; and 50,000 jin for a doctorate." He said that this was neither pragmatism nor metaphysics but "dialectics." He also spoke to the faculty and students of a college of engineering saying, "there really is nothing at all to the reactor pile, particle accelerator and rockets so there is nothing at all to be afraid of. Just work at it a bit and successful results will soon follow." Regarding the launching of an artificial satellite, he said, "this is really quite simple, in Shanghai a high altitude cannon was shot off so why can't the schools launch a satellite?"

Kang Sheng had a particular hatred for research work in the science of education and used all possible means to destroy and trample it. In 1956 the party central granted permission for the establishment of a central institute for educational scientific research. Not long after this institute was established Kang Sheng criticized it as "feudalistic, bourgeois and revisionist." He advocated "stressing the present and neglecting the past" saying that all foreign, capitalist and ancient teachings were unnecessary. This actually eliminated all of the institute's scientific research in education. He also found a pretext to criticize it for the "three separations" and sent down and scattered the scientific research personnel so that the institute would be unable to carry out its research work. During the ten years of chaos under the domination of Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and the rest, the educational scientific research institute was finally dismembered, all of the researchers were sent to the countryside to receive "reeducation" and their work came to a halt for many years.

During the time of the cultural revolution there was unity between people such as Kang Sheng who believed in "fearful ignorance" and the theory of willed determination and those people with political ambitions to usurp party power. They brought a disaster of unprecedented proportions to our country's scientific efforts. Of the 58 research labs at Qinghua University, except for slight damage to a few research labs, most of them were heavily damaged and over twenty had to be completely rebuilt. The comprehensive hydrology research lab, one of the most advanced in the world, was completely smashed with heavy hammers. At the Fujian Teachers College over 30,000 ore samples were taken to use as road filler. At Jiangxi University over half of the botanical samples were burned and the samples of fish from Poyang Lake were buried in the ground. This was all said to be, "smashing the 'fortified village' of the bourgeoise," "destroying the refuge of the bourgeois intellectuals" and "smashing the revisionists' educational line."

It has been five years since Kang Sheng went to his grave wearing the laurels granted him by the "gang of four" but we can lay our final judgement on the lid of his coffin. History is written by the people and the masses have finally exposed the true face of the conspirator Kang Sheng. This is a great historical victory for dialectics! As Marx said, "history itself is a vehicle of judgement and the proletariat is the operator." (ZAI 'RENMINBAO' CHUANGKAN JINANIANHUISHANGDE YANSHUO.) [A SPEECH GIVEN AT THE MEETING COMMEMORATING THE FOUNDING OF THE 'RENMINBAO']

11582
CSO: 4005

PROPER EMPLOYMENT OF TALENTED PEOPLE URGED

10-Point Proposal

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Zheng Yimin [6774 0001 3046] and Chen Gengzheng [7115 2739 6086]: "A 10-point Proposal for the Mobility of Talented People"]

> [Text] Editorial Comment: After having published in this newspaper articles on broadening all avenues for talented people and for mobility of talented people, we have received many articles and letters from our readers, some of them with proposals for broadening the avenues for talented people and for the mobility of talented people. On the question of how to reform our cadre system in order to give full play to the effective employment of talents of all kinds, we would welcome the active expression of opinions from our readers and their suggestions of ways and means.

At present our country has no overall sound system governing the selection, employment, examination, nurturing, rewarding and punishing, the elimination through competition and similar arrangements applying to our cadres, or a generally adopted method of their assignment and appointment. Methods which determined a man's fate for life with one word, or that were too strict, or controls that were too rigid, often created contradictions between the work requirements and a man's specialities or personal preferences, so that many people of special talent were put to work on what they had not learned or were inhibited for long periods of time. This type of cadre system has become increasingly inappropriate for the requirements of the four modernizations, and must be thoroughly changed. Our present policy of liberalization in the economy, we believe, should be paralleled by a similar liberalization of the minds and a liberalized policy when it comes to the development of talents and intelligence. We must render our system more flexible, increase the diversity of our methods and broaden all avenues. Specialists should be allowed to move about within certain spheres to make up the shortages in our system of employment, to bring into full play the special qualifications of talented people, to make the best possible use of a man's talents and make the best possible use of all available talent. We must help supply each other's needs, adjust surpluses and deficiencies and urge the leadership in all departments and all units to make the best use of talented people and also make rational use of talented people.

For this purpose we set forth in the following a few proposals on the question of greater mobility for talented personnel:

1. If specially qualified technical personnel are employed on work for which they are not trained, if they are overqualified for the work they are doing, if they are inhibited and not used it all or have been inhibited for a lengthy period of time and their original unit will not solve their problem, they may select for themselves a suitable work place or unit to work for. As soon as the unit which they want to work for agrees to take them, they may institute procedure for transfer. The original unit shall support their action and must not cause any hindrances, otherwise the person shall have the right to resign.

2. Units engaged in scientific research, industrial enterprises and departments with certain special requirements may, if such actual need arises in their work, publicly advertise and hire specialists. Anyone thus hired shall be released by the unit where he is presently working without any let or hindrance.

3. Engineers, instructors, research assistants and higher qualified persons, also other specially qualified technical personnel of qualifications similar or higher than those mentioned, may accept concurrent employment in other units and enjoy certain additional remuneration for such work, provided they accomplish the work in their original employment.

4. If the requirements of work make it necessary to obtain special technical personnel on loan, two suitable parties may sign a relevant loan agreement. During the specialist's employment on loan, the unit that uses him on loan shall be responsible for his salary, welfare benefits, etc. Loan agreements may be extended on expiry, or, if the work has been completed in advance of time, may be prematurely ended.

5. As science and technology keep advancing constantly, there should be interflow of scientific information on a broad scale between the sciences, mutual coordination of work, and scientists must be allowed to cut across their professional lines, go beyond their departments and even beyond their localities to freely establish links to pursue the major research of our country. As soon as their schemes shall have been checked and approved by the departments in charge of scientific research, all units shall actively create suitable conditions for their support.

6. Those technical specialists who volunteer to work in hardship areas to help develop the border regions, shall, in political respects, receive honorable recognition by the state and in material respects shall receive liberal wages and benefits; their original units shall support their action. On his transfer, the specialist need not change his residential status or food rationing relations, also need not transfer all his family members with him. If he shall request return to his original unit, that unit shall accept him back. If the work in hand requires it, the border areas may offer, engage or negotiate transfers at high salaries in proportion to the qualifications of the man involved and shall not be limited to the present standards of salaries.

7. Technical specialists who are definitely not equal to the task at which they work, may be subjected to reasonable adjustment. In such adjustments the specialist cannot himself find a suitable unit to work for, he shall follow the adjustment

proposed by his organization. If the specialist does not accept the proposed adjustment, the unit may terminate his employment. This way would prove beneficial for employee mobility and for a replacement of the old by the new.

8. All localities and departments must use talents sparingly, draw up appropriate measures for the protection of talents, such as to actively open up sources for talents from among their own localities or departments. Situations where technical specialists are used on work for which they have not been trained, must be adjusted immediately. There should be concern for technical specialists to have them advance politically, to a-tively create conditions to raise the level of their professional proficiency and to solve the actual difficulties they may experience in their livelihood. Where suitable conditions exist, they may be given "raises in unit rank," bonuses and such other liberal benefits (as soon as the specialist leaves his position, these benefits shall cease).

9. A talent bank shall be established (or a talent exchange center). This talent bank may be set up at the personnel departments. The talent bank shall scientifically "stockpile" various qualified persons by categories and specializations and shall also have to accept applications and recommendations. It shall also advertise employment requests, introduce specialists, etc., so as to link up the various needs in society. Lists, with relevant details on work conditions, concerning technical specialists that are found surplus to requirements or who cannot be easily transferred to some appropriate other position, shall be sent to the talent bank. Cadres that are on such lists shall, during the time that they await reassignment, be carried by their original units on separate records, shall be given appropriate work or shall be trained for higher qualifications; their salary shall be paid as usual and they shall enjoy the usual welfare benefits, but shall not participate in promotions in rank or position, or in assessments for bonus.

10. To give legal protection to all measures that will permit full use of the special qualifications of talented people and to assure rational mobility, a law on personnel matters shall be enacted.

More Proposals

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by the Preparatory Team for the Research Association for the Study of Talents: "Proposals for Opening Wide All Avenues for Talents"]

[Text] 1. To establish a committee for the examination of talents. On establishing by examination that a certain person has certain special qualifications or achievements, he shall be issued a certificate and personnel departments shall employ him according to his special skill or knowledge. To establish social testing places, to operate once a year and issue certificates, without regard for age, past schooling, profession, etc., to all university graduates, research assistants, engineers and other persons of similar educational level; they shall be accorded equal treatment and equal professional titles. Testing methods shall be: written examination, oral examination, determined subject and self-chosen subject; examination may be extended over a longer period while candidate is on trial employment.

2. To establish a trial employment contract system for technical specialists of a certain field without a fixed work unit, in order to promote a rational mobility for talented persons. On expiry of the contract period the contract may be renewed or the specialist concerned may be hired by another unit.

3. To establish a talent company. Anyone who has some independent achievements to his credit or has some special skill or knowledge and is employed on work not related to his speciality, may arrange his transfer with the help of the talent company. Any unit may approach the talent company for specialists they need to hire. The talent company shall be a permanent service company to regulate supply and demand of specialists; the company shall accept applications, recommendations and advertise talented persons.

4. To establish a scientific publishing company, partly self-supporting and publicly subsidized. All books, articles and other material published by the company shall enjoy legal protection. Research articles and books not accepted for publication by other publishers may be published by this scientific publication company on a partly self-supporting, partly publicly subsidized basis.

5. To establish a foundation which will grant monetary support to talented people. The foundation may accept contributions from people of all walks of life and shall give monetary support to talented persons who have shown achievements in self-study and who have difficulties in their livelihood, and shall grant supplementary support to talents who are engaged in important creative work. In case supplementary support is needed, the person in need of such may himself submit an application; the foundation will examine the application and on approval will issue the grant. The foundation may also acquire accomodations to establish a "think factory" and make these places available to research personnel for temporary use to complete their creative work.

6. To draw up legal provisions for the formation of a science and technology association. This law shall acknowledge and protect research activities that, through examination, have been found to be definitely of research value and which exceed the scope of research organizations of that branch of industry to which the unit in question belongs. Based on relevant legal provisions, such activities shall be afforded support. In organizational respects, conditions shall be created that will allow those in actual charge of certain research activities of great value to select assistants from either inside or outside their own units.

8453
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

OUTRAGE EXPRESSED AT SEIZURE OF LITERARY MAGAZINE

Beijing WENYI BAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] in Chinese No 10, 12 Oct 80 p 44

[Article by Lian Zhengxiang [1670 2973 4382] dated 11 September 1980: "Public Security Cadres Unjustly Seized Literary Publication in Violation of the Law"]

[Text] In the afternoon of 29 June 1980, several people were selling the publication MO SHUI [FOAMY WATERS] on the street in front of the Yudong Restaurant in Leshan, Sichuan Province. They were the editors and amateur writers of that publication, selling it personally once every quarter and also listening attentively to their readers' opinions. The Culture and Education Bureau of Leshan District had started the publication last October, receiving support from writers and relevant departments inside and outside the province. Comrade Ai Wu had written an article in which he welcomed the increase in literary magazines in the province and expressed the hope that this "garden" may bring forth more new literary talent. Comrade Wu Boxiao wrote the calligraphic title on its front page. Comrades Ge Baoquan, Lou Shiyi and others published their poetry and songs in the said publication. Due to the strong native flavor of the publication and its vivid and vigorous style, it was widely well received. Readers vied with one another to buy the publication as soon as a new issue appeared.

At a little after 3 o'clock, a man who said he was from the Public Safety Bureau pushed through the crowd, picked up a copy of MO SHUI and leafed through it, then issued an order: "Stop it, stop it, this cannot be sold anymore!" Sellers and buyers were all flabbergasted. The comrade editor asked the retired workers volunteer liaison man to clarify whether the man was really from the Public Safety Bureau (it was found out that he was the deputy chief of the Leshan City Central District Branch Safety Bureau) and also explained: "Ours is a lawful publication, reported to and approved by the Propaganda Department of the Provincial Party Committee." However, the public safety cadre high-handedly declared: "In Leshan only the HONG LESHAN BAO [RED LESHAN] may be read. Nothing else is permitted." (The HONG LESHAN BAO is a newspaper of the "cultural revolution" era. The new official organ of the Leshan Municipal Party Committee is called LESHAN BAO.) The editor asked the deputy station chief to get the relevant documents from the Culture and Education Bureau, but that man refused to go there. Finally, the editor himself got the relevant documents and asked the man to read them. One document, the reply, reference 1980/66, from the Propaganda Department of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee to the Propaganda Department of Leshan District, reads as follows:

"We agree to the continued publication of your Culture and Education Bureau of the literary publication of general nature called MO SHUI. The publication is to be a quarterly one, of sixteenmo format, 80 pages per issue and 10,000 copies per issue, to be distributed in principle within its local area. Supply of the required paper is to be applied for from the Provincial Bureau for Light Industry."

To everybody's surprise, the said deputy station chief refused to look at the document. He was shamed into anger and reprimandingly said: "Don't you raise an emperor to crush the feudal lords." The editor questioned him whom he meant with "emperor" and "feudal lords." The deputy chief found himself unable to answer and merely came up with something like: "You use the local revolutionary committee to oppose the municipal safety bureau!" The editor felt it not the right thing to go on quarreling publicly on the street and suggested that both parties calmly call on the municipal party committee for guidance and to negotiate a solution. But the deputy chief peremptorily insisted: "I am after all representing the Public Safety Bureau; sales of the books must definitely be stopped!" He then ordered a people's policeman to forcibly remove 191 copies of the MO SHUI and 28 copies of the XING XING [STARS] poetry publication. The masses that looked on asked the editor worriedly: "Are you in trouble with your publications?"

The editorial comrades of the MO SHUI were utterly outraged. The same evening they made representations to the secretary of the municipal party committee. Up to today the deputy chief has not yet admitted his error and returned the publications, so that the problem has not yet found its solution.

8453
CSO: 4005

RELAXATION OF CONTROL OVER LITERATURE, ART URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 80 p 5

[Article by He Junying [0149 0193 5391], head of Propaganda Department, Laian County Party Committee, Anhui Province: "Give Free Reins to Reforms; Don't Control With a Stranglehold"]

[Text] In improving our guidance or reforms in literature and art, the primary condition is to guide and lead in an emancipation of the mind, to give free rein and courageously support the cultural departments in breaking down the old restrictions and then actively reform.

Our county has a theatrical company, a unit of collective ownership. In the past, in addition to a certain subsidy from the state, it mainly relied on income from its performances. Economically it could not be self-supporting and was regarded as a "burden." The average pay to the performers was in general very low. They had no place to train and also very poor living conditions. The pay was furthermore almost the same for main actors and the others in the general cast, and it mattered little who worked more and who did less. For a long time the enthusiasm of the actors and employees could not be developed. What could be done to make a success of operating this theatrical company at the county level? At one time we placed our hopes on converting the system of collective ownership into one of ownership by the entire people. Last year, under the influence of trials in the nationwide reform of economic management systems and the systems of production responsibility in agriculture, we bagan to realize that in the literary and art teams we also had need to step up the emancipation of minds. In the winter season of last year, we decided to support them on a trial basis when the theatrical group proposed to work in teams and to introduce a system of bonuses. The theatrical group of over 70 members was divided into two teams, and the income of performances was divided up between the group and the teams according to a fixed scale. Within the team the income was divided, and apart from subtracting the performance expenses, the balance was for bonuses to actors and employees and for a reserve fund for the team. In the course of trying out this system, we helped them summarize experiences and to decide on an even more rational ratio of distribution so as to better deal with the related interests of the three parties concerned: the group, the teams and the performers. At the same time we asked the theatrical group to reform their economic administration and at the same time strengthen work in political ideology and professional training so as to raise the quality of their performances. Judging from the practical results during the first half of this year, very conspicuous effects have been achieved by the reform of the administrative system. Due to performances being staged by the teams, there was competition between them. The teams had freedom to choose their own repertoire and also as to what line they wanted to pursue in their performances. The material interests of the individual actors and employees and the economic interests of the team were directly linked, which greatly stirred their enthusiasm and everyone's concern for a higher quality of the performances and for economy in expenditure.

As to setting up programs for performances, it is even less advisable to use administrative measures in guiding such work. Control to the extent of strangulation and overmuch interference are both erroneous methods. In the last 3 years, we have changed our past methods of having the scripts determined by a limited number of leadership people in the relevant department of the provincial party committee and have adopted a method of having leadership, authors and the masses in a triple cooperation jointly adjudge the scripts. In 1978, our county organized the joint writing of 14 short plays by amateur writers and professional writers. After the initial draft was completed, the amateur writers and the professional writers were organized to take over a month's time for a thorough, bit by bit evaluation and revision of the 14 scripts. The amateur writer Wang Ganchen wrote a short play reflecting the trend of reforming management on the trade front. The title of the play was "Effective Reform." During the discussion, a number of comrades felt that this script was interesting, but there were also some comrades who felt that the play, being a play of exposures, should not be performed. We led everybody in a discussion of this question and finally everybody agreed that literary and art works should actively expose the contradictions in life. It was thought that this short play, "Effective Reform," in its criticism of the erroneous experiences of the purchasing agent for live pigs and in describing the man's reform, was written in a vivid and vigorous manner, very apt to bring enlightenment to others. To improve the script even further, we mobilized the theatrical group's producers and performers to take part in the editing, and thus achieved an even better result on the stage. When participating in a stagecraft meet for the Chuzhou area, our group won second prize for new creations. As to the adjusted versions of traditional stage plays, there was controversy among the masses. Apart from listening to the various opinions of the masses, we held a symposium at the theatrical group to evaluate the scripts together with the comrades of the theatrical group and told them our viewpoint as to obviously uncought sections and irrational plots. As regards artistically somewhat uncought sections in the scripts and certain shortcomings in the plots, we did not insist on perfection, but rather allowed the theatrical group to effect themselves revisions and improvements.

8453
CSO: 4005 END

JPRS 77089

31 December 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 153

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 77089

31 December 1980

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 153

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN Debate on Mideast Situation Ends
(XINHUA, 11 Dec 80).......... 1

Greek Prime Minister Discusses NATO, EEC
(XINHUA, 13 Dec 80).......... 3

Indian Seminar Denounces Soviets in Afghanistan
(XINHUA, 6 Dec 80).......... 4

Afghan Liberation Front Leader Interviewed
(XINHUA, 22 Nov 80).......... 5

USSR Looting Afghanistan's Mineral Wealth
(XINHUA, 18 Nov 80).......... 6

Soviet Ambassador Attacks Australian Government
(XINHUA, 21 Nov 80).......... 7

Australian Minister Discusses Defense Cooperation
(XINHUA, 5 Dec 80).......... 8

Newsletter on Writer's Visit to Southern Iran
(Xu Boyuan; XINHUA Domestic Service, 5 Dec 80).......... 9

Western, Soviet Media on Poland Cited
(XINHUA, 6 Dec 80).......... 11

'POLITYKA' Criticizes Polish Party Leadership
(XINHUA, 8 Dec 80).......... 13

Polish Paper Comments on Threat of Force
(XINHUA, 9 Dec 80).......... 14

Polish Commentator Calls for Popular Alliance
(XINHUA, 8 Dec 80).. 15

United Kingdom, Ireland Issue Joint Communique
(XINHUA, 9 Dec 80).. 16

Pakistani-Saudi Arabian Communique Issued
(XINHUA, 10 Dec 80).. 17

PRC, Japan Issue Joint Press Statement as Talks End
(KYODO, 5 Dec 80).. 18

Manila Meeting on Asian Mortality Trends
(XINHUA, 5 Dec 80).. 20

Australian Rebel Leader in Vanuatu Sentenced
(XINHUA, 22 Nov 80).. 21

Growing Unemployment Reported in India
(XINHUA, 7 Dec 80).. 22

Industrial Ministers Meeting Ends in Dacca
(XINHUA, 5 Dec 80).. 23

U.S. Senate Issues Report on 'Geopolitics of Oil'
(XINHUA, 21 Nov 80).. 24

Cuba, Mexico Cooperate in Oil Exploration
(XINHUA, 7 Dec 80).. 26

Briefs

Mountains Open to Climbers 27
Japan-Soviet Relations 27
Polish Unrest 28
Polish Invasion Not Expected 28
NATO Forces Christmas Leave 28
Thai Officials Urge Unity 28
Warsaw Workers End Strike 29
SFRY National Day 29
USSR on Poland 29
Cubans Seek Asylum 30
El Salvador Killings 30
Canadian Official on Poland 30
SRV on Thai-Kampuchean Border 30
Kampuchean Railway Destruction 31
Kampucheans Attack SRV Pillboxes 31
Asian Summit Proposal 31
Belgium on Polish Situation 31
Polish Bank Exchange Measures 32
Polish-Yugoslav Trade Protocol 32
Delegation Leaves Belgrade 32
Aviation Delegation Honored 32

EEC Aid to Portugal 33
FRG, Italy on Poland 33
Italy Opposes Polish Intervention 33
Polish Trade Union Council 33
Polish 'Solidarity' Opposes Strikes 34
Romanian-Iraqi Officials Meet 34
Japan Assists Nepal 34
Leaders Warned on Buying U.S. Arms 35
Pakistani Per Capita Income 35
YAR Cotton Production 35
Pakistan Energy Conservation 35
Saudi Official on Afghanistan 36
Bangladesh on Palestinian Issue 36
Israeli Detention Condemned 36
Morocco Detains Trawlers 37
Iranian Army Unity Urged 37
Soviet Crimes Denounced 37
Indian-Indonesian Joint Communique 38
Egypt Condemns Israel 38
Iraqi Aid to Jordan 38
Tianjin Mayor Meets Japanese Delegation 38
Polish Government-Church Appeal 39
Cuban Official Visits Iraq 39
EEC Food to Poland 39
U.S. AWACS in W. Germany 39

PARTY AND STATE

Deng Xiaoping 'Hero' Role Scored
(Ba Yi Radio, 13 Dec 80).. 40

Deng's Past Support for Cultural Revolution Discussed
(Ba Yi Radio, 15 Dec 80).. 42

Jiang Qing Tried for Framing Party Members
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 12 Dec 80)............................ 44

Court Testimony on Jiang Qing's Crimes
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 12 Dec 80)............................ 47

Liao Mosha Cites Jiang Qing's 'Countless Crimes'
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 12 Dec 80)............................ 49

Court Investigation of Zhang, Wang Ends
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 13 Dec 80)............................ 51

Court Concludes Wang-Zhang Investigation
(Beijing Domestic Service, 13 Dec 80)........................... 53

China Democratic League Recruiting New Members
(XINHUA, 12 Dec 80)... 55

Liang Lingguang's Suggestions for Guangzhou Cited
(Lan Ching-chung; WEN WEI PO, 25 Nov 80)........................ 57

Improvement on Ideological, Political Work Analyzed
(Anhui Provincial Service, 26 Nov 80).......................... 59

Beijing 'WAN BAO' on Renowned Economist Sun Yefang
(Li Wei; WAN BAO, 28 Nov 80).................................... 61

PLA Bans Spring Festival Gift Giving, Dining, Wining
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 12 Dec 80)........................... 64

Briefs

Jiang Qing Discussed 65
CYL, TU Sponsor Contest 65
Jiang Qing Trial Postponed 65
Immolation Attempt Confirmed 66
Yunnan United Front Meeting 66
Yunnan Nationalities Policy Inspection 66
Jiangxi Place-Name Committee 67
Shanghai Youth Work Conference 67
Shanghai Judicial Conference 67
Gansu Civil Cases Forum 67
Gansu Employment Conference 67
Jiangxi Workers' Congresses 68
Shandong Provincial CPPCC 68
Jiangsu Judicial Forum 68
Shanghai Propaganda Meeting 68
Shanghai CPPCC Inspection 68
U.S. Guests in Shanxi 69
Shanxi Local Committee Meeting 69
Shanxi Party Publication 69
Post-Telecommunications Minister Applauded 69
Tianjin Retired Cadres 69
Guizhou New Associations 70
Guizhou National Seminar 70
Journalists Meet 70
Anhui Postal, Telecommunications Conference 70
Xizang Hinterland-Bound Personnel 71
Jilin Marriage Law Forum 71

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Aborted Shanghai Insurrection
(Gao Ji; RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Dec 80).............................. 72

'Ba Yi Radio' Criticizes Scheme in Opposing Xu Xiangqian
(Ba Yi Radio, 4 Dec 80).. 79

'Ba Yi' Notes Deng Xiaoping's Handling of Rebels
(Ba Yi Radio, 14 Dec 80)... 81

'RENMIN RIBAO': Ode to the End of Lifetime Tenure
(Yang Xianyao; RENMIN RIBAO, 13 Dec 80) 82

'XINHUA' Commentary on Implementing Price Control Circular
(XINHUA Domestic Service,,12 Dec 80) 84

Briefs

Younnan PLA Carrier Pigeons 85
Shanghai Research Institute 85
Shanghai Air Defense Installations 85
Shanghai Defense Works Meeting 85
Shanghai Fortifications-Civil Use 86
Fishermen Rescue Sinking Submarine 86
Xizang Yearend Military Evaluation 86
Guangzhou PLA Planned Parenthood 86

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Structure of Intelligence Called Key in Modernization
(Xia Yulong, et al.; WEN HUI BAO, 5 Sep 80) 87

PRC Meeting Discusses Educational Guidelines
(XINHUA, 13 Dec 80) 96

Nei Monggol Establishes Five Workers' Universities
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 21 Nov 80) 97

U.S. Physics Professors Interview PRC Students
(XINHUA, 22 Nov 80) 98

Baijing Begins Winter Athletic Program for Children, Young People
(XINHUA, 20 Nov 80) 99

'XINHUA' Features Xinjiang Relics at Beijing Exhibit
(XINHUA, 9 Dec 80) 100

PRC Buddhist Institute Recruits Students
(XINHUA, 13 Dec 80) 101

PRC Buddhists Hold Fourth National Conference
(XINHUA, 15 Dec 80) 102

Wuhan University's Student Union Increases Activity
(XINHUA, 14 Dec 80) 103

PRC Education Theorist Being Reassessed
(XINHUA, 15 Dec 80) 104

Briefs

Qinghai Birth Control 105
Qinghai Social Disorder 105

Shaanxi Youth Education Meeting	105
Seminar on Islam	106
Heilongjiang Catholic Association	106
Haikou Illegal Emigration	106
New Wuxi Daily	106
Tianjin Vocational Schools	106
Xizang Policy Education	107
Anhui School System	107
Yunnan Population Census	107
Shanghai Cultural Relics	107
Xizang Expedition Story	107
Xibe Language Society	108
Jilin Study Group in Yunnan	108
College Graduate Planning	108
Jiangsu Daily Paper	109
Jiangsu Birth Control	109
University Delegation in Shanxi	109
Hebei Youth Problem	109
Beijing Key Schools	109
Beijing Tourist Area	109
Liaoning Education	110

UN DEBATE ON MIDEAST SITUATION ENDS

OW110300 Beijing XINHUA in English 0245 GMT 11 Dec 80

[Text] United Nations, December 10 (XINHUA)--Representatives from Arab and many other countries reiterated that a comprehensive solution to the Middle East question should entail Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab lands including Jerusalem and the fulfilment of Palestinian rights, during a three-day debate on the situation in the Middle East which ended today.

Speakers strongly denounced Israel for its intransigent policy of aggression and defiance of the relevant U.N. resolutions since the debate started from December 8.

Adnam Umran, observer of the League of Arab States, charged that "Israel's current position regarding peace and secure borders is in fact, a literate translation of the principles and pronouncements of Nazism."

He added that the time had come to implement the principles of the charter against Israel and to adopt sanctions against it.

Syrian representative Muhammad Mansuri stressed that the city of Jerusalem must be evacuated and returned to Arab sovereignty, and all existing and future settlements must be removed. Any action to annex these lands would be in violation of the U.N. resolutions which call upon Israel to withdraw from the territories.

'Abd al-Majid, representative of Egypt, stated that any settlement must be based on recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to determine their own destiny without any foreign interference.

"Peace, if it is to be lasting, must be just and it must be comprehensive," he said. There could not be a partial peace.

The Middle East embodied three diverse religions--Islam, Christianity and Judaism--and the region must accommodate them all, he noted.

Hazim Nusaybah, representative of Jordan reiterated that the Arab countries were determined to continue to support the PLO in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, with a view to restoring all the rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state on its national soil.

Niaz A. Naik, representative of Pakistan, pointed out that total withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people were the essential prerequisites for a lasting and just settlement of the conflict.

He said, "It must be understood clearly that no partial approach to resolve the Middle East conflict can bring peace to that region. It was precisely for this reason that the Islamic conference as well as the non-aligned meetings have categorically rejected the Camp David agreements."

Paul Peters (Luxembourg), speaking on behalf of EEC, said that the EEC countries did not approve of Israel's settlements policy, and could not accept any change in the status of Jerusalem.

He added, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon had to be respected, and that respect was indeed fundamental to the establishment of peace.

CSO: 4020

GREEK PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES NATO, EEC

OW130214 Beijing XINHUA in English 0157 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Athens, December 12 (XINHUA)—With Greece's return to NATO's military structure, NATO's unity has been restored and the rift in its south-eastern wing has been closed, said Greek Prime Minister Yeoryios J. Rallis here this afternoon.

Speaking at a lunch of the Foreign Press Association here, he held that Greece's return to NATO's military structure is in the interest of the alliance and more beneficial to the countries in south-eastern Europe. As for Greece itself, he said it has regained the advantages of full participation in terms of supply, training, infrastructure support, etc.

"Another consequence of the return to the military structure of the alliance," he said, "is the prospect of concluding a new agreement for according military facilities to the United States on Greek territory which can only function to serve NATO objectives." "We are aiming for an agreement based widely on defense support and economic and technological cooperation in the field of war industry," he said.

On Greece's entry into the European Common Market, he said it gives the country the pre-requisites and the means to face difficulties of a political and economic nature which are becoming more acute daily.

"Greece's accession was based both on political as well as economic assessments," he explained. "Our accession will create more effective conditions for the safeguarding of Greece's sovereign rights, for consolidating its democratic institutions and for strengthening its international role. As an equal partner in a powerful community, Greece, with a reinforced specific gravity on the international scene, will be better able to withstand possible external pressures," he said.

From an economic point of view, he said, Greece's entry into the EEC will definitely contribute to the structural modernisation of the country's economy and society.

CSO: 4020

INDIAN SEMINAR DENOUNCES SOVIETS IN AFGHANISTAN

OW061212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 6 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--Participants in a seminar on "Soviet intervention in Afghanistan" yesterday condemned the continued occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet armed forces and demanded their immediate withdrawal, according to a report from New Delhi quoting the TIMES OF INDIA today.

The seminar was organised by the University Teachers' Council at the arts faculty.

Presiding over the seminar, Mr V. M. Tarkunde, eminent jurist, said that there was absolutely no justification for the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

He said that a number of important international principles accepted by the world community had been violated. The Soviets had deprived the Afghans of the right to self-determination and had also brought the superpower rivalry to the doorsteps of India.

Dr Dharmendra Nath Acharya, general secretary of the Friends of Afghanistan Association, said that the Soviet intervention and subsequent occupation of Afghanistan had dealt a severe blow to the non-aligned movement.

He warned the Indian Government of Russian designs on Pakistan. He hoped India and Pakistan "will stand together and face the Russian threat and challenge to the sub-continent."

Another participant said that the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and its designs on Pakistan posed a grave threat to India.

Mr Said Mohammed Maiwand, a senior official of the planning department of Afghanistan and now a refugee in India, pleaded for more aid to Afghan nationalists fighting for their country's independence. He also wanted the Indian Government to allow Afghan refugees in India (now numbering about 20,000) to receive foreign aid.

CSO: 4020

AFGHAN LIBERATION FRONT LEADER INTERVIEWED

OW221326 Beijing XINHUA in English 1257 GMT 22 Nov 80

[Text] Peshawar, Pakistan, November 22 (XINHUA)--S. al-Mojaddedi, vice-president of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan today appealed to the peace-loving countries, and people of the world to make more efforts to force the Soviet Union to abide by the U.N. resolution on the Afghan issue and to withdraw its troops immediately from Afghanistan.

In an interview with XINHUA in Peshawar today, S. al-Mohaddedi who is also the president of the National Liberation Front of Afghanistan, expressed his gratitude to the people of the world for their support to the Afghan people in their struggle against Russian aggressors, and his appreciation of the U.N. resolution on the Afghan issue adopted with the approval of one hundred and eleven countries. He pointed out that the Soviet Union must be dealt a telling blow before it would agree to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. He said that the Afghan freedom-fighters will intensify their struggle and keep on attacking the Russian troops. At the same time he expressed his hope that peace-loving countries of the world should put more pressure on the Soviet Union politically and economically until it leaves Afghanistan. He strongly condemned the Russian troops for committing the barbarous crimes every day in Afghanistan. He emphasized that these crimes must be stopped in Afghanistan and that the Russians be taught a good lesson, so that the same crimes will not be committed again in other countries.

CSO: 4020

USSR LOOTING AFGHANISTAN'S MINERAL WEALTH

OW180722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 18 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, November 18 (XINHUA)--"As a general policy, the Russians are looting our mineral resources, precious stones and even museum pieces," said an Afghan refugee Abdul Latif Aurah, according to reports from Islamabad.

Aurah was an engineer and former department head in the Afghan Ministry of Mines and Industry. He defected last month from Kabul.

Aurah said that Afghan gas, with an annual output of about 3,500 million cubic metres, is used almost exclusively in the Soviet Union. The Soviets import the natural gas from Afghan fields by pipeline. But the Afghan officials are unable to confirm the amount taken because the meter is on the Soviet side of the border. They have a free hand at determining how much they take without any worry of Afghan opposition.

Aurah said that an Afghan government engineer told him that a hill containing an outcrop of rich uranium ore at Khakrez in the province of Kandahar in southern Afghanistan was completely flattened four months ago by the Soviets who shipped the mineral by truck to the Soviet Union.

Aurah also witnessed Soviet troops taking ore containing lapis lazuli, a deep-blue gemstone, from the basement of his ministry. He said that a large amount, totalling 250 metric tons, was removed from a storehouse on the grounds of the former royal residence--the Arg Palace in Kabul. The lapis ore was "very conservatively" valued at 60 million U.S. dollars. A glass container holding one kilogram of uncut emeralds, long publicly displayed at a government showroom was similarly seized by Soviet troops this fall.

Aurah said the precious stones were removed to the Kabul airport and loaded aboard Soviet military transport planes which had earlier brought weapons and ammunition for the Soviet forces.

CSO: 4020

SOVIET AMBASSADOR ATTACKS AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT

OW211608 Beijing XINHUA in English 1554 GMT 21 Nov 80

[Text] Canberra, November 21 (XINHUA)--Soviet ambassador to Australia Nikolay Sudarikov broke protocol rules and attacked the Australian Government during his current official visit to Tasmania, Australia's island state at the foot of the mainland, according to press reports here today.

In a "political speech" at a state luncheon given in his honor on November 17, Sudarikov accused the Austalian Government of "slandering" the Soviet Union and of having discriminated against his country and misunderstood its "noble policies" towards Australia. He alleged that in its history, Russia had "never really" invaded anyone else.

On his arrival in Hobart, capital of the island, he was met by a group of protesters from the Soviet-annexed Baltic states. The ambassador called them possibly "miserable people in some respects."

Tasmania's newly-elected independent Senator Brian Harradine asked the foreign minister to caution the Soviet ambassador and tell him that he was abusing his diplomatic privileges. He said the Soviet ambassador's speech at the state luncheon was "an undiplomatic diatribe against Australia."

Senator Harradine also called for an inquiry into Ambassador Sudarikov's background including claims that he had extensive secret police involvement in both the NKVD and the KGB. The senator said that these claims had not been investigated by the government when they were first made last November.

A spokesman for the Tasmanian premier indicated afterwards that the premier had been embarrassed by Sudarikov's speech.

A spokesman for the Australian department of foreign affairs said here yesterday that Sudarikov would not be cautioned, and that the department believed the Australians were capable of judging the merits of Sudarikov's comments.

CSO: 4020

AUSTRALIAN MINISTER DISCUSSES DEFENSE COOPERATION

OW050756 Beijing XINHUA in English 0738 GMT 5 Dec 80

[Text] Canberra, December 5 (XINHUA)--"The government's emphasis on increased defence co-operation with our neighbours is being pursued with vigour and considerable success," Australian Minister for Defence D. J. Killen said yesterday in the House of Representatives.

He said in a statement on defence, "We have made significant innovations to accommodate the priority requirement identified in high level consultations with all concerned--particularly the South East Asian countries--as they continue to build up their defensive capabilities, we are seeking ways of doing more."

He said at the end of October, in Australia over 500 service personnel from 14 nearby countries were attending formal service training courses, undergoing on-the-job training, or studying particular aspects of Australian defence force organisation and procedures. And about 260 Australian servicemen and civilians are presently providing advisory and other practical assistance in many of these countries.

"Military planners from the five powers--Britain, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore and Australia--met in Canberra from 19 to 21 November to produce specific recommendations as to develop plans for 1981 exercises," he added.

The minister explained that the multi-national exercises "will supplement but not supersede, bilateral exercises arrangements between the five power partners. They will add to the already extensive bilateral defence activities which Australia undertakes with others in South East Asia and the South West Pacific."

CSO: 4020

NEWSLETTER ON WRITER'S VISIT TO SOUTHERN IRAN

OW070300 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1652 GMT 5 Dec 80

[Newsletter by Xu Boyuan: "A Brief Survey of the Southern Battlefront of Iran"]

[Summary] Tehran, 5 Dec (XINHUA)--"This writer paid a visit to the Ahvaz and Susangerd areas of southern Iran in a large car provided for reporters by the Iranian Ministry of National Guidance 27 November-1 December."

We started from Tehran, the capital, and passedKhorrambabad, seeing no signs of war except for new military trucks delivering ammunition to the front. We were told that Khorrambabad experienced its first air raid since the war on the day before our arrival.

Once we got to the cities of Andimeshk and Dezful, we saw very different scenes. Many buildings had been devastated and yet people were seen walking around in these cities.

"We arrived at Ahvaz the afternoon of 28 November. The city's calmness took us quite by surprise, for the city had suffered from attacks by Iraqi planes, artillery and missiles. Though several buildings had been knocked down, the city seemed to still be in good condition."

I learned from Iranian soldiers back from the front that "Iraqi troops are stationed in areas 20 kilometers to the west and 40 kilometers to the southwest of the city." Once every few days, both sides exchange bombings or shellings. The war seems to be stalemated.

On 29 November, we tried to approach Susangerd city twice from different directions, but we were stopped by Iranian troops, saying that our car was too large a target.

We were told that the Iraqi troops were not far from Susangerd, surrounding the city on several sides.

On the morning of 30 November, we went to Susangerd in a military vehicle admist dense fog. To avoid being spotted, the car traveled at top speed. On our way there, we saw the wrecks of about 10 Iraqi tanks, Iranian tanks and machinegun positions, and several baggage-laden refugees waiting for a bus along the highway.

"When we entered Susangerd, we found the city deserted, a population of 30,000 totally evacuated. No undamaged buildings were to be seen and canned food was scattered in the street. Fallen bricks and charred wood were seen here and there, and we found a burned-out Soviet-made T-62 tank in one street. Fierce street fighting took place in the city once and Iraqi troops once occupied the city. It is reported that two Iraqi infantry battalions are still stationed 2 miles to the south of the city."

The rainy season will soon set in in southern Iran. Since rain does not favor military actions, there will possibly be a period of stalemate. However, there are still no sings of cease-fire.

"On our return to Tehran, I though how nice it would be if one day the clouds over the Gulf were to clear and if the two belligerents would solve their differences through a peaceful settlement. This is not only in the interests of the people of the two countries who are suffering from the wounds of war but also in accordance with the ardent expectation of people of the world."

CSO: 4005

WESTERN, SOVIET MEDIA ON POLAND CITED

OW061902 Beijing XINHUA in English 1844 GMT 6 Dec 80

["Roundup: Moscow Steps Up Military and Political Pressures on Poland"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union has been engaged in frequent military manoeuvres near the Polish border while setting its propaganda machine in motion to issue threats. It has thus strengthened its military and political pressures upon Poland, making the turbulent situation in that country extremely dangerous.

Western press reports said Moscow has been massing more and more troops around Poland. UPI reported on September 20, "Mid-week intelligence reports noted the buildup of Soviet troops along Poland's borders with the Soviet Union and East Germany. There were indications they included additional supply and communication support forces." A December 3 WALL STREET JOURNAL article said, "American intelligence has discovered that the Soviets have activated wartime command and control mechanisms among the Soviet troops normally based in and near Poland." Army units based in the western part of the Soviet Union near Poland have been beefed up and made readier by the retention of reservists who would have been sent home after the major Warsaw Pact exercises held last September, the article added. The West Berlin-based BERLINER MORGEN POST reported in November that the reserve divisions in the western Soviet military regions had been put into "a highly pre-war state" and officers at all levels had been sent to these divisions. "Meanwhile, the leadership of the Soviet army units in Poland has been reinforced," the report added.

It was reported that Soviet officials had informed the United States, Britain and France last weekend that two 50 mm wide strips adjoining the border between Poland and the German Democratic Republic "had been provisionally declared prohibited military zones." "The announcement effectively closed the entire border," the report said.

The BERLINER MORGEN POST of West Berlin reported that all the Soviet western military districts had been announced prohibited zones to military attaches of Western countries in Moscow. Vilnius, an important city in the western part of the Soviet Union, has been closed to foreigners. The city is a railway junction near the eastern Polish border.

Meanwhile, the Soviet propaganda machine has been making threats against Poland. On November 26, TASS quoted a Polish magazine as saying "The (Polish) anti-socialist forces are trying to take advantage of the current crisis to undermine the foundation of the socialist system."

PRAVDA declared in an article on November 28 that anti-socialist forces in Poland have changed their strategy. They tried their utmost to paralyze and undermine the socialist system from within in an attempt to peacefully restore capitalism in Poland. "This demands prompt response," the paper added.

A commentator of the Soviet Central Television Studio said on December 3 in a commentary on the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party: "Those who are hostile to the socialist cause and the people's regime are trying to establish a dual political regime to undermine the basis of the leadership of the United Workers' Party" while "anti-socialist elements" did their utmost to divert the course of the Gdansk agreement reached between the workers' representatives and the government in an attempt to make use of the agreement to achieve political domination.

On November 24, TASS said in a report on the Polish railway workers' strike that the strike was aimed at maintaining tension in Poland. "The solidarity trade union threatened to hold a general strike which will jeopardize the national and defense interests of Poland as well as (Soviet) railway transit in Poland."

A TASS report said that dislocation of railway traffic in Poland would constitute a "direct threat to the Soviet Union's security." It stressed the need of defending the fruits of the Polish revolution.

Commemorating the 250th anniversary of Suvorov's birthday, the Soviet press described this Russian general, an executioner of the Polish people, as "Russia's sword" and a "Russian hero," and stressed the "realistic significance" of Suvorov's concept.

Under the present Polish situation, Moscow's action has aroused international concern. The West views the intensified Soviet military and propaganda pressure on Poland as an ominous sign.

CSO: 4020

'POLITYKA' CRITICIZES POLISH PARTY LEADERSHIP

OW081212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 8 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, December 7 (XINHUA)--Severe criticism of those party leaders who place themselves above the party, the party Central Committee and the whole society, is contained in the latest issue of the weekly POLITYKA.

The article, written by M. Rakowski, member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and editor-in-chief of the weekly, also criticizes the leader system which only allows centralism without democracy.

The article states there have been several crises during the history of people's Poland, and that the new leaders who emerged from each crisis have always sworn to pursue a policy in conformity with the desires and interests of the workers and the entire people. However, after a brief "honeymoon" period and "after reaching a smooth and unworried rule, the system in which the leaders place themselves above the whole party, the Central Committee and the whole society has been automatically put into operation the following day."

The writer holds that the present system of democratic centralism is lopsided and only centralism functioning. [sentence as received] The system, he argues, "actually prevents the cadres from giving clearcut criticisms of the party leadership."

The article also attacks the idea of "respecting" and "be loyal to" the leaders, which has acted like a yoke on the party members.

The article states, "The situation inside the party is a key-link to the ending of the Polish social and economic crises." The writer protests that, to have a good policy is not enough; it is also necessary to have a concrete and clearcut programme of action.

He demands that the party leadership adopt a clear attitude towards the errors of the past ten years and of their own responsibility for those errors. He calls for a struggle against extremism and conservatism, against political adventurism and social demagogy.

CSO: 4020

POLISH PAPER COMMENTS ON THREAT OF FORCE

OW090715 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 9 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, December 8 (XINHUA)--The principle of non-use of force or of threat of force in relations between states should be observed and that "each country has the right to solve its own problem," stresses Polish newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY in a commentary today.

Under the title "The Equal Status of Poland," the commentary says: "Our immediate neighbours have made different appraisals on the process of changes in the social-economic and political life of the country. We may frankly say that certain doubts or queries that crop up in the minds of some people here and there can be seen as a justifiable concern about the fate of the whole community." However, the commentary continues, "Within the framework of the political order of a socialist society agreed upon by all, every country has the right to solve its own problem, to consider its national characteristics and integrate them with the laws of socialism. Then comes the right of the government to determine its own destiny on the basis of the principle of independence, sovereignty, and non-use of force or of threat of force in state relations."

Referring to the world situation and the fate of the country, the commentary points out: "We are now living at a difficult moment," "the world situation is yet to be saved from conflicts and political crises. A struggle is being waged for a better prospect for detente." Hence, the commentary adds, "the fate of Poland should be determined accordingly in an atmosphere of dialogue and detente." "Without order and stability along the bank of the Vistula River, it is unimaginable to see a peaceful and secured Europe," it stresses.

CSO: 4020

POLISH COMMENTATOR CALLS FOR POPULAR ALLIANCE

OW081516 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 8 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, December 7 (XINHUA)--Daniel Passent, noted Polish political commentator, has called for unity and a popular alliance of all the people of the country including trade unionists, communists and Catholics.

In an article entitled "An Opportunity for the Central (Government)" which was carried in the newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY yesterday, Passent said: "We are living at a historical moment when we should act not only with determination but also with precaution."

"If the state is to be an arbitrator, it must have the prestige, authority and support. To this end, a new historical compromise is necessary, including a Polish compromise based on an alliance of trade unionists, communists and Catholics. There has been much talk of such an alliance but it has never materialized."

"If the alliance puts forward for itself realistic objectives, it means acting in line with the socialist system and concern on the part of every member of the alliance about a common victory. Only in this context can the alliance continue to exist."

"Only an alliance and the establishment of a center could provide us with a great opportunity."

Passent said: "I believe that today whoever stands for continued confrontation, fighting at all costs and sabotage, and whoever is bent on adventure instead of cooperation, be he a governor or a worker, and be upholding a red flag or a black or white flag, would be an enemy of Polish socialism."

CSO: 4020

UNITED KINGDOM, IRELAND ISSUE JOINT COMMUNIQUE

OW090235 Beijing XINHUA in English 0221 GMT 9 Dec 80

[Text] London, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--There is a need to seek new ways to bring peace and stability to Northern Ireland and to improve relations between their two countries, agreed British Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher and her Irish counterpart Charles Haughey after their meeting in Dublin today.

Mrs Thatcher had flown to Dublin for talks because of the mounting tension in Northern Ireland aroused by the hunger strike of ten jailed Republican guerrillas convicted of terrorist acts who are demanding that they be treated as political prisoners. She was accompnied by three senior members of the Cabinet.

A joint communique issued after five hours of talks, which also covered international and EEC issues, states that the two prime ministers agreed that "the economic, social and political interests of the peoples of the United Kingdom and the Republic (of Ireland) are inextricably linked, but that the full development of these links has been put under strain by division and dissent in Northern Ireland."

The communique adds, "In that context they accepted the need to bring forward policies and proposals to achieve peace, reconciliation and stability, and to improve relations between the peoples of the two countries."

It also says that the two prime ministers "have commissioned joint studies, covering a range of issues including new institutional structures, citizenship rights, security matters, economic cooperation and measures to encourage mutual understanding."

The results of these studies will be discussed when the two prime ministers meet in London next year to talk about "the totality of relationships within these islands."

The communique further states that both sides regarded today's talks, which took place in closely guarded Dublin Castle, as extremely constructive and significant. Charles Haughey afterwards told a press conference that he hoped the meeting would make an important contribution to the efforts to get a solution to the problem.

CSO: 4020

PAKISTANI-SAUDI ARABIAN COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

OW101904 Beijing XINHUA in English 1854 GMT 10 Dec 80

[Text] Islamabad, December 10 (XINHUA)—Pakistan and Saudi Arabia today called upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops immediately from Afghanistan.

A joint communique was issued in Lahore today by Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq and Crown Prince Fahd Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of Saudi Arabia at the end of the crown prince's three-day official visit to Pakistan. It says that the two sides reiterated the basic requisites of a political solution of the crisis including the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

The communique states, "The president informed the crown prince that Pakistan is dedicated to the cause of peace in South Asia and is sincerely desirous of improving its relations with India on the basis of the Simla agreement, and is not involved in an arms race, conventional or nuclear, with India or with any other country. In fact, Pakistan would welcome talks with India for mutual assurances in this regard and for consideration of other confidence-building measures."

Crown Prince Fahd expressed his appreciation of Pakistan's contribution to the cause of good-neighbourly relations and durable peace in the region. Both sides reiterated in the communique the importance of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

Believing in that safeguarding the security and stability of the Gulf area is the exclusive responsibility of the Gulf states free from outside interference. They called [on] Iran and Iraq "to cooperate with Islamic and international peace-making moves, end the hostilities and enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement of their disputes."

They affirmed that a just and lasting peace could not be realized without total Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories. They strongly condemned Israel's repeated acts of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

CSO: 4020

PRC, JAPAN ISSUE JOINT PRESS STATEMENT AS TALKS END

OW050253 Tokyo KYODO in English 0239 GMT 5 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing Dec 5 KYODO--Japan and China ended their three-day ministerial conference here Friday after issuing a joint press statement calling for further promotion of bilateral relations despite differences in social systems.

The statement, indicating to the world that the two Asian giants have now entered an age of stable relations on a working-level basis, was issued after the holding of the second plenary session of the ministerial conference.

During the session at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, Japanese and Chinese foreign ministers Masayoshi Ito and Huang Hua exchanged notes in which Japan pledged to extend yen 56 billion in yen credits to China in fiscal 1980.

Chinese Vice Premier Gu Mu, in a closing address at the second session, said the meeting had achieved an unexpectedly good result although it was short.

"Our mutual understandings have even more been promoted through the meeting and there were many points of agreement on friendly cooperation," he said.

But he said there were some points of disagreement due to differences in the circumstances and political systems under which Japan and China operate.

"Disagreement is a normal phenomenon, I believe," the vice premier said.

"I think we could reach complete agreement by the time the fourth ministerial meeting will be held," he added.

Japanese Foreign Minister Ito agreed and said the meeting will play an important role for peace and security in Asia and the world.

Japan sent six cabinet ministers to the conference, the first of the kind since the two countries normalized their relations in 1972.

The Japanese ministers paid courtesy calls Thursday on Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang.

The press statement said the ministerial conference discussed the international situation and bilateral relations, including cooperation and exchanges, and economic and fiscal policies of the two nations.

It said frank and serious exchanges of view were made on the Kampuchean problem, indicating the two countries had failed to find a common position on the issue.

The statement said, however, that the two countries would continue their efforts based on their respective position to secure and maintain peace and security in Asia and the world.

At the Ito-Hua meeting Thursday, the Japanese minister stressed the need to have Vietnam as a partner at an international conference on Kampuchea.

But Hua reiterated China's position that Vietnam should withdraw its troops from Kampuchea before a political settlement can be discussed.

The statement said relations between Japan and China have been developing smoothly since they normalized diplomatic ties in 1972.

The two sides reaffirmed that lasting peaceful and cooperative ties between the two countries should be created through increase of exchanges and mutual understanding in spite of differences in social systems, it said.

It said the Japanese delegation explained to China the course of postwar development of Japan, recent economic conditions and policies, fiscal and medium-range economic plan.

The Chinese delegation, the statement said, explained China's economic situation, the current economic readjustment review, policies and future development projects.

It said the two countries would further promote cooperation in developing oil, coal and other energy sources.

The statement said China would comply as much as possible to a Japanese request to increase supplies of energy sources on a long-term basis.

Japan and China agreed to start negotiations for conclusion of a taxation convention and an investment guarantee agreement for smoother economic relations between them, it said.

It said the two countries will endeavor for inauguration of regular cargoliner service on the Japan-China route.

China has pledged further cooperation in efforts to locate parents of Japanese orphans still scattered across the country, the statement said.

It added the next ministerial meeting will be held in Japan and its date will be fixed through diplomatic channels.

Japanese Foreign Minister Ito proposed at the meeting with Hua Thursday that the second meeting be held in Tokyo next year.

CSO: 4020

MANILA MEETING ON ASIAN MORTALITY TRENDS

OW051214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 5 Dec 80

[Text] Manila, December 5 (XINHUA)--There is a general trend of increase in life span in Asian countries owing to the efforts made in the past years to reduce mortality, according to data provided by the meeting on morality in Asia which ended here today.

By around 1975, the average expectation of life of male citizens in Pakistan, India, Nepal and Indonesia reached 45 to 49 years, Thailand and the Philippines 55 to 59, Sri Lanka 60 to 64, and China, Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong area 65 to 69. The country with the highest average expectation of life is Japan, reaching 70 to 74 years in 1975.

By the same time, infant mortality rate in Japan, Singapore and Hong Kong was reduced to 20 per thousand, as against 60 to 80 per thousand in 1950.

In China, infant mortality rate in 1978 in cities was 12 per thousand and that in rural areas 20 to 30 per thousand. The infant death rate before liberation was 120 per thousand in cities and 200 per thousand in the country. In 1978 China's crude death rate was lower than 7 per thousand, as against 25 per thousand before liberation.

The meeting which was held here from December 1 to 5 to study the mortality trends in Asia in the period from 1950 to 1975 was jointly sponsored by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). Demographers, epidemiologists, statisticians and public health experts from Asian and Pacific countries attended the meeting and introduced their experience in reducing mortality.

CSO: 4020

AUSTRALIAN REBEL LEADER IN VANUATU SENTENCED

OW221252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 22 Nov 80

[Text] Canberra, November 22 (XINHUA)--Separatist leader Jimmy Stevens was sentenced to 14.5 years' jail and fined 30,000 Australian dollars by the Vanuatu Supreme Court yesterday for leading a secessionist revolt in that South Pacific archipelago, according to press reports reaching here from Port Vila today.

Jimmy Stevens staged the separatist rebellion when Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides) became independent from joint Anglo-French colonial rule on July 30 this year. He was arrested late in August after Vanuatu police and Papua New Guinean troops, sent to help the newly independent nation crush the rebellion according to a decision by the South Pacific forum's meeting last July, overran his jungle headquarters at Vanafo in the hills of Espiritu Santo Island.

He faced 11 charges which included creating an illegal Vemerana provisional government, inciting rebellion, training an army, possessing illegal arms and explosives, and operating a radio transmitter.

During the two-day hearing, Stevens pleaded guilty to leading an insurgency that sought to split the country and prevent the new government there from assuming complete control upon independence.

After the hearing, Stevens told an Australian paper THE AGE that he felt misled by some foreign officials and organizations which had given him financial aid, drafted a constitution and printed passports for his secessionist group.

Stevens was reportedly the last to be tried among the more than 100 people arrested for their part in the rebellion. His right hand man, Timothy Wells, was earlier sentenced to eight years.

CSO: 4020

GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT REPORTED IN INDIA

OW071536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 7 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 7 (XINHUA)--The number of job-seekers totalled 15.1 million by June 30 this year, 21.8 per cent higher than 15 months ago, disclosed Indian Deputy Labour Minister Katta Reddy in a written reply to the Lower House on December 3, according to a report from New Delhi.

This shows a sharp deterioration of unemployment situation in that country. According to official statistics, the number of the underemployed rose from 4.2 million at the end of 1971 to 14.3 million at the end of last year, an average annual increase of 1.28 million.

The unemployment of the educated is likewise a prominent social problem in India. They stood at 7.296 million at the end of last June, or 48 per cent of the total job seekers. It was also reported that only 400,000 out of the over half a million university or college graduates in the country could get work each year.

The previous Indian governments gave the pride of place to the removal of unemployment by listing this task as their principle objective. Among a series of measures, they stressed development of labour intensive private small enterprises. However, as the low economy growth rate of 3.3 per cent coincides with a high population growth rate of 2.2 per cent, unemployment is still on an upward trend and has become a social problem to solve difficult. [as received]

CSO: 4020

INDUSTRIAL MINISTERS MEETING ENDS IN DACCA

OW052004 Beijing XINHUA in English 1952 GMT 5 Dec 80

[Text] Dacca, December 5 (XINHUA)—The four-day solidarity meeting of ministers of industry of developing countries which concluded here today pledged to render technical and other assistance to Bangladesh.

A recommendation issued here this afternoon said that the meeting was of the view that the fostering of solidarity among the developing countries and the building up of their collective self-reliance have acquired a new meaning and topical significance for achieving progress in the establishment of a new international economic order and for their accelerated development.

It said that representatives of the 20 participating countries voiced their solidarity with Bangladesh. It was agreed that the modalities and mechanisms for the cooperation would be of a flexible nature so as to yield optimum results and that all appropriate follow-up actions would be undertaken.

The recommendation said that the meeting will mark the beginning of numerous programmes of inter-country cooperation which will not only assist in the industrial development of Bangladesh but also constitute a concrete step for strengthening the solidarity and collective self-reliance of the Third World.

CSO: 4020

U.S. SENATE ISSUES REPORT ON 'GEOPOLITICS OF OIL'

OW210306 Beijing XINHUA in English 0248 GMT 21 Nov 80

[Text] Washington, November 20 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Senate Energy Committee published today a staff report on "The Geopolitics of Oil," expressing concern about access to oil "because of the threat to our (U.S.) national security and to world peace of oil supply disruptions," particularly threats from the Soviet Union.

"We must recognize that the energy problem is not only a long time issue but that it is an immediate concern," said the report, adding that "a major oil supply interruption is a virtual certainty within the next ten years."

Senator Henry Jackson, chairman of the energy committee, said in releasing the report today "There is a close link between our economic problems, our energy problems and our security problems. Our access to oil imports will rest in no small part on the strength and credibility of our defenses. Our ability to maintain a strong defense depends on the strength of our economy and our industrial base."

He said that these linkages "will govern the national policy in the 1980's" and four key measures should provide the cornerstone of this policy--namely, a domestic petroleum reserve, plans in concert with U.S. allies to mitigate the impact of an energy emergency, joint work with U.S. allies to ensure stability and resist Soviet advance in the Middle East, and strong support for programs for increasing oil production outside the Middle East.

On the question of checking Soviet advance in the Mideast, Jackson said that certain threats, particularly overt threat from the Soviet Union, may require a stronger response than any individual Middle East country or group of countries can provide. "To deal with these threats, we should enhance our ability to project military power in the region, through facilities agreements and an effective rapid deployment force. We should also work with our allies to develop a common strategy for deterring Soviet advances," he added.

Jackson pointed out clearly the Soviets will go out for warm water port and oil resources in the Persian Gulf and the invasion of Afghanistan was the first step in that direction. NATO will disappear without oil, he said.

Senator Bill Bradley, vice-chairman of the committee's study on the geopolitics of oil, said the war between Iraq and Iran threatens to close the Straits of Hormuz, the narrow waterway used by tankers carrying about 60 percent of the West's petroleum. "In addition," he said, "we have to assume that the Soviet Union will keep trying to gain influence in the region by exploiting turmoil there. If the Soviet Union held control over the Straits of Hormuz, it could destroy the economies of the West merely by shutting off the oil." "A one-year loss of Persian Gulf oil would wipe out one-fifth of the U.S. economy and trigger unemployment comparable to the worst of the great depression. The consequences could be still more severe for Europe, Japan and less developed countries," he added.

CSO: 4020

CUBA, MEXICO COOPERATE IN OIL EXPLORATION

OW071251 Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 7 Dec 80

[Text] Havana, December 6 (XINHUA)--Cuba and Mexico have agreed to cooperate in oil and natural gas exploration on the Cuban continental shelf, according to local press reports.

A protocol to this effect, the first of its kind between the two countries, was signed here yesterday by President of the Cuban State Economic Collaboration Committee Hector Rodriguez and the visiting director general of the Mexican Petroleum Company Jorge Diaz. Under the accord, Mexico is to provide Cuba with extensive cooperation in oil exploration on Cuba's continental shelf in addition to helping the latter to increase its liquified gas production and oil refining.

When receiving the visiting Mexican petroleum delegation, president of the State Council of Cuba Fidel Castro showed great interest in cooperation with Mexico in oil exploration, exploitation and refining. When Mexican President Lopez Portillo visited Cuba last July, the question had figured in his talks with Cuban leaders.

An energy-deficient country with no coal and water power resources, Cuba depends on the Soviet Union for almost all the oil it needs. Official figures released recently showed that from 1960 to the present, Cuba has imported from the Soviet Union a total of 122 million tons of oil and oil products and plans to import another 61 million tons in the next five years.

CSO: 4020

BRIEFS

MOUNTAINS OPEN TO CLIMBERS--Beijing, December 10 (XINHUA)--The unclimbed Mount Siguniang, in southwest China's Sichuan Province, will be open to foreign climbers next year, the Chinese Mountaineering Association (C.M.A.) said today. Formed by four peaks over 5,000 meters above sea level, Mount Siguniang belongs to the Qionglai Mountain Range, located in the heart of Sichuan. The main peak is 6,250 meters high and is only a day's drive away from Chengdu, capital of Sichuan, through China's largest giant panda protection zone Woolong. The rainy season there is from June to August. Since the beginning of this year, China has opened eight mountains to foreign expeditions, including the world's highest peak, the 8,848-meter Mount Gomolangma. Three American expeditions have signed procotols with the C.M.A. to climb Mount Siguniang next year, the C.M.A. said. The six-member American Alpine Club and Exum School American Mountaineering Expedition, led by Jack Turner and Peter Filafian, will challenge it from the south face between October 15 and November 15, 1981. The American Mountain Travel Expedition will also attempt it next October. The ten-member team will be led by Jack Turner. A team from Mountain Travel Nepal Incorporation has also signed a protocol, but the date and route of the climb have not been decided. [Text] [OW100252 Beijing XINHUA in English 0243 GMT 10 Dec 80]

JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS--Tokyo, December 9 (XINHUA)--The Soviet attacks on Afghanistan and its intensified military build-up on Japan's northern territories have obstructed improvement in Japan-Soviet relations, said Yoshio Sakurauchi, secretary general of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, the paper SANKEI SHIMBUN reported today. As long as these factors are not eliminated such improvement will be difficult, he said, adding that the Soviet military build-up at places which could be spotted by naked eyes from Hokkaido will only injure the feelings of Japanese nationals. Sakurauchi made these remarks at a 30-minute talk yesterday with a deputy-director of the international department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee at the headquarters of the Liberal Democratic Party. During the meeting, Sakurauchi expressed the hope for better relations between the two countries. He maintained that obstacles to better relations are mainly erected by the Soviet side. He demanded once again that the Soviet Union approprictely treat the issues of Afghanistan and Japan's northern territories. [Text] [OW090723 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 9 Dec 80]

POLISH UNREST--Warsaw, December 8 (XINHUA)--The Polish Armed Forces recently expressed worry over their country's independence and security, and voiced their support for the line to renovate the life of the party and the state and for political settlement of the recent clashes, according to a report from the Polish News Agency. At its plenary session held on December 6, the party committee of the navy pointed out that under the current situation the navy favors the party's line to stabilize the social, political and economic situation, firmly opposes the escalation of tension, and fully supports the renovation in many aspects of party and state organization and policy. Recent meetings of the party activists were held in the three military areas of Warsaw, Maritime and Silesia, at which the participants declared their unreserved support for the resolutions adopted at the party's 7th plenary session and the policy of democratizing social life. In an editorial entitled "Support the Socialist Renovation and Oppose Relaxation and Anarchism," the army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI said today that it is the full responsibility of Polish soldiers to follow the fate of their country which they will always defend with vigilance and loyalty. The editorial pointed out that social disorder has already caused damage to the national defence. The military expressed its desire for a rapid settlement of the current crisis. [Text] [OW091550 Beijing XINHUA in English 1540 GMT 9 Dec 80]

POLISH INVASION NOT EXPECTED--Beijing, 4 Dec (AFP)--China does not expect a Soviet intervention in Poland similar to its 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, a Japanese spokesman said following talks between the Chinese and Japanese foreign ministers here today. Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua who is also a vice-premier told his Japanese counterpart Masayoshi Ito that the Soviet Union could not at the current time "invade" Poland because of international pressure and also because of the Soviet domestic situation, the spokesman said. The Chinese foreign minister also indicated that the "invasions" of Afghanistan (by the Soviet Union) and of Cambodia (by Vietnam) were "weak points" for the Soviet Union in international terms. China is closely watching the situation in Poland and has made several references to the strong hostility a Soviet intervention would trigger. [Text] [OW040926 Hong Kong AFP in English 0917 GMT 4 Dec 80]

NATO FORCES CHRISTMAS LEAVE--Beijing, December 9 (XINHUA)--NATO's standing naval force in the Atlantic will remain at sea during Christmas because of the Polish situation, according to reports from Brussels quoting Atlantic allied sources on Monday. Christmas leave for sailors has been suspended. The five-ship force of destroyers and frigates from different NATO countries had been scheduled to sail for their home ports on December 3 for the holidays. The frigate U.S.S. Valdez will also remain at sea, announced a U.S. Navy spokesman yesterday. [Text] [OW091522 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 9 Dec 80]

THAI OFFICIALS URGE UNITY--Bangkok, December 6 (XINHUA)--The King of Thailand, Phumiphon Adunyadet, called on all the Thai people to unite closely and safeguard the security of the country. The King was addressing a public rally held to mark his 53rd birthday here yesterday. King Phumiphon Adunyadet said: "Ever-increasingly grave crises of all kinds have emerged continuously in the present world. This has so affected our country that we are greatly concerned about the security and stability of the country." He stressed, "No matter what happens, we must face the reality with wisdom and courage." Similar functions were also held in other parts of the capital on December 4 and 5. On December 4, Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon presided over a 100,000 strong rally here in downtown San Am Luang Square to mark the opening of the birthday festivities. Prem told the rally: "Every Thai should place collective and state interests above his own, and the Thai people should get united as one to defend the country firmly." On December 3, the Thai King also reviewed a parade of the Royal Guards Regiment. [Text] [OW060852 Beijing XINHUA in English 0812 GMT 6 Dec 80]

WARSAW WORKERS END STRIKE--Warsaw, November 29 (XINHUA)--The strike at the Warsaw Steel Mill was called off early yesterday after the mill's trade union leaders had a lengthy consultation with Lech Walesa, president of Poland's largest independent trade union "Solidarity" and heeded his advice. The steel workers' decision was made in view of "the grave situation at home and the national interests of Poland." According to a REUTER dispatch from Warsaw, Walesa warned Warsaw trade union representatives and steel workers that they risked losing everything and provoking the Polish army into action. "The army could be called in to run things," he said. "Let us not forget that tanks and rockets could also be the reply. We will not be able to defend ourselves, whereas those gentlemen can destroy us." Walesa added that the "Solidarity" was not strong enough to engage in such confrontation. Up to now, strikes at the Warsaw Steel Works, the Gdansk Sugar Refinery and the Lodz Textile Mill have all ended. But Katowice miners are still on strike. [Text] [OW291857 Beijing XINHUA in English 1852 GMT 29 Nov 80]

SFRY NATIONAL DAY--Belgrade, November 28 (XINHUA)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the Presidium of Yugoslavia, hosted a banquet here at noon today in celebration of Yugoslavia's National Day. This is the first national day celebration since President Tito passed away. According to the local press and television reports, the dominant theme of the National Day observation this year is: Strengthen unity among all the nationalities, join hands to overcome difficulties, and work hard to reinforce the socialist self-management and non-aligned Yugoslavia along the path paved by Comrade Tito. [Text] [OW281927 Beijing XINHUA in English 1921 GMT 28 Nov 80]

USSR ON POLAND--Mexico City, December 8 (XINHUA)--Mexican newspapers have expressed concern about a possible Soviet invasion of Poland. EXCELSIOR said editorially today that dozens of well equipped divisions of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are being concentrated along the Soviet-Polish borders, ready for an intervention in Poland. The editorial pointed out that an intervention designed to violate the public will of another country "can only sow the seeds of uncontrollable tempests." It urged the Soviet leaders to see to it that peace be maintained in Poland, and not to embark on expansionism or resort to force. NOVEDADES warned in an editorial on December 4 that the great military build-up by the Warsaw Treaty Organization States is for invading Poland and putting down the people's movement of that country. EL HERALD on Dec. 7 carried an editorial entitled "The Iron Heel of Russia Threatens Poland as It Did Czechoslovakia Yesterday." The editorial said that the Soviet order to have the Polish border with the German Democratic Republic sealed off has jeopardized world peace. [Text] [OW091306 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 9 Dec 80]

CUBANS SEEK ASYLUM--Beijing, December 10 (XINHUA)--Fourteen Cubans, including several women, broke through the Vatican diplomatic mission in Cuba yesterday, seeking political asylum, according to reports reaching here. Cuban policemen are reported to have encircled the mission yesterday afternoon. Witnesses said that the policemen drove the refugees out of the mission with tear gas in the evening and put them under arrest afterwards. One person was reported wounded in an exchange of fire. [Text] [OW101530 Beijing XINHUA in English 1526 GMT 10 Dec 80]

EL SALVADOR KILLINGS--Beijing, December 6 (XINHUA)--El Salvador's ruling junta condemned the assassination of four American women in a communique yesterday and promised to hunt down the assassins, according to reports from San Salvador. At a news conference on December 4, junta member Jose Napoleon Duarte said the murder was a premeditated act of right-wing terrorists. The four women, three nuns and a social worker, were the latest victims of violence following the murder of six leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front at the end of last month. They were abducted near the San Salvador airport on December 2 and their bodies were found in a small town near the capital two days later. U.S. State Department spokesman John Trattner announced in Washington yesterday that the U.S. was suspending its military and economic aid to El Salvador until the murder of the four women is clarified. According to a church estimate, acts of violence in El Salvador have claimed more than 9,000 lives so far this year. [Text] [OW061508 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 6 Dec 80]

CANADIAN OFFICIAL ON POLAND--Ottawa, December 4 (XINHUA)--Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Mark MacGuigan told the House of Commons yesterday that the government of Canada "regards the border situation around Poland with utmost seriousness." He stated that the Canadian Government maintains that "it is extremely important that the Polish question be settled by the Poles themselves and by no one else" and "it would not be compatible with the Helsinki Final Act for any country to use or even threaten to use force against another country." Asked about what steps his government plans to take to convince the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Germany to keep their armies out of Poland and to respect the principles of the Helsinki pact, the minister said that the government "is taking certain initiatives "with respect to the situation in Poland." On Tuesday, the House of Commons adopted a motion tabled by the new Democratic Party leader Edward Broadbent. The motion reads: "This House (of Commons) strongly urges all other states in the region to refrain completely from military or other provocative actions which could be seen as intimidation by the people of Poland and which could break peaceful relations beyond the borders of Poland itself." [Text] [OW050310 Beijing XINHUA in English 0300 GMT 5 Dec 80]

SRV ON THAI-KAMPUCHEAN BORDER--Bangkok, December 5 (XINHUA)--Massive Vietnamese troops and tanks have moved close to the Thai-Kampuchean border in the past two days, according to newspaper reports here today. More than 30 Vietnamese tanks moved into positions about 500 metres from the border. Some contingents of Vietnamese troops were positioned just opposite Ban Din Daeng, Nern Takoh, Lamchiek and Phak Kard of Thailand. Commander of Thailand's First Army Division Major-General Suchin Arayakul said that Vietnamese troops in

Kampuchea did not normally come so close to the border line. But their present intentions were not clear. He said artillery and mortar shells fired by the warring Kampucheans occasionally landed on Thai soil. [Text] [OW050822 Beijing XINHUA in English 0731 GMT 5 Dec 80]

KAMPUCHEAN RAILWAY DESTRUCTION--Beijing, December 5 (XINHUA)--Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas with the help of local residents cut the Phnom Penh-Kompong Som Railway last Sunday, Radio Democratic Kampuchea announces today. The patriotic Kampuchean forces blew up four kilometres of rails between Kompong Som and the Roluos Station. This is the third time this year that the patriotic Kampuchean forces cut the Phnom Penh-Kompong Som Railway which serves as a military supply line for the Vietnamese aggressors. Meanwhile, the patriotic Kampuchean forces mounted attacks at Sre Cham and two other hamlets in the Kompong Som area, wiping out 75 enemymen. [Text] [OW050324 Beijing XINHUA in English 0314 GMT 5 Dec 80]

KAMPUCHEANS ATTACK SRV PILLBOXES--Beijing, December 4 (XINHUA)--The Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas levelled to the ground a number of pillboxes in Battambang and Preah Vihear provinces in late November, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea. The Kampuchean patriotic forces mounted an attack on the pillbox complex, including a regimental command post, on Highway Five west of Sisophon, Battambang Province on the night of November 28. They destroyed the regimental post, demolished the Pot Ta Sor stronghold and damaged the pillboxes around the Sophi railway station in the battle, the Kampuchean forces wiped out 109 Vietnamese troops, including a major of the regiment, and seized a quantity of munitions. The same day the National Army and local guerrillas raided and destroyed four other strongholds from Samlot to Highway 10. On December 24, the Kampuchean National Army and local guerrillas captured the Vietnamese pillbox in Bak Anlong hamlet, Choam Khsan District, Preah Vihear Province. They killed 25 enemy soldiers and wounded 40 others and seized 25 weapons. On December 29, they blew up two munition depots in Dol Kngan hamlet, Chey Sen District in the same province. Thirty-two Vietnamese aggressors were killed in the explosions. [Text] [OW041222 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 4 Dec 80]

ASIAN SUMMIT PROPOSAL--Dacca, December 5 (XINHUA)--Foreign Minister M. Shamsul Haq of Bangladesh told parliament today that all six South Asian countries supported in principle a proposal made by President Ziaur Rahman for a South Asian summit to increase cooperation among them in economic, technical and cultural fields. He said that Bangladesh has circulated a working paper on the proposed summit to Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sir Lanka. Foreign ministers of these countries will meet to make preparations for the summit. [Text] [OW051628 Beijing XINHUA in English 1608 GMT 5 Dec 80]

BELGIUM ON POLISH SITUATION--Warsaw, December 4 (XINHUA)--The Belgian Government and people "are convinced that Poland itself has the capability to overcome its difficulties and that any other stand would bring extremely grave consequences to international relations in Europe and the rest of the world," the visiting Belgian Foreign Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb said here today. Nothomb made the remarks at a reception given in his honour by Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek. Nothomb said that "Europe and the world need a stable Poland" and "the Belgian Government and people are following closely the changes now taking place in Poland." Nothoub stressed that the difficulties Poland is facing and the ways and means it seeks to solve them are exclusively "Poles' own affairs." [Text] [OW050844 Beijing XINHUA in English 0829 GMT 5 Dec 80]

POLISH BANK EXCHANGE MEASURES--Warsaw, December 5 (XINHUA)--The Polish People's Bank has announced a new regulation limiting the amount for the exchange of forints for Poles visiting Hungary. Under the regulation, every Polish citizen who goes to Hungary on private business is entitled to buy 1,500 forints a year. But he is only entitled to exchange 600 forints if his stay is less than four days; he may exchange 150 forints more for each day over the four days up to 1,500 forints. The bank also regulates the amount of exchange allowed to transit tourists. [Text] [OW060143 Beijing XINHUA in English 0134 GMT 6 Dec 80]

POLISH-YUGOSLAV TRADE PROTOCOL--Warsaw, December 6 (XINHUA)--A 1981 trade protocol for mutual supply of goods was concluded between Poland and Yugoslavia today, reported the Polish Press Agency. Under the protocol, [the] two countries will increase the exchange of goods and promote cooperation in production and among specialized departments. Poland will export to Yugoslavia power plants, chemical industry equipment, sulphur and hard coal and import from it raw materials and equipment for chemical industry, food and light industrial products including knit wear, piece goods and shoes. A big proportion of the mutual supplied goods will be metallurgical products. Not long ago, Poland signed trade protocols with Bulgaria and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. [Text] [OW070757 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 7 Dec 80]

DELEGATION LEAVES BELGRADE--Belgrade, December 7 (XINHUA)--A Chinese physical culture delegation left here today after a 6-day visit which resulted in the signing of the minutes of talks on bilateral cooperation and exchange of experience in the relevant field in 1981. Led by Lu Jindong, vice-minister of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission, the Chinese group had discussions with Milan Ercegan, vice-chairman of the Yugoslav Physical Culture Council, on matters of bilateral exchanges and of friendly cooperation in international institutions. The Chinese delegation began their visit on December 2. [Text] [OW071520 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 7 Dec 80]

AVIATION DELEGATION HONORED--London, December 5 (XINHUA)--Norman Tebbit, parliamentary under secretary of state for trade, gave a reception here today in honour of the Chinese goodwill delegation led by Lu Zhengzhe, deputy director-general of the General Administration of Civil Aviation of China (C.A.A.C). The delegation has come to attend the celebrations of the commencement of weekly direct air services between China and the United Kingdom at the invitation of the British Airways. Chinese Ambassador Ke Hua gave a farewell reception for the visiting Chinese delegation at the embassy here this evening. [Text] [OW060248 Beijing XINHUA in English 0242 GMT 6 Dec 80]

EEC AID TO PORTUGAL--Brussels, December 5 (XINHUA)--The European Communities and Portugal signed on December 3 here an agreement on the implementation of pre-accession aid for Portugal, according to a press release published by the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Communities. Under the terms of this agreement, starting from January 1 1981, a total amount of 275 million European units of account (about 360 million U.S. dollars) will be gradually given to Portugal in the form of loans, for promoting regional development in Portugal and strengthening the Portuguese economy. This is the first time that an aid of this type has been taken out of the community budget to assist a country which has applied for accession. Speakers at the signing ceremony emphasized that the aim of this pre-accession aid was to facilitate Portugal's integration into the community. [Text] [OW051907 Beijing XINHUA in English 1855 GMT 5 Dec 80]

FRG, ITALY ON POLAND--Bonn, December 9 (XINHUA)--Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany and Prime Minister Arnaldo Forlani of Italy stressed here today that any foreign intervention in Poland involves great risks. They repeated their warning to countries concerned to take a cautious attitude toward the Polish problem. They were speaking to newsmen after their one-day consultation. Schmidt also expressed the belief that the Polish people are capable of overcoming their current difficulties according to their own desire. West Germany, he added, will also be cautious with regard to the Polish problem. It is reported that the two leaders focused their talks on the situation in Poland and aid to Italy after the earthquake. Present on the talks were also West German Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo. [Text] [OW100757 Beijing XINHUA in English 0738 GMT 10 Dec 80]

ITALY OPPOSES POLISH INTERVENTION--Rome, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--Paolo Bufalini, a leading member of the Italian Communist Party, today said: "We once again declare publicly that we will consider a military intervention in Poland on the part of a member of the Warsaw Pact a most grave fact absolutely unacceptable to us." He told UNITA in an interview: "We agree with what Kania said about 'innovation without anarchy,' but in any circumstances we hold that the struggle to resolve the Polish crisis should be carried out by the Polish working class, the Polish people and the Polish Communist Party with no pressure or interference from any other Communist Party or socialist country. These principles on the building of a socialist society, international detente and safeguarding of peace are of fundamental importance to us." The paper also reported the attitude of the leadership of the Italian Socialist Party toward the crisis in Poland which expressed "utmost concern" over a possible intervention in Poland and hoped for a peaceful solution of that crisis. [Text] [OW061522 Beijing XINHUA in English 1513 GMT 6 Dec 80]

POLISH TRADE UNION COUNCIL--Warsaw, December 5 (XINHUA)--The Central Council of Polish Trade Unions is to cease its operation beginning December 31, according to the press agency of Poland. A decision to this effect was made at a plenary session of the council here today. The council also decided to stop the operation of the provincial trade union councils. The Central Council was set up in 1944 with 23 affiliated unions. It now has a membership of 12 million. Since the strikes last July and August, many workers have withdrawn their membership and set up independent and self-governing "solidarity" trade unions. The affiliated trade unions quit the Central Council and set up new unions. In such circumstances, the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions has to stop its operation. [Text] [OW060819 Beijing XINHUA in English 0806 GMT 6 Dec 80]

POLISH 'SOLIDARITY' OPPOSES STRIKES--Warsaw, December 6 (XINHUA)--The Polish Independent and Autonomous "Solidarity" Trade Union in a statement yesterday reiterated its opposition to any irresponsible strikes and told its subordinate trade unions that they have no right to hold strikes without the approval of the trade union leadership. The statement, which was released by a press spokesman of the trade union's national consultative committee, said: "At present, there are no strikes or protests in Poland, nor any forecast for any such action." Therefore, "there are no reasons for unease and alarm." This statement is a response to charges that "solidarity" is sowing seeds of anarchism. The statement urged all mass media to publicize the November 26 statement of the National Consultative Committee concerning strikes, which stressed that "under such a tense situation, the holding of any strike is not for but against the real interests of the trade unions. In the light of the interests of the nation and our organization, we warn against any irresponsible strikes." [Text] [OW061624 Beijing XINHUA in English 1613 GMT 5 Dec 80]

ROMANIAN-IRAQI OFFICIALS MEET--Bucharest, December 8 (XINHUA)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania and president of the Romanian Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, today received here Hikhat Ibrahim, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, member of the regional leadership of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party and member of the Supreme Committee of the National Progressive Front, according to AGERPRES. It reports that the two sides "expressed concern over the development of the present world political weather." It also states they stressed the need for more efforts to reinforce the process of detente, peace and cooperation, and the ending of tension and conflict in various parts of the world through political means and negotiations. The report says, "Referring to the Iraq-Iran conflict, they stressed that every effort should be exerted to reach a ceasefire and to seek a political solution through peaceful means, in the interests of regional peace, world detente and national independence." [Text] [OW090248 Beijing XINHUA in English 0227 GMT 9 Dec 80]

JAPAN ASSISTS NEPAL--Katmandu, 5 Dec (XINHUA)--The Government of Japan has decided to extend to Nepal a grant assistance up to 202.4 million rupees for developing the national economy of the country. This was disclosed at a press conference held by the visiting Japanese Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Kazuo Aichi here this evening. Three notes concerning the assistance were signed and exchanged this afternoon by the Japanese vice-minister and Nepalese Assistant Minister for Food and Agriculture Madan Bahadur Pradhan. In answer to the question of what an attitude Japan would take towards Nepal's peace zone proposal, Kazuo Aichi said that during his talks with Nepalese Foreign Minister K. B. Shahi, he himself had expressed support for the proposal on behalf of the Japanese Government because "it is meaningful and effective, and supported by many nations in the world." Kazuo Aichi arrived in Nepal yesterday for a three-day visit. He has been received by King Birendra and Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa of Nepal. [Text] [OW051924 Beijing XINHUA in English 1905 GMT 5 Dec 80]

LEADERS WARNED ON BUYING U.S. ARMS--"Since the United States and some other countries of the NATO bloc have relaxed restrictions on selling offensive arms to our country, some people have become crazy with joy, thinking that this is a reliable guarantee for realizing the modernization of our army. At a recent meeting of the CCP Central Committee's military commission, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping, disregarding the economic budget for 1981 approved at the Third Session of the NPC, decided to appropriate a large sum of money to buy more U.S. arms in the next few years." Many people have opposed this decision of Deng Xiaoping. Their reasons are: Buying arms from the United States involves a large sum of money. Everyone knows that Vice Chairman Deng met with U.S. Defense Secretary Brown at the beginning of this year. During the meeting it was agreed that China would need $80 billion to modernize its conventional forces. Needless to say, such a large sum of money would certainly adversely affect China's economic development plan. Practice has proven that complete reliance on U.S. arms would bring about serious consequences. A concrete example was Iran under the former shah. PRC leaders are warned not to lead the modernization of China's armed forces astray. [Summary] [OW120805 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 10 Dec 80]

PAKISTANI PER CAPITA INCOME--Islamabad, December 5 (XINHUA)--Pakistan stands out with the highest per capita income among the seven South Asian countries, the local press reported today quoting an annual report of the World Bank for 1979-80. Pakistan, with a per capita income of 230 U.S. dollars, is followed by Sri Lanka with 190 dollars, India with 180, Burma and Maldives with 150 each, Nepal with 120 and Bangladesh with 90, the lowest. These countries with a total population of 900 million represent about one-fifth of the world's total population and account for about two-fifths of the population in the less developed countries. During the decade of 1971-80, the output in these countries increased by about 33 per cent while the population rose by 26 per cent with the result that much of the gains were rendered insignificant and the growth in average per capita income increased only around one per cent annually. In view of this, hardly any improvement was noticeable in the living standards of the absolute poor population of about 350 million in the region. The report noted that South Asia has the potential for accelerated economic growth in the 1980s at a rate well in excess of its population growth. [Text] [OW051648 Beijing XINHUA in English 1613 GMT 5 Dec 80]

YAR COTTON PRODUCTION--San'a', December 7 (XINHUA)--The output of cotton in North Yemen is expected to reach 2,400 tons this year, 5 times that of last year, said Lutuf Ans, director of the planning department of the Yemeni Agriculture Ministry. Ans said in an interview with XINHUA that the area sown to cotton this year is about 7,000 hectares, 4.8 times that of last year. The Yemen Arab Republic is a cotton-producing country. In 1974, the output reached a record high of 9,800 tons, of which 5,200 tons were sold abroad. With the large outflow of labour force from the countryside, the cost of production increased. Meanwhile, the purchase price set by the government had been low. As a result, the area under cotton and the output substantially dropped, last year, only 600 tons were produced. A national higher committee for cotton was established last May and a number of measures were taken to increase the cotton production: the purchase price was raised by 42.8 per cent; the government lends cotton farmers 600 riyals for each hectare sown to cotton instead of the earlier rate of 350 riyals; and supplies them with free pesticides for three years. The government also decided to import more farm machines to make up the shortage of labour force. [Text] [OW071842 Beijing XINHUA in English 1832 GMT 7 Dec 80]

PAKISTAN ENERGY CONSERVATION--Islamabad, December 4 (XINHUA)--The Pakistan Interministerial National Energy Policy Committee has recommended a larger utilisation of natural gas and liquified petroleum gas in order to conserve energy. Official sources said here yesterday that the committee has observed that at present 91 per cent of the oil demand is imported. The oil import bill is estimated at 1,500 million U.S. dollars which constitutes more than 60 per cent of last year's export earnings. Kerosene consumption registered a decline of nine per cent in the first half of 1980-81 and a further decline will be achieved through continuing efforts to hit a target of 100,000 domestic gas connections each in 1980-81 and 1981-82. One hundred thousand gas connections could save about 30,000 tons of kerosene. Furthermore, liquified petroleum gas production will increase from 36,000 tons per year to 60,000 tons by the end of 1981-82. A compressed natural gas project has also come under review. This project would be able to replace high speed diesel and may save consumption of gasoline. Pakistan is also anxious to maximize indigenous production of oil. The indigenous production of crude oil was stated to rise from 11,000 barrels per day to 14,000 barrels by June 1981, and to 21,000 barrels by June 1982. [Text] [OW041514 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 4 Dec 80]

SAUDI OFFICIAL ON AFGHANISTAN--Islamabad, December 7 (XINHUA)--The Saudi Arabian interior minister, Nayif Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz al-Sa'ud, who is on a visit to Pakistan, said that big powers should respect the rights of small nations and should not impose anything by force. Addressing a press conference here today, he said that Pakistan and Saudi Arabia along with other countries of the world hoped that Afghan refugees should return to their own country in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility. Nayif visited Afghan refugee camps in Peshawar yesterday. Speaking to the refugees, he said that the current situation in Afghanistan could ultimately affect the entire world and, therefore, it was the duty not only of the Muslim countries but also of the other countries to pay greater attention immediately to its early solution. This morning Nayif held talks with his Pakistan counter-part Mahmud Haroon on bilateral cooperation in various fields. [Text] [OW071632 Beijing XINHUA in English 1611 GMT 7 Dec 80]

BANGLADESH ON PALESTINIAN ISSUE--Dacca, December 7 (XINHUA)--Bangladesh Foreign Minister Shamsul Haq yesterday said Bangladesh had time and again underscored the paramount importance of the immediate evacuation of Israel from all illegally occupied Arab lands including Jerusalem as a prerequisite to a lasting and durable peace in the Middle East, according to press reports here today. Speaking on the Palestinian problem at the Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs, Shamsul Haq said that today's need for closer cooperation among Islamic countries, politically and economically, has assumed a new urgency. The success of the efforts of the world in general, and of the Islamic nations in particular, for a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East, depends on our united efforts and determined will. [Text] [OW071708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1655 GMT 7 Dec 80]

ISRAELI DETENTION CONDEMNED--Baghdad, December 7 (XINHUA)--The Iraqi General Federation of Trade Unions strongly denounced the Zionist regime for detention of Arab trade union officials in Palestine and occupied Arab territories, according to press reports here today. In a statement issued yesterday, the federation condemned the oppressive and terrorist acts committed by Israel against the Arab Palestinian people inside the occupied territories. The federation called upon Arab workers to exert concerted efforts and pressure to ensure the release of Arab unionists detained by Israeli authorities. It also pledged full support for the struggle waged by the Arab Palestinian people, led by their legitimate representative, the PLO. [Text] [OW080148 Beijing XINHUA in English 0136 GMT 8 Dec 80]

MOROCCO DETAINS TRAWLERS--Rabat, December 7 (XINHUA)--Moroccan coast guards recently searched two Soviet and one Cuban trawlers near its southern coast, and later escorted them to Dakhla Port, LE MATIN DU SAHARA reported today quoting Ahmed Dlimi, commandant of southern military zone. The paper said that these trawlers were detained because they were suspected of engaging in espionage including provision of information about Moroccan air force movements to the Popular Front for the Liberation of West Sahara. [Text] [OW080828 Beijing XINHUA in English 0817 GMT 8 Dec 80]

IRANIAN ARMY UNITY URGED--Tehran, December 6 (XINHUA)--Iranian leader Khomeyni called here today for unity and coordination among the Iranian army, revolutionary guards and other military organizations. He warned that if they do otherwise, "an Islamic country would fall to the hands of the blasphemers and Islam would be isolated for a long period," Radio Iran reported. Meeting a group of revolutionary guards who met him this morning, he urged the intellectuals to allow the cultural revolution to come into being for several years and see what experiences and results will be. While condemning the "plot against the clergymen," he said that if the clergymen and people can be separated from each other, the superpowers will celebrate it. It was reported that shopkeepers' strikes and demonstrations in support of clergymen were still going on in some Iranian cities. [Text] [OW061924 Beijing XINHUA in English 1913 GMT 6 Dec 80]

SOVIET CRIMES DENOUNCED--Paris, December 1 (XINHUA)--Two leaders of the Afghan National Islamic Front disclosed here today that there are at least 11 Soviet divisions with 120,000 men in Afghanistan. The two leaders, Mohammad Nazem and Hamid Nasser-Zia, vice-presidents of the front, made a joint speech before a regular session of the Western European Union Assembly. Nazem said the Soviets had conducted massive bombings of valleys and villages in Afghanistan and their scorched earth policy had claimed more than 500,000 lives of unarmed civilians. "But, the Afghan people have demonstrated their ever greater determination to resist the brutal occupation of their country," he stressed. He also cited facts to show that the Soviet invaders have built a lot of military bases in Afghanistan. Nazem appealed to the assembly to consider the reality of the situation in Afghanistan and call on the governments of its member states to "take a positive initiative and support the Afghan resistance movement in a constructive way." [Text] [OW021258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 2 Dec 80]

INDIAN-INDONESIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE--Beijing, December 4 (XINHUA)--India and Indonesia today called for a settlement of the Afghan issue and expressed the opinion that the Afghans should be left alone to determine their own "destiny free from foreign interference and intervention," according to reports from New Delhi. India and Indonesia expressed their views in a joint communique issued at the end of President Suharto's four-day visit to India. The two sides expressed in the joint communique full support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. During their talks, the joint communique says, the leaders of the two countries expressed their grave concern at the deteriorating world situation, particularly in the Asian region, and were distressed by the Iran-Iraq conflict. The joint communique said that both sides attached importance to a United Nations conference on the Indian Ocean to be held in Sri Lanka next year and urged all countries to endeavour to implement the U.N. declaration to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. [Text] [OW041304 Beijing XINHUA in English 1257 GMT 4 Dec 80]

EGYPT CONDEMNS ISRAEL--Cairo, December 8 (XINHUA)--Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali today condemned the Israeli security forces' suppression of Bir Zeit University students as "inhuman." He charged that the Israeli Government's measures in the West Bank and Gaza Strip represent the worst form of suppression by military occupation. He added that the Israeli Government's actions contravene the letter and spirit of the Camp David agreements and amount to serious escalation of the situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Earlier, commenting on the Israeli Government's decision to expel chiefs of Hebron and Halbul municipalities, El Qawsma and Mohammad Melhim, Hassan Ali said that the Israeli Government took a hardline which leads to instability in the West Bank and Gaza and does not promote efforts conducive to encouraging the Palestinians to participate in the peace negotiations. [Text] [OW090206 Beijing XINHUA in English 0123 GMT 9 Dec 80]

IRAQI AID TO JORDAN--Baghdad, December 8 (XINHUA)--Iraq has transferred to Jordan 55 million U.S. dollars to make up for the failure of Libya and Algeria to honour their shares of pan-Arab aid to Jordan after the outbreak of the Gulf war, a spokesman for the Ministry of Finance declared yesterday. According to today's local newspaper reports, the spokesman said that the transfer reflects the firm belief of the government of Iraq in confronting the imperialist-Zionist and reactionary designs and in the pursuit of fostering the pan-Arab interests in liberation and unity. [Text] [OW090242 Beijing XINHUA in English 0216 GMT 9 Dec 80]

TIANJIN MAYOR MEETS JAPANESE DELEGATION--[Summary from poor reception] At 2000 on 3 December, a 6-man delegation of a Japanese limited company paid a visit to Mayor Hu Qili. The president of the company "conveyed regards to Mayor Hu from Mr Tatsuo Miyazaki, the mayor of Kobe city. He then informed Mayor Hu about the preparations for the international exposition currently being carried out in Kobe city." Mayor Hu Qili extended his warm welcome to the delegation and expressed his hope for wider economic cooperation between China and Jpan. Li Zhongyuan, deputy mayor of Tianjin, also met with the Japanese delegation on the afternoon of 3 December. The delegation is to leave Tainjin 4 December. [SK050526 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 4 Dec 80]

POLISH GOVERNMENT-CHURCH APPEAL--Warsaw, December 9 (XINHUA)--The entire Polish people should unite as one to ensure the survival of their sovereign state and free it from the current crisis. This identical view was reached by both the Polish Government and the Polish Catholic Episcopate at a joint meeting yesterday. The meeting put emphasis on the essential factor necessary for the smooth development of the country--stability. The meeting stressed that the task facing the Polish people is to work earnestly and to encourage the authorities to negotiate with the organizations concerned to eliminate those factors leading to strikes and tension. The meeting pointed out: "The Polish people, irrespective of their world outlook and political views, should get united as one to ensure the survival of their state and free it from the current crisis." [Text] [CW091846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1841 GMT 9 Dec 80]

CUBAN OFFICIAL VISITS IRAQ--Baghdad, December 8 (XINHUA)--Cuban Foreign Minister Asidiro Malmierca, who was on a peace mission to Iraq on behalf of the non-aligned movement, left here today after a five-day stay, Radio Baghdad reported this evening. He had talks with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn and Deputy Prime Minister Taroq A'ziz on suggestions from the non-aligned movement for a peaceful and just settlement of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. [Text] [OW090244 Beijing XINHUA in English 0231 GMT 9 Dec 80]

EEC FOOD TO POLAND--Brussels, December 9 (XINHUA)--The European Communities are getting ready to send food exports to Poland on its demand, according to "EUROPE" today. This action is being taken in line with the December 2 decision taken by the EEC summit. In its communique, the summit expressed its "willingness to meet, insofar as their resources allow, the requests for economic aid which have been made to them by Poland." At present, the economic situation in Poland is in serious difficulties. The level of agricultural production this year was down by 12 per cent as compared with that of last year. It is worse than that in 1973. Industrial production also registered a sharp decline in the recent period. Confronted with such a situation, the Polish authorities have very likely asked the commission of the EEC for 100,000 tonnes of beef and veal and 40,000 tonnes of butter, "EUROPE" reported. The commission is considering the requests in the light of how much the EEC can give. Normally, it would be up to the management committee to take the decisions on the requests. But in view of the importance of the matter, particularly from the political point of view, it will most likely be discussed by the EEC Ministerial Council. [Text] [OW091710 Beijing XINHUA in English 1659 GMT 9 Dec 80]

U.S. AWACS IN W. GERMANY--Bonn, December 10 (XINHUA)--The first group of two AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) planes arrived at the Ramstein airbase, West Germany, this afternoon at the request of the North Atlantic Pact Organization. The two AWACS planes came on a non-stop flight from the United States, and were refuelled over the Atlantic. It is reported that the United States will station four planes of the kind in West Germany. [Text] [OW111518 Beijing XINHUA in English 1509 GMT 11 Dec 80]

CSO: 4020

DENG XIAOPING 'HERO' ROLE SCORED

OW141910 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] During the trial of the 10 major criminals, some people have tried to make Vice Chairman Deng look as if he were a hero opposing the "gang of four." They have tried skillfully to create a false image of Deng Xiaoping as the "gang of four's" strong opponent. They claimed that "the 'gang of four' always directed their spearhead at Comrade Deng Xiaoping and spared no effort to slander and frame him." They also claimed that "in the face of such frenzied persecution by the 'gang of four,' Vice Chairman Deng never flinched but waged a courageous struggle." In short, they want people to regard Comrade Deng Xiaoping as a beacon in the 10-year dark period and a hero against the "gang of four." By throwing dust in people's eyes and creating a false image, they want to strengthen Vice Chairman Deng's steadily declining power and position.

But, history will give its verdict on whether he was a hero against the "gang of four" or a hypocrite. During the rule of the erroneous line and the 10-year turmoil, most of our cadres and ordinary party members waged a life or death struggle against the feudalist, fascist dictators in order to defend the party and people's cause and the party's political line. Revolutionaries of the older generation, such as Liu Shaoqi, Peng Denhuai, He Long, Chen Yi, Zhang Wentian, Luo Ruiqing and Huang Keqing, and young revolutionary martyrs, such as comrades Zhang Zhixin and (Wang Mingshi), were typical examples. Most of them sacrificed their lives. They defied brutal force, refused to yield to evil forces and maintained their heroic spirit. They will live forever in history.

Contrary to these examples, certain national and local leaders submitted to the tyrannical rule of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Cultural Revolution. They fell on their knees as soon as they were attacked and wrote self-criticisms, statements of repentance or statements acknowledging their mistakes. By doing this they safely survived the 10-year catastrophe. Yet, surprisingly, they now pose as "heroes against the 'gang of four.'" The praises lavished on Comrade Deng Xiaoping fall into this category.

Truth, however, cannot be covered up, just as fire cannot be wrapped up in paper. An abundance of historical facts show that how Vice Chairman Deng acted before Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Chairman Mao was a far cry from what is advertised today. People will not easily forget that at the work conference of the party Central Committee on 23 October 1966, Comrade Deng Xiaoping profusely praised the very people he claims to have vigorously opposed. At that meeting, he said: "The decision of the 11th plenary session of the 8th CCP Central Committee on choosing Comrade Lin Biao as the chairman's assistant and successor and on electing Comrade Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan--comrades who hold high the red banner of Mao Zedong Thought--to key posts in the party Central Committee is extremely necessary and important. I express my sincere support." At the same meeting Deng Xiaoping also [word indistinct] said: "I completely support the instructions issued by Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Biao at this conference. I completely agree with Comrade Chen Boda's speech."

Judging from the above quoted remarks, Comrade Deng Xiaoping had completely surrendered to Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as early as the initial period of the Cultural Revolution. In his 50,000-word written self-criticism, he even framed other people in order to insure his own official position. He said: "I completely support the resolution of the 12th plenary session of the 8th CCP Central Committee personally presided over by Chairman Mao. Liu Shaoqi has committed towering crimes. We must thoroughly expose and criticize his counterrevolutionary crimes." At the instructions of Kang Sheng and Chen Boda, Comrade Deng Xiaoping even collected a lot of incriminating material against Liu Shaoqi. Thus, he actually helped the evil forces frame Chairman Liu.

In view of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expressed determination to repent and mend his ways and his contributions in struggling against Liu Shaoqi and other party, government and army leaders, the "gang of four" and Chairman Mao rehabilitated him. On 12 April 1973, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made his public appearance in the company of Wang Hairong and returned to the political stage.

Today Comrade Deng Xiaoping distorts historical facts and poses as the most pitiful victim of the Cultural Revolution and a hero against Lin Biao and the "gang of four." His actions, obviously, are aimed at escaping his grave responsibility in helping the "gang of four," flattering Lin Biao and the gang and colluding with the gang in doing evil.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

DENG'S PAST SUPPORT FOR CULTURAL REVOLUTION DISCUSSED

OW160343 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] In a recent speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Many military cadres are resentful of me. I am not afraid of this. I have been knocked down three times and am prepared for another, the last. A fairly large number of military cadres have been punished in the past few years. This is not because, as some people put it, 'Deng Xiaoping is giving vent to personal spite.' I said before that I had completely forgotten what took place during the Cultural Revolution. I did not want to think about and mention those things because I was very forgetful. But later on I thought that without doing so, it would be difficult to distinguish the faces of some people. In the past the army followed Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and launched the 'three support-two army's' campaign. How can the evil record of army cadres be written off at one stroke?"

The above remark by Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping would sound like a golden saying a few years ago, but it sounds highly hypocritical now. If Comrade Deng Xiaoping were indeed not venting his personal spite on the army, he would by no means firmly hold on to the army's participation in the "three support-two army" campaign and would not put the former principal leaders of our army, who had been detained for 9 years under the charges fabricated by the "gang of four," on public trial. He would neither regard opposition against Comrade Deng Xiaoping as a grave crime and would not allow, with ulterior motives, people to praise Comrade Deng Xiaoping as the "hero" who opposed the Cultural Revolution and resisted Chairman Mao's erroneous line, and who was the "biggest victim" of the Cultural Revolution--all are far from true.

As long as Comrade Deng Xiaoping regards as a (?grave crime) the army cadres' involvement in the Cultural Revolution and implementation of the (?left-leaning military control) in accordance with the instructions of the chairman of the CCP Central Committee Military Commission, the premier and the defense minister, we would naturally like to turn to a few pages in Comrade Deng Xiaoping's "Clean History." Why were Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Chen Yi and many other people persecuted to death? Why were tens of thousands or more people rehabilitated only after the downfall of the "gang of four?" However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who was regarded as having committed the same crimes as Liu Shaoqi at that time, did not suffer any hardships during the Cultural Revolution but only assumed more important party, government and army posts than he had before the start of the Cultural Revolution. By raising these questions, we do not mean that we (?wish) Comrade Deng Xiaoping were persecuted to death as Liu Shaoqi was. We are merely saying that as long as his hands are all muddy, he should not have brushed the dust off other people. For example, in making self-criticism at a party Central Committee work meeting on 23 October 1966, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "I completely support the instructions made by Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Biao during the meeting and endorse Comrade Chen Boda's speech on 16 October. It is necessary to further eliminate the influence of the erroneous bourgeois line represented by Liu Shaoqi and myself and implement the correct line personally formulated by Chairman Mao on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. There are only two persons--Liu Shaoqi and I--in the party Central Committee who represent the reactionary bourgeois line in the Great Cultural Revolution." In the self-criticism Comrade Deng Xiaoping declared: "In order to fully carry out the proletarian Great Cultural Revolution, it is necessary to thoroughly repudiate the erroneous line of Liu Shaoqi and me. Comrade Chen Boda has set forth a correct opinion, which we have rejected. Comrade Chen Boda's correct opinion comes from the masses of people and is in line with Chairman Mao's line."

What is more, in order to protect himself, Comrade Deng Xiaoping attacked Peng Zhen, Yang Shankun, Deng Tuo, Wu Han and other people who had supported him but were persecuted at that time, by calling them "demons and devils." He also said that the wallposters written by Nie Yuanzi and six other comrades "play the great inspiring role of the Paris commune in Beijing" and that their rebellion against the "demons and devils" was good. "The Great Cultural Revolution not only guarantees that our country will not change its color but also has an epoch-making important significance for the whole world."

Therefore, it can be seen that the reason for the grave damage during the decade of chaos certainly lies in the support of Deng Xiaoping and other people for the Cultural Revolution. Today, when the (?trial) of the 14,000 army cadres is going to start soon, we hope that Deng Xiaoping and other leading comrades in the central authorities will be strict with themselves and broadminded toward others.

CSO: 4005

JIANG QING TRIED FOR FRAMING PARTY MEMBERS

OW131309 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1553 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--The first tribunal of the special court interrogated Jiang Qing for the fifth time this morning. An abundance of evidence verifies that Jiang Qing colluded with Kang Sheng in 1968 to frame many members of the Eighth CCP Central Committee as "enemy agents, renegades" or "elements maintaining illicit foreign relations." It also verified that Jiang Qing also directly framed and persecuted Lu Dingyi, Hu Qiaomu, Zhou Yang, Qi Yanming, Wang Kunlun, Qian Junrui, Liao Mosha, Zhang Ruihua and Wang Jie.

The judge Qu Yucai asked Jiang Qing: On 21 July 1968, Kang Sheng, at your request, sent you a secret letter with a list of the framed members and alternate members of the Eighth CCP Central Committee attached. Was this true and what was your purpose? Jiang Qing admitted that she had requested the list, but argued that this was "normal and legal," adding that she wanted "to understand the situation" as she was preparing for the 12th plenary session of the 8th CCP Central Committee. The judge Gan Ying immediately pointed out: Was it justified and legal since Jiang Qing was not even a member of the CCP Central Committee? Jiang Qing went so far as to say what was said at a meeting of the Cultural Revolution group under the CCP Central Committee was tantamount to the words of the party Central Committee. This caused an uproar in the court.

Public prosecutors Jiang Wen and Wang Zhenzhong refuted Jiang Qing's crafty arguments by pointing out that the list of framed leaders drawn up by Jiang Qing in collusion with Kang Sheng on 21 July 1968 was a conspiracy schemed by them and company to persecute state leaders and usurp party and state leadership. They said that the CCP Central Committee had never entrusted Jiang Qing or Kang Sheng to discuss the namelist of the members who were to attend the 12th plenary session of the 8th CCP Central Committee. Nor was there any predetermined namelist. The namelist of the framed leaders was concocted secretly by the two who worked in collusion together. After the Great Cultural Revolution was launched, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and company criticized by name many members and alternate members of the Eighth CCP Central Committee who were criticized, struggled against and framed. According to an investigation, during the Great Cultural Revolution Kang Sheng had directly framed 592 people by referring to their names, of whom 120 were members and alternate members of the Eighth CCP Central Committee.

In a small part of a recording of her speeches from the end of 1966 to July 1970, Jiang Qing had framed 172 people by name, of whom 28 were members and alternate members of the Eighth CCP Central Committee. All these people were persecuted.

The public prosecutors pointed out that in a speech delivered on 18 September 1968, Jiang Qing slandered Lu Dingyi as "an agent of the Kuomintang secret service--bureau of investigation and statistics of the military council"; slandered Hu Qiaomu as a "renegade" and Zhou Yang as a "traitor." Jiang Qing also framed Qi Yanming, Wang Kunlun, Rong Gaotang, Tian Han, Qian Junrui, Liao Mosha, Sun Yang, Chen Guang, Chen Huangmei, Lui Baiyu, A Jia and Wang Kun by mentioning their names and calling them "enemy agents," "renegades," or "elements maintaining illicit foreign relations." As a result, they were severely persecuted and many of them were killed or had their families broken up. These crimes committed by Jiang Qing are known to all.

The judge asked Jiang Qing if she had ever called Lu Dingyi an "agent of the bureau of investigation and statistics of the Kuomintang's military council." Jiang Qing said: "I have no basis for calling Lu Dingyi an agent of the bureau of investigation and statistics of the Kuomintang's military council. Maybe there is something wrong with your records. You can call out your witnesses." The bench immediately read the speech made by Jiang Qing on 18 September 1968 when she received representatives of the Chinese Beijing Opera Troupe, the Central Philharmonic Society and other units. A tape recording of that speech was also played in the court: "...Lu Dingyi is an agent of the bureau of investigation and statistics of the Kuomintang's military council. We have come to know of this now and things may be more complex." Jiang Qing had to admit that those words were spoken by her and it was her voice. The judge asked her what was her basis for framing Lu Dingyi as an "agent of the bureau of investigation and statistics of the Kuomintang's military council?" Jiang Qing became mischievous and made unreasonable demands. First she said, "I cannot admit that it was framing. You have to let me think for awhile. Ask me other questions first." Later she slanderously said that a brother of Lu Dingyi was probably an "enemy agent" and that this "had something to do with" Lu Dingyi.

The judge then conducted hearings on crimes committed by Jiang Qing in slandering Hu Qiaomu and Zhou Yang. A tape recording of the related portion in Jiang Qing's speech on 18 September 1968 was played in the court. She said in this talk: "Hu Qiaomu was arrested in Beijing and work is being done in handling this question of betrayal..." and "...he (Zhou Yang) has also connections with the bureau of investigation and statistics of the military council.... (He) escaped to Japan and turned traitor after his arrest in Japan. Therefore, he is not only an agent of Japan but also an agent of the United States. His case has not yet been finally closed [Luo An 5507 2714]... but he is positively an enemy agent of the Kuomintang as well as a hidden traitor and enemy agent." Jiang Qing admitted it was her talk. The judge asked Jiang Qing what was her ground for smearing Hu Qiaomu and Zhou Yang? Jiang Qing failed to answer this question. The judge pointed out that Jiang Qing deliberately slandered and persecuted these persons by declaring them as "enemy agents" and "traitors" by name at the conference without any factual basis.

The judge questioned Jiang Qing whether or not on 3 January 1971 she smeared Xu Xiangqian's wife, Hang Jie, as a "renegade," and Nie Rongzhen's wife Zhan Gruihua, as an "enemy agent?" Jiang Qing admitted she had made this remark. But she talked much nonsense that she suspected that Zhang Kuihua's "intelligence report" led to the bombing of the party Central Committee by the reactionary Kuomintang aircraft when the Central Committee moved to Chennanzhuang in Fuping County in 1948. The judge immediately pointed out that although the bombing was indeed the result of secret information provided by the hidden Kuomintang agents, the case was already closed in the early days after liberation and the criminals had been punished. Jiang Qing has her own ulterior motive by going so far as to fabricate a criminal charge against Comrade Zhang Ruihua after so many years. The court then read out a statement given by the Ministry of Public Security in handling this case. Jiang Qing herself admitted that the case was settled at that time and all criminals involved were "executed by firing squad." But she still refused to admit her own crime of fabricating false charges against others. She said that she had heard it from Kang Sheng. The prosecutor pointed out that by smearing Huang Jie and Zhang Ruihua, Jiang Qing was actually trying to frame the two old marshals--Xu Xiangqian and Nei Rongzhen.

A tape recording of Jiang Qing's talk on 3 July 1970 was played in the court. Jiang Qing in this talk falsely accused Qi Yanming, noted calligrapher and [former] vice minister of culture, as an "active counterrevolutionary," [former] acting minister of culture Xiao Wangdong as a "historical counterrevolutionary," and Wang Kunlun, Qian Junrui, Cao Liang, and Liao Mosha as "enemy agents with strong evidence." The court declared that reinvestigations have proved that these are out-and-out frameup cases and the comrades mentioned above have been rehabilitated. Because of Jiang Qing's false charges, Qian Junrui and Liao Mosha had been imprisoned for 8 years, and Xiao Wangdong and Wang Kunlun had been imprisoned for 7 years, greatly suffering both physically and mentally.

The victims Wang Kunlun and Liao Mosha appeared in court as witnesses. They accused that large numbers of revolutionary veteran cadres, writers with contributions, and professors were maimed or persecuted to death as a result of Jiang Qing's false accusation and persecution, creating untold disasters for the people. They asked the special court to severely deal with Jiang Qing according to law, the principal defendant of a counterrevolutionary clique who cruelly injured and killed the people and acted with utter disregard for human life.

Because accused Jiang Qing willfully made trouble in the court, continued to slander, frame ane even insult the witnesses, and unceasingly disturbed the court order in total disregard of the chief judge's instructions, the chief judge, Zeng Hanzhou ordered that Jiang Qing be taken from the courtroom. She was immediately taken away by bailiffs.

CSO: 4005

COURT TESTIMONY ON JIANG QING'S CRIMES

OW131908 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1410 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec—Wang Kunlun, who was framed as a "spy" by Jiang Qing and imprisoned for 7 years, appeared at the first tribunal of the special court this morning to give testimony on Jiang Qing's crime of framing him and members of democratic parties in collaboration with Kang Sheng and Xie Fuzhi.

His testimony says: "I was framed by Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi and their company as a spy. Jiang Qing even said that I was a 'very formidable spy' and she had reliable 'proof.' As a result, I suffered serious persecution. Based on what they said, I was arrested and imprisoned for 7 long years."

His testimony says: "When I was in prison, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi, and their company instructed the personnel in charge of the special case to obtain confessions from me by compulsion and give them credence. They forced me to admit that I was a 'spy' and 'counterrevolutionary.' Ever since the 1930's, I had carried out face-to-face struggle against Chiang Kai-shek under the direct leadership of the party, Zhou Enlai and the other comrades of the central authorities. However, they went so far as to falsely accuse me as a 'spy' and 'counterrevolutionary.' I resolutely resisted them. They cruelly tortured me because of my resistance. I was fastened with braces and hit and kicked to the extent that my teeth were broken, my head swelled up and I could not walk on my feet. At the same time, my whole family was persecuted. They not only considered my wife Cao Mengjun a 'spy' but also wanted to falsely accuse all my brothers and sisters and my daughter Jinling as spies or spy suspects. Even my third generation, my granddaughter, who was only 14 or 15 at that time, was not spared."

His testimony says: "Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and their company did this not because they has special hatred against me. They named a large number of people, struggled against a large number of people, arrested a large number of people and persecuted a large number of people to death in order to realize their scheme for usurping the party and state leadership. Just taking the democratic parties for example, almost all comrades at the central and local levels who had cooperated with our party for a long time and those comrades who had done some good things for the people were persecuted. Almost all those communist party members who had worked faithfully to carry out the united front work and democratic persons who were noted at home and abroad were arrested or subjected to criticism and struggle. Those comrades had struggled against the Kuomintang reactionaries, Japanese imperialism and enemy spies before liberation and they were in danger of being killed at any time. However, they never finched from such danger and firmly followed the Chinese Communist Party. They had contributed their share of sweat and blood in the liberation and in building China. At that time, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries considered them as thorns in their eyes and flesh but dared not publicly murder them out of consideration for the people's strength and public opinion. Nevertheless, Jiang Qing did what Chiang Kai-shek dared not do and did what the reactionaries could not do at that time. Jiang Qing sabotaged the united front of our party and trampled on many of our good comrades bodily and mentally. As a result, many of them regretfully died. The crimes committed by Jiang Qing and her company are too numerous to count!"

The testimony says: "As a victim and witness, I request the special court to resolutely punish Jiang Qing for her numerous crimes in accordance with the law and to firmly refrain from giving her clemency!"

Wang Kunlun was accompanied at the court today by his daughter. Owing to his poor health, Wang Jinling read his testimony at the court on his behalf.

CSO: 4005

LIAO MOSHA CITES JIANG QING'S 'COUNTLESS CRIMES'

OW131452 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1440 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--Liao Mosha, one of the victims of Jiang Qing's framing, appeared at the first tribunal of the special court this morning. He produced testimony about Jiang Qing's persecution of him, her slanders of the cadres and the ordinary people of Beijing and her rounding up other innocent persons which created grave and ill consequences.

Liao Mosha testified: "Jiang Qing, colluding with Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi and others, framed and persecuted large numbers of cadres and the ordinary people in Beijing. They smeared good people for no reasons at all and had the innocent rounded up at their will; and I was one of those smeared and persecuted by them. Jiang Qing falsely charged and venomously slandered that I was 'a terrible enemy agent.' This is purely fictitious."

"I joined the revolution when I was a teenage student in Hunan," Liao Mosha continued, "I grew up under party education and have never been divorced from party leadership and party directives for any single moment in the past decades. I have never stopped working for the party and the people."

After recalling how he got acquainted with Jiang Qing in Shanghai in 1933, Liao Mosha said: "She understands me completely and in every detail. I was imprisoned for 8 years, exiled for 3 years and physically tortured beyond description just because of her deliberate slander against me."

Shaking his finger at Jiang Qing, he continued: "I am not the only one who was cruelly persecuted by you and your lieutenants. Comrade Liu Ren, second secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, was labeled by you as an 'enemy agent' and you threw him into jail. Handcuffed for 5 years in the prison, he was even not allowed to wear a cotton-padded jacket during winter. The jacket was simply put on his shoulders only. He joined the revolution at the age of 14 or 15 and braved untold dangers for the party's cause. He, a loyal and veteran revolutionary, died in prison of your cruel persecution.

"Comrade Wu Han, deputy mayor of Beijing, was a noted historian and professor. A pure, innocent and fair-minded scholar, wholeheartedly devoted to teaching and writing, he was never divorced from books and the pen. During the war against Japan, Wu Han had accepted the party's program of war of resistance and for national salvation. Under the leadership of the party, he plunged into the struggle against Japan and for democracy, united the broad masses of patriotic intellectuals and students and made great contributions to the Chinese people's liberation. He was also arrested and thrown into jail and died in prison just because you smeared this veteran scholar and good comrade as a 'renegade' and 'enemy agent.' His wife Yuan Zhen and his daughter Wu Xiaoyan were also involved in the frame-up case and both died of persecution. His whole family was broken up and destroyed.

"Those who also died of persecution because of your framing included the celebrated writer Mr Lao She. He ardently loved the people, the motherland and our party. Following nationwide liberation, he promptly returned to the motherland from abroad. He returned to his native town in Beijing and, in response to the party's call, created a large number of outstanding works in praise of new China.

"Jiang Qing, you and your lieutenants have committed countless towering crimes. The people of Beijing Municipality hate you to the very marrow of their bones."

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

COURT INVESTIGATION OF ZHANG, WANG ENDS

OW131928 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1419 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--Wang Hongwen confessed at the special court today that the armed rebellion in Shanghai was a result of the great pains taken by the "gang of four" to build an armed force of its own and that "Zhang Chunqiao and I should be held mainly responsible."

The first tribunal questioned defendants Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao this morning on the armed rebellion in Shanghai. The court investigation has proved that Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen and their followers Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen built an armed force under their control for the gang in Shanghai in the name of "armed rebels" and "transforming the militia" and plotted an armed rebellion in the face of their impending doom.

In the course of the hearing, the documentary evidence of the plans for the armed rebellion and pictures of the weapons and transmitter-receivers used by followers of the "gang of four" to launch an armed rebellion were exhibited in court.

Testifying in court, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen, organizers and directors of the armed rebellion, former secretaries of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and vice chairmen of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, and Shi Shangying, former responsible person of the Shanghai Militia Command, exposed how Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen instigated them to launch an armed rebellion.

Wang Xiuzhen confessed that this armed rebellion had been "inseparable from the great pains taken by Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen to build an armed force under their control." Wang Hongwen said to her on several occasions that "the army should not lead the militia, which should be under the control of the municipal party committee" and the "we must rely on this force to fight in the future."

Judge Wang Zhanping then asked Wang Hongwen: Why did you say that the army should not lead the militia, which should be under the control of the municipal party committee?

Wang Hongwen said in reply that in organizing the militia, Zhang Chunqiao had assigned this task to the "general headquarters of revolutionary worker-rebels in Shanghai" under their control and that in so doing we "actually seized the leadership of the Shanghai garrison command over the militia."

In testimony, Wang Xiuzhen also confirmed that on 23 September 1976 Wang Hongwen had said to her on the telephone: "You should heighten your vigilance, for class struggle is not over yet. The bourgeoisie in the party will not resign itself to defeat, and some people will try to bring Deng Xiaoping to power."

Wang Xiuzhen said: Wang Hongwen issued these "instructions" to us. Thus, on the fall of the "gang of four," "we held that revisionism had emerged in the party Central Committee and that the time of severe test had come. We then plotted to launch a counterrevolutionary armed rebellion."

The judge asked Wang Hongwen: You said on several occasions that "it is necessary to guard against revisionism and to be prepared for guerrilla warfare." What did you mean by this?

Wang Hongwen said in reply: "Revisionism meant (a comeback of) those veteran cadres who were overthrown during the Cultural Revolution. Once revisionism emerged, we had to wage guerrilla warfare in the mountains, which was Zhang Chunqiao's idea."

Xu Jingxian gave a long confession while testifying in court. He said: Following Chairman Mao's death, Zhang Chunqiao issued one counterrevolutionary order after another to Shanghai from Beijing. On 28 September 1976, Zhang Chunqiao sent Xiao Mu, Wang Hongwen's secretary, to Shanghai to pass on this message: "You should constantly analyze the situation of class struggle. You should heighten your vigilance, on the one hand, and strengthen your confidence, on the other." "You should note that there will be still twists and turns in class struggle and that the Bourgeoisie still has its strength. The question is who will be in command." Zhang Chunqiao also said that Shangia "will face a severe test" and "will have to go to war."

Xu Jingxian said: It was unprecedented that Zhang Chunqiao sent Xiao Mu to Shanghai to pass on this message to the Standing Committee of the municipal party committee. "By giving this instruction, Zhang Chunqiao told us what his real intentions were." Xu Jingxian also said: "On 8 October [1976], when I learned that the 'gang of four' had been smashed, I thought that Zhang Chunqiao's prediction had come true and that the time of severe test had come. In accordance with Zhang Chunqiao's 28 September 1976 instruction on the need 'to go to war,' I plotted to launch a counterrevolutionary armed rebellion."

Confronted with witnesses and material evidence, Zhang Chunqiao still refused to answer any questions raised by the court.

Chief Judge Zeng Hanzhou finally announced the conclusion of the special court investigation on the charges against Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao as listed in the indictment.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

COURT CONCLUDES WANG-ZHANG INVESTIGATION

OW131821 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1212 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] This station's reporter has learned that the first tribunal of the special court today continued hearings into the case of Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao, who have been accused by the indictment of using Shanghai as a base to gain control of the armed forces in an attempt to stage an armed rebellion. Wang Hongwen pleaded guilty while Zhang Chunqiao continued to keep his mouth shut during the investigation hearings.

In the course of court hearings, all kinds of evidence prove that after the downfall of the "gang of four," Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen and others indeed plotted to stage an armed rebellion in Shanghai. Testifying in court, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen admitted in detail how they plotted to stage an armed rebellion at that time. The court projected copies of two orders signed by Xu Jingxian in the evening of 8 October and early morning of 9 October 1976 to mobilize the militia and other documentary evidence.

Testifying in court, Wang Xiuzhan said: Wang Hongwen told me and Ma Tianshui repeatedly that "what worries me most is that we have no power to command the army, that the army is not in our hands, and that none of our men are in the army." Wang Hongwen also told Wang Xiuzhen that he intended to establish a national militia command and place it under his personal command. When Chairman Mao was critically ill, Wang Hongwen contacted (Xue Xiangying) of the Shanghai Militia Command by phone, asking him to immediately finish the (?task) of arms distribution among the militiamen.

The judge asked Wang Hongwen: When you mentioned that "the army is not in our hands," whose hands did you refer to?

Wang Hongwen replied: By our hands, it means myself, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan. In other words, the army is not in the hands of the "gang of four."

Wang Xiuzhan also admitted in court that she received a phone call from Wang Hongwen on 23 September 1976, and Wang Hongwen told her: All of you must heighten vigilance. The struggle has not yet ended and the bourgeois elements within the party will not resign themselves to defeat. Although Deng Xiaoping has been overthrown, some people will invariably help him to stage a come-back. On 28 [September 1976], Zhang Chunqiao sent (Xiao Mu) to return to Shanghai to pass on his instruction: "The struggle between the two lines is acute and complicated. Revisionism has emerged in the central authorities. We must heighten our vigilance and prepare to fight."

Testifying in court, Xu Jingxian said: There are two foundations through which we plotted to stage an armed rebellion by using the militia. First, the order issued by Zhang Chunqiao, stating that "if some people try to make trouble for Shanghai, then this is going to be a [words indistinct] and we must fight. When we fight, we must have courage and strength. The Shanghai militia is our strength." Second, the instructions and theory issued by Yao Wenyuan. After the Tiananmen incident occurred, Yao Wenyuan said: After the occurrence of Tiananmen incident, the problem was finally solved by mobilizing the militia to use force of arms. A fundamental experience accumulated from the Tiananmen incident is to use revolutionary violence to deal with and suppress counterrevolutionary violence. This kind of struggle is bloodshed or free of bloodshed from time to time. We must also adhere to this fundamental experience.

Testimony given by Ma Tianshui and (Huang Chao) were read out in court. Appearing in court as witnesses were (Xue Xiangying), responsible member of the leading group under Shanghai militia command at that time, and others.

The court announced the conclusion of the court investigation on the charges against Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao.

CSO: 4005

CHINA DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE RECRUITING NEW MEMBERS

OW121240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, December 12 (XINHUA)—The Beijing branch of the China Democratic League, one of China's eight democratic political parties, recruited 56 new members at a ceremony at its headquarters this afternoon. This is the first time in 20 years that the party has recruited new members.

Yie Zi, a 60-year-old dramatist of the Beijing People's Art Theatre, is among the new members. She said: "This is the first time I have joined a political organization. The Democratic League has a glorious history and has withstood the test of time."

Chu Tunan, vice-chairman of the league's Central Committee, welcomed the new members, saying, "I hope you will liberate your minds and dare to voice your criticisms, report problems and be bold in your work in the interests of the people."

The new members, 43 men and 13 women, have an average age of 56. The oldest is an 82-year-old research fellow of the Beijing Research Institute of Culture and History, and the youngest is a 31-year-old woman doctor. Most of them are lecturers, professors, actors and actresses and doctors.

The China Democratic League was set up in 1946. It has 1,500 members in Beijing.

All the democratic parties stopped their activities during the "Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976) and did not resume until the end of 1977. By the end of October this year, a total of 200 new members had joined the parties.

The democratic parties are more active than before the "Cultural Revolution," an official of the Beijing Municipal United Front Department said today.

Since the beginning of this year, the democratic parties have been running training classes in education and medicine.

One of them, "Jiu San Sokiety," is running a sparetime workers' university for more than 700 students in cooperation with the Chaoyang District Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Beijing.

As a result of proposals from the China Association for Promoting Democracy, another of the democratic parties, whose membership is mostly made up of teachers, Beijing municipal authorities have overhauled the city's primary and middle-school education programs. They have scrapped the five-year primary program and reverted to the old six-year program and restored a three-year program for senior middle-school students.

CSO: 4020

LIANG LINGGUANG'S SUGGESTIONS FOR GUANGZHOU CITED

HK250548 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 25 Nov 80 p 1

[Special report by WEN WEI PO reporter Lan Ching-chung from Guangzhou: "Liang Lingguang Speaks on the Administration of Guangzhou, Emphasizing the Need To Solve Problems Regarding the People's Livelihood--Emphasis Is Placed on Improving the Building of Light and Textile Industries, Communications, Urban Administration, Housing and Commerce"]

[Text] After being transferred to the south to take charge of the affairs of Guangdong, Ren Zhongyi and Liang Lingguang have held various work conferences over the past few days. Meetings of provincial and municipal cadres were also held in which Ren Zhongyi and Liang Lingguang gave speeches on administrative policies. As soon as Ren Zhongyi put forth three ideas on the work of Guangdong, Liang Lingguang also put forth his four suggestions for Guangzhou. This practice of making inaugural speeches is quite unprecedented.

The newly appointed Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee first secretary Liang Lingguang pointed out to the party members and cadres at and above the municipal section and county level: It is necessary to build Guangzhou into a vanguard of the four modernizations and a pivot of China's link with foreign countries. We must build it into a modern socialist city which is economically prosperous, highly civilized, clean and graceful as well as an economic, tourist, scientific and technological center of Guangdong and south China.

In his second suggestion, Liang Lingguang put forth that it is necessary to firmly grasp the work of readjusting and restructuring the economy. First of all, it is necessary to do a good job of building those facilities which are concerned with the people's livelihood. It is necessary to emphatically improve light and textile industries, communications and transport, urban administration, housing construction, commercial service institutions, culture, education, public health, projects on conserving energy consumption as well as the construction of other facilities urgently required by the markets. He said: We must take the initiative to think of a way on how to realize these special policies and flexible measures.

Liang Lingguang regards showing concern for the people's livelihood and providing the people with tangible material benefits as another key suggestion in administrative policies. He pointed out that there are still many problems in the livelihood of the people of Guangzhou. He cited various outstanding examples indicating the short supply of certain commodities and especially nonstaple food, shortage in housing, poor services as well as existing problems in communications, public health and social order. He noted that it is necessary to appoint special people to grasp the various work through to the end and solve all the problems properly. He demanded that people emancipate their minds, expand the material exchanges with other places in Guangdong as well as other provinces, make use of foreign capital and remittances from overseas Chinese to build even more joint enterprises and other institutions, enliven the economy and gradually improve the people's livelihood. In this regard, he especially formulated a plan which will allow the people to have a joyful New Year's Day and spring festival.

In conclusion, Liang Lingguang demanded that the cadres emancipate their minds, boost their revolutionary spirit, be pathbreakers and creators, and not to have too many misgivings and disputes over trifles.

CSO: 4005

IMPROVEMENT ON IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK ANALYZED

OW280346 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Nov 80

["Excerpts" of article by (Wan Ping): "Do a Good Job at Ideological Work, Arouse the Masses' Enthusiasm"]

[Excerpts] The masses are the masters who push the wheel of history forward. All revolutions and progressive changes in history have been made by relying on the masses. Without mass participation and without giving full play to mass enthusiasm, no revolution nor change can be successful.

To arouse the masses' enthusiasm, it is essential to strengthen ideological and political work so as to bring the masses' ideological and political enthusiasm into play. The ideological and political enthusiasm we refer to is the enthusiasm of supporting the party and the "four upholds" in socialism. It is a healthy enthusiasm instead of an unhealthy one or one designed to blindly trumpet something or support someone.

Our party is a Marxist political party which has always paid attention to arousing the masses' ideological and political enthusiasm. Since the "gang of four" were smashed, particularly since the third plenary session of the party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has formulated the correct line, principles and policies and taken a series of important steps ideologically, politically and economically. This has played an important role in firing the masses' ideological and political enthusiasm.

Now, which ideological problems among the masses shall we solve first before we can bring the masses' ideological and political enthusiasm into full play? There are various kinds of ideological problems existing among the masses. For example, they have different views and estimates of the status of domestic politics, economics, ideology, party, literature and art, and cadres. There are also varied and different opinions on the series of new policies implemented since the third plenary session of the party Central Committee, including those on literature and art, propaganda, economics, united front work, intellectuals, religion and nationalities. Some of them warmly support these policies, some have doubts and some are opposed to them. Opinions also vary toward the historical experiences gained since the founding of the People's Republic, including views on the Great Cultural Revolution and Mao Zedong Thought. The masses are also critical of and discontented with the bureaucracy, privileges and red tape in all leading organs and among all leading cadres. Besides, the failure to timely solve many practical problems among the masses has also affected the people's feeling.

The important tasks in conducting our ideological and political work now are to adopt varied ways to guide all kinds of ideological problems to a better solution, to give full play to the positive factors, to overcome passive factors and to guide the complicated and varied thoughts among the masses to an active, correct and healthy orbit.

How then can we do a good job in ideological work and arouse the masses' ideological and political enthusiasm in view of the current ideological phenomenon of the masses? We think the following major actions should be taken:

1. It is necessary to adopt a correct principle. By correct principle we mean an "enlightening and guiding" principle.

2. It is imperative to educate the masses in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as well as the party's line, principles and policies.

3. It is essential to adopt an attitude of seeking truth from facts.

4. We must try to seek and work out new ways to solve ideological problems existing among the masses by considering the new characteristics of these problems.

5. To fire the ideological and political enthusiasm of the masses, it is necessary to incessantly conduct ideological and political work and continuously raise the masses' ideological and political level.

It is our party's task to reform society and the people. Abandoning or failing to actively do well at ideological work is tantamount to abandoning our party's historical task, which is against our party's objectives. Strengthening ideological and political work and firing the masses' ideological and political enthusiasm is the greatest skill communists possess. At this historical turning point, so long as we adhere to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and resolutely act in accordance with the party's line, principles and policies laid down at the third plenary session of the party Central Committee and so long as the party committees and leading cadres at all levels pay personal attention, strengthen their study and investigations and stick to the principle of proceeding from reality in everything, we will surely be able to do a good job in ideological work, further arouse the ideological and political enthusiasm among the broad masses of people and work hard for accomplishing the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. We should have no doubts about this.

CSO: 4005

BEIJING 'WAN BAO' ON RENOWNED ECONOMIST SUN YEFANG

HK121400 Beijing WAN BAO in Chinese 28 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by Li Wei [2621 3837]: "A Visit to Renowned Economist Sun Yefan"]

[Text] People are likely to think of a scholar as an austere and dignified man almost unapproachable. With such a preconception, I visit renowned scholar Sun Yefang several days ago.

Sun Yefang is well-known internationally and commands respect at home as a distinguished scholar and a veteran cadre. When I called at his home, it was just after the evening meal. I was greeted with quite a busy scene. The sitting room was full of old, middle-aged and young people. They were talking and laughing and were at their ease helping themselves to tea and cigarettes. Comrade Sun Yefang steered me to a corner of the sitting room. He told me that he and his wife had no children. All these people were his friends and the friends of his friends. Most of them were young people. Sun Yefang said: I am only too glad to have a reporter for a friend. All this shattered my preconception of a scholar. We chatted away like old friends.

Sun Yefang is 73 years old this year. His father was a clerk. He was born in Wuxi, Jiangsu in 1908. His original surname was Xue. Under the influence of a progressive teacher, he joined the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps in 1923. Not long after, he became a member of the Chinese Communist Party and acted as first secretary of the party branch of Wushi County. At that time, Sun Yefang was only 16. In 1925 the party sent him to Moscow to pursue higher studies. After his return home in 1930, he devoted himself to trade union work and matters about theory and propaganda doing so under the psuedonym of Sun Yefang. He later adopted this as his legal name. Shortly after the start of the war of resistance against Japan, he acted respectively as secretary of the cultural committee of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee, teacher of the Central China Party School, and head of the propaganda department of the party committee of Luxi Prefecture, Huainan directly under the CCP Central Committee. After the victory in the war of resistance against Japan, he served as deputy director of the supplies administration of the Jiangsu-Anhui border area and secretary general of the East China Financial Bureau. After liberation, he filled such capacities as deputy director of the East China Department of Industry, deputy director of the State Statistical Bureau, director of the Economics Institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences and so forth.

Those who have read Sun Yefang's works and articles share the view that he is well-versed in economic theory and is bold and innovative in his views. Many students of economics once believed that in a socialist society, the law of value would lose its effect with the abolition of the capitalist commodity economy. But Sun Yefang held that the law of value still plays its part in the socialist period. Even after the realization of communism, so long as there is mass social production and so long as production still continues under the two categories of means of production and means of subsistence, commodities will be in circulation with the law of value playing its part. This idea, which has up to now not been fully accepted by certain people, was put forward by Sun Yefang as early as in the 1950's. Early in the 1960's, he again put forward the suggestion to enlarge the power of an enterprise. It was a pity that these ideas proved correct by facts were then denounced when Sun Yefang was charged with the crime of revisionism. What is more interesting is that while Sun Yefang's economic theory was not accepted at home, it has been well received abroad as a kind of panacea. Sun Yefang's assistants Zhang Zhuoyuan and Wu Jinglian told me that when a delegation of our country visited Hungary this year, a responsible person of a Hungarian bank unexpectedly said to its members: what we have followed is the economic theory put forward by economist Sun Yefang of your country. Someone said with feeling: "Is it not strange for us to have gone abroad to investigate what originates with our country!" Another said, "If we had before acted according to Sun Yefang's law of value, we would not be in this present state..."

Concerning the fluctuations of commodity prices, Comrade Sun Yefang said: "Fluctuating commodity prices are chiefly attributable to the state's having raised the purchase prices for agricultural and sideline products last year. In the past, industrial and agricultural products were not exchanged at equal value, with too a big gap in value between the two. This dampened the peasants' enthusiasm for production. But agriculture is the foundation. If it is not taken good care of, other sectors of the economy will suffer. The state's having raised the purchase prices for agricultural and sideline products aims at stimulating agricultural production. Some people have had doubts about the emphasis on the law of value and the exchange of industrial and agricultural products at equal value. This is uncalled for. An increase in purchase prices for agricultural and sideline products has increased the peasants' income, stimulated their enthusiasm for production and made more abundant supplies available for the market. This is a gratifying phenomenon." "However, rising prices have at the same time affected the life of urban residents," I said. Comrade Sun Yefang answered by way of explanation: "This question has been taken into account by the state. Did the state not grant each worker a 5 yuan subsidy?" "Then why do the masses still have much to say about the commodity prices?" "There are many reasons. The chief one is that despite a 5-yuan subsidy, the effect of commodity prices on each family with its working or non-working members is different to a greater or lesser extent. Besides, the charges for industrial products unrelated to agricultural produce as a source of material and for certain service trades have gone up spontaneously or subtly. Overextension in the area of capital construction, the failure to obtain quick returns on heavy financial commitments which causes a deficit, and so forth are factors responsible for the rising commodity prices." Sun Yefang's words had greatly enlightened me. I said, "If the masses knew this principle, they would not have complained so much."

When I walked out of Sun's home after the visit, I suddenly remembered what an old reporter said: "Visiting people is also a way of learning." He is right. Just a little time spent in Sun's home has enabled me to learn so much.

CSO: 4005

PLA BANS SPRING FESTIVAL GIFT GIVING, DINING, WINING

OW121722 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1219 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--The office of the commission for inspecting discipline of the PLA CCP committee recently issued a circular to the offices of the commissions for inspecting discipline of all the major units of the PLA. Attached to it is a letter from Wu Dianxiang, a cadre of the Beijing Municipal No 1 Commerce Bureau, which appeals to both PLA units and localities to make common efforts to correct unhealthy practices. The circular calls on units to strictly ban guest entertaining, gift giving and lavish dining and wining in the course of the activities to support the government and cherish the people during the spring festival.

Wu Dianxiang's letter reports that in past years some PLA units stationed in Beijing entertained local personnel concerned at dinners under the name of holding discussion meetings to solicit opinions in the course of the activities to support the government and cherish the people during spring festivals. In his opinion, this is an unhealthy practice that developed during the 10-year catastrophe and is not a desirable method to cement the unity between PLA units and localities. Instead, it impairs the prestige of the PLA. He expressed the hope that the PLA units stationed in Beijing will no longer invite the cadres and other personnel of the commerce bureau to dinners, saving every cent for the four modernizations.

The circular of the PLA commission for inspecting discipline points out: Comrade Wu Dianziang's letter shows his care for and support of our army. The practice of dining actually benefits small groups at the expense of the state and is virtually an act of bribery. Commissions for inspecting discipline at all levels must earnestly carry out their duties, constantly inspect the implementation of the "guiding principles," and, in accordance with the related decisions of the commission for inspecting discipline of the CCP Central Committee, sternly examine and deal with any violations against the "guiding principles," any unhealthy practice and any incidence of guest entertaining, gift giving and lavish dining and wining in the course of the activities to support the government and cherish the people during the New Year holiday season and the spring festival.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

JIANG QING DISCUSSED--Beijing, Dec. 12 (AFP)--Famous Chinese novelist Ding Ling, who spent several years in jail and labor camps, said here today that Mao Zedong's widow, Jiang Qing, the star in the current show trial of 10 disgraced leftist leaders, deserved the death penalty but should be spared and instead sent to do manual labor. "The crimes of Jiang Qing deserve death several times, but I hope she will not be sentenced to death. I was sent to (do) manual labor. Now is her turn to go there," Ding Ling, 73, told newsmen. Formally rehabilitated last year, she had fallen victim, as early as 1957, to the "anti-rightist" campaign which stifled the "hundred flowers" movement for having opposed Mao. Ding said she had attended the opening session of the current trial of Jiang Qing and nine other Cultural Revolution leaders before China's special court last November 20. "When I was in labor camps, I had to work 14 hours a day, even when I reached the age of 65," said Ding Ling. "Jiang Qing should be sent to a farm, anywhere in China, to work five or six hours a day," she added. The novelist, who had in 1937 joined Mao in the famous red base in Yanan, a year before Jiang Qing became the "great helmsman's" fourth wife there, is now vice-president of the Association of Chinese Writers. After disappearing from public view in 1957, she was sent during the Cultural Revolution to a labor camp in China's northeastern province of Heilongjiang where she was detained until 1974. [Text] [OW121428 Hong Kong AFP in English 1008 GMT 12 Dec 80]

CYL, TU SPONSOR CONTEST--Beijing, November 24 (XINHUA)--Thirty young building workers were cited as masters of their trades at the Beijing Workers' Club today in a ceremony that marked the end of a two-month master workers contest in which over 200,000 young Beijing workers took part. Ceremonies were held earlier for the winners of contests in the service trades and machinery industries. The contest, the first of its kind, was organized by the Beijing Communist Youth League, the trade unions and municipal government departments. Its purpose was to promote enthusiasm among young workers for study and acquiring greater skills. The youth league said today that more than half the city's young people are attending spare-time schools, taking television and radio college courses or studying by themselves. [Text] [OW241232 Beijing XINHUA in English 1207 GMT 24 Nov 80]

JIANG QING TRIAL POSTPONED--Hong Kong, Dec. 15 (AFP)--The trial of Mao's widow Jiang Qing, scheduled to resume this morning at the first tribunal of the special court has been postponed till December 17, the correspondent of the leftwing daily, TA KUNG PAO, reported today. The report gave no reasons for the postponement but it will be remembered that during last Friday's trial, Jiang Qing was ejected from the court after she shouted loudly, abusing the judges, prosecutors and witnesses as a whole. She was frog-marched out of court by two prison wardresses. After the first tribunal has completed hearings on evidences and investigations into Jiang Qing's case the second and first tribunals will simultaneously enter into the phase of debates, the TA KUNG PAO correspondent said. The first tribunal, a civil court, is trying the "gang of four" and Chen Boda, former head of the Cultural Revolution group. The second tribunal, military court, is trying five generals associated with the late former defence minister Lin Biao. [Text] [OW150420 Hong Kong AFP in English 0412 GMT 15 Dec 80]

IMMOLATION ATTEMPT CONFIRMED--Beijing, Dec 11 (AFP)--An official Chinese spokesman today confirmed reports from [word indistinct] eyewitnesses that a man tried to burn himself to death here yesterday, pouring gasoline over himself and setting fire to it near the Polish Embassy. It was the first known case of self-immolation--a traditional form of protest in the Far East--recorded in China for many years. No details were given today on the identity of the man, or on his motives. The eyewitnesses, however, said he appeared to be in his thirties and of provincial origin. The spokesman only indicated the man had been rushed to hospital still alive. His attempt came a few weeks after a suicide-attack late in October which left 10 people dead and scores of others injured, when a young worker blew himself up with a bomb in Beijing railway station. [Text] [OW110920 Paris AFP in English 0807 GMT 11 Dec 80]

YUNNAN UNITED FRONT MEETING--The united front work department of the Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee recently held a provincial united front work conference in Kunming. The meeting studied the relevant speeches of leading central comrades, conveyed the spirit of the national forum of directors of provincial, municipal and autonomous regional CCP committee united front departments, and heard a report on united front work in the province. The meeting hailed the great success in united front work in the province since the "gang of four" were smashed and pointed out that the current task is to unite all possible forces and mobilize all positive factors to carry out the modernization drive and achieve the great cause of national unification. The meeting held: It is necessary to do well in implementing the united front policies, do well in solving leftover problems, step up the work of the CPPCC and help the democratic parties in their work, promote the employment of nonparty figures, strengthen nationalities work, implement the policy of freedom of religious belief and do a good job of work regarding the compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and overseas Chinese abroad. [HK220722 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Nov 80 HK]

YUNNAN NATIONALITIES POLICY INSPECTION--A nationalities policy inspection group organized by the Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee left for various parts of the province on 19 November to inspect the implementation of this policy. The provincial CCP Committee decided on a number of major policies and measures earlier this year after the minutes of the central forum on work in Xizang had been circulated. Practice of the past few months has proven that the people of all nationalities support these measures. The inspection group is composed of 150 persons from the provincial organs. The group leader is Sun Yuting, deputy secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and there are 10 subgroups. Groups from the prefectures, municipalities and counties will work alongside the provincial group. [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Nov 80 HK]

JIANGXI PLACE-NAME COMMITTEE--The Jiangxi Provincial People's Government recently approved the establishment of the committee for standardizing place-names. Provincial Vice Governor Xu Qing was appointed as chairman and (Han Yiming), (Lai Yanggao) and (Xu Tianbao) as vice chairmen. The main task of this committee is to launch a general inspection of place-names and promote standardization of names. From 7-10 November, the Jiangxi Provincial People's Government held the first provincial work meeting on place-names to arrange for the inspection of place-names. Some 130 people attended the meeting and Xu Qin spoke at the meeting. [HK270846 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Nov 80 HK]

SHANGHAI YOUTH WORK CONFERENCE--The 5-day conference on ideological education of young workers called by the party committee of the municipal economic commission ended on 15 November. The meeting studied ways for strengthening leadership over youth work by party organizations at all levels. About a half of Shanghai's more than 2 million workers in the industrial and communications departments are young people. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Nov 80 OW]

SHANGHAI JUDICIAL CONFERENCE--The Shanghai municipal judicial conference ended on 14 November. Yan Youmin, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee, and Wang Jiang, vice mayor of Shanghai Municipality, attended the conference. Yan Youmin spoke, stressing the important role of judicial work in establishing and perfecting the socialist legal system during the new period. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Nov 80 OW]

GANSU CIVIL CASES FORUM--The Gansu Provincial Judicial Bureau and the provincial higher people's court recently held a joint forum on handling civil cases. The forum urged that in handling civil cases, it is necessary to rely on the masses and carry out investigations and mediation first. The forum also urged efforts to create conditions for open trial of civil cases. It said that mediation committees, which exist only in form, should be consolidated and mediation personnel should be trained so that mediation committees can play their role more effectively. [SK200053 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 14 Nov 80 SK]

GANSU EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE--The Gansu provincial labor employment conference sponsored by the provincial government was held from 6 to 13 November. The conference noted that in 1979, 136,000 of 237,000 jobless youth in the province were assigned jobs or were employed by running collective enterprises or private business and in 1980 it is estimated that 105,000 of 206,000 jobless youth will have jobs. The conference stated that educated youth who have settled in the countryside in previous years will all be assigned jobs. The conference urged all localities and departments throughout the province to open all avenues of production to more jobless youth by establishing various types of service trades or engaging in labor-intensive production, because it is expected that some 70,000 jobless youth will emerge each year for the next 10 years. [Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 13 Nov 80 SK]

JIANGXI WORKERS' CONGRESSES--Jiangxi has made new progress in setting up workers' congresses in enterprises since the third session of the Fifth NPC. According to incomplete statistics, by the end of October over 500 industrial and communications at and above county level had set up these congresses. The congresses have discussed the major issues in their enterprises and issued corresponding resolutions. They have put forward many bills and proposals on production, construction, technology, living conditions, management and so on. Some of the congresses have put forward plans for democratic elections of leading administrative personnel of the enterprises. [HK170712 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Nov 80 HK]

SHANDONG PROVINCIAL CPPCC--The 4th Standing Committee of the Shandong Provincial CPPCC Committee held its 10th session in Jinan from 17 to 19 November. After full consultations, the session adopted the work report of the Standing Committee, the report on the fullfillment of motions, the namelist of 18 additional members to the provincial CPPCC committee and the decision on commemorating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. It also endorsed the namelist of the preparatory committee to mark the above occasion which consists of persons from various democratic parties, mass organizations and people from all walks of life. [SK231240 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Nov 80 SK]

JIANGSU JUDICIAL FORUM--The Jiangsu Provincial People's High Court held a forum from 10 to 20 November to study the new PRC marriage law and to exchange experiences in handling lawsuits involving marriage issues. The forum, which was attended by presidents of the intermediate and civil courts of various prefectures and municipalities, was convened in preparation for the enforcement of the new marriage law beginning next year. Participants pointed out that feudal ideological influence on marriage is still deep-rooted in China. Forced marriages and other practice infringing on the freedom of marriage are still common. There were even cases of young people committing suicide because they could not get married of their own free will. People's courts should help publicize the spirit of the new marriage law and correctly handle lawsuits in accordance with the law. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Nov 80 OW]

SHANGHAI PROPAGANDA MEETING--A mobilization meeting for propaganda on the new marriage law was held in Shanghai on 18 November. It was jointly sponsored by the municipal CCP committee's propaganda department, women's federation, higher people's court, trade union council, CYL committee and bureau of justice. Zhong Min, secretary of the municipal CCP committee; Guan Jian, chairman of the municipal women's federation, and (He Xinru), vice president of the municipal higher people's court spoke at the meeting calling for propaganda on the new law. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 18 Nov 80 OW]

SHANGHAI COPCC INSPECTION--Members of the Shanghai Municipal CPPCC committee completed their inspection tasks today. Some 300 members took part in this 20-day long inspection of Shanghai's environmental protection, the preservation of cultural relics, library work, housing distribution and students health conditions. A number of the municipal CPPCC committee members held a forum today to discuss presenting their views to the departments concerned in a written report. [OW241711 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 20 Nov 80 OW]

U.S. GUESTS IN SHANXI--The Shanxi Provincial Governor Luo Guibo met guests from South Carolina University on 28 October and held talks with them. The Shanxi Vice Provincial Governor Wang Zhongqing and other responsible comrades also attended the party. [Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Oct 80 HK]

SHANXI LOCAL COMMITTEE MEETING--Shanxi Province's Linfen Municipal CCP Committee recently held an enlarged Standing Committee meeting to work out methods to improve efficiency in government departments. The meeting decided that: 1) the municipal economic committee, agricultural and financial offices, planning committee, science committee and the public security bureau would continue to function as subordinate organs of the municipal revolutionary committee and that all directors should hold meetings every Monday; 2) the organization, propaganda and united front work departments, discipline inspection committee, federation of trade unions, federation of women and the CYL would continue to work as subordinate organs of the municipal CCP committee and that the Standing Committee of the municipal CCP committee should hold meetings every Saturday. [Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Oct 80 HK]

SHANXI PARTY PUBLICATION--In order to strengthen party leadership and enhance the party's combat effectiveness, the Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee approved resumed publication of the party publication ZHIBU JIANSHE [PARTY BRANCH BUILDING]. ZHIBU JIANSHE is a publication for party organizations at basic levels and for all CCP members, aimed at popularizing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. ZHIBU JIANSHE was published on a trial basis in October and will be officially published in January 1981. [Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Oct 80 HK]

POST-TELECOMMUNICATIONS MINISTER APPLAUDED--In 1979 when Wang Zigang, minister of posts and telecommunications, was inspecting the Qingdao Municipal Postal and Telecommunications Bureau, Shandong Province, workers at the bureau bought 3 jin of dried sea cucumbers for him. Dried sea cucumbers were 35.9 yuan per jin, but the workers charged Wang Zigang only 18 yuan per jin and paid the rest for him. When Wang Zigang learned of this from a cadre who had been in Qingdao this year, he sent the money he owed back to the bureau and gave self-criticism in his letter. The staff and workers of the Qingdao Municipal Postal and Telecommunications Bureau warmly praised Wang Zigang for his deed. [SK151420 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Dec 80 SK]

TIANJIN RETIRED CADRES--Eight old cadres at or above county and district levels have voluntarily retired or served as advisors after the approval of the Tianjin Municipal CCP Committee. They are Wang Ping, Standing Committee member of the Tianjin Municipal CCP Committee and deputy secretary general, (Li Mai), deputy director of the propaganda department of the municipal CCP committee, (Li Haitao), deputy chief procurator of the municipal procuratorate, (Yang Zhongxiang), deputy chief of the municipal public utility bureau, (Su Zhihai), deputy chief of the municipal water conservancy bureau, (Su Xiangda), deputy chief of the municipal water conservancy bureau and chief engineer, and (Deng Guoru) and (Li Guohui), vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Baodi County People's Congress. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 14 Nov 80 SK]

GUIZHOU NEW ASSOCIATIONS--The Guizhou Provincial Association of Literary Creation for the Popularization of Science and the Guizhou Provincial Art Society for the Popularization of Science were officially established in Guiyang in mid-October. At the first representative meeting, the representatives discussed the work report given by Qiao Lin, member of the preparatory committee. Tao Shilong, director of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Association of Literary Creation for the Popularization of Science and deputy director of Hubei Provincial Association of Literary Creation for the Popularization of Science, was invited to attend and give a work report. Qin Tianzhen, Hubei vice provincial governor, attended the meeting and gave a closing speech. [GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 30 Oct 80 p 3 HK]

GUIZHOU NATIONAL SEMINAR--The first national seminar on nationalities studies was held in Guiyang from 20 to 26 October. About 249 research workers of nationalities studies from various places throughout the country participated in the seminar. Wang Chaowen, secretary of the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee and vice provincial governor, and (Wu Guang), deputy director of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, delivered speeches at the seminar. Nationalities studies is an academic subject focused on the nationalities. The participants of the seminar held: China is a united country of different nationalities, therefore, nationalities studies is of great significance. The seminar established a committee for research in nationalities studies and elected members of the council. [HK120919 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 26 Oct 80 HK]

JOURNALISTS MEET--On the afternoon of 9 December, the office of the TIYU BAO [SPORTS NEWS] invited Hubei and Wuhan area journalists to a forum in Wuhan to discuss how to do well in sports reporting in the new situation. (Luo Ming), a responsible comrade of the culture and education department of the provincial CCP committee; (Xue Cai), director of the TIYU BAO; and responsible comrades of departments concerned spoke at the meeting. Comrade (Xue Cai) concentrated on introducing the situation in sports reporting in foreign countries. The forum was attended by TIYU BAO reporters from all provinces and municipalities in the country. Before the meeting, provincial CCP committee first secretary Chen Pixian received (Xue Cai) and the other comrades. [HK120241 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Dec 80]

ANHUI POSTAL, TELECOMMUNICATIONS CONFERENCE--The recently held 21st Anhui provincial postal and telecommunications work conference proposed measures to expand postal and telecommunications services. Measures include expanding parcel post services; handling mail order, advertisement, telecommunications equipment repair, training and so forth; expanding distribution of newspapers and magazines; promoting stamp collecting services; improving service quality and attitudes, and attitudes, and so forth. [OW171245 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Nov 80 OW]

XIZANG HINTERLAND-BOUND PERSONNEL--In order to expedite the transfer of cadres and workers in Xizang who have been assigned new posts in the hinterland, the CCP Central Committee has designated two IL-18 aircraft of the air force to serve in Xizang. Due to cold weather and limited transport capability, it has become increasingly difficult to transfer the hinterland-bound cadres and workers by land, especially the old, weak, sick, disabled, pregnant women and children. Since 13 November, additional flights have been arranged to speed up transportation. [OW211429 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Nov 80 OW]

JILIN MARRIAGE LAW FORUM--The propaganda department of the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee and the provincial women's federation held a joint forum 26 November to discuss ways to publicize the new marriage law. The forum called on all localities throughout the province to launch activities to publicize this law until February 1981. Attending the forum were responsible comrades of the provincial trade union council, the provincial CYL committee, the provincial judicial department, the provincial people's court, the provincial civil affairs office, the provincial cultural bureau, the propaganda department of the Changchun Municipal CCP Committee and the provincial and municipal press units. Yu Lin, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, spoke at the forum. [SK271439 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Nov 80 SK]

CSO: 4035

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON ABORTED SHANGHAI INSURRECTION

HK151523 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Dec 80 p 2

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reported Gao Ji [7559 7162]: "Insanity of the Final Days—the Whole Story of the Gang of Four and Their Followers in Plotting the Counterrevolutionary Armed Coup d'Etat in Shanghai"]

[Text] On 13 December, the first tribunal of the special court opened trial on Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen and their followers' counterrevolutionary crime of plotting an armed insurrection in Shanghai. The court summoned principal culprits Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao as well as the other defendants detained in connection with this case—Wang Xiuzhen, Xu Jianxian and Shi Shangying—to testify. This court hearing fully exposed the whole story of the gang of four and their followers' plot for an armed insurrection in Shanghai.

1. Building a Factional Armed Force of the Gang of Four

After Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen plotted and instigated two large scale armed struggles in late 1966 and early August 1967 and seized control of the party and government in Shanghai, they immediately plunged into the work of "restructuring" the Shanghai militia to build up an armed force controlled by the gang of four. The objective set by Zhang Chunqiao for this armed force was: "Safeguard the revolution of the pen with the barrel of a gun." He also said that this armed force must "learn the tactics of street fighting" and that 8 to 10 anti-aircraft gun divisions must be built. Since 1979, he had also told Wang Xiuzhen and others on several occasions that they should manufacture arms, grenades and mines in Shanghai's suburb. He also said: "Do not belittle these homemade mines, guns and grenades. They are also useful when there is a war."

In his testimony, Wang Hongwen said: "The reason we built up this armed force was to safeguard the revolution of the pen with the barrel of a gun, that is, to safeguard the power seized by Lin Biao and the gang of four. It was a factional armed force of the gang of four.

Wang Hongwen and his Shanghai followers faithfully implemented the goals and methods formulated by Zhang Chunqiao for this factional armed force.

They declared that they would use this factional armed force "against the capitalist roaders," "to prepare for a civil war" and to grasp the so-called class struggle in society. Thus, as soon as this armed force was organized in 1978, it began to investigate, search and close down offices of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in Shanghai, claiming that these offices harbored "capitalist roaders." They also delegated the power of arrest, detention, interrogation and conducting so-called study sessions to this factional armed force in the name of the Shanghai municipal revolutionary committee. As Wang Hongwen said in his testimony, "In reality, they suppressed the masses" and "arrested people who opposed Lin Biao and the gang of four."

To firmly control this armed force, Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen openly seized control of the Shanghai garrison command to lead the militia. Wang Hongwen said: "Zhang Chuqiao and I built the Shanghai militia," "I will not let go of my hold on it." "The army must not lead the militia. The militia must be under the command of the (Shanghai) Municipal CCP Committee." He told Wang Xiuzhen to organize the leading group in the militia command in Shanghai Municipality and the various districts. He also said: "Those whose attitude toward the great cultural revolution is questionable should be demoted. You should also look at the attitude of army cadres toward the great cultural revolution. Those with undesirable attitudes must be sent back to the army." Therefore, taking factional attitude as sole criterion and using the "rebel factions" as the core became the gang of four's organizational principles in controlling the Shanghai militia.

Wang Hongwen and his followers also used local capital to build the so-called "small three lines" in Shanghai to manufacture arms for the factional armed force. They turned the Shanghai Xinzhonghua Machine Factory into an automatic rifle plant. They also asked the Shanghai Electric Cable Factory to use its excess spare parts to make semi-automatic rifles. In 1970, Wang Hongwen also ordered the motorcycle factory to equip the militia with some motorcycles in order to build a motorcycle regiment. He said: "The Shanghai militia must be well-equipped. It should reach a position of equality with the PLA."

Zhang Chunqiao and Wang Hongwen spent almost 10 years building such a factional armed force in Shanghai. Wang Hongwen admitted that what he and the gang of four followers in Shanghai did to build up a factional armed force created the conditions for an armed insurrection in Shanghai.

2. "Issuing the Mobilizzation call for a War"

After the 2d Plenary Session of the 10th Party Central Committee was held in January 1975, whenever Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wnag Hongwen felt that the situation was becoming unfavorable to them, they indoctrinated their Shanghai followers with the ideas of "prepare to go to the mountains to wage guerrilla warfare," "be ready for a war" and "future struggles will be decided by violence" to get them to tightly control the Shanghai militia and get prepared. After Chairman Mao Zedong died in September 1976, they issued several secret orders to plot an armed insurrection in Shanghai.

During the 2d Plenary Session of the 10th Party Central Committee, as a result of a proposal by Chairman Mao Zedong, Comrade Deng Xiaoping became vice chairman of the party Central Committee, vice chairman of the Central Committee military commission, first vice premier of the State Council and chief of the general staff of the PLA and took charge of daily affairs of the central organs. While the meeting was going on, Wang Hongwen was already very worried. He told Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen and others: "I am particularly worried about the army. We do not have anyone in the army."

From 1974 to the first half of 1975, Chairman Mao criticized the gang of four several times. During the first half of 1975, a meeting of the Central Committee Political Bureau presided over by Deng Xiaoping criticized Jiang Qing. Under such circumstances, Wang Hongwen went back to Shanghai in July 1975 and stayed there until mid-November when he returned to Beijing. When he was in Shanghai, while talking with Ma Tian Xhui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen about a group of commanders, deputy commanders, political commissars and deputy political commissars of the various arms, services and major military regions who were appointed by the Central Committee, he said: "Deng (referring to Comrade Deng Xiaoping) is very familiar with these people, while Chunqiao and I are not familiar with them at all." Ma, Xu and Wang wanted Wang Hongwen to go to Beijing to seize power. Wang Hongwen said: "Deng Xiaoping's power was given by Chairman Mao. What power do I have?" Wang Hongwen also repeatedly said to Ma Tianshui and his "subordinates" that they must "be prepared to go to the mountains to wage guerrilla warfare." In September that same year, he called the leaders of the Shanghai militia to a meeting for a so-called heart-to-heart talk on the line. During the meeting, he declared that if anyone dared to strike down the militia in one stroke, as long as he was still alive, he would build up the militia again, even if it took 20 years. After the meeting, he told Ma Tianshui that weapons must not be kept in the army's arsenal, that his mind was not at ease if they were kept in the army's arsenal, and they should be distributed to the militia so that in the event of a war, the militia would have weapons in their hands. After that, he went to inspect the arsenals where weapons were kept.

In April 1976, the Tiananmen Square incident occurred. The gang of four was scared out of their wits. From 1 to 7 April, Wang Hongwen maintained close telephone contact with Ma Tianshui and Wang Xiuzhen almost every day. He wanted them to "send out the militia," "prevent an incident similar to the Tiananmen Square incident from occurring in Shanghai" and "solve all problems whenever and wherever they occur." Wang Xiuzhen transmitted the message and gave out the assignments to the responsible persons of the Shanghai militia and the public security bureau. He asked them to "coordinate in battle" and prepare to use the factional armed force to suppress the masses.

On 7 May 1976, while meeting with Chen Jide, responsible person of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee writing group in Beijing, Yao Wenyuan said: "The great cultural revolution was a form of violence. The Tiananmen incident was also a form of violence. In the future, struggles will also be decided by violence." Chen Jide transmitted this message to the other followers after he returned to Shanghai. In early July 1976, Yao Wenyuan arranged for HONGQI magazine to publish an article entitled "Strengthen the Building of the Workers' Militia." This article was carried by HONGQI No 8 1976 after Yao Wenyuan had approved it. It advocated that "the broad masses of militiamen...must struggle against the bourgeoisie in the party and the class enemies in society." It attempted to prepare public opinion for an armed insurrection.

In August 1976, Ding Sheng, commander of the Nanjing PLA units, went to Shanghai and had a late night secret talk with Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen at the Yanan Hotel. Ding Sheng said: "I am particularly worried about the No 6453 Unit." "I am totally unable to control this unit." "Several divisions of this unit are stationed in Wuxi, Suzhou and Shanghai. I am very worried." "You must be prepared." Ma Tianshui said: "If there is really going to be a war, Shanghai will be depending primarily on the militia." Afterward, Ma Tianshui immediately ordered an inspection on the issuance of firearms to the militia. He ordered an emergency issuance of 74,220 rifles, 300 artilleries and 10 million rounds of assorted ammunition. Concrete preparations were made for an armed insurrection.

On 21 September 1976, Xu Jiangxian made a report to Zhang Chunqiao in Beijing on the secret talks with Ding Sheng in Shanghai and the progress of the emergency issuance of firearms. Zhang Chunqiao told Xu Jiangxian: "Be cautious. Pay close attention to the developments of the class struggle." In his testimony, Xu Jiangxian said: "I knew that that remark was meant to remind us to pay close attention to the time and method of action."

On 23 September 1976, Wang Hongwen told Wang Xiuzhen over the telephone: "You must be vigilant. The struggle has not ended. The bourgeoisie in the party will not be resigned to their failure. There will be people who will engineer Deng Xiaoping's comeback." In his testimony, Wang Hongwen said that this statement of his had great influence on Shanghai. "It laid the ideological groundwork for a Shanghai militia insurrection."

On 28 September 1976, Zhang Chunqiao sent Wang Hongwen's secretary Xiao Mu to Shanghai to transmit his views to the gang of four followers. According to Xu Jingxian's records, Zhang Chunqiao said: "The developments of the class struggle must be constantly analyzed. You should be vigilant on the one hand, and have great confidence on the other." "Shanghai has not really undergone any serious test." "Shanghai shall be facing a great challenge. It will have to fight a war." Xu Jingxian said in his testimony: "Here, Zhang Chunqiao issued the mobilization call for a war."

3. The Remnants of the Gang Conduct a Last Desperate Struggle

On 6 October 1976, the gang of four was smashed. On the 8th, a person was sent by Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen to make secret inquiries in Beijing. That evening, the person called them up from Beijing and reported to them the gravest news about the gang of four through predetermined code words. From the evening of the 8th to that of the 12th, the remnants in Shanghai held many meetings. Like a host of demons dancing in riotous revelry, they had murderous looks on their faces. They schemed to stage an armed insurrection and conduct a last desperate struggle.

In the evening of the 8th, the Shanghai remnants held an emergency meeting at the municipal CCP committee office on Kangping Road. Present at the meeting were Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen, secretaries of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee; Feng Guozhu, Wang Shaoyong and Zhang Jingbiao, members of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee; Zhu Yongjia, the person in charge of the writing troup of the municipal CCP committee; He Xiumen, Zhang Chunqiao's secretary in Shanghai; Liao Zukang and Xiao Mu, Wang Hongwen's secretaries.

During the meeting, when discussing the possibility of the arrest of the gang of four, Zhu Yongjia suggested: "We must fight. We must send out the people's militia. Even if we cannot fight for 1 week, we must fight for 3 to 5 days so that the whole world will know about this matter." Zhu Yongjia's counterrevolutionary and desperate proposal--to stage an armed insurrection--was approved by other remnants. On the one hand, they made threatening gestures and were ready to wage large scale violence. On the other, they were on tenterhooks and afraid that they might be "caught in a dragnet" on Kangping Road. Thus, they decided to form two leading groups for the armed insurrection, set up two secret command headquarters and withdraw from the Kangping office. The No 1 operation point was set up at Dingxiang Garden under the leadership of Xu Jingxian, Wang Shaoyong and Zhu Yongjia. They were to be responsible for preparing public opinion for the armed insurrection. This operation point was responsible for the nonviolent method. The No 2 operation point was set up at the headquarters of the municipal people's militia under the leadership of Wang Ziuzhen, Feng Guozhu and Liao Zukang and some others. They were directly in charge of the armed insurrection. This operation point was responsible for the violent method. Later, Liao Zukang suggested that the leading group responsible for the violent method also include Li Binshan, deputy political commissar of the garrison command, and Ye Changming, Chen Ada, Huang Jinhai, Ma Zhenlong and Wang Minglong, leaders of the municipal federation of trade unions. Xu Jingxian issued an order to Wang Xiuzhen who then concentrated 33,500 of the people's militia "to step up combat readiness." After this, both the leaders of the violent and nonviolent forces went to their own command headquarters to prepare for the armed insurrection.

Zhu Yongjia was one of the extremely reckless members in the leading group responsible for the nonoviolent method. After the meeting on Kangping Road, he immediately hurried to two newspaper offices and the radio station in Shanghai to whip up counterrevolutionary opinion. Following this, he went to the writing group of the municipal CCP committee to assign people to write articles for the purpose of counterrevolutionary propaganda. Incited by Zhu Yongjia and Wang Zhichang, people in the writing group of the municipal CCP committee were in a counterrevolutionary craze, preparing for the insurrection.

The group responsible for the violent method was led by Wang Xiuzhen. They arrived at the headquarters of the municipal people's militia late in the evening on the 8th to make specific preparations for staging the armed insurrection. Most members of this group had previously been Wang Hongwen's trusted "subordinates" and hatchet men of the gang of four, when the latter was running amuck in Shanghai. Wang Xiuzhen assigned the following duties to them: Shi Shangying and some others in charge of the people's militia were to study and make a battle for the armed insurrection; Ye Changming, Chen Ada, Huang Jinhai, Ma Zhenlong, Wang Minglong and those who had previously participated in large scale violence were to be stationed at command headquarters when war broke out. While these scoundrels looked as fierce as bulls, they harbored evil intentions. They were afraid of being noticed by others and dared not even stay at the headquarters of the municipal people's militia. At dawn on the 9th, they hurriedly moved to the Donghu Road hostel.

Instructed by Wang Xiuzhen, Li Binshan and Shi Shangying and some others formulated an initial battle plan for the militia. She Shangying also called the responsible people of 10 garrison commands and 5 militia divisions directly under the municipality to a meeting. He ordered them to concentrate forces, equip the milita with firearms, distribute ammunition for the firearms and assemble cars and materials. In those days, they used more than 27,000 weapons of various kinds, assembled 225 cars and a large quantity of food and materials, and installed 15 radio stations in the people's militia headquarters and established communication among them. In accordance with the instructions of Wang Xiuzhen, Xue Ganqing and Xu Chenghu, deputy secretaries of the Shanghai municipal public security bureau party committee, assembled 1,300 mobile forces and issued more firearms to them.

After the 8th, the remnants of the gang got busy burning the materials. They destroyed all the evidence showing their loyalty to the gang of four. Some said: "We are prepared to go to jail and to be beheaded." "If we are to die, let us do so together." Some arranged for the removal of their families. Some said to their wives: "It is still not too late to seek a divorce." Some brought with them guns and daggers to be used in times of need. In a word, there was great confusion among the remaining confederates faced with their doom.

On the morning of the 9th, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen returned from the secret command headquarters to the Kangping Road office. They received there a phone call from Ma Tianshui in Beijing, who demanded that they write something in the name of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee on the two decisions announced by the party Central Committee on the 8th (concerning the publication of the fifth volume of Selected Works of Mao Zedong and the establishment of a memorial hall for Chairman Mao). When Xu and Wang asked over the phone about the "three leaders" (Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen), Ma Tianshui hemmed and hawed. The same evening, Ma Tianshui again relayed by phone an order of the party Central Committee for Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen to go to Beijing for a meeting. On the afternoon of the 19th, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen headed for Beijing.

Allowing Ma Tianshui to phone the remaining confederates in Shanghai and have Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen transferred to Beijing--this played an important role in checking an armed insurrection by the remnants in Shanghai. From the 10th to the 11th, the remaining confederates in Shanghai waited for the news they were expecting after Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen reached Beijing. After Xu Jingxian left, Zhu Yongjie of the No 1 operation point was still instigating among members of the writing group of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee. Those of the No 2 operation point led by Liao Zukang and Chen Ada met every day at the Donghu Road hostel where they exchanged news and collected information. On the 11th, they learned that the several responsible comrades of the Shanghai garrison command, who had gone to Nanjing to attend a meeting, had returned to Shanghai and were strengthening preparations for war. They were panic-stricken. They thought that the Donghu Road hostel had been put under watch and that they must change their meeting place. On the 12th, these people met at the municipal workers' cultural palace. Liao Zukang urged taking some practical actions. They decided to set up another contact point at the No 31 state cotton mill with Dai Liqing in charge and entrusted him with the preparation of counterrevolutionary posters. (Dai Liqing, Huang Jinhai and others prepared a total of 21 counterrevolutionary posters). They also called for passing on word about counterrevoltuion among their most trusted confidants.

At around 8 p.m. on the 12th, the remaining confederates in Shanghai again met at the Kangping Road office of the municipal party committee. Among those present were Feng Guozhu, Wang Shaoyong, Zhang Jingbiao, Huang Tao, Ye Changming, Chen Ada, Ma Zhenlong, Wang Richu, Zhu Yongjia, Liao Zukan, Xiao Mu, He Xiuwen, and so forth. Before the meeting, they had known for sure that the gang of four had been smashed. At the meeting, Ma Zhenlong and Zhu Hongjia cried bitterly over the collapse of the gang of four. Zhu Yongjia suggested that immediate action be taken. "If we again let things slide, we will be completely ruined." Chen Ada, Ye Changming, Xiao Mu and Wang Zhichang madly yelled that any action taken must be on a large scale. Huang Tao also said that any action taken must be marked by resolution. These commandos put forward such counterrevolutionary plans as arousing the masses to stop production and go on strike, blocking the airport runway by using steel ingots, using sunken boats to seal off the Wusong estuary, cutting off electrical supplies, taking over important departments, undermining railways and bridges, and so forth. Wang Shaoyong urged that efforts be made to paralyze the whole city. At the meeting, Ye Changming also phoned Zhong Dingdong to request that he draw up on the same night a program for starting an armed insurrection. The madness of the remaining confederates in their last days had reached its peak. When the meeting was in progress, Ma Tianshui and Wang Xiuzhen phoned from Beijing to say that they could get back on the 13th and that the remnants of the gang must wait for their return. Zhu Yongjia and Wang Zhichang thought that they could no longer wait. They suggested that before dawn, militiamen be posted at news agencies and radio stations so that "a statement to the whole country and to the people of the whole city" could be issued and that action could be started on a large scale. They also put forward the counterrevolutionary slogan "Return Jiang Qing to us, return Zhang Chunqiao to us, return Yao Wenyuan to us, return Wang Hongwen to us." However, the renegades were leaderless. Who was to the issue the order? The several Standing Committee members present at the meeting agreed to intensify preparations. But they said that they must wait for Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen to return to give orders for the start of the armed insurrection. The meeting of the remaining confederates in their last days lasted until early in the morning.

Early in the morning of the 13th, Zhong Dingdong formulated programs known as "Hanyi" and "Fanger" for the start of an armed insurrection. The heads of the municipal trade union council and the municipal militia command arranged counterrevolutionary briefings to prepare for the armed insurrection. In the afternoon, Huang Jinhai, Ma Zhenlong, Dai Liqing and Wang Zhichang also carried out activities in an attempt to win over the militia. This was a deathbed struggle and nothing came out of it.

The party Central Committee's historic victory in smashing the gang of four had become officially known in Shanghai. The gang of four's 10-year rule over Shanghai and its plot for starting an armed insurrection instantly collapsed. The people of Shanghai rejoiced over regeneration. The remnants of the gang of four had at last met their doom.

CSO: 4005

'BA YI RADIO' CRITICIZES SCHEME IN OPPOSING XU XIANGQIAN

OW060606 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 4 Dec 80

[Summary] "At present some people are deliberately engaging forces in various circles to carry out a scheme of opposing Comrade Xu Xiangqian, minister of national defense, undermining his prestige and limiting his power.

"First of all, it should not be regarded as normal that Comrade Xu Xiangqian was dismissed from his post as vice premier. According to the usual practice in our country, the minister of national defense automatically assumes the post of vice premier. In past years the minister of national defense held great power. However, Comrade Xu Xiangqian was dismissed as vice premier so as to restrict his power.

"Second, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the military commission under the CCP Central Committee had studied and then decided to keep Comrade Xu Xiangqian in his post as minister of national defense. In an attempt to attain their shameful purpose, however, some people even went so far as to say that the dismissal of Xu Xiangqian had been decided. Furthermore, they even had the impudence to reveal this information on internal affairs to foreigners. That person of the central authorities who is most fond of talking about our domestic affairs with foreign guests recently said outright to foreign guests that Xu Xiangqian would soon retire because he could no longer do his daily work.

"Third, some people are now going various places to find out about Comrade Xu Xiangqian's activities during the cultural revolution, trying secretly to collect materials unfavorable to him. As is known to all, Comrade Xu Xiangqian once led the work of the PLA's cultural revolution group. However, he himself became a victim of the persecution by the gang of four later on because he opposed the actions of Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng."

Despite these facts, some people fabricate stories to deal blows at Comrade Xu Xiangqian, and their scheme has already caused great confusion among the leading cadres of our army.

"Deng Xiaoping resigned from his post of vice premier and retained his post of party vice chairman. However, he has never changed his highhanded way of dealing with people. He has taken all the party, state and army powers into his own hands and intervened in the daily work of both the army and the government. He even went as far as to meddle into the current trial of former PLA leading cadres by the special court."

In a word, the above-mentioned actions taken by a certain person have seriously undermined the stability and unity among the leadership of our army.. He even attempts to take advantage of this situation and put the army under his personal control.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI' NOTES DENG XIAOPING'S HANDLING OF REBELS

OW151419 (Clandestine) by Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Summary] "The troops encircling and suppressing the 480 persons in the Shiwandashan Mountain area of Guangxi have been increased to 3 regiments over the past month. This indicates that it was very unwise not to talk to them to bring them around at the beginning or to refuse to negotiate with them later. Without conducting investigations and study, Deng Xiaoping, a leading member of the military commission, has arbitrarily branded the activities of these persons as an armed counterrevolutionary rebellion, and decided to suppress them by force of arms. This is extremely wrong.

"In point of fact, none of the 480 persons is an alien-class element who harbors bitter hatred for the party and socialism. Among the 480 persons, 17 are cadres at divisional and regimental levels. (Ma Xiantu), (Song Yuzhen) and (Liu Hanjie) are veteran cadres who once participated in the long march. How can they be treated as turncoats, and how can their activities be regarded as armed counterrevolutionary rebellion.

"Both in the war of liberation and in the campaigns to put down the rebellion in Xizhang, in Aertai Mountain area of Singjiang, and in Qinghai, as well in encircling and suppressing the Kuomintang (?8th) and 26th armies, our army had always adopted the tactics of winning over the enemies by peaceful means. Since this is how we dealt with the enemy, why are we so ruthless in dealing with our own people? Furthermore, the conditions they put forward are also understandable. Even though their conditions are not completely acceptable, a settlement can still be made through consultation. On the contrary, sending troops to suppress them has only aroused the (?PLA fighters' sympathy for the 480 persons) and [words indistinct]. Moreover, we must understand that of the six-point conditions put forward by them, some of them are not deliberately making trouble out of nothing but actually reiterating some questions that were once argued at the enlarged session of the military commission."

Implicated in the cases of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. Are "some (?100) former leading personnel of our army" who are now in custody. They should be tried and punished for implementing the wrong line and policies. Under no circumstances should they be punished as principal culprits or principal accomplices, nor should we put the army cadres who carried out orders and the principal defendents of the gang of four on the same footing. "As for the 14,000 (?army cadres who have been or are being investigated)," they should also be handled leniently for their mistake of blindly carrying out orders issued by higher levels.
CSO: 4005

'RENMIN RIBAO': ODE TO THE END OF LIFETIME TENURE

JK140529 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Dec 80 p 5

[Poem by Yang Xianyao [2799 3759 3852]: "Farewell, Lifetime Tenure"]

[Text] When did the old man of history
Arrange for us
A golden armchair?
Sit on it, it is for a lifetime.
Sit on it, the thought of special privileges
Will open wide its mouth,
Stick out its greedy tongue
And bare its merciless fangs.
Now, the old man of history
Has suddenly realized his mistake.
He said: My children,
You must not have blind faith in me.
I have also made many mistakes.
Now, I have decided to remove
The golden armchair
I designed for the cadres: Lifetime tenure.
Farewell, lifetime tenure.
You are like a stupid boulder,
Pressing on the back of the Chinese people
Until they cannot lift their heads,
Until they are bent and hunchbacked,
Until they are in tears
And until they are tottering.
Farewell, lifetime tenure.
Your are like a piece
Of heavy black shroud
Blotting out the dawn of the People's Republic of China;
Casting your enormous shadow
On the distressed land.
In places darkened by your shadow,
Leaves are no longer green
And grains can no longer ripen.
Farewell, lifetime tenure.

You also have had your moment of glory.
Now, you also must go. Away
With your ferocious power and prestige,
Your seal of authority
And your gun.
You may make deliberate misrepresentation.
You may distort the facts.
Farewell, lifetime tenure.
People may perhaps be reluctant to see you go.
Because the past is a silkworm not yet dead
Still spinning out silk
That forms traditions and habits
Binding the oar of sentiment,
The sail of thinking
And the ship of life.
Farewell, lifetime tenure.
We know that you may not be
The last tail
Or the last pile of garbage
Left to us by feudalism.
However, your going
Is the first sign of the successful step
Toward the new long march.

CSO: 4005

'XINHUA' COMMENTARY ON IMPLEMENTING PRICE CONTROL CIRCULAR

OW130230 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0742 GMT 12 Dec 80

[Commentary by XINHUA commentator: "Unify Understanding, Unify Action"]

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)—The circular on strictly controlling prices and readjusting negotiated prices issued by the State Council is an important measure for stabilizing the national economy, insuring a stable livelihood for the people, promoting stability and unity and guaranteeing the smooth progress of socialist modernization. The people's governments and concerned departments in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country are taking effective measures to implement the circular.

In implementing the stipulations of the circular, one highly important thing to be done is for all areas and concerned departments to unify their understanding and actions, for partial interests to be subordinate to the interests of the majority, and for individual and specific contradictions to be subordinate to the general demand for a stable economy. This is because controlling prices and readjusting negotiated prices are just not simple economic work. They are not only the business of the price departments but also they require close coordination among industrial, agricultural, commercial, supply and marketing, food, industrial and commercial administrative, communications and transport departments; banks; tax offices; government offices; mass organizations; and military units. At the same time, in doing this work it is inevitable that difficulties and resistance will be encountered. Therefore, in the course of doing this work, it is still necessary to do effective political-ideological work.

In order to strictly control prices and conscientiously readjust negotiated prices, all areas, particularly the big and medium-sized cities, must immediately organize powerful price inspection teams, and, under the leadership of people's governments, mobilize the masses and rely on them in helping to implement the circular; inspect and supervise prices; solve existing problems; and expose and handle cases of violation of the circular, increasing prices at will, inflating prices in disguised ways and driving up negotiated prices. This work of inspecting prices should be made a procedure of our economic work.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

YUNNAN PLA CARRIER PIGEONS--Kunming, 19 Nov (XINHUA)--It usually takes 2 days to walk from a PLA company stationed in a hilly area along the Yunnan border to regimental headquarters. One day, a comrade of the company was seriously ill, and it would have been too late to send someone over to regimental headquarters for medical aid. Under these circumstances, the company dispatched four carrier pigeons to regimental headquarters with a letter requesting the medicines needed. About 1/2 hour later, the pigeons returned with the medical supplies requested. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0123 GMT 10 Nov 80 OW]

SHANGHAI RESEARCH INSTITUTE--The Shanghai chapter of the research institute for studying the new 4th army and the Central China stronghold for resisting Japanese aggression was founded on 14 November. Over 500 veteran new 4th army fighters and party history workers attended the founding ceremony. The institute is devoted to the study of the political, economic, military, cultural and education history of the new 4th army and the Central China stronghold for resisting Japanese aggression. Xia Zhongnong, adviser to the research institute and secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee, spoke. (Chen Maohui), adviser to the political department of the Nanjing PLA units and the research institute, spoke on the history of the new 4th army. Xia Zongnong was elected honorary president of the Shanghai branch institute. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 14 Nov 80 OW]

SHANGHAI AIR DEFESNE INSTALLATIONS--People's air defense installations are being used by many neighborhoods, enterprises and other units in Shanghai Municipality to develop production and establish commercial service centers, providing jobs for some 4,000 unemployed young intellectuals. Several underground establishments, including a woolen textile mill and an hotel, have been built in the air defense installations of (Xingkang) street which covers 1.1 square kilometers, and 340 young intellectuals have been employed since 1979. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 17 Nov 80 OW]

SHANGHAI DEFENSE WORKS MEETING--An on-the-spot meeting to discuss the use of the people's air defense works of the Nanjing area during peacetime as well as in wartime concluded on 21 November in Shanghai. Attending the meeting were responsible comrades from the people's air defense groups of Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Anhui. They pointed out that use should be promoted of air defense works for peacetime purposes. Thus far, some 900,000 square meters of air defense works in the Nanjing area have been put to use. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 21 Nov 80 OW]

SHANGHAI FORTIFICATIONS-CIVIL USE--People's defense works in Shanghai have been used for civilian purposes. So far, they have been turned in to over 2,000 warehouses, over 160 hotels, hostels and restaurants, nearly 200 workshops and plants and nearly 1,000 meeting halls and offices and other facilities such as bicycle parking lots. The total area thus utilized is equal to 130 odd 10-story buildings with a ground floor space of 500 square meters. Production enterprises utilizing the people's defense works have handed in to the state 400,000 yuan in profit each month this year. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 20 Nov 80 OW]

FISHERMEN RESCUE SINKING SUBMARINE--Jinan, 9 Dec (XINHUA)--Fishermen of Huangcheng Island in Shandong Province and commanders and fighters guarding the island recently braved strong winds and giant waves to rescue a sinking naval submarine which hit a hidden reef, thus saving instruments and equipment worth 600,000 yuan and scientific data from being lost. On the evening of 25 October, the winds in Bohai were very strong. "A working naval submarine which was carrying out an experiment at sea was sailing toward the port of Huangcheng to escape the strong winds. On the way, it was forced onto a hidden reef by a sea current. The impact breached a hole in the bottom part of the main cabin. The ship was sinking very quickly as the sea water rushed into the cabin." Seeing that the naval submarine was in trouble, commune members on the island sent out two fishing boats to rescue the sinking ship. They used pumps to remove the water from the submarine's cabin. After 14 hours of hard work by the sailors and commune members, the hole was plugged and welded. "The next day the submarine's engine roared and the submarine returned to its base safely." [Summary] [OW120523 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1454 GMT 9 Dec 80]

XIZANG YEAREND MILITARY EVALUATION--Starting on 1 November, the Shannan military subdistrict in Xizang has sent a work group, comprising leading comrades of headquarters and the political and logistics departments, to make yearend evaluation of the military and political quality of border defense units at regimental, battalion and company levels. [Lhasa Xizhang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 19 Nov 80 OW]

GUANGZHOU PLA PLANNED PARENTHOOD--The Guangzhou PLA units have done well in planned parenthood work this year. The rate of married couples bearing only one child has been increased from 37 percent last year to 91.1 percent. The Guangzhou PLA CCP Committee has proposed six measures in response to the call of the party Central Committee: 1) It is necessary to widely launch activities to study the party Central Committee's open letter on planned parenthood work; 2) to attach the greatest importance to planned parenthood work; 3) all cadres and their families must seriously implement their local unit's instructions on planned parenthood work; 4) commend advanced units and individuals in planned parenthood work; 5) strengthen leadership over planned parenthood and launch ideological education for the masses; 6) to promote medical services for children. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2345 GMT 25 Oct 80 HK]

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STRUCTURE OF INTELLIGENCE CALLED KEY IN MODERNIZATION

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 5 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Xia Yulong [1115 4416 7839], Liu Ji [0491 0679], Feng Zhijun [7458 0037 3182] and Zhang Nianchun [1728 1819 2797]: "On the Structure of Human Intelligence"]

[Text] Summary of the text: The structure of human intelligence is a subject of great importance to the building of socialist modernization. The construction of a logical structure of intelligence not only will permit people to make the utmost of one's talents and put them to full use, it moreover can uncap enormous abilities and greatly extend the reach of national modernization. The structure of intelligence is composed of five secondary structures: profession, age, intellectual ability, knowledge and quality. The key to adjusting the structure of intelligence lies in rationalizing the structure of the leading cadres.

1. The Structure of Intelligence is a Key Topic in Modernization

The building of a rational structure of intelligence is of specially urgent significance in accelerating the progress of national modernization. The construction of national modernization is now being carried out from our base of the huge population and poor foundation after the national economic collapse during the ten years of chaos caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." At present our materials, finances, energy, experience and human skills are all inadequate. With these "five inadequacies," how we are to accelerate building the four modernizations becomes a problem which the entire nation must probe and consider. We believe that the most effective method is to seek wealth through management. Our management is backwards, which means that it has great potential. A great many foreign experts who have made studies in our country say that China's production equipment conditions need not be changed and the use of scientific advanced management will improve the production rate from 50 to over 100 percent. Uncovering management potential is a multifaceted operation. The basic direction is reform of the economic management system, but in terms of the present times, reform of the structure of intelligence is perhaps the most practical management action.

What is meant by the structure of intelligence? In comparison with machine design, machines of advanced performance must have parts of superior performance. However, just because the parts are good does not definitely mean that the machine will be any good. The basic task of machine design is how to take the various parts of a particular level of quality and rationally put together an effective machine. The building of modernization is the highest intellectual activity of mankind and is also the collective activity of all of mankind. This then brings up the question of what kinds of intelligence are needed and how they are to be organized and rationally combined. In a word, this is a question of the structure of intelligence. A rational structure of intelligence not only permits people to reach and apply their full potential, but achieving a perfectly rational structure will uncap enormous new abilities. This will greatly accelerate our national modernization.

Increased scientific and technological modernization of the national economy means the ever increasing importance of relying on human intelligence. Mental workers are daily becoming the main force in social production. Among the economically developed nations of the world there is an increasingly greater number of mental workers in the total number of people employed. In the United States, for example, the proportion was 43.3 percent in 1960 and by 1977 it had reached 50.1 percent. According to predictions by experts, by the year 2000 only 10 percent of the people of economically advanced foreign nations will be directly employed in production and of these there are only two workers for every three persons in management. We discern in this an irreversible historical trend: The number of mental workers who have been exposed to a modern scientific and cultural education is an important measure of the standard of social modernization. Although they are workers, they are not simply manual laborers as before. The level of their cultural education is becoming ever higher and their work relies evermore on intelligence. With conditions such as these the question of the structure of intelligence naturally arises.

Actually, the question of the structure of intelligence has already been unavoidably placed before us. For a long time our cadre structure has had very few professional cadres, and this is an example of one of the weak points in the intellectual structure. According to statistics from a 1979 Tianjin study of 23 research institutes, of 121 cadres only one-fourth were scientific and technological personnel and only 10 percent were actually in core cadre positions. According to statistics from a study of 234 plant managers and deputy plant managers in the Sichuan Fifth Machinery Plant system only 13 percent have a collegiate cultural level. This furthermore is typical of places with relatively more professional cadres. Such a structure of intelligence obviously is not suited to demands of the four modernizations. At this time the slogan for professionalization of the cadres has been given out and many scientific and technological personnel have taken their leadership sentry posts. This is a delightful beginning. Nonetheless, practice has proven that new problems do emerge when many well known scientists and adavanced engineers assume leadership positions. Their expertise in scientic matters declines day by day and the unfamiliar load of heavy administrative duties weights them down. Under conditions such as these is total professionalization of leadership tasks actually the best structure of intelligence? Another example is that because of the damage and destruction caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" the aging of our leadership cadres has become a real problem. Vigorous promotion of new production forces is no doubt a correct and important policy. However, if making the cadre ranks more youthful is the only goal and if the matter is not studied and understood from the overall viewpoint of the structure of intelligence, we possibly will develop a thoroughly lopsided structure of intelligence. This one-sided method is just like trying to build an advanced machine from a single part, it simply cannot be done.

From this we see that investigation of the structure of intelligence is an urgent task for our national modernization and is worth the expenditure of much human energy.

2. The Five Components of the Structure of Intelligence

The structure of human intelligence is a dynamic comprehensive entity of many directions, many layers and many components. Generally speaking, the structure of intelligence is composed of five secondary structures: the professional structure, the age structure, the structure of intellectual ability, the knowledge structure and the quality structure.

The professional structure means that within a system all types of specialized personnel should be in the correct proportion. Within any given department or unit the structure of intelligence most likely will have problems in the professional structure. A machinery plant requires workers in every profession: there are foundry workers, metal forgers, metal processors, assemblers, helpers and the like. The metal processors are further divided by such tasks as lathe work, milling, polishing and bench work. That these should exist in suitable proportions is of course common knowledge. However, in addition to the production workers necessary to modern enterprises, there is a daily increasing need for a structure of management personnel, research and development personnel, sales personnel and technical service personnel. The electronic computer company founded by the Chinese-American businessman Wang An [3769 1344] has been one of the most flourishing new American companies of recent years. It altogether employs 8,500 people and of these only 2,000 are production workers while over 1,000 are technical service personnel, over 2,000 are sales personnel and the rest are managers and researchers. It appears that the professional structure is one of the major reasons for this company's success.

A research organization is just the same. Leaving aside all of these peripheral, overlapping and comprehensive sciences, even a professional research institute cannot expect to need only personnel in that particular profession. People of only one profession cannot hope to comprise a superior structure of intelligence for an institute. For example, it is insufficient for a contemporary institute of plant physiology to rely on botany and such professions because they must have a strong foundation in chemistry and not just biochemistry because they also need agricultural chemistry, physical chemistry and organic chemistry to lend professional support. Among the researchers of the Shanghai Institute of Biochemistry only 21 percent are professional chemists and they are painfully aware of the lack of balance in their research work. Basic research has always been like this, and it is an even greater problem in the more comprehensive areas of technology. The newer the technology the more the demand for comprehensive professional work. In the case of the electronic computer it simply will not do to rely only on computer professionals. It is quite the opposite because support from many other professionals is needed to form a good professional structure. There are professional structures on different levels, as large as the production structure of society or as small as an individual's knowledge structure and all are worthy topics of study.

Age structure is an important secondary structure within the structure of intelligence. Generally speaking, a complete age structure should have older people who are "old horses who know the roads," middle aged people who are "firm rocks in midstream" and young people who are "vigorous and forceful" in order to form a logical comprehensive entity. This will use peoples' psychological makeup and intellectual level in making the most of their superior abilities.

In the area of technology there is a complex relationship between age and technology. The mutual relationship between age and intelligence in modern society differs from that of ancient society. In ancient society the level of technology was rather low so the older a person became the more experienced and capable he became. This truly was the so-called pattern in which "old people are the wise people of the villages." In modern society, however, the increasingly rapid pace of technological change means that even though a person's knowledge may increase with age there is no necessary correlation between a person's age and his level of knowledge.

Some scholars have studied the relationships between age and intelligence (see the following chart), and clearly explain the problem.

Intelligence/Age	10-17	18-29	30-49	50-69	70-89
Perception	100	95	93	76	46
Memory	95	100	92	83	55
Comparison and Judgement	72	90	100	87	67
Speed of Movement and Reaction	88	100	97	92	71

However, this does not mean that one can simply use age to draw lines. The importance of youth and middle age in this demonstration does not at all slight old people. It is not exceptional in the history of science for old people to achieve great results. Science and technology require people of many talents, and old people can use their abundant experience and sharp observations to engage in guiding and advising management tasks, writing books and developing theories, nurturing talent and guiding the younger generation. The old, middle aged and young ought to form a three-dimensional battle group of the correct proportions, with each contributing all available abilities and wisdom to make up for whatever weak points do exist. This is the only correct way to develop science and technology. The establishment of the famous B C S theory in the history of modern science thoroughly explained the logical age structure and was of great significance in promoting scientific enterprises. The cooperation between (Bading) the scientist over 50 years old, Cooper, the middle aged scientist of strength and vigor and (Shilifei) the creative scientist just 20 some years old combined elderly, middle aged and youthful intelligence to produce a masterpiece--the theory of micro-superconductors, which won the 1972 Nobel Prize for Physics.

Intellectual ability refers to mankind's ability to make use of knowledge. The structure of intellectual ability is also a question of extreme importance. We believe that it primarily includes the abilities of self-study, research, thought, expression, and organization. All people who live in modern society ought to work from a foundation of seeking knowledge to improve their own intellectual abilities.

Scientific research has demonstrated that mankind has intellectual abilities of various types. For example, in the area of scientific research there are the modes of the recreation of past events, discovery and creation. The skill of the reproduction of past events is superior for the accumulation of knowledge and for effective reproduction. The talent of discovery works from a basis for which there is no previous human experience and enables the individual's practice to make progress to improve and to make discoveries. Major breakthroughs in scientific theory and major technological inventions are always aided by man's creative talents. Because of this, people generally value the modes of discovery and creativity. Albert Einstein said, "Imagination is more important than knowledge because knowledge finally is limited while imagination can embrace all that exists in the world and stimulate progress. Imagination is the source of progress in knowledge."

However, having only creative talents simply will not do. In an extreme case, if a structure of intellectual abilities was composed only of people with creative talent it is very likely the resulting structure would be a disaster, probably equivalent to a chorus made up only of outstanding soloists. Progress in scientific matters requires not only that different people engage in study, creation and research, but also requires that other people perform reproduction of past events, development and application. Only by having people of different intellectual abilities placed into an intellectual structure in the correct proportions can the most effective use be made of intellectual abilities.

The structure of knowledge also occupies a very important place. An enterprise, research institute or an organization cannot require that all the members have the same level of knowledge. If all have too low a level of knowledge they will be unable to accomplish their tasks, and if they all have too high a level this will be a waste of intellect. A logical knowledge structure is composed of elementary, middle and high level intellects in a given proportion, thus forming a complete entity. Therefore, the problem lies in finding a suitable proportion. In terms of scientific research, American research personnel and their assistants are found in a ratio of 1 : 2-2.5 and in the Soviet Union it is 1 : 3-3.5. As to the proportion of people in theoretical and practical research, in the Soviet Union it is 1 : 20. In addition, some research results show that if one high level researcher has from 15 to 20 assistants superior results are then obtained.

Actually, the proportion in the structure of intelligence depends on the science involved, the country involved, the different levels of development and on changes in attitude. For example, the proportion of West German researchers, developers and assistants was 1 : 0.95 : 1.3 in 1970 and 1 : 0.97 : 0.965 in 1975. In Japanese research departments there was a different situation in the proportions of researchers, research assistants and other personnel. It was 1 : 0.57 : 0.85 in 1963 and 10 years later it was 1 : 0.31 : 0.58. The reduction in the number of assistants is perhaps related to their automation of experiment techniques. Therefore, the determination of the correct proportions in the knowledge structure must undergo concrete examination and analysis and must proceed from practice.

Quality is a very broad ranging concept. Narrowly defined, quality refers to a person's innate physical characteristics, primarily the organs of sense and the nervous system. Quality is the physiological condition which determines a person's psychological development, and the growth and maturation are realized in social practices. Certain shortcomings in areas of quality can be compensated for and continually improved. Broadly defined, a person's character, courage, interests, temperament and manner can also be included under quality. Within a structure of intelligence which is logical and complete the qualities ought to be in harmony. Harmonious qualities can be mutually complementary. For example, a violent personality and a warm personality complement each other. Harmony between qualities should aim for consistency so that aims and aspirations, for example, can attain the utmost possible consistency. This is the goal of the structure of quality.

The American E. (Laodesaipu) once made a study of 105 experts who had creative talents and asked them about their views on what qualities the ideal chief of a research laboratory should have. The great majority of the experts believed that these are: to have creativity and imagination; to understand the creative process of other people; to be clear about the special characteristics of scientific and technical personnel; technical competence; skill in encouraging the people around him; giving suitable freedom to scientific and technical personnel; nurturing people's self-confidence; respect for the ideas of other people; the ability to make tactful suggestions; the ability to serve all co-workers; the ability to be a spokesman for everyone; fairness in placing trust and giving praise; skill in assigning tasks; and not giving excessive supervision. Some other research shows that only people who are cool headed, openminded, encouraging, responsible, broadly educated, expansive and so on are capable of good management work. A great deal of evidence shows that not all experts are suitable. Only those people with certain managerial qualities can continuously improve the effectiveness of scientific research and promote the well being of scientific matters. This is the structure of quality between management work and the scientist. Obviously, very few people possess management qualities, so there also is a problem in the relationship between the structure of qualities and those performing management work.

In light of all the above, the structure of intelligence is a multi-dimensional and dynamic comprehensive entity. To make full use of the various factors of intelligence it is necessary to start from the concept of a structure, which means to consider the structures of profession and age, pay attention to the structures of intellectual abilities, knowledge and quality, grasp the main points while not neglecting the rest, give overall consideration and make suitable arrangements. All forms of arbitrary uniformity transgress against the principle of structure. Considering any problem in terms of only one goal will damage the structure and lay a foundation for future problems. It must also be pointed out that any logical structure of intelligence must be responsive, self-controlled, and self-adjusting. It cannot expect to achieve immediate success and remain unchanged thereafter. The key to attaining this level lies in the mechanisms and changing factors of structural adjustments.

3. The Major Task of Building a Logical Leading Cadre Structure of Intelligence

We see from the above that the structure of intelligence is very broad ranging. All occupations and professions have their own structure of intelligence as do all departments and units in all levels of management. All areas of human activity have a structure of intelligence. It is found everywhere. If the major task is to build a logical leading cadre structure of intelligence. This is the major task not only because the cadres are the leaders of the masses, but also because to a great degree they determine the establishment of the other structures of intelligence. Therefore, a logical leadership structure is the key to the success or failure of development in each department, enterprise and unit.

The Volkswagen Motor Works of West Germany is known throughout the whole world because of the energy crisis and the economic recession the company lost 8.07 hundred million marks in 1974 and 1.57 hundred million marks in 1975. These two figures total far over 9 hundred million marks worth of shares and the company bordered on bankruptcy. In February of 1975 the board of directors invited the (Laien) steel mill expert on economic management (Shimikeer) to assume the post of general manager. On taking command of this storm-tossed ship his first act was to make adjustments in the leadership groups and the personnel. He saved the company three hundred million marks by reducing personnel from 212 thousand people to 93 thousand people and by eliminating leaders and personnel for such problems as being too old fashioned, engaging in power struggles, being unrealistic and the inability to make good suggestions. An efficiently working and logical structure of intelligence stimulates the various other reforms that took place. That year's losses were turned into profits and the next year they announced profits of 1 billion marks. Similar examples are found in China. The Mindong Electric Machinery Plant began to use more lively methods and improved the structure of intelligence on each management level and with one leap turned a backward enterprise into a national model of progress. Moreover, they overcame their competition in the difficult international market. These examples fully explain the extreme importance of the leadership structure and also stimulates us to consider what the most truly logical leadership structure might be.

During the progressive expansion of the scope of production in the last 20 years science and technology have constantly made progress and undergone changes and the pace of change in contemporary society has dramatically accelerated. In foreign nations the highest leadership levels of major companies have shown a trend toward collective decision making, the organization of various committees and offices and the making of major decisions only after holding open discussions. At the same time, all sorts of professional brain trusts and think tanks have sprung up to assist the leadership in making decisions. This all shows that the modern form of leadership has developed from the individual to the collective leadership of the "flexible experts."

The history of the development of collective leadership tells us that the professionalization of modern leadership is mandatory. However, this professionalization is not the same as making it professional by the use of scientists or technicians. They have their own areas of expertise and there are certain advantages to having them assume management and leadership duties, so we ought to consider promoting them to leadership levels. However, not every scientist and technician has managerial talent, and it does not mean that the greater their fame or reputation in science the greater their managerial abilities. The famous Manhattan Project was not put under the direction of such famous Nobel Prize physicists as Einstein, (Kangpudun) or Fermi but rather under the direction of the 28-year-old theoretical physicist Oppenheimer. He was chosen mainly for his "broad knowledge, sensitive intellect, quick perception, decisiveness, organizational ability and skill in uniting people." In a word, this "inflexible expert" had "flexible skills." On the contrary, in West Germany there was the (Makesi-Boen) Research Institute which was established after World War II by Heisenberg. At age 22 Heisenberg established the study of quantum mechanics and thus became one of the most important theoretical physicists of the 20th century. Because of his importance he was the director of this institute until his death a few years ago. He was awarded over 50 honorary doctorates and the government provided much capital investment, but for these 20 some years he made very few research findings. There is another even clearer example. A few years ago the French (Kebeier) European Neutron Technology Center was run by an elderly director who was a man of great vision and strong personality and also a winner of the Nobel Prize. Upon his retirement a 60-year-old deputy director assumed the top position. Originally he had been protected by the old director, but his new position revealed that he was a man of no particular competence and was not at all inventive. Within two years the Neutron Technology Center was devoid of any vitality and the French Ministry of Science decided to make some changes. Over the objections of many nuclear physicists they offered the position to a 39-year-old professor of accoustics from the University of Paris, giving the reasons as "his great organizational capabilities and broad views of science." The results confirmed the wisdom of this choice. The European Neutron Technology Center is again in the forefront of world science. If this is the case in leadership of scientific research it is even more true for the leadership structure in other enterprises. Moreover, modern management has itself become a branch of learning on the university level and all scientists and technicians in a leadership capacity ought to study it. Therefore, the mark of whether or not modern leadership is on an expert level is whether or not it has the skills and professional qualities of modern scientific management. In a word, whether or not it is expert. Scientists and technicians who are interested only in their own work will probably not be good elements in the leadership structure.

It is necessary to make our leadership more youthful. In this modern age where economic production is rapidly developing and science and technology are making new progress on a daily basis, youthful leadership has the greatest power of response. Because of this, great attention must be paid to continual replacement of the old with the new and maintaining a youthful and active leadership structure. Neglect of this point will be a historical mistake. Youth, however, is no indicator of a person's abilities and we must select those who follow the party line established by the Third Plenum and who also have the proper management ability. We must also remember that although there is a positive correlation between advanced age and physical decline there also are great differences in individual physiques, so that some people maintain their thought process with advanced age while other suffer great decline. Therefore, making the leadership more youthful is but a "vague numerical" concept and that exercising arbitrary uniformity in drawing a line at a particular age will not produce the best possible leadership structure.

What is most important in modern management is not the excellence of the individual but rather the best structure of collective leadership. There is no one person competent in all areas of science and the same is true in management. The great majority of people are expert in a single area, but if they are properly organized they then can demonstrate all-around expertise as a group. In terms of professional structure, all those leaders who are famous scientists or advanced engineers certainly do not make up the very best leadership structure. They probably are outstanding as leaders in science and technology but the leadership work for any unit always covers the whole unit and it must be asked if they could lead the work in political ideology, could manage the economic finances or could withstand the pressures and frustrations of the work in logistics and supply. Therefore, modern leadership groups should be logically composed of people of various professions and talents. In terms of the age structure it should be a unity of old age, middle age and youth. They will compensate for each others shortcomings and work for overall benefit. Making leadership youthful should not be simply explained as having only young people or as carefully considering each and every person's age, but rather that each leadership group should have a logical proportion of old, middle aged and young people and that there be an average age limit in the leadership levels to prevent the overall leadership from aging, thus ensuring continuity. In terms of the structure of knowledge there should be thinkers capable of advanced thought and organization experts capable of advanced organization and there must also be practical workers capable of "leaving a footprint for each step taken." There is another factor of great importance which is usually overlooked, and that is the structure of quality. If the personalities of the leaders do not match, if their interests are divergent, if their values are different and if their natures are at odds this will greatly weaken the effectiveness of their leadership. They will always be on different tracks of thought and there will be frequent internal dissension. As for those people of poor character who delight in trickery and deception and play power games there is even less room for them in modern management groups. Although there are not many people like this, a single rat can spoil a pot of soup and if not immediately eliminated it can make a whole group uneasy both night and day and upset even the chickens and dogs. Modern leadership ought to be a completely harmonious, unified and friendly group. Only a group such as this will have any fighting strength. The other structures of knowledge need not be discussed in detail.

The leadership structures of enterprises and research institutes in capitalist nations are chosen, organized, and put into operation by the top leadership. What is suitable is kept and what is unsuitable is discarded. Although their decisions are made with complete freedom they are not at all arbitrary and are actually controlled by a system of economic results, because unless people are appointed on the basis of their merit or ability the enterprise or institute will fail. The question of how socialism will use the principle of the structure of intelligence to select the various levels of leadership is a new topic for the top leadership and the human affairs departments to work on.

For a long time our cadre system has operated under a open "lifetime system" and a "unit ownership" which makes the leadership structure in our enterprises and scientific research units less than ideal, some even very much so, and this has severely obstructed the progress of the four modernizations. Therefore, we can imagine that if our various leaderships levels are able to carry out adjustments and changes according to a logical structure of intelligence this will turn our inefficient leadership structures into highly efficient fighting groups. This will then generate enormous resources and wealth.

11582
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC MEETING DISCUSSES EDUCATIONAL GUIDELINES

OW131316 Beijing XINHUA in English 1254 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Tianjin, 13 Dec (XINHUA)—China's leading educationists and administrators of education agreed that the state must make greater investments in education to meet the needs of China's modernization program.

More than 280 of them from all parts of the country attended a two-week meeting sponsored by the Ministry of Education, which ended here today. They exchanged views on the guidelines for China's educational development.

They noted that the serious shortage of funds for education will be a great handicap to the country's economic development and this has drawn the attention of the party Central Committee.

The "Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976) caused heavy damage to China's education. Colleges were closed down for years and the standards of college students were greatly lowered until 1977. Attendance at both primary and middle schools dropped and the question of popularizing primary education became an urgent consideration.

The meeting agreed:

—That emphasis in higher education should be laid on raising standards since college enrollment has already topped 1,130,000, two-thirds more than in 1965, and that spare-time and radio, TV and correspondence courses should be promoted.

—That popularization of primary education is a strategic task for the coming decade since, in areas inhabited by at least 15 percent of the population, primary education is far from complete, especially in sparsely-populated and economically backward areas.

—That secondary education should be restructured so that the proportion of vocational and technical schools increases, and that the proportion of students of liberal arts, law, economics and industrial management in colleges also increases.

CSO: 4020

NEI MONGGOL ESTABLISHES FIVE WORKERS' UNIVERSITIES

SK221315 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Nov 80

[Excerpts] According to our reporter (Wu Xinmin), the regional people's government recently approved the establishment of five higher educational institutes for staff and workers in Hohhot, Baotou and Wuhai municipalities in an effort to meet the needs in the four modernizations, open up avenues for education and train more qualified personnel. They are Baogang Workers' Spare-Time University sponsored by the Baotou Iron and Steel Company, Baotou Municipal Machinery Bureau Workers' University sponsored by the Baotou Municipal Machinery Bureau, Hohhot Municipal Workers' University sponsored by the Hohhot Municipal Trade Union Council, Baojian Workers' University sponsored by the construction plant of the Baotou Iron and Steel Company and Wuda Coal Workers' University sponsored by the Wuda Coal Mining Administration. The period of schooling is generally 3 to 4 years. One to 2 years of schooling is set for some special fields of study. Workers are released from all their work or part of their work to attend the universities, or they attend the universities in their spare time. These five workers' universities were originally workers' spare-time universities run by industrial and mining enterprises. They now have nearly 2,000 students. Recently the regional metallurgical industrial bureau, regional coal mining administration bureau, regional machinery bureau, regional educational office and the Hohhot Municipal Trade Union Council organized several groups to inspect these universities. They held that these universities possess adequate conditions for running schools and meet the standard set by the State Council.

These five workers' universities have been brought into line with the state plan. Upon completion of their study, the students shall undertake examinations and shall be issued graduation certificates if they pass the examinations. They will be treated equally as graduates of other colleges and universities and their jobs will be rearranged by pertinent departments according to their fields of study.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

U.S. PHYSICS PROFESSORS INTERVIEW PRC STUDENTS

OW221228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1220 GMT 22 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, 22 November (XINHUA)--The standard of Chinese physics students is "similar" to that of their U.S. counterparts, professor Douglas Fitchen of Cornell University, New York, said here today.

Professor Fitchen and Professor Norman Christ, of Columbia University, are in China to examine 132 candidates for 58 American universities under a program run by American scholars in cooperation with the Chinese Ministry of Education and the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

So far they have talked to 74 students in Guangzhou and Beijing. They left today for Xi'an, northwest China, and Shanghai where they will interview more students.

Despite the fact that education was at a standstill in China for the ten years of the "Cultural Revolution," Professor Fitchen was impressed with the students he had questioned. Some had not yet finished their undergraduate studies, however, and others were studying by themselves.

The two professors also noted that Chinese students tend to have less experience in modern laboratory work than U.S. students.

Professor Fitchen said the students would need to work harder on their English because they would be offered posts as teaching assistants.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING BEGINS WINTER ATHLETIC PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN, YOUNG PEOPLE

OW201727 Beijing XINHUA in English 1546 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] Beijing, 20 Nov (XINHUA)—Beijing launched its winter athletic program for children and young people today with the start of an annual long-distance running campaign, the two-month-long "new long march."

Most of the districts in the city held opening ceremonies today for the event.

Each participant is supposed to run 600 to 1,500 meters a day, and should log a total of 50 to 100 kilometers by the end of the two months.

Close to 600,000 people, mostly university, middle and primary school students, are taking part in the "new long march." Many young cadres and workers also are involved.

This activity, jointly sponsored by the Beijing Municipal Sports Committee, the Beijing Communist Youth League Committee, the municipal bureau of higher education and the municipal education bureau, has been carried out here for the past seven years. Its purpose is to promote the health and physcial fitness of young people in the city.

Beijing organizations concerned with young people and their physical fitness recently issued a notice calling for enthusiastic participation in sports this winter. The primary areas are calisthenics, Chinese boxing and long-distance running.

In order to see real effects, the notice urges "habitual and persistent exercise" laying emphasis on sports suited to different people's needs. It recommends setting up coaching stations to provide systematic and safe physical training. In the countryside, its suggests, people may keep fit by ball games, running, "Wushu" exercises, wrestling, tug-of-war and some military sports.

Besides the "new long march," other mass-participation sports activities being held in Beijing include long-distance running races for elderly people and rope jumping contests for youngsters.

CSO: 4020

'XINHUA' FEATURES XINJIANG RELICS AT BEIJING EXHIBIT

OW100205 Beijing XINHUA in English 1256 GMT 9 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 9 Dec (XINHUA)—Five ancient corpses, of two married couples dating back more than 1,400 years and a woman of the Tang Dynasty (618-907), excavated from Turpan basin in Xinjiang, are now on display in the Beijing Natural History Museum. Opening today, the exhibition will run for six months.

General Zhang Ning, head of the Royal Guards of the border state of Qoco, and his wife, both of whom were buried in the Sixth Century, lie side by side in a glass case. The general died in his forties. Some black hair remains on the head. The skin has become brownish yellow, but the nails are fairly well-preserved. The body is estimated in life to have been 1.72-1.73 meters tall and to have weighed 68-73 kilograms.

According to an epitaph now in the Xinjiang Bureau of Cultural Relics, Zhang Ning was a general in the Qoco state which was conquered by the Tang rulers and turned into an administrative region in A.D. 640. General Zhang Ning died in A.D. 558. His wife died in her fifties, 18 years later.

The other married couple on display in Beijing were magistrate Zhang Hong, posthumously given the title of a general of the Qoco state, and his wife. The man died in A.D. 562 and his wife in A.D. 543.

The other corpse is that of a woman who died in her mid-forties during the Tang Dynasty. The body is very lean and the face has the sign of a large abnormal growth on her right cheek. The head still has a lot of brownish black hair.

The corpses dried out naturally. They were excavated from the Astana group of tombs in Turpan, Xinjiang, in September this year. Turpan is one of the world's hottest and most arid areas, and at the lowest altitude in the world. Scientists believe that these conditions help to preserve the corpses.

A number of models of colored clay men and women figurines, buried with the deceased to cater for their needs after death, are also shown at the exhibition.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC BUDDHIST INSTITUTE RECRUITS STUDENTS

OW130210 Beijing XINHUA in English 0147 GMT 13 Dec 80

[Text] Nanjing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--Twenty student monks dressed in saffron Buddhist robes attended the opening ceremony of a branch theological school in east China's Suzhou city this week.

The new school, housed at Suzhou's Lingyashan Temple, is under the Chinese Buddhist Theological Institute at the Fayuan Temple in southwest Beijing, which recruited 40 monks and opened in September.

All these student monks have been recruited from different temples throughout the country. They range in age from 18 to 31.

The institute curriculum includes Buddhism, Chinese and foreign languages. Teachers are members of the Chinese Buddhist Association and noted Buddhist theologians. After two years' study, the students will return to their former temples.

The Venerable Mingkai, president of the Suzhou Buddhist Association, said: "The restoration of the Buddhist Theological Institute will help train Buddhist successors and cultivated monks who love both the country and Buddhism."

The Chinese Buddhist Theological Institute was established in 1956, but shut down when the "Cultural Revolution" began in 1966. By that time it had trained more than 200 Buddhist intellectuals, having contributed to China's Buddhist study.

The revival of the institute is just one manifestation of the new respect accorded Buddhism and other religions in China. Many Buddhist temples have been restored in recent years. The Lingyashan Temple, the biggest centre of the Jintu sect of Buddhism in southeast China, was damaged during the "Cultural Revolution," but it has been recently renovated. Over 40 monks who were driven out of the temple have returned and religious practice has resumed there.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC BUDDHISTS HOLD FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

OW151550 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--Over 260 noted Buddhists from different parts of China this morning paid homage to the tooth-relic pagoda, a well-known religious site in the western hills of Beijing.

They are here for the coming fourth national conference of the Buddhist Association of China since its founding in 1953.

The 51-metre-high pagoda, located at the original site of the Lingguang Monastery, is an octagonal building of thirteen stories. It enshrines a holy tooth reputed to have belonged to Sakyamuni Buddha and been taken to China some 1,500 years ago.

The procession of Buddhist dignitaries, headed by Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and honorary president of the Buddhist Association of China, Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, vice-chairman of the national committee of the Chinese people's political consultative conference, and Zhao Puchu, acting president of the Buddhist Association of China, mounted the platform of the pagoda. There incense and candles were burned and flowers and fruit laid as offerings. After chanting the Buddhist Sutra in both the Han and Tibetan languages, the pilgrims entered the hall on the first story of the pagoda. Bainqen Erdini and others prostrated themselves before a golden stupa containing the tooth-relic and presented hadas (pieces of silk as gifts).

According to Buddhist historical records, the Buddha left two teeth in the world when his body was cremated after his nirvana. One of them was taken to Sri Lanka and the other was brought to China.

CSO: 4020

WUHAN UNIVERSITY'S STUDENT UNION INCREASES ACTIVITY

OW140739 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 14 Dec 80

[Text] Wuhan, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--Campus life at Wuhan University, Hubei Province has picked up pace this year with a strong students' union taking the lead, the university reported this week.

On behalf of the student body, the union has regular meetings with the administration every two weeks to present students' requests collected from the polls it has conducted.

In recent months this has resulted in:

--improvement in the canteen service;

--revival of students' societies and fellowships;

--increased funds for students' spare-time research;

--improved optional courses by each faculty, with counselling to students in selecting these courses;

--student polls to assess the value of lectures;

--extension of library hours and language laboratory services;

--more recreational facilities.

Official action aside, the students have taken their own steps to liven up campus activities. Through the union, they are organising musical performances, sports and chess contests, calligraphy and art shows and dances. Some technical students are building a laser shooting range.

The union has organised more than 500 students in a work-study effort. A radio repair shop and a photo studio run by students are doing a brisk business.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC EDUCATION THEORIST BEING REASSESSED

OW150236 Beijing XINHUA in English 0216 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] Beijing, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--The theories and practices of Tao Xingzhi, a noted Chinese educationist who died in 1946, are being reassessed here.

Preparations are underway to mark the 90th anniversary of his birth on October 18, 1981, with new publications of his writings. Study groups of Tao Xingzhi's theories on education are active in Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing, Chongqing and his native province of Anhui. A memorial hall in Nanjing reopened in March this year.

Tao Xingzhi (Heng-chih Tao) advocated a people's education movement in China and innovation in rural education. He called for democratic, low-cost education for the masses.

His target, he wrote in 1938, was "not linguistic literacy alone...but also political and economic literacy...so that our people can qualify more and more for participating in the great struggle for a free China.

Tao believed that students should use hands as well as brains; that the school can be a model for a cooperative society, and "little teachers"--grade-school children--can teach their own parents and grandparents.

He sponsored a number of schools such as Yucai, a school for refugee children, in Congqing, Sichuan Province, during the war against Japanese aggression, Xiaozhuang (Morning Village) Teachers' School, Society University, and the labour-science-union schools. A number of graduates from these institutions were prominent in the later revolutionary movement.

In the mid-30's, Tao Xingzhi traveled to 28 countries including Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Mexico and the U.S. to seek support for the Chinese people's resistant to Japanese aggression.

Mourning his death on July 25, 1946, Zhou Enlai, in a message to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Yanan, spoke highly of Tao Xingzhi's contribution to China and said his death was "an irretrievable loss to the Chinese people."

Relatives and close friends of Tao Xingzhi expect that some of his speeches and academic papers, previously available only abroad, will reappear in the new edition of his collected works.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

QINGHAI BIRTH CONTROL--The Qinghai provincial family planning office recently held a forum of comrades from advanced units of family planning in the province to study the letter of the party Central Committee on China's birth control. The participants stated: some leading cadres pay no attention to family planning. Some say birth control is not necessary in such an underpopulated province as Qinghai and refuse to approve the privileges given to only-child households. Some units totally neglect the provisional regulations issued by the Qinghai Provincial People's Government. Therefore, measures should be adopted to guide family planning work throughout the province. [Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 19 Nov 80 SK]

QINGHAI SOCIAL DISORDER--A dispatch from QINGHAI RIBAO correspondents reveals that the (Huazigou) district in the Western Qaidam basin has suffered from serious social disorder and increasing crime rate. The dispatch states: since the beginning of 1980, 88 gang fights have occurred in this district. More than 400 criminals engaged in them and some 300 persons were injured during fights. Some 20,000 staff members and workers and their families under a department of the Gan-qing-zang oil prospecting and exploitation campaign headquarters reside in this district. There are many stores, banks, granaries and other units in this district but there is no police station. The nearest one from this district is more than 70 miles away. Many criminals remain at large after committing murders, threatening or beating innocent people or conducting retaliatiory activities. Therefore, departments concerned must pay attention to this and do something about it. [Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 21 Nov 80 SK]

SHAANXI YOUTH EDUCATION MEETING--The youth and juvenile education leadership group of the Shaanxi Provincial CCP Committee recently held a meeting, which stressed the importance of investigating and studying the new characteristics and problems of youth in the new period and doing a good job of strengthening ideological and political education for them. This education should be centered on upholding the four basic principles, and its main contents should be patriotism, revolutionary ideals, and communist morals. A good way of stepping up this education is to promote the current discussion on world-outlook and organize more young people to participate in it. The meeting also discussed the importance of providing more youth activity centers, helping young people solve their problems of schooling, employment, sparetime study, love and marriage, and reforming young delinquents. [Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Nov 80 HK]

SEMINAR ON ISLAM--An academic seminar on Islam, convened by five northwest provinces and autonomous regions, was held in Yinchuan from 10 to 20 November. Questions of Islam in China in recent times were discussed and experiences in Islamic studies were exchanged. Apart from representatives of the five northwest provinces and autonomous regions, the meeting was also attended by experts and scholars from the Chinese Islamic Society, the Research Center for World Religions and the Nationalities Research Center of the Chinese Academy of Social Science, the Central Nationalities College and various places including Shanghai. Leading comrades of the Ningxia Regional CCP Committee, People's Congress Standing Committee, People's Government, and CPPCC and various departments attended the meeting. [HK240504 Yinchuan Ningxia Regional Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 22 Nov 80]

HEILONGJIANG CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION--The Heilongjiang Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association held its third congress session from 17 to 22 November. Altogether 45 bishops, priests, brothers and sisters attended the session. The association was established in 1959. During the Cultural Revolution, it was forced to stop functioning. Following the downfall of the "gang of four," it resumed its activities in October 1979. The congress participants heard a report on the guidelines of the third congress of the China Catholic Patriotic Association, amended the regulations of the Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association and elected the third committee of the Provincial Catholic Patriotic Association. The religious affairs section under the united front department of the provincial party committee held a tea on 23 November for the congress participants. Responsible persons of the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC committee including Li Lian, Zhang Ruilin, Wang Jing and Sun Xiqi attended the tea. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Nov 80 SK]

HAIKOU ILLEGAL EMIGRATION--The Haikou Municipal Public Security Bureau has adopted effective measures to combat crime and arrested some 170 criminals. These criminals had been engaged in illegal emigration activities, theft and speculation, seriously disturbing the social order. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2345 GMT 18 Oct 80 HK]

NEW WUXI DAILY--Beginning 1 January 1981, the office of WUXI BAO in Jiangsu's Wuxi City will publish six editions of WUXI RIBAO every week. With the approval of the Wuxi Municipal People Committee, the newspaper office is now trying to employ 10 editors and reporters. Some 440 persons have applied for the job. [OW251525 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 Nov 80 OW]

TIANJIN VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS--With the cooperations of the Tianjin Municipal Education Department and the municipal economic department, 17 vocational schools have been established in Tianjin Municipality. These schools offer 35 specialized courses. Some 3,200 junior middle school graduates are enrolled. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 18 Nov 80 SK]

XIZANG POLICY EDUCATION--Several booklets have recently been compiled and published by the political department of Xizang Military District to conduct education on party policies among the masses of cadres and fighters. The content of the first booklet includes a decision made by the Xizang Regional Party Committee to adopt more flexible economic policies in Xizang's rural and pastoral areas, and other documents concerning the policies in respecting the customs of Tibetan people. The second booklet contains 11 documents on decisions made by the central authorities and Xizang Regional People's Government regarding afforestation and protection of forests and wildlife the third booklet is being compiled for publication. [Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 25 Nov 80]

ANHUI SCHOOL SYSTEM--Since April this year, a system of home room teachers has been introduced to all classes of the 130 courses and sections in Hefei Engineering University. Of the 126 teachers who have been selected as home room teachers, 86 are lecturers with good teaching experience and 40 others are young assistants with certain teaching experience. The home room teachers have done a good job in helping the students to learn more and better observe school discipline. [OW261707 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Nov 80]

YUNNAN POPULATION CENSUS--According to unified arrangement of the party Central Committee and the State Council, Yunnan Province will soon start pilot project work for the third population census. Population census is an important job and is of great significance in controlling population growth and arranging for people's material and cultural life. The third census will include compiling statistics on marital status, the number of unemployed and so on. In order to do a good job of this census, the Yunnan Provincial People's Government decided to carry out a pilot census of Kunming this year. [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Nov 80 HK]

SHANGHAI CULTURAL RELICS--Results of an investigation conducted by members of the Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee on 12 and 13 November reveal that some 3.22 million pieces of cultural relics and 20,000 jin of coins were confiscated from several thousand families by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the early days of the Cultural Revolution. The committee members have also learned that in 1969, some 2.9 million pieces of cultural relics, paintings and handicraft arts were sold to foreign trade departments by the followers of the "gang of four" at a fixed price of 1.2 yuan for each piece, and the majority were later resold to individuals to export. However, some 20,000 precious paintings and antiques have been saved by the Shanghai Historical Relic Preservation Committee. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 12 Nov 80 OW]

XIZANG EXPEDITION STORY--Beijing, 17 Nov (XINHUA)--"Gaison Meiduo," a long novel telling the story of PLA's expedition into Xizang, has been published by the People's Literary Publishing House. Author of the novel is Jiangbian Jiacuo, a young Tibetan writer and associate research fellow of the Institute of Literature of National Minorities of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

the novel, of over 400,000 words, vividly tells the epic struggle of the PLA entering Xizang and of the Tibetan people's for national unification and unity during the PLA's arduous expedition into Xizang, and extols the glory of the CCP's nationality policy. "Gaison Meiduo" is Tibetan language for blessed flowers. Through the story of the life and pure love of a young Tibetan couple, the novel tells the yearnings of generation upon generation of Tibetan people for well-being and delineates that only under the CCP leadership can the blessed flowers blossom and dreams be realized. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0125 GMT 17 Nov 80 OW]

XIBE LANGUAGE SOCIETY--Urumqi, 17 Nov (XINHUA)--The Xibe language society was recently founded in Qapqal Xibe Autonomous County in Xinjiang. Xibe nationality is one of China's nationalities with a very limited population of about 30,000 people, who speak a tongue which is a somewhat improved variation of the Manchu language. The founding of the society will be helpful for developing the Xibe nationality's cultural and educational work and for promoting the study of the Xibe language, Xibe classical work and historical documents. Last year, publication of Xibe journals and teaching in the Xibe language in primary schools both resumed in Qapqal Xibe Autonomous County. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0147 GMT 17 Nov 80 OW]

JILIN STUDY GROUP IN YUNNAN--The Jilin provincial nationalities work study group of 19 people which was headed by Jin Minghan, member of the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee Standing Committee and (Cao Xianzhu), deputy director of the provincial agriculture committee, arrived in Kunming on 31 October to pay their visit. Dao Guodong, Zhu Jiabi and other responsible comrades of the Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee, provincial people's congress Standing Committee, provincial people's government and other departments concerned greeted them at the railway station. [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Nov 80 HK]

COLLEGE GRADUATE PLANNING--"Recently, the Hubei Provincial Planning Committee and the Provincial Education Bureau jointly held a meeting on the assignment of graduates of universities and secondary technical schools, and formulated new principles regarding future assignments." The new principles embody a unified policy and a balanced arrangement. The new policy stipulates that colleges and schools directly under the supervision of the party Central Committee must retain a certain number of their graduates in the local areas each year. In addition to this, 80 percent of graduates of the provincial, prefectural and county colleges and schools, apart from those directly under the supervision of the education bureau, will be assigned jobs by various local departments, and 20 percent of the graduates will be posted outside of the local areas in order to regulate the proportion of staff between the departments and the local areas. In the future, assignment plans must reach the schools 3 months before graduation day. Most of the college graduates assigned this year are graduates of teachers' training colleges. "The meeting decided that, from next year onwards, graduates of secondary technical schools could be sent to units of state enterprises and to enterprises run under the collective ownership system. In order to promote industry, graduates of secondary technical colleges will become cadres or workers in the future." [Summary] [HK270610 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Nov 80]

JIANGSU DAILY PAPER--Beginning 1 January 1981, NANJING RIBAO will be published daily instead of 6 days a week. The paper will also be distributed to all parts of the country, starting from that date. [OW241653 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Nov 80 OW]

JIANGSU BIRTH CONTROL--The Jiangsu Provincial People's Government recently held a meeting in Nanjing on the work of birth control. Attending the meeting were 200 people including the responsible comrades in charge of birth control work in various prefectures, municipalities and counties and the representatives of various departments concerned in the province. Wang Haisu, Standing Committee member of the provincial CCP committee and vice governor of Jiangsu, spoke at the meeting. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 Nov 80 OW]

UNIVERSITY DELEGATION IN SHANXI--The U.S. South Carolina University delegation was invited to visit Shanxi Province and arrived in Taiyuan on the evening of 25 October. The delegation of 21 people arrived in Beijing on 22 October and (Zhao Luhua), vice principal of Shanxi University, greeted them at the airport in Beijing. The delegation was greeted by Zhou Lin, vice minister of the Ministry of Education, in Beijing and visited Beijing University. Responsible comrades of Shanxi University and professors greeted the U.S. friends at the station when they arrived at Taiyuan. On the same evening, Wang Zhongqing, vice governor of Shanxi Province, feted them at the hotel. [Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 25 Oct 80 HK]

HEBEI YOUTH PROBLEM--Hebei Province's CYL organizations at all levels have actively launched an investigation into youth problems. The Hebei Provincial CYL established a youth problem group to investigate and probe the laws governing the development of youth and organize the youths to contribute to the four modernizations. In mid-October, the provincial CYL held a meeting in Shijiazhuang to study youth problems and exchange investigation results. [Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0430 GMT 29 Oct 80 HK]

BEIJING KEY SCHOOLS--Beijing, 11 Nov (XINHUA)--Recently the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee held a conference on key primary and secondary schools, which decided that Beijing should concentrate its forces in improving 32 key primary and secondary schools within the next 3 to 5 years. Since 1978 the more than 100 key primary and secondary schools in Beijing have improved their quality through meticulous efforts. However, some of them still violate the educational principle of promoting the students' all-round development, ignore the laws governing educational development and seek only to raise college admission rates. Educationists at the conference urged leading educational organs and schools to make sure that key schools contribute to raising the nation's scientific and cultural level while preparing the students for college. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1203 GMT 11 Nov 80 OW]

BEIJING TOURIST AREA--Beijing, 11 Nov (XINHUA)--In response to questions by a XINHUA correspondent, Comrade Lin Dianzhang, a Badaling administrative official, stated: Many leading comrades who accompanied foreign guests to Badaling expressed deep concern over limited transportation and poor facilities for tourist crowds. It is felt that if Badaling is turned over to the Yanqing county administration, with the state or municipality making some necessary investment, the county, too, will contribute money and manpower because it can make a profit, and thus bring about earlier restoration of the Great Wall, of which only a 1,200-meter section can now accommodate tourists. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1423 GMT 11 Nov 80 OW]

LIAONING EDUCATION--Benxi Municipality in Liaoning Province has made significant progress in education. There are one junior college, one normal university, two workers' universities and television university of the air with more than 1,360 students officially enrolled. Two secondary vocational schools and three technical schools and 61 workers' night schools were recently established. A total of 100,000 staff and workers of the municipality are engaged in spare-time study. During the period from July to September, 51 secondary vocational schools began classes. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 13 Nov 80 SK]

END

CSO: 4005